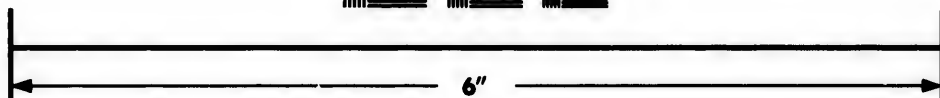
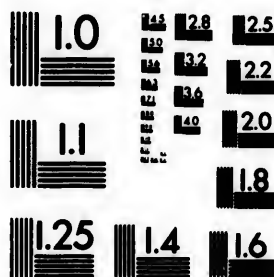


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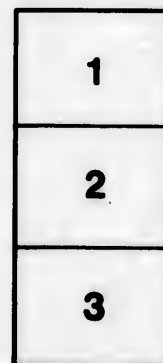
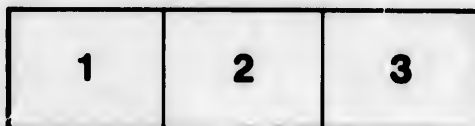
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# VOYAGES, MARITIME ADVENTURES

AND

## COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES,

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD:

COMPRISING A PERIOD OF TWENTY-FOUR YEARS,

IN EVERY KIND OF CRAFT, FROM THE BOAT OF TWENTY-FIVE TONS, TO THE  
INDIAMAN OF ONE THOUSAND TONS,

AND ON THE MOST LABORIOUS AND HAZARDOUS ENTERPRISES.

BY R. J. CLEVELAND.

"I love—oh! how I love to ride  
On the fierce, foaming, bursting tide.  
\* \* \*  
I never was on the dull tame shore,  
But I loved the great sea more and more."

LONDON.

R. MACDONALD, 30, GREAT SUTTON STREET,

CLERKENWELL.

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# CLEVELAND'S VOYAGES, &c.

## INTRODUCTION.

The character of the citizens of New England for enterprise and industry is very generally acknowledged. Being, for the most part, obliged to seek their own fortunes, they are early accustomed to the endurance of privations, and, to those industrious and frugal habits which lead to competence and wealth. In the pursuit of that independence of which all are more or less desirous, there have been instances of daring enterprise, of persevering determination, of disregard of fatigue and suffering, which are very remarkable; but which pass unobserved from their frequency, no less than from the unobtrusive habits of the actor.

A simple account of such enterprises, drawn from journals and letters written at the time the events therein related occurred, is here given to the public.

More than forty-five years have elapsed since the first of the voyages here narrated was undertaken; and more than twenty since the completion of the last. It is apparent that they possess but in a small degree the power to interest that would have been excited had they been published at the period of their performance; yet this delay in their publication may, on some considerations, enhance their value. It may be interesting to the young merchant to trace some of the great revolutions in the commerce of the world which have occurred within the above-named periods; and those of advanced age may be induced to recur to by-gone days, with pleasing, even if accompanied with melancholy associations.

For several years preceding the date of the first of my voyages, the merchants of the United States, and particularly those of Salem, carried on an active and lucrative commerce with the Isles of France and Bourbon, which was continued up to the period of the conquest of those islands by the British, since which it has nearly ceased. That important product of our country, cotton, which is now its greatest and most valuable article of export, employing a greater amount of tonnage than any other, was then unknown as an article of export from the United States; and the little required for the consumption of our domestic fabrics was imported from Demerara, Surinam, and the West India Islands. The trade to the north-west coast of America,

which, for about twenty-five years, was actively and almost exclusively pursued from Boston, on an extensive scale, and to great advantage, has for some years been abandoned, from the scarcity and high price of furs, caused by the competition of the Russians, who have gradually advanced their posts far to the south of those places where my cargo was collected, and where they were not then seen. The sealing voyages, which were prosecuted most actively from New Haven, Norwich, and Stonington, principally to the Island of Massafuera, and by which sudden and large fortunes were made, have, for many years past, been productive of little comparative advantage to the few yet engaged in them, and this in consequence of the animal's being almost annihilated.

Our cargoes from China, which were formerly paid for in these furs, and in Spanish dollars, are now procured for bills on England, for opium, and for European and American fabrics. The cotton and silk manufactures of India constituted formerly, almost exclusively, the cargoes of our ships from Calcutta, which were paid for in Spanish dollars, and which generally yielded large profits. At this time our cotton fabrics are so much better and cheaper, as entirely to have superseded the importation of those; and most of the articles which now compose a cargo from Calcutta, excepting saltpetre and bandanas, were then scarcely known there as articles of export to this country. Bills on England in payment for these cargoes, as well as for those laden at other ports of India, have been substituted for Spanish dollars, which formerly were indispensable to the prosecution of this trade.

When I first visited the ports of Brazil, of Chili, of Peru, of Mexico, and of California, they had been for ages, and were then, so exclusively used for their own respective flags, that the admittance of one of a foreign nation was granted only on the most palpable evidence of a necessity which it would be inhuman not to attend to. When admitted, no individual belonging to the vessel was permitted to land, or to walk the streets of the city, without the disagreeable encumbrance of a soldier following him; hence the difficulty of obtaining information, and consequently the meagre accounts given of the manners and customs of those nations.

The revolutions in those countries which have

been effected with so much individual distress, and so great loss of life, though far from having produced the prosperity and happiness anticipated by their most enlightened patriots, have nevertheless caused their ports to be thrown open for the admission of the flags of all nations. This has afforded opportunities to strangers for visiting them, which have been abundantly improved; and the numerous and elaborate accounts of them which have been given to the world, within a few years, by literary men, who possessed the requisite leisure and opportunity for the purpose, seemed to obviate the necessity of my attempting to enlarge on those subjects. The same reason forbade the attempt at more than cursory and passing descriptions of countries, cities, customs, and manners in other parts of the globe, visited by me for objects exclusively of a commercial character.

Equally, if not even more remarkable than the changes above mentioned, are those observable at the Sandwich Islands, since my first visit there in the year 1799. Then the inhabitants were but little elevated from the barbarous state in which they were found by Captain Cook; now they are comparatively a civilised people, sensible of the value of instruction, and eager to obtain it; cultivating their fields, and, by an extended and increasing foreign trade, affording a most remarkable instance of the ameliorating and humanising effects of commerce.

In these days of philanthropy, when there are so many zealous advocates and active promoters of the great and truly benevolent cause of Temperance, it is proper and becoming in every wellwisher to the advancement of this cause, to aid it in every way in his power. With such impressions, and with the favourable opportunity now presented, I should consider it reprehensible to withhold from the public a statement of facts relating to myself personally, and which no other consideration than the hope of doing good would induce me to make, although they may be viewed by many as not the least extraordinary of the facts which have been narrated.

I am not, nor have I ever been a member of a Temperance Society; but I was a practical temperance man long before such societies were dreamed of. At the period when I began my nautical career, it was a universally-received maxim, that drinking grog and chewing tobacco were two essential and indispensable requisites for making a good seaman. So omnipotent is custom, and so powerful is satire, that although the absurdity of such a maxim must be apparent to every one, I have nevertheless seen many young men repeatedly made sick before overcoming the disgust, and some of them afterwards became miserable drunkards. As alcohol and tobacco were in no degree less offensive to me than I had evidence of their being to my associates, it appeared to me, that to submit to the ridicule rather than to the sickness was

selecting the least of the evils, and I acted accordingly.

Those who may honour me with a perusal of my narrative, will perceive that I have navigated to all parts of the world, from the sixtieth degree of south latitude, to the sixtieth degree north; and sometimes in vessels whose diminutive size and small number of men caused exposure to wet and cold, greatly surpassing what is usually experienced in ships of ordinary capacity; that I have been exposed to the influence of the most unhealthy places; at Batavia, where I have seen whole crews prostrate with the fever, and death making havoc among them; at San Blas, where the natives can stay only a portion of the year; at the Havana, within whose walls I have resided five years consecutively; that I have suffered captivity, robbery, imprisonment, ruin, and the racking anxiety consequent thereon. And yet, through the whole, and to the present sixty-eighth year of my age, I have never taken a drop of spirituous liquor of any kind; never a glass of wine, of porter, ale, or beer, or any beverage stronger than tea and coffee; and, moreover, I have never used tobacco in any way whatever; and this, not only without injury, but, on the contrary, to the preservation of my health. Headache is known to me by name only; and excepting those fevers, which were produced by great anxiety and excitement, my life has been free from sickness.

The following narrative will enable the reader to form a comparison between a seaman's profession and his own; and, possibly, after perusing it, he will be less disturbed by the annoyances which peculiarly beset him. He will perceive, that the master of a merchant-ship, in whom are united the duties of navigator and factor, is subjected to great care and responsibility, even on ordinary and well-defined voyages. These are greatly augmented when the enterprise is enveloped in darkness, from the unknown political state of the countries whither he is destined; from the contingencies which may be presented to him; and from the necessity of great circumspection, decision, and promptitude, in the choice of them. If he is timid and afraid to enter a port where there is uncertainty of a friendly reception, it may cause the ruin of his voyage. If, on the contrary, he is bold, and enters such port, confiding in the protection of existing treaties and the laws of nations, he may also become the victim of arbitrary power, confided to unworthy and ignorant individuals. If success attend his enterprise, when returning home with ample compensation for his labour, he runs the risk of having it all snatched from him by some hungry satellite of that great high-sea robber, termed "His" or "Her Majesty." Thus, in addition to the ordinary perils of hurricane and storms, of rocks and shoals, he has to incur the greater ones of the cupidity and villany of man.

Of the ordinary labour and fatigue attendant



vils, and I acted

with a perusal of I have navigated the sixtieth degree whose diminution caused exceeding what of ordinary capacity to the influence at Batavia, where Istrate with the among them; at stay only a port, within whose consecutively; robbery, imprisonment consequent the whole, and to my age, I have a liquor of any porter, ale, or than tea and coffee used tobacco not only with-ly, to the preser-is known to me g those fevers, anxiety and ex-from sickness. nable the reader a seaman's possibly, after ped by the annoy-n. He will per-merchant-ship, in f navigator and e and responsi-ell-defined voy-nted when the ness, from the ountries whither gencies which from the neces- decision, and hem. If he is t where there is on, it may cause the contrary, he onfiding in the and the laws of the victim of ar-rthy and igno-tend his enter-ent ample com-ns the risk of y some hungry rober, termed n addition to the storms, of rocks greater ones of

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on the profession, the same individual would form opposite conclusions in different circumstances. The man who makes a winter's passage from Europe to America, and encounters the usual storms and severity of weather peculiar to that passage, will probably pronounce the seaman's life to be the hardest, the most dangerous, the most irksome, the most wearing to body and mind, of any one of the pursuits of man. On the contrary, he who sails from the United States to Calcutta, to China, or to South America, avoiding our winter's coast, may perform the voyage without experiencing a gale of greater severity than would require the sails to be reefed, a pleasing excitement when the necessity is of rare occurrence; and he would probably decide, that no profession is so easy, so pleasant, and so free from care, as the seaman's. These are the two extremes, between which, as may be supposed, there are gradations, which will tend to incline the scale one way or the other, according to circumstances.

The experience of more than twenty years passed in navigating to all parts of the world has led me to the conclusion, that though the hardships and privations of a seaman's life be greater than those of any other, there is a compensation in the very excitement of its dangers; in the opportunity it affords of visiting different countries, and viewing mankind in the various gradations between the most barbarous and the most refined; and in the ever-changing scenes which this occupation presents. And I can say, with truth, that I not only feel no regret for having chosen this profession rather than any other, but that if my life were to be passed over again, I should pursue the same course.

*Cambridge, United States,  
1842.*

## CHAPTER I.

**Commercial education.**—Mr. Derby, of Salem, the father of American commerce to India.—His liberality.—The author's desire to visit distant countries.—Resolves to gratify it.—His first voyage.—Its results.—Other voyages.—Appointed master of the *Enterprise*.—Voyage to the Isle of Bourbon.—Copper sheathing.—Return to Salem.—Voyage to Havre.—Disappointed hopes—the *Enterprise* sent home.—The author fits out a cutter on his own account.—His reasons for the adventure.—Anxiety of his friends.—Resolves to sail for the Isle of France.—Difficulty of procuring a crew.—Sails from Havre.—A gale.—Compelled to run a-shore.—Narrow escape.—Excellent conduct of the people, who assist to get the vessel off.—Return to Havre to repair damage.—Desertion of the crew.—Fidelity of a negro.—Lateness of the season.—Despondency.

In the ordinary course of a commercial education, in New England, boys are transferred from

school to the merchant's desk at the age of fourteen or fifteen. When I had reached my fourteenth year, it was my good fortune to be received into the counting-house of Elias Hasket Derby, Esq., of Salem, a merchant, who may justly be termed the father of American commerce to India; one, whose enterprise and commercial sagacity were unequalled in his day, and, perhaps, have not been surpassed by any of his successors. To him our country is indebted for opening the valuable trade to Calcutta, before whose fortress his was the vessel to display the American flag; and, following up the business, he had reaped golden harvests before other merchants came in for a share of them. The first American ships seen at the Cape of Good Hope and at the Isle of France, belonged to him. His were the first American ships which carried cargoes of cotton from Bombay to China; and among the first ships which made a direct voyage to China and back, was one owned by him. He continued to prosecute a successful business, on an extensive scale, in those countries, until the day of his death. In the transaction of his affairs abroad, he was liberal; greatly beyond the practice in modern times, always desirous that every one, even the foremast-hand, should share the good fortune to which he pointed the way; and the long list of masters of ships, who have acquired ample fortunes in his employment, is a proof both of his discernment in selecting and of his generosity in paying them.

Without possessing a scientific knowledge of the construction and sparring of ships, Mr. Derby seemed to have an intuitive faculty in judging of models and proportions; and his experiments, in several instances, for the attainment of swiftness of sailing, were crowned with a success unsurpassed in our own or any other country. He built several ships for the India trade, immediately in the vicinity of the counting-house; which afforded me an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the building, sparring, and rigging of ships. The conversations, to which I listened, relating to the countries then newly visited by Americans, the excitement on the return of an adventure from them, and the great profits which were made, always manifest from the result of my own little adventures, tended to stimulate the desire in me of visiting those countries, and of sharing more largely in the advantages they presented. Consequently, after having passed four years in this course of instruction, I became impatient to begin that nautical career on which I had determined, as presenting the most sure and direct means of arriving at independence; and, in the summer of 1792, I embarked on my first voyage. It was one of only three months' duration; but it was sufficient to produce a most thorough disgust of the pursuit, from the severe suffering of sea-sickness; so that, if I had perceived, on my return, any prospect on shore equally promising, I should have

abandoned the sea. None, however, presenting itself, I persevered, and finally overcame the difficulty.

Having in this, and other voyages to the East and West Indies and to Europe, acquired the experience and nautical skill deemed sufficient to qualify me for taking the command of a ship, I was invited, in the autumn of 1795, by the eldest son of Mr. Derby, to take charge of his barque *Enterprise*, and proceed on a voyage to the Isle of Bourbon. The confidence, thus evinced, in intrusting the management of a valuable vessel and cargo to so young and inexperienced a man, for I had then only attained my majority, was very gratifying to my ambition, and was duly appreciated.

In those almost primitive days of our commerce, a coppered vessel was scarcely known in the United States; and on the long East India voyages, the barnacles and grass, which accumulated on the wooden sheathing, retarded the ship's sailing so much, that a third more time, at least, was required for the passages, than is needed since the practice of sheathing with copper has been adopted. A year, therefore, was generally consumed in a voyage to the Isle of France or Bourbon; and mine was accomplished within that term. The success attending it was very satisfactory to my employer, of which he gave evidence in dispatching me again, in the same vessel, on a voyage to Europe, and thence to Mocha, for a cargo of coffee.

While at Havre de Grace, in the summer of 1797, engaged in making preparations for pursuing the voyage, I had the mortification to learn, by letters from my employer, that some derangement had occurred in his affairs, which made it necessary to abandon the Mocha enterprise, and to place in his hands, with the least possible delay, the funds destined for that object. Among the numerous commercial adventures in which our merchants at that time had been engaged to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, no voyage had been undertaken to Mocha. To be the first, therefore, in an untried adventure was highly gratifying to my ambition; and my disappointment was proportionally great when compelled to relinquish it. To have detained the vessel in France, while waiting the slow progress of the sale of the cargo, would have been injudicious; and she was therefore dispatched for home, under charge of the mate, William Webb, of Salem.

Being thus relieved from the necessity of an immediate return to the United States, I flattered myself that, even with the very contracted means which I possessed, I might still engage, with a little assistance, and on a very humble scale, in some enterprise to the Isle of France and India. When, therefore, I had accomplished the business with which I had been charged, by remitting to the owner in Salem his property with me, I began earnestly to put to the test the practicability of the object of

which I was so desirous. A coincidence of favourable and very encouraging circumstances aided my views. A friend of mine had become proprietor of a little cutter of thirty-eight tons burden, which had been a packet between Dover and Calais. This vessel had been taken for a debt; and the owner, not knowing what to do with her, offered her to me for a reasonable price, and to pay when I had the ability. This credit would enable me to put all my capital in the cargo, excepting what was required for coppering and fitting the cutter for the contemplated voyage, about five hundred dollars; leaving me fifteen hundred to be invested in the cargo. On making known to others of my friends the plan of my voyage, two of them engaged to embark to the amount of a thousand dollars each, on condition of sharing equally the profits at the end of the voyage. Having become proprietor of the cutter, which, with all additional expenses, cost, ready for sea, about one thousand dollars, an investment of articles, best suited to the market of the Isle of France, was purchased to the amount of three thousand five hundred dollars; making vessel and cargo amount to four thousand five hundred. It is not probable that the annals of commerce can furnish another example of an Indian and cargo being fitted and expedited on so humble a scale.

I had now the high gratification of uncontrolled action. An innate love of independence, an impatience of restraint, an aversion to responsibility, and a desire to have no other limits to my wanderings than the globe itself, reconciled me to the endurance of fatigues and privations, which I knew to be the unavoidable consequence of navigating in so frail a bark, rather than to possess the comparative ease and comfort, coupled with the restraint and responsibility, which the command of a fine ship belonging to another would present.

As there are, doubtless, many persons, not excepting those even who are familiar with commercial and maritime affairs, who will view this enterprise as very hazardous from sea risk, and as offering but a very small prospect of emolument, it is proper, so far as I am able, to do away such impressions by briefly stating the object I had in view. On my late voyage to the Isle of Bourbon, I had perceived a great deficiency in the number of vessels requisite for the advantageous conveyance of passengers and freight to and from the Isles of France and Bourbon. If my cutter had been built expressly for the purpose, she could not have been more suitable. With a large and beautifully finished cabin, where passengers would be more comfortably accommodated than in many vessels of greater dimensions; with but small freight-room, and requiring therefore but little time to load, and of greater speed in sailing than the generality of merchant vessels, I had no doubt of being able to sell her there for more than double the cost: or I might find it to be more

coincidence of favourable circumstances mine had become thirty-eight tons net between Dover and been taken for a sailing what to do for a reasonable ability. This all my capital required for cop for the contemplated dollars; leaving invested in the here of my friends them engaged to thousand dollars equally the profits having become profit with all additional about one thousand dollars, beat suited to me, was purchased and five hundred dollars amount to four not probable that furnish another expense being fitted and

of unconditioned independence, version to responsibility, no other limits to itself, reconciled and privations, a considerable consequence, rather than to comfort and responsibility, which belonging to another

persons, not familiar with commerce who will view this from sea risk, and respect of emolument, am able, to do by stating the object of the voyage to the vessel a great deal requisite for the passengers and of France and built expressly have been more beautifully finished be more common many vessels of small freightage little time to sailing than the I had no doubt for more than and it to be more

advantageous to employ her in freighting between the islands. In either event, I felt entire confidence in being amply remunerated for the time and risk. On the cargo, composed of such articles of my late experience as had proved to be most in demand, I had no doubt of making a profit of from fifty to one hundred per cent. on its cost. The proceeds of vessel and cargo, invested in the produce of the island, and shipped to Europe or the United States, would, at that time, have yielded a clear gain of thirty-three and one third per cent. Thus, in the course of the year, I should make two hundred per cent. on the original capital; a result which might be considered abundant compensation for the time I would consume, and should take from the enterprise the character of quixotism with which it had been stigmatised.

As soon as it became known at Havre that my destination was the Isle of France, some of my friends, anxious for my safety, and perceiving in the enterprise only the ardour and temerity of inexperienced youth, endeavoured to dissuade me from it, by painting to me, in glowing colours, the distress and probable destruction I was preparing for myself and men. But, however friendly and considerate the advice, I felt myself more competent to judge of the risk than they were, and, consequently, disregarded them.\*

The vessel being all ready for sea on the 20th of September, 1797, was detained several days by the difficulty of procuring men. Those who were engaged one day would desert the next; and the dangerous character of the enterprise having been discussed and admitted among the seamen in port, I began to be seriously apprehensive that I might not succeed in procuring a crew. At length, however, with much difficulty, and some additional pay, I succeeded in procuring four men; and, having previously engaged a mate, our number was complete.

To delay proceeding to sea a moment longer than was necessary, would have been incurring a risk of the loss of my men, and the pay I had advanced them. Hence, I was induced to sail when appearances were very unpropitious. A strong north wind was blowing into the bay with such violence as already to have raised a considerable sea; but I flattered myself, that, as the sun declined, it would abate; that, if we could weather Cape Barfleur, we should make a lee wind down channel; and that, if this should be found impracticable, we could, at all events, return to Havre Roads, and wait there a more favourable opportunity.

With such impressions we sailed from Havre, on the 25th of September. A great crowd had

\* In conformity with a condition in the contract for the vessel, she was called the *Caroline*. We navigated with such papers only as our foreign consuls were, at that period, in the habit of giving on similar emergencies; the bill of sale and consular certificate attached, which were respected by the belligerents.

assembled on the pier-head to witness our departure, and cheered us as we passed. It was about noon, and we were under full sail; but we had scarcely been out two hours, when we were obliged to reduce it to a double-reefed mainsail, foresail, and second-sized jib. With the sail even thus diminished, the vessel, at times, almost buried herself; still, as every part of the equipment was new and strong, I flattered myself with being able to weather the Cape, and pressed forward through a sea in which we were continually enveloped, cheered with the hope that we had nothing worse to experience, and that we should soon be relieved by the ability to bear away and make a free wind. I was destined, however, to a sad disappointment; for the wind and sea having increased towards midnight, an extraordinary plunge into a very short and sharp sea completely buried the vessel, and, with a heavy crash, snapped off the bowsprit by the board. The vessel then luffed into the wind, in defiance of the helm, and the first shake or the foresail stripped it from the bolt rope.

No other alternative now presented, than to endeavour to regain the port of Havre; a task, under existing circumstances, of very difficult and doubtful accomplishment. The sea had increased in so great a degree, and ran so sharp, that we were in continual apprehension of having our decks swept. This circumstance, combined with the sea-sickness, which none escaped, retarded and embarrassed the operation of wearing round on the other tack. The violent motion of the vessel had also prevented the possibility of obtaining sleep; indeed, no person had been permitted to go below before the disaster, and none had the disposition to do so afterwards; but all were alert in the performance of their duty, which had for its immediate object the getting of the vessel's head pointed towards Havre.

This was at length effected; but, as we had no spar suitable for a jury bowsprit, we could carry only such part of our mainsail as was balanced by a jib, set in the place of a foresail. With this sail we made so much lee-way, that it was evident, as soon as daylight enabled me to form a judgment, that we could not reach Havre; nor was it less evident, that nothing but an abatement of the gale could save us from being stranded before night. With the hope of this abatement, the heavens were watched with an intensity of interest more easily imagined than described; but no favourable sign appeared, and before noon we had evidence of being to leeward of the port of Havre. We now cleared away the cables and anchors, and secured with battens the communications with the cabin and fore-castle. While thus engaged, the man at the masthead announced the appalling, but expected intelligence, of "breakers under the lee."

This information had the effect of an electric shock to rouse the crew from that apathy which was a natural consequence of twenty-four hours,



exposure to great fatigue, incessant wet and cold, and want of sleep and food; for we had not been able to cook any thing. The rapidity with which we were driven to leeward, soon made the breakers discernible on deck; and they were of such extent, as to leave us no choice whether we headed east or west, for the forlorn hope of being held by our anchors was all that remained to us. No one on board possessed any knowledge of the shore we were approaching; but our chart denoted it was rocky. It was easy to perceive, that to be thrown among rocks, by such a sea, must be the destruction of us all. Hence it was of the utmost importance to discover, and to anchor off, the part of the shore which appeared to be most free from rocks; and with this view the mate was looking out from the masthead. As he perceived an apparently clear beach east of us, and within our ability of reaching, we steered for it; and when the water was only six fathoms deep, we lowered our sails and came to anchor. But as our anchor dragged, a second was let go, which, for a moment only, brought the vessel head to the sea, when one cable parted; and as we were drifting rapidly with the other, we cut it, then hoisted the jib, and steered directly for the clear space in the beach. Going on with great velocity, on the top of a high breaker, we were soon enveloped in its foam, and in that of several others which succeeded. The vessel, however, notwithstanding she struck the ground with a violence which appeared sufficient to dash her to pieces, still held together, in defiance of this and several minor shocks; and, as the tide was falling, she soon became so still, and the water so shoal, as to enable us to go on shore.

As the alarm gun had been fired, the peasantry had come down in great numbers; and when they perceived us leaving the vessel, they ran into the surf, and, with such demonstrations of humanity and kindness as our forlorn situation was calculated to excite, supported us to the shore, which we had no sooner reached than they complimented us on the judicious selection we had made of a place to come on shore. And as it was now obvious to us, that if we had struck half a mile, either on one side or the other, from this spot, there would have been scarce a possibility of saving our lives.

We were fortunate, not only in the selection of the spot, but also in the circumstance of its being nearly high water when the vessel struck. The concurrence of two such circumstances turned the scale in my favour; and immediately after landing I was convinced that the vessel and cargo, though much damaged, would both be saved. When the tide had so fallen as to leave the vessel dry, the inhabitants showed no disposition to take advantage of our distress, by stipulating for a certain proportion of what they might save, before going to work; but, prompted by their humane feelings, set about discharging the vessel, in such numbers and

with such earnestness, that before sunset she was completely unloaded, and the cargo carried above high-water mark.

The gale, towards evening, had very much abated, and, before the next high-water, was fortunately succeeded by a calm and a great decrease of sea. In the mean time the leaks, made in the bottom, were stopped, as well as time and circumstances would permit; an anchor was carried as far as the retreat of the tide would admit, and the cable hove taut. Having made these dispositions, I engaged a pilot and a sufficient number of men to attend, at full tide, to heave the vessel off, and to endeavour to remove her into the river Orne, which was near by. The arrangements being made, I went with my men to an inn, in the neighbouring town of Oistreham, to get some refreshment, and to pass the night; compelled by exhaustion to place entire dependence on those who were strangers to us, for getting the vessel afloat, as well as to secure the cargo from being plundered.

Though worn out by fatigue and anxiety, my distress of mind was so great that I could not sleep. The thoughts, that I had contracted a debt which I might never be able to pay, that no insurance had been effected, that, without credit, I might be compelled to sacrifice what had been saved to defray the expenses incurred, and that my fortune and prospects were ruined, were so incessantly haunting my imagination, that the night rather added to than diminished my feelings of exhaustion.

The following morning I found the vessel lying safely in the river Orne; and men were also there, ready to make those temporary repairs which were indispensable to enable us to return to Havre. In the forenoon it was required of me to go to Caen (two or three miles distant) for the purpose of making the customary report to the municipal authorities, which was a business of very little intricacy and of very speedy accomplishment. An examination of the vessel and cargo satisfied me that the former could be repaired at a very trifling expense, and that the latter was not damaged to much amount. The alacrity to render us assistance, in the people of this place, from the beginning of our disaster, was extended to the period when, the cargo having been transported to the vessel and re-shipped, we were prepared to return to Havre.

As in case of vessels stranding, it seems to be a practice, sanctioned by long-established usage, (particularly on the other side of the Channel,) to consider the unfortunate as those abandoned by Heaven, from whom may lawfully be taken all that the elements have spared, I was prepared for a demand of salvage to a considerable amount. But in this expectation I found I had done great injustice to these good people; for, on presenting their account, it appeared they had charged no more than for ordinary labour, and that at a very moderate rate. It is a circumstance also very creditable to them, that

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Notwithstanding some packages of the cargo, of much value, and of such bulk as to be easily concealed, were in their possession, exclusively, for several days and nights, yet nothing was lost. Although these transactions are of a date so remote, that probably many of the actors herein have "ceased from their earthly labours," yet I never recall them to mind, without a feeling of compunction that I had not ascertained the names of the principals in the business, and made that public acknowledgment for the disinterested and important services rendered me, which gratitude, no less than justice, demanded. For this omission my perturbed state of mind is my only apology.

With a favourable wind for Havre, we proceeded for that port, where we arrived in about ten days after having sailed from there. The reception I met with at Havre, from my friend James Prince, Esq., of Boston, who was more largely interested in the adventure than any other individual excepting myself, was kind and friendly in the extreme, and tended to counteract the effects of my deep mortification, and to raise my spirits for the prosecution of the original plan. He relieved my anxiety relative to the means of defraying the expenses of repairs, by engaging to provide them. He gave me a room in his house; and while I was ill there (for this I did not escape), he facilitated my recovery by his care and kindness. With such attentions, my health was soon re-established, my spirits renewed, and I pursued the repairing and refitting the vessel with my accustomed ardour.

On examination of the cargo, it was found to be very little damaged. The vessel was considerably injured so near the keel, that it was necessary to lay her on blocks, where it was discovered that the lower plank was so much broken that several feet of it would require to be replaced with new. This being accomplished, the other repairs made, and the cargo again put on board, there was nothing to prevent proceeding immediately to sea, excepting a difficulty in procuring men, which seemed to be insurmountable. No one of my former crew, excepting a black man (George), would try it again. We had arrived at the close of the month of November; and each day's delay, by the advance of winter, increased the difficulty and danger of our enterprise. Indeed, the westerly gales were already of frequent occurrence; the nights had become long, and when I heard the howling winds and beating rain, and recollected what a frail boat I had to contend with them, I wished that my destiny had marked out for me a task of less difficult accomplishment.

Increased difficulties.—Four crews in three weeks.—Partial success.—Sails again from Havre.—Safe passage down Channel.—Pass Ushant.—Description of the crew.—The faithful negro, George.—His honesty and courage.—His remedy for the unsteadiness of the compass.—A study for Megarth.—George and the pig.—Dangerous encounter with the *Stag* frigate.—Arrival off Cadix.—A chase.—Boarded by a French Privateer.—Pass the Cape de Verde Islands.—Cross the Equator.—Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope.—Interview with the Admiral.—Surprise and curiosity of the inhabitants.—Suspected as French spies.—Introduction to the Governor.—Papers examined.—The vessel purchased by the Admiral.—Obstacles in disposing of the cargo.—The vessel dispatched for India, and never again heard of.—The author's detention at the Cape.

The difficulty of procuring men seemed to increase with each additional day's detention. Those whom I engaged one day, would desert the next, alarmed by some exaggerated story of our first attempt. In the course of three weeks, I shipped no less than four different men as mates, and as many different crews, and each, in turn, abandoned me. At length I procured an active and capable young seaman from Nantucket ship, one whom the captain recommended, as a mate, and another man and a boy in addition to George, who had held true to his engagement. I was desirous of procuring one more, but my attempt to do so was unsuccessful; and fearing that, by any delay for this purpose, I might lose those already on board, I sailed immediately.

Our expedition had become a subject of general conversation in the town; and the difficulty of getting away the Indian man (as she was called) was known to every one. The day, therefore, that we sailed, the pier-head was again thronged with people, who cheered us as we passed by, wishing us an *bon voyage*; but no small portion of them considered us as bound to certain destruction. It was now the twenty-first day of December; a season of the year when the loss of a few hours only of the easterly wind, then blowing, might be attended with disagreeable, if not disastrous consequences. We therefore set all our sail to improve it, and, while making rapid progress towards the channel, were brought to by a British frigate, commanded by Sir R. Strachan. The boarding officer was very civil. He declared our enterprise to be a very daring one; caused us as little detention as possible, and, returning to his ship, immediately made the signal that we might proceed.

It was soon very evident, that no person on board, excepting the mate and myself, was capable of performing the very common and indispensable business of steering; and though there was no doubt our men would soon learn, yet, in the mean time, we had the prospect before us of a tedious, though not very laborious,

course of duty. As the wind continued to be favourable, our passage down the channel was easy and expeditious; and the day after leaving Havre we passed by and in sight of the island of Ushant. We were now in a position to feel the full effect of the westerly gales, which are so prevalent at this season of the year; and, in order to have plenty of sea-room, in case of encountering one, I directed a course to be steered, which should carry us wide of Cape Ortegal.

A sufficient time had now elapsed, since leaving Havre, (it being the third day,) to give me a very tolerable knowledge of my crew; whose characters, peculiarities, and accomplishments were such, that a sketch of them may not be without interest to the reader. My mate, Reuben Barnes, was a young man of nineteen or twenty, a native of Nantucket, who having been engaged in the whale fishery, had profited by that excellent school to acquire, not only the knowledge of the seaman's profession, but also enough of the mechanic arts to fish a spar with dexterity, to caulk a seam, or to make a bucket or a barrel. The intelligence, activity, watchfulness, and adroitness of this young man relieved me from much anxiety and care; and in his conduct while with me, he evinced all the steadiness and fidelity which the recommendation he brought, as well as the place of his birth, had led me to expect.

Decidedly the most important personage of my foremast hands was the black man George, who had dared to embark on our second voyage, after having shared in the disasters of the first. In his appearance, capacity, and dialect, George was the veriest negro that can be imagined. For honesty, fidelity, and courage, he may have been equalled, but can never have been surpassed. He stood about six feet and three inches, was rather slender, very awkward, and of much more sable hue than common, but with an expression of countenance mild and pleasing. With simplicity of character approximating to folly, he united a degree of self-conceit, which led him to believe, that he could do whatever could be done by another, and, in some cases, to suppose he could make great improvements; an instance of which occurred before we had been out a week. In his previous voyages George had been cook, and had therefore nothing to do with the compass; but now, having to take his regular turn at steering, he was greatly puzzled with its unsteadiness. He could steer in the night with tolerable accuracy, by giving him a star by which to steer; but the compass appeared to him to be calculated only to embarrass. With a view of remedying this difficulty, George had taken off the cover to the till of his chest, on which having marked the points of the compass, and pierced a hole in the centre for the pivot, he brought it aft, and with great appearance of complacency, and expectation of applause, placed it on deck before the helmsman, with the proper point directed for-

ward to correspond with the course, and then exclaimed, "Dair, massa, dat compass be teady; George teer by him, well as anybody."

But this simplicity and conceit was more than redeemed by his tried fidelity, and heroic courage, of which the following is a remarkable instance. George had been a slave to some planter in Savannah; and one day, being in the woods with his master, they encountered an Indian, who was hunting. Some dispute arising, the Indian, having the advantage of being armed, threatened to shoot them. In consequence of this threat, they seized him and took away his gun; but after a little while, and with urgent entreaties and fair promises from him, they were induced to return it; first taking the precaution to dip it into water, to prevent an immediate use of it. This served again to rouse the anger of the Indian, who immediately took the readiest means for drying it. In the mean time George and his master had entered a canoe, and, pursuing their way in a narrow river or creek, had got a long distance from the spot where they left the Indian; when, on looking back, they perceived him running after them on the bank. On arriving abreast of them he immediately took aim, which George perceiving, threw himself, as a shield, between his master and the ball, and was so severely wounded, that his life was, for many weeks, despaired of. After a confinement of six months, he entirely recovered; and, as a reward, his master gave him his liberty.

At the time he engaged with me, he had been a sailor about two years, and had been so invariably cheated out of his wages, that he had no other means of clothing himself than the advance I paid him. Such treatment had been productive of a tinge of misanthropy; and it was not until after long acquaintance, that he gave me his entire confidence. As this acquaintance continued for many years, (even as long as he lived,) and as he was a sharer of my various adventures, I shall have frequent occasion to mention his name in connexion with my own, while narrating them.

My other man had been a Prussian grenadier. He had served in the army of the Duke of Brunswick, at the time of his invading Holland to restore the authority of the Stadtholder, and in other campaigns; but, having a dislike to the profession, he had deserted, and had been, about eighteen months, a sailor in English vessels. During this time he had not acquired such a knowledge of steering, that we could leave him at the helm without watching him; and, however brave he may have been in the ranks, he was the veriest coward imaginable, when called to the performance of duties aloft. In addition to this capacity, he possessed a most ungovernable temper; and, being a powerful man, we had considerable difficulty in keeping him, at all times, in a state of subordination; a difficulty which was, in some degree, augmented by his

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For several days after passing the Isle of Rhé, the wind was light from north-west and east-north-west, accompanied with a heavy swell from that quarter; and though our progress was, in consequence, slow, it was proportionally comfortable. Before we had reached the latitude of Cape Finisterre, the light wind, before which we had been sailing with all our canvass spread, died away, and left us, some hours, becalmed. During this time one of our dogs had got overboard, and was swimming away from the vessel. George, being an excellent swimmer, did not hesitate to go after him; but when he had caught him, at the distance from us of about twenty fathoms, a light puff of wind, termed by seamen a cat's-paw, took the dog aback, and suddenly increased our distance from George, who, perceiving it, and being alarmed, let go the dog, and swam for the vessel, crying out lustily, as he approached, "I dead, I dead." As he had not been long in the water, nor used such exertion as to cause extraordinary exhaustion, I was apprehensive that he might be attacked by a shark. We threw towards him a spar, and set immediately about clearing away the boat; but before we could be ready to launch it, George had seized the spar, and, by its aid, had succeeded in getting alongside. When taken on board he did not hesitate to express his belief, that our going from him was intentional, and that, had the breeze continued, we should have left him for the purpose of saving his wages. Nor was it until after long experience, and repeatedly receiving his wages, when due, that he would acknowledge that he had judged me erroneously.

As they came up with us, about five o'clock.



they gave such a shout of "*Bonne prise! bonne prise!*" as would be expected from banditti subject to no control; but I felt considerable relief in the persuasion, that, as their flag indicated, they were French, and not Spanish. After the shouting had ceased, I was ordered, in very coarse terms, to hoist out my boat and come on board with my papers. I replied, that I had not men sufficient to put out the boat. The order was reiterated, accompanied with a threat of firing into us. I then sent my men below, and waited the result, which was, that they got out their own boat. The officer, who came on board, I suppose to have been the captain himself, from the circumstance of his being a very intelligent man, and from my presence not being required on board the privateer. A cursory examination of our papers convinced him of our neutral character; and the exhibition of a passport, with a seal and signature of one high in authority in the French government, while it astonished, seemed also to satisfy him, that the less trouble and detention he gave us the better; as he immediately ordered his ruffians to desist from clearing away for opening the hatches, which they had already begun, and go on board their boat, where, after wishing me a good voyage, and regretting the detention he had caused, he joined them; and they returned to their privateer, and sailed in pursuit of other adventures.

The result of this rencontre was better than I had anticipated. Aware, as I was, of the general insubordination on board of vessels of this description, I had feared, that even if the chief had been disposed to prevent his men from plundering, it would not have been in his power; and I was much relieved by finding myself mistaken.

Pursuing a course for the Cape de Verde Islands, we came in sight of them, the thirtieth day from leaving Havre. It was my intention to stop at Port Praya, to obtain a supply of fruit and vegetables; but I was prevented by a gale of wind, in which we lay to, twelve hours, and had a fair opportunity of testing the good properties of the vessel for this important purpose. This was the only gale of any severity that we experienced during the passage; and, as evidence that it was of no inconsiderable violence, a ship came into the Cape of Good Hope, three days after our arrival there, which had lost her mizzenmast in the same gale.

It is well known to all who have crossed the ocean, and may easily be imagined by those who have not, that a passage at sea presents to the observer little else, from day to day, than the same unbounded, and (in tropical climes) unvaried horizon; the same abyss of waters, agitated, more or less, as it is acted upon by the wind; the same routine of duties to be performed on board, which, in the trade winds, have seldom even the ordinary excitement, caused by reducing and making sail; and when

this monotonous round is interrupted, by speaking a vessel, by catching a porpoise, or by seeing a whale, the incident is seized with avidity as an important item to be inserted in the ship's log-book, or journal of the day's transactions.

As our experience was of this kind, I had only to notice, that we crossed the equator at the longitude of 25°; and that we met with no occurrence worthy of note from the time of our leaving the Cape de Verde Islands to our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, excepting that, one night, when going before the wind with a strong breeze, the Prussian soldier brought over the main boom with such violence, as to part the sheet, and rouse all hands from their slumbers. As there was a considerable sea, it was not without great difficulty and risk that the boom was again secured.

After passing the equator, we discovered that one of our casks of water had nearly leaked out; and, having failed to fill up the empty ones, it was doubtful if we had sufficient to carry us to the Isle of France. This consideration and the desire of obtaining refreshments and a short respite from the fatigue and anxiety of such a passage, determined me to stop at the Cape; as I believed also that our cargo might be sold advantageously there.

Shaping our course accordingly, we came in sight of the Table Mount, on the 21st of March, 1798, just three months from the time of our leaving Havre. We were so near in before dark as to perceive, that we were signalled at the Lion's-head, but were not able to reach the anchorage until between nine and ten o'clock in the evening. We had scarcely dropped our anchor, when we were boarded by a man-of-war's boat; the officer of which, finding we were from France, immediately hurried me ashore, in my sea garb, to see the Admiral, (Sir Hugh C. Christian,) who, surrounded by a group of naval officers, appeared very earnest for such European news as I could give them. After passing nearly an hour with the Admiral, who treated me with great civility, and answering the many questions which were asked by the company, the officer, who took me from my vessel, was desired to convey me on board again: an hour having been previously named by the Admiral, at which I was to meet him, the next morning, at the government-house.

The arrival of such a vessel from Europe naturally excited the curiosity of the inhabitants of the Cape; and the next morning, being calm, we had numerous visitors on board, who could not disguise their astonishment at the size of the vessel, the boyish appearance of the master and mate, the queer and unique characters of the two men and boy who constituted the crew, and the length of the passage we had accomplished.

Various were the conjectures of the good people of the Cape, as to the real object of our

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enterprise. While some among them viewed it  
in its true light, that of a commercial speculation,  
others believed, that, under this mask, we were  
employed by the French government for the  
conveyance of their despatches: and some even  
went so far as to declare a belief, that we were  
French spies, and, as such, deserving of imme-  
diate arrest and confinement. Indeed, our en-  
terprise formed the principal theme of conversa-  
tion at the Cape, during the week subsequent to  
our arrival.

At the hour appointed I presented myself at  
the government-house, and was introduced to  
the Governor, Lord Macartney, in whose com-  
pany I found also the Admiral. There was so  
much urbanity and affability in the reception I  
met with from the Governor, as well as the Ad-  
miral, that it inspired me with confidence, and  
revented my feeling any embarrassment. The  
Governor very politely handed me a chair; and,  
seated between these two distinguished men, I  
was prepared to answer, to the best of my know-  
ledge, such questions as they should ask me, and  
to give them all the late information respecting  
European affairs, that my residence in that  
country, and my recent departure, enabled me  
to do. It was just at this period that the flotilla  
were assembling, in the ports of the Channel,  
for the invasion of England; and on this sub-  
ject, in particular, they were very earnest to ob-  
tain information; seeming to be not without  
apprehension that an invasion was really in-  
tended. While I related to them what had  
come under my own observation with regard to  
the preparation, and what I had heard from  
others, I expressed to them my belief, founded  
on the desperate nature of the undertaking, that  
nothing more was intended by it than to keep  
England in a state of alarm, and to cause a cor-  
responding increase of expenses.

Having interrogated me to their satisfaction  
in the political affairs of France, they adverted  
to the more humble business of the object of  
my enterprise, which the Admiral did not hesi-  
tate to declare he believed to be for the convey-  
ance of despatches for the French government;  
and, in this belief, informed me that he should  
take measures to prevent my going to the Isle  
of France. At the same time, and as an addi-  
tional evidence of this persuasion, he had or-  
dered that a search should be made on board  
my vessel for the supposed despatches, and that  
all the papers and letters found on board should  
be brought to him. Consequently, my journal,  
book of accounts, and private letters and papers,  
were submitted to his inspection; and the letters  
I had for French gentlemen in the Mauritius  
were all broken open.

On the conclusion of my visit to the Governor,  
who gave me permission to dispose of my cargo  
here if I desired, I went to the house of an old  
acquaintance, where I had lodged in a former  
voyage, and in what he considered more propi-  
tious times. Both he and his family seemed

glad to see me, and invited me to take up my  
lodgings there again; but the safety of my ves-  
sel required my presence on board not less in  
port than at sea, and I therefore declined.

The day following, my papers and letters  
were returned to me by the secretary of the Ad-  
miral; and I was surprised by a proposition from  
him for the purchase of my vessel. I delayed  
giving an answer until the next day; and, in  
the mean time, my inquiries led me to believe  
that my cargo would sell advantageously; but  
there was nothing but specie, which would an-  
swer my purpose to take away for it, and this  
was prohibited. With a provision for the re-  
moval of this difficulty, and a good price for my  
vessel, I was prepared to negotiate with the se-  
cretary. Meeting him, therefore, at the time  
appointed, and being both what in trade is called  
off-hand men, we soon closed the bargain, by  
his engaging to pay me, on delivery of the Caro-  
line and stores, five thousand Spanish dollars,  
and to obtain for me permission to export ten  
thousand. This so far exceeded the cost of the  
vessel, and was even so much more than I had  
expected to receive at the Isle of France, that I  
considered myself already well indemnified for  
all my trouble and anxiety.

As the Admiral was pressing to have the ves-  
sel discharged, &c. was my intention to land the  
cargo next day on my own account; but, in the  
mean time, I contracted with the merchant, at  
whose house I now resided, for the whole of it,  
at a moderate advance on the invoice; it being  
agreed that he was to pay the duties, the ex-  
pense of landing, &c. My spirits were now much  
elevated with my success, and with the prospect  
of soon being rid of the Caroline, and of the  
care inseparable from having such a vessel so  
circumstanced.

But I was allowed but a short period to my  
exultation; new and alarming difficulties await-  
ed me, of which I had no suspicion, and which  
were more harassing than the dangers of the  
winds and the waves. It appeared, that the  
duties on entries at the custom-house were a  
per centage on the invoice, and that it was a  
very common practice with the merchants to  
make short entries. The purchaser was aware  
that, to stand on equal footing with other mer-  
chants, he must do as they did; but he seems  
not to have reflected, that, being known to be  
more hostile to the English government than  
any other individual at the Cape, he would be  
rigidly watched, and, if detected, would have  
less indulgence than any other. The conse-  
quence was a detection of the short entry, and  
seizure of vessel and cargo. The merchant  
went immediately, in a supplicating mood,  
to the collector, in the hope of arranging the affair  
before it should become generally known; but  
it was all in vain.

The only alternative which seemed now to be  
left me, was to appeal to the highest authority;  
and I determined to write to Lord Macartney,

and prove to him that, by my contract for the sale of the cargo, the duties were not to be paid by me, and that consequently I should have derived no benefit, had the attempt for evading them succeeded; but that, on the other hand, if the vessel and cargo were to be confiscated, I should be the sufferer, as it was doubtful if the merchant could make good the loss. I hoped that he might thus be induced to advise a less severe course than the collector intended to pursue. But how to write a suitable letter embarrassed me. I had no friend with whom to advise. I was entirely ignorant of the manner of addressing a nobleman; and at the same time was aware of the necessity of doing it with propriety. In this dilemma, I remembered to have seen, in an old magazine on board, some letters addressed to noblemen. These I sought as models; and they were a useful guide to me. After I had completed my letter in my best hand, and enclosed it in a neat envelope, I showed it to the Admiral's secretary, who appeared to be friendly to me. He approved of it, and advised my taking it myself to his lordship immediately.

As the schoolboy approaches his master after having played truant, so did I approach Lord Macartney on this occasion. I delivered my letter to him; and, after hastily reading it, he sternly said, "he could not interfere in the business; there were the laws, and if they had been infringed, the parties concerned must abide the consequence;" but added, "he would speak to the collector on the subject." This addition, delivered in rather a milder tone, led me to encourage the hope that the affair would not end so disastrously as it left entirely to the discretion of the collector. Nor were my hopes unfounded; as, the next day, the vessel, and that part of the cargo yet remaining on board, were restored to me; while the portion in possession of the collector was to be adjudged in the fiscal court, where it was eventually condemned, to the amount of about two thousand dollars.\* The success of my letter was a theme of public conversation in the town, and was the means of procuring me the acquaintance of several individuals of the first respectability.

The delay caused by this controversy with the collector, was unfavourable to the views of the Admiral, who began to evince symptoms of impatience, and would probably have taken out the cargo with his own men, if we had not set about it with earnestness, as soon as the vessel was released from seizure. Having, the day following, completed the unloading, I delivered the vessel to the officer who was authorised to take possession. In two days after she was expedited, with a lieutenant and competent number of men (I believe for India); and, in a subsequent voyage, I learned that she had never been heard of afterwards. It is probable, that the officer in

charge, having been accustomed only to large and square-rigged vessels, was not aware of the delicacy of management which one so small and differently rigged required; and to this her loss may be attributed.

The various drawbacks on my cargo, arising from seizure, some damage, and some abatement, reduced the net proceeds to about the original cost. This, with the amount of the vessel, I collected in Spanish dollars, making together, after my various disbursements, the sum of eleven thousand dollars, which I kept in readiness to embark in the first vessel that should enter the bay on her way to India or China. I was obliged, however, to wait several months before any such chance offered. In the mean time, my long residence and leisure at the Cape afforded me the opportunity of becoming acquainted with many families, and of visiting many places in the vicinity of Cape Town.

### CHAPTER III.

Remarkable formation of the Cape.—Fine appearance of Cape Town from Table Bay.—Amusement from clouds of sand.—The Devil's Tablecloth.—Disastrous effects of westerly gales.—Wreck of the *Sceptile*, British man-of-war.—Destruction and subsequent loss of the *Jefferson*.—Climate of the Cape.—Manners and customs of the inhabitants.—Excursion to Simon's Bay.—Constantia, and its wine.—Sugar-loaf Hill.—Rascaldence of the signal-man.—Difficult ascent of Table Mountain.—View from its summit.—Perilous descent, and safe return.

The formation of this Cape is so remarkable, as to make a lasting impression on the memory of those who have once seen it. The group of lofty and steep hills, called the Devil's Mount, the Table Land, the Sugar-loaf, and the Lion's Rump, form a barrier on the south and the east sides of the town, which appears almost impassable. On a plain, at the foot of these hills, and on the border of Table Bay, is situated the beautiful town of the Cape. It presents a fine appearance when seen from the bay, and seems to possess all that neatness which is an acknowledged characteristic of the Dutch. The streets are parallel to each other, and are kept very clean. There is a large square for a parade-ground, at the north part of the town, which is bounded by a canal bordered with a double row of trees. The Company's Garden, as it is called, is a space of fifteen or twenty acres on the east side of the town. It is enclosed by a wall, and laid out in handsome walks, and forms one of the most delightful lounges in the world. In a retired part of this garden, and almost hidden with trees, is the residence of the governor. Most of the houses consist of two stories, and are covered with plaster, which being whitewashed ever,

\* As a favour to the merchant, I consented to share the loss with him.

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During the summer months the inhabitants  
are greatly annoyed by the clouds of sand which  
are raised by the south-east wind, which is often  
violent as to compel them to keep within  
doors, and penetrates into all the crevices of  
doors and windows which have not been care-  
fully closed. These gales, which last two or  
three days, are followed by calms and light variable  
winds for the same length of time. During  
these gales, and for some time before, the  
coast of the Table Land is enveloped in thick  
mists, which the people of the Cape call the  
Table's Table cloth. Although these winds are  
often so violent as to prevent communication  
with the shipping in the bay, yet they are rarely  
cause of any disaster. Not so with the  
westerly gales which prevail in the months of  
June, July, and August, and bring in a sea which  
is impossible to resist.

A melancholy instance of the power of these  
gales was seen in the loss of the English sixty-  
gun ship *Scipio*, with nearly all her crew.  
A Dutch East Indiaman were exclusively con-  
fined to the use of Simon's Bay at this season of  
the year. In times of peace it was common for  
vessels of all nations, on their way to and  
from India, to touch at this place for refresh-  
ments; and then almost every house was open  
to the reception of the captains and officers for  
moderate compensation. But the vexations  
occasioned by neutral commerce at this period,  
were enough to discourage most navigators from  
visiting there. While I was there, the ship  
from Boston was compelled to come in,  
after having been six months on her way from  
London to India. The suspicions of the govern-  
ment were roused; and, not satisfied with the  
examination of the log-book and papers, they  
detained her to be entirely unladen. And although  
she was at length released, yet before she could  
sail away, a gale came on from the west, in which  
she went ashore and was totally lost.

The climate of the Cape is very healthy,  
and blessing many of the inhabitants attribute  
the prevalence of the high winds; yet it is  
surprised, that instances of longevity are very  
rare, and that few old persons are met with. The  
free citizens are, for the most part, hospitable,  
friendly, and affable. A love of ease and relaxa-  
tion, and an aversion to much activity of body  
and mind, are striking characteristics in the men.  
The ladies are generally very pretty, have fine  
complexions, graceful and pleasing manners, and  
elevated minds. The invariable and universal  
cause of a midnight silence and seclusion  
for the two or three hours immediately succeed-  
ing dinner. All the domestics, and most of the  
free mechanics, are slaves; and, as far as I had an  
opportunity of observing, they are treated  
with more humanity than is generally supposed.  
withstanding the increase of buildings, and  
the rise in value of real estate, as well as various

other advantages felt by the inhabitants since  
they submitted to the English government, there  
was, nevertheless, observable in many an im-  
pudence of a foreign yoke, a feeling of being a con-  
quered people, and a sense of degradation, which  
was very natural, and which would not be easily  
effaced, even under the mild and equitable go-  
vernment of the English.

In company with a native merchant I made  
an excursion to Simon's Bay, and to the pretty  
estate of Constantia. Not being able to procure  
lodgings on shore, we passed a night on board  
an American ship, which, together with several  
English men-of-war and Indiamen, was lying for  
security in Simon's Bay. At Constantia we  
were entertained with great hospitality and po-  
liteness by the proprietor, who showed us every  
part of his beautiful estate, which, for extreme  
neatness, as well as for profit, is unrivalled. The  
wine made at this place is well known in Europe  
and in the United States; though it is said that  
more than treble the quantity produced on this  
estate is annually sold under the name of Con-  
stantia. Its peculiar flavour is attributed to the  
properties of the soil; all attempts to produce  
the same elsewhere have failed.

An excursion to the flag-staff on Sugar-loaf  
Hill was an afternoon's labour of no easy ac-  
complishment. Before reaching the top, there  
are several perpendicular precipices of ten to  
fifteen feet to climb; and ropes are fastened to  
bolts, inserted in the rocks, to aid the ascent.  
The man who is stationed here to signal the ap-  
proach of vessels, is provided with a small brass  
cannon and several flags; the former to announce  
a sail in the horizon, and, at the same time, to  
attract the attention of the citizens; the latter  
to denote the kind of vessel and the nation to  
which she belongs. By these means, informa-  
tion of the approach of a vessel is given many  
hours before her arrival in the bay. The habi-  
tation of this man is so confined, that his resi-  
dence there would be considered a cruel punish-  
ment, were it not voluntary. It is a mere dog-  
kennel, partly formed by the rock and partly  
artificial, but barely sufficient to shelter one per-  
son, in a sitting posture, from the rays of the  
sun and from the inclemency of the weather.  
The greatest interior space does not exceed five  
feet, from the den to the perpendicular precipice.  
A slave brings him his daily provisions and  
water; and this is the only opportunity the re-  
cluse has for conversation during the day. My  
visit was, therefore, considered by him as a kind  
of godsend, for which he appeared to be very  
grateful, and which he begged me to repeat.

The excursion over the Table Mountain, which  
is three thousand five hundred and eighty-two  
feet above the level of the ocean, was an under-  
taking of such labour as to require the greater  
part of a day to perform it. It was advisable  
also, on many considerations, to make up a party  
for the purpose. Accordingly, having engaged  
the mate of the *Jefferson*, and my own mate, to



accompany me, we set out together on a fine, clear morning, provided with refreshments, but without a guide; not doubting, with the information given us, of being able to find our way. We met with no embarrassment in reaching the chasm, on one side of which were the craggy and irregular steps, by which only we could work our way to the top. The task was arduous, and required two hours of great exertion for its accomplishment. The day continued to be very clear; and the view amply repaid the toil of the ascent. It was limited on the north by high, irregular, and distant mountains; on the south and east by the ocean, and an horizon greatly extended; on the west was the bay with its shipping, diminished to the size of such toys as children play with; and immediately beneath us was the town, its gardens and streets distinctly seen, though its inhabitants could not be distinguished with the unaided eye.

A large part of the day was passed in rambling about the top of the mountain, and enjoying the extensive and beautiful views from it; and the time had arrived to think of descending. Desirous of returning by a different route, I attempted to find a new one in the chasm, which, from the imperfect view I could take of it, resembled the path we had ascended. But the better to satisfy myself, with great difficulty and imminent danger of falling, I climbed down a precipice of about twelve feet, and found myself upon a bridge formed by the falling away of the rock within the chasm, and extending across about twenty feet. Its width varied from two to four feet; and it seemed, where narrowest, as if an additional weight would cause it to give way. On either side, and beneath this bridge, was an abyss of which I could scarcely see the bottom; it being fifteen hundred, or, perhaps, two thousand feet deep. I now saw plainly that I must return by the way I came; as, at the other end of the bridge, the height was the same, and the rocks jutted over. I made known to my companions my perilous situation, and that a slip in climbing must be attended with certain destruction. In order, therefore, to help me up again, Mr. Barnes lay on the ground, and held his jacket over the precipice, while the mate of the Jefferson held Barnes to prevent his being pulled over. With this management, and the scanty support I could find for my feet, I succeeded in gaining the summit, and in escaping from a situation so perilous that, even at this day, I do not recur to it without shuddering. After this I attempted no more to find a new way, but descended as we had come up; and, before sunset, arrived at my lodgings very much fatigued.

## CHAPTER IV.

The author embarks for Batavia, accompanied by the negro.—Chased by a cruiser.—Rapid voyage.—Lands at Batavia.—Traces of its former splendour.—Prevalence of fevers.—The Chinese population.—Cheapness of provisions.—Safe anchorage.—Abundance of sharks and alligators.—Consequent danger of bathing.—Embarkation for Canton.—Pleasures of the voyage.—Arrival at Macao.—Encounters a typhoon.—Proceeds to Wampoa.—Reaches Canton.—A disappointment.—Purchase of an English cutter.—The factories at Canton.—Shrewdness of the native merchants.—Number of mendicants.—Their devices for extorting alms.—Chinese idolatry.—The sacred hogs.—Attempt to enter Canton.—Opposition, and retreat.

More than four months had elapsed since my arrival at the Cape; and during that period, no opportunity had offered for India. My impatience to be away was now so great, that I determined to embrace any chance that presented itself for going to the East, without regard to the particular place; and, on the first of August, the brig *Betsy* having touched in the bay, in a short passage from Baltimore, bound to Batavia, I embarked in this vessel, taking with me the proceeds of my vessel and cargo in Spanish dollars. I was accompanied by my black man George, for whom I had contracted an attachment, which was evidently reciprocal.

The day after leaving the Cape, we had a strong westerly wind and a considerable sea, and, at noon, while making rapid progress on our way, we discovered a brig standing on a wind across us, which we had reason to suppose was a cruiser. As our vessel was a remarkably swift sailer, we decided not to submit to the trouble and detention which a visit would cause, and therefore kept steadily on our course, which being towards him, induced the belief that we intended to speak him, and prevented the preparation he would have made, had he known our intention. When just clear of gun-shot, we altered our course two points; on seeing which he immediately fired, and instantly set about getting up top-gallant masts and yards, and crowding all sail after us; but it was like the tortoise in pursuit of the hare. Before dark his hull was not to be seen.

We had a continuance of the strong westerly winds until we entered the trades, south of the island of Java; and our arrival at Batavia, on the first of September, in only thirty days from the Cape, was a circumstance so extraordinary, that it required the confirmation of letters which we carried to convince the governor of the fact.

I took rooms at the great public hotel; and here, as well as in other buildings in the city, there were traces of the splendour which had attended the better days of the Dutch East India Company. The spacious rooms were painted in a tawdry but expensive manner, in red and gold or blue and gold. The furniture was as massive

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and costly as it could be made; a band of a  
 ten slaves always played during dinner; and  
 a multitude of servants, shabbily dressed, were  
 attendance. Every thing about the establish-  
 indicated an attempt at magnificence, which  
 but ill-supported by the present state of  
 each commerce.

Most of the strangers who then visited Batavia  
 re Americans; and there were few or none of  
 whose appetites required the stimulus of  
 and, or who had sufficient taste for oriental  
 eries, to be willing to contribute to them  
 other than custom rendered necessary.

Batavia is built on a flat, which extends ten  
 twelve leagues. Most of its streets have  
 ls of stagnant water, which are, doubtless,  
 among the causes of the fevers so prevalent  
 e; as these are avoided by taking a residence  
 or six miles in the country. The houses  
 generally are built of brick, plastered and white-  
 ed; and the apartments are spacious and  
 adapted to the climate. But, notwith-  
 ing all their luxuries, most of the residents  
 , by their pallid countenances and emaci-  
 figures, that they are sacrificing health to  
 Yet the certainty of this does not prevent  
 aturers from seeking their fortunes there,  
 arently blinded to consequences by the eager-  
 of pursuit.

The Chinese constitute much the largest and  
 industrious part of the population. They  
 hit the suburbs, and are said to amount to  
 ty or eighty thousand. The domestics are  
 pally Malay slaves, and are considered  
 less docile than the Africans. The market  
 atavia is well supplied with all the delicious  
 which are peculiar to the tropical cli-  
 . Pine-apples in particular are very abun-  
 and so cheap, that a hundred may be  
 ed for a dollar. Animal food, beef and  
 on particularly, is, as in most tropical  
 ries, generally poor, and without flavour.  
 are very abundant and cheap. The na-  
 here, as in India, live principally on rice,  
 is very cheap, and much cultivated. The  
 is spacious; and the ships ride with safety  
 in, screened from the only wind which  
 injure them by seventeen or eighteen very  
 y islands, which are not less ornamental  
 serviceable. The alligators and sharks are  
 numerous; and instances are related of  
 being upset on the bar, and their whole  
 s devoured by them.\* Those whom busi-  
 shall lead to Batavia, for there can be no  
 inducement, will remain there no longer  
 is absolutely necessary.

was very evident, soon after my arrival,  
 I need only be detained until I could take  
 ge for China; for, though the comparative  
 of the produce of the island here and in the

It would, therefore, be the extreme of rash-  
 to bathe in the bay, though the heat renders  
 desire of doing so very strong.

United States offered a profit of one and a half  
 to two capitals, yet there was no one of the  
 several vessels lying here which could take  
 freight, all having sufficient capital to lade on  
 their own account. If I could have invested the  
 amount of my property in a freight of coffee for  
 the United States, I should have made a very  
 short and lucrative voyage. But my efforts  
 proving unsuccessful to effect this, I took advan-  
 tage of an opportunity which was offered in the  
 ship *Swift*, of New York, for Canton, after  
 having spent ten days at Batavia. For I was  
 well aware, that though I might not be able to  
 ship such bulky articles as coffee or sugar, there  
 was no doubt of my finding room enough for the  
 fabrics of China, in which a much greater capital  
 than I possessed could be invested so as to oc-  
 cupy but a small space.

Having removed my baggage and specie from  
 the *Betsy* to the *Swift*, we sailed next morning,  
 the 12th of September, for Canton, in company  
 with two of the Danish East India Company's  
 ships, the commander of which agreed to keep  
 company with us through the straits of Barca,  
 for mutual security against any attack of the  
 Malay pirates. Our ships sailed so nearly alike,  
 that no day passed when we were not within  
 speaking distance; and when the weather was  
 fine, and the sea smooth, which was often the  
 case, we exchanged visits. The commodore had  
 a band on board, and in the bright moonlight  
 evenings, when the breeze was only sufficient to  
 keep the sails from flapping against the masts,  
 and the ripple of the ship's passage through the  
 water scarcely heard, the music of this band  
 was so delightful, that it even now brings back  
 the most pleasing associations whenever memory  
 retraces the incidents of this passage.

We were compelled by calms and the darkness  
 of the night to anchor two or three times in the  
 straits of Barca, but met with no embarrassment  
 from pirates, or from rocks and shoals. It was,  
 however, apparent, that although we had taken  
 care to keep well to the eastward, we only se-  
 cured our passage; having taken the north-east  
 wind so many days before our arrival, that we  
 with difficulty gained the anchorage in Macao  
 roads. The three ships arrived at this place  
 within a few hours of each other, after a passage  
 of thirty-one days from Batavia.

The Danish ships, having agents at Macao,  
 procured pilots and proceeded to Wampoa with-  
 out delay; but we were not so fortunate as to  
 obtain a pilot, and were obliged, in consequence,  
 to wait a week in the roads. During this period  
 we encountered a typhon, which blew with such  
 violence, and caused such a sea, that, although  
 our yards and topmasts were struck, we parted  
 a cable, lost an anchor, and were in danger of  
 being driven out to sea; but, after drifting  
 several miles, finally brought up with the other  
 anchor. After the weather became settled, it  
 was judiciously determined by the captain to  
 remain no longer in so exposed a situation; and,

having procured a fisherman to pilot us as far as Anson's Bay, which is a safe anchorage at the entrance of the river Tigris, we arrived and anchored there without further embarrassment.

Here Captain White received a letter from the captain of the Ontario, a ship belonging to the same owners, informing him of his safe arrival at Wampoa, and the exertions he was making to send him a pilot. He mentioned that he was in want of a first and second officer. This circumstance appeared to offer a favourable opening for me; inasmuch as, if I could obtain the chief mate's office, the privilege attached to it would ensure the transport of all my property. I therefore settled it in my mind that this was my destination. Having waited three days more, and no pilot appearing, Captain White determined to go up to Wampoa in his own boat; and I accompanied him. Soon after leaving the ship we were overtaken by a heavy shower, which wet us completely through. When above second bar, towards evening, the tide set so strong against us, that, perceiving we made no headway, we determined to go on board a large Swedish ship, then lying at the bar, and there wait the return of the flood. We were received with great hospitality, and during our visit, were treated with as much kindness as if we had been conferring rather than receiving a benefit. We remained with these friendly people until ten o'clock in the evening, when the tide having turned, we took leave, and pursued our course towards Wampoa, but unfortunately, by mistaking our course and getting into a wrong branch of the river, were out all night, and did not arrive on board the Ontario before eight o'clock in the morning. A good breakfast renewed our energies for pursuing our course to Canton, where I was the more anxious to arrive, from the fear that the office I sought might be filled by another before my arrival. We started, therefore, as soon as the flood-tide came in. Arriving at the Ontario's factory, I had the mortification to learn from the commander, that he had engaged an officer only the day previous. Thus this resource failed me. As I had confidently counted upon it, and as fancy had been busy in anticipating a meeting with my friends at home under such favourable circumstances, my disappointment was very great.

The next plan was to freight my property in some one of the American ships; a thing usually of very easy accomplishment, but, at this time, it was not practicable at such a rate as I felt myself warranted in paying. It then occurred to me that I might obtain a small premium on my money to Calcutta, and that there I should be able to lay in an investment for the United States, and freight it from thence on better terms than I could make here. With this impression I was contracting with the captain of the country ship Zoroaster, to let him have my money on *respondentia*, and to embark with him for Calcutta. But before definitely closing this

negociation, a little English cutter arrived at Wampoa from the north-west coast of America and was offered for sale. This suggested to me an enterprise which would be attended with great difficulties and dangers, but which offered a prospect of fortune in proportion. As my means alone were not sufficient to buy this vessel and to put in a cargo suitable for a voyage to the north-west coast, I engaged the assistance of Messrs D. Green and E. Townsend, of New Haven, and purchased this cutter, of about fifty tons burden—two-thirds for my account and one-third for theirs—having abandoned my Calcutta plan. She was called the Dragon; but as my papers were for the Caroline, I changed her name accordingly. From the remnants of the cargo of a Boston vessel, returned from the north-west coast, and such articles as I could procure from the shops at Canton, I made up a very suitable investment to the amount of nine thousand dollars.

By the time I was ready to sail on this enterprise, nearly three months had elapsed since my arrival at Canton, during which period my expenses had been moderate, from having the good fortune of associating myself with the inmates of the Elizabeth's factory. The factories are handsome houses, built in the European style, on the margin of the river, for the accommodation of those who have business to transact at Canton. They are generally of two stories, the lower being used as warehouse. They are whitewashed, and, with their respective national flags displayed on a high staff before them, make a very pretty appearance. In former times the ships came and returned with the regularity of the monsoons; and the resident supercargoes, during their absence, were not permitted to remain at Canton, but removed to the Portuguese town of Macao. This routine has of late years been broken up by the disregard of etiquette and the established season on the part of the Americans, who, coming and going all the year round, have inverted all the ancient rules of doing business at Canton.

In the rear of the factories, and spreading on either side, are the houses and shops of the merchants and mechanics who derive their support from trading with foreigners; a dense and active population, who evince a shrewdness in their dealings not surpassed by those strangers who traffic with them, and who are too apt to treat them with contempt. The police of the portion of the community is so lax, that petty thefts are very common, and rarely punished. An additional evidence of this laxity is manifested in the occasional practice of beggars who extort alms from the shopkeepers by covering themselves with a coat of the most filthy odour, and thus rendering themselves so disgusting, that the shopkeepers, to prevent their coming in, stand ready at the door with the contribution. Great numbers of the poor population are born, reared, and die in small boats.

the cutter arrived at the west coast of America. This suggested to me that I should attend with great interest to which offered employment. As my means were small, I engaged this vessel and took a voyage to the north-west coast, with the assistance of Messrs. J. & C. New Haven, and about fifty tons burden. I was to receive one-third for my Calcutta passage; but as my papers were not in order, I changed her name to the "Hesperia," and sent her to the north-west coast of America, where I could procure from the natives a very suitable quantity of nine thousand dollars.

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twelve to fifteen feet long, which have a bamboo covering to screen them from the sun from the inclemency of the weather; and no other part of the world, perhaps, is it so fully demonstrated in how little space, and on so slender means, man may subsist.

The Chinese are decided idolaters, and have annual show and procession for propitiating evil demon. They have numerous houses of worship, in which are kept images of gods, which, in some respects, those of the most famous nations of Indians. At one of these, on the opposite side of the river, were several of the priesthood, whose dress bore some resemblance to that of Franciscan friars, and whose business was principally to take care of sacred hogs. These were about twenty in number, and were in an enclosure. They are not killed, but are left to die in the regular course of time; and several of them were so unsteady, that it was not without great difficulty, they could move themselves a few feet one way or other.

the pertinacity with which the Chinese adhere to the ancient practice of interdicting to strangers entrance to their city, is still undiminished. When, in one of my excursions, I came near to the gate, and observing no one on duty to prevent the entrance of strangers, I walked in, and proceeded a distance of about thirty feet, when a hue and cry was made; and a dozen men came running up to me, and, with earnest and violent gestures, pointed to the gate, indicated, by signs that could not be mistaken, that I must return. I did not hesitate to comply with wishes so clearly manifested, and the power of enforcing them was so apparent. Within the wall I saw nothing in the appearance of the streets and houses differing from those without; and I am induced to believe that the rigour, in forbidding access to foreigners, arises from the observance of the narrow Asiatic jealousy with regard to the natives. Of the characters manners, customs, and habits of the Chinese, so much better access is given by those who have had greater opportunities of observing, that I shall not attempt to describe them.

## CHAPTER V.

doubtful character. — The negro appointed  
 ward. — Violence of the monsoon. — Difficulties  
 supposed impracticability of the voyage.  
 departure from Anson's Bay. — Want of charts.  
 strength of the currents. — Difficulty of getting to  
 ward. — Dangerous rocks and breakers.  
 stuck on a sunken ledge. — Carried off by the  
 strong tide. — Come to anchor for wood and water.  
 A trip on shore. — Curiosity of the natives.  
 meeting prospects. — A storm. — Sudden appear-  
 ance of a breaker. — Miraculous escape. — A C



For I was persuaded that the small size of my vessel would enable me to keep up near the shore, as sometimes to have a favourable current; to be protected, occasionally, by a projecting point, from the roughness of the sea; and to come to anchor when it appeared that we were making ground. The attempt, I was aware, was an arduous and a hazardous one; and as its impracticability I was assured, by some of the most experienced navigators of those seas. But I considered that a failure, by arriving too late on the coast, would be equally disastrous with any misfortune that could arise from making the attempt. I was also the more encouraged to make the trial, as I could not learn that it had ever been attempted at the same season of the year; consequently, that my advisers were not deterred in deciding so confidently that it was impracticable.

With such impressions, with my vessel well equipped, and with a crew whose appearance made it difficult to believe that most of them had not been familiar with error, I sailed from Anson's Bay, on the 10th of January, 1809, in the morning. Traversing a strong breeze, we passed across bays, at four P.M., at a long distance from the shipping, fearing we might be brought to, and our men taken off. During the night we passed between the Lepia Islands, and very near to one of them; which I ventured to do, from the local knowledge possessed by the chief mate. The inconvenience arising from the want of a chart of the coast and islands was immediately experienced. The small and imperfect one I possessed was not of the least use, and hence our utmost vigilance was constantly required. In the morning and forenoon of the 11th, we made several tacks on and on; but the current was so strong against us, that notwithstanding we had a fresh breeze and smooth sea, we gained nothing to windward; and as we had not been able to complete our watering and wooding at Anson's Bay, we went in and anchored near a small fishing town for this purpose.

Here we were soon visited by as great a number of the inhabitants as boats could be found to convey. Both old and young, of either sex, came off to see the *Pangas*, as they called us. Among them was one who spoke the Portuguese language; and who, for a moderate compensation, procured for us the supply we required. In the meantime the numbers had greatly increased, and evinced a strong desire to come on board. As it would have been very imprudent to permit this, I found myself obliged to station men in different parts of the vessel, with board-spears, to keep them off.

In the afternoon, the current appearing to have diminished, we weighed anchor, and proceeded, towards evening, that we had gained considerably; but, as there were appearances of bad weather, and we were advent a deep bay which promised a shelter, we ran in and came to

anchor, and thus escaped the fatigue and danger of a stormy night at sea. From eight o'clock in the morning till late in the afternoon of the 12th, our efforts to gain to windward were ineffectual; indeed, when was the force of the current, that we could not reach the place we had laid in the morning; and the succeeding night, it being calm, we were obliged to be at anchor until the next day (13th); having, but a light breeze, we used our sweeps; by means of which, and keeping close in shore, we advanced a little. In heading through a narrow strait, formed by a point of the coast and a small island, against which the sea broke with great fury; and at the critical moment, when passing not more than fifteen yards to windward, the peak balyards slipped from the pin to which they were belayed, and the peak of the mainmast ran down. As all hands were in deck, we instantly hoisted again; but such was the force of the swell, the wind being light, that before we had got by we were thrown so near the rock as to reach it with an ear. After this escape we stood out to sea, with the wind from east-north-east, blowing in the night very strong, which caused a considerable increase of sea. This obliged us to carry a press of sail, and presently our jib split; we then reefed the mainmast set a second-sized jib, and a little after midnight tacked in shore.

At daylight of the 14th, we were not a little elated to find ourselves considerably to windward of the place we left the last evening, notwithstanding a rough sea. We continued our day successfully sailing to windward, and in the evening, it being calm, we anchored in fifteen fathoms. All day of the 15th, we had light air and calms by turns; so that when we could gain nothing by the help of our sweeps, we anchored; and when the breeze came, weighed again. By these means we advanced, though slowly, and with much labour.

In the forenoon of the 16th, the weather being calm, we rowed in shore, and anchored under the lee of an island, and near a very extensive sandy beach, not far from a fishing town. The inhabitants soon came off to us, and I engaged one of them to take our empty water-casks ashore and fill them, and to bring us a supply of oranges. Of others I purchased, at a moderate price, some very good fish. These people were better dressed, and were more civil than those who visited us on the 11th; and, when we were leaving them, requested a paper, describing the vessel and our destination.

On the 17th it was apparent that we had arrived at a shoaler, and consequently more dangerous part of the coast than we had hitherto been navigating; and could not, therefore, without great risk, work along shore at night, as we had done. The wind was very light during the day, but towards evening freshened so much, to make it necessary to reef the sails. We stood off shore till two o'clock on the morning

the fatigue and danger. From eight o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th until midnight we were in the hope of reaching the place, and the pleasure was obliged to be in the day (13th), having not excepted by its absence in shore; we were through a narrow channel, and a narrow break with great current, when passing to windward, in the pit to which the peak of the mountain were on deck; it was not until we were in the light, that we were thrown so near to shore. After this, with the wind on the night very strong, and the increase of the press of sail, and the reefed the masts, a little after midnight

we were not a little considerably to windward the last evening, we continued to windward, and in the anchored in the 15th, we had light at that time we saw of our sweeps, a breeze came, weighed anchor, though we were

15th, the weather was, and anchored and near a very extensive fishing town off to us, and 16th our empty water-casks to bring us a supply purchased, at a small fish. These people were more civil than the 13th; and, we requested a paper, destination.

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the 16th, and then tacked towards the land, expectation that, as we had carried as much as all night as the vessel would bear, we should be very considerably to windward, but, at night, had the disappointment to find ourselves at least three leagues to leeward of the place we left the preceding evening. To lose so much, in so short a time, was very discouraging, with our greatest exertions, we could hardly be to regain it in twenty-four hours. This also convinced me that we could do nothing by keeping far from the shore. In the evening, as well throughout the succeeding night, a breeze in the land favoured us very much; and, by tacking close in, we gained even more than our sailing day's loss.

On the morning of the 16th we had a pleasant breeze from east-north-east, making short work near the shore, and soon after eight A.M., doubled a point which opened to our view a sandy bay, and in which there appeared to many dangerous rocks and breakers. Keeping our land constantly going, we had very little soundings, from five to two and a half fathoms, when suddenly, as we were sailing at rate of about three knots, we ran upon a sunken ledge. As the vessel hung only forward, lowered the sails and isolated out the boat, a view to carry out an anchor astern; but, fortunately, in putting the anchor into the hole of it struck with such force against the planks in the bottom as to render her unusable until she was repaired. This was a disagreeable circumstance, as the vessel lay very close, but there was no other resource than to cut the boat again on deck, and stop this. In the most expeditious way possible, we were then engaged, the tide rose so thick the vessel slid off the rock, unaided by the effort of ours, and apparently without having received any injury. Our latitude was 22° north.

Having secured our boat and anchor, and again sail, we stood off to sea, so far as to enable weather this shore on the opposite tack. This evening, perceiving the current to be against us, we came to anchor and lay all night.

We now were encouraged by the discovery that we had regular tides setting north and south, and as soon as it began to set in our favour, on the 20th, we weighed anchor and hoisted sail. But, having a short irregular sea to contend with, we made but little progress during the day; and so entirely did the coast appear to be strewn with rocks and shoals, it could not be approached in the night, and the most imminent danger of losing our vessel, hence the necessity of finding an anchorage for the night, before the day closed. Succeeded in doing this, by running in where there was a number of junks at anchor; and a considerable settlement, before which appeared to be a fort.

As soon as we had anchored, a number of vi-

sitors came off to us; but as no one of them knew any of the European languages, our communications were confined to signs, by means of which I succeeded in replenishing our stock of wood and water. While the Chinamen were engaged in filling our water-casks, Mr. Smith, the chief mate, made an excursion on shore. As soon as he landed, a person who seemed to possess some authority, came up to him, and made signs that he should follow him to the fort. He was there introduced to a mandarin, who was, doubtless, the commanding officer; and, who, being made to comprehend the object of this visit, manifested a desire to gratify it, and behaved with great civility. It appeared as if these people had never before seen a European or American. They followed him in crowds to the fort, and back again to the landing-place. All labour, for the time, was abandoned; and even the sailors, who were then engaged on a jilted stage, suspended their duty, while the "lanquin" was passing.

The following morning (21st) we sailed again, accompanied by a number of the junks, also bound to windward; and from this time until the 24th, we had no other wind than the regular monsoon; sometimes blowing very strong, so that we could gain nothing by beating; we then generally sought a smooth place in which to anchor; and even when the wind was moderate, we were always obliged to anchor while the tide was setting against us. We passed every day vast fleets of fishing boats; and were in sight of several towns, some of which appeared to be of considerable size.

On the morning of the 24th, I was equally surprised and delighted with a breeze springing up from the south-west, which, increasing at noon, continued throughout the day, and afforded such an encouraging prospect, that I began to flatter myself with the belief, that we had seen the worst of our passage. But I was not long permitted to indulge so pleasing a hope; as, before eight o'clock in the evening, the wind shifted suddenly, in a squall, to its old quarter, the north-east, and blew with great violence.

On the 25th, we gained considerably in the forenoon; but towards evening the wind increased, so as to bring us under double-reefed sails. The night was rainy and dark, with a rough sea, into which we were plunging, without reaping any advantage; as, in the morning, our position differed little or none from what it was the preceding evening. On the evening of the 26th, preferring the chance of anchoring where we were not well sheltered, to passing such a night as the last, we came to anchor under the lee of a rock, soon after sunset; where we rode very securely until between ten and eleven o'clock, when, the wind having increased very much, we struck adrift. All hands were called immediately; we hoisted up the anchor, and, under double-reefed sails, stood out to sea until four A.M., when we tacked in shore; the wind and sea having so increased as to keep us

huffed most of the time, even under our stern sails. Approaching the shore, and when within about three leagues of it, we suddenly perceived a breaker; but as the vessel was going at a rapid rate, we were in the midst of the heavy of shore at the moment of this discovery. The vessel struck upon the bottom of the sea, and was hurled in the ascending billow; but passed over without receiving any injury; but then, at the same time, was forced with great force, it had been business essential that we should find a harbour, as we could not in more than half an hour be re-entrained out. But in such case, in a gale of wind, without a chart, and on a point in which we were all strangers, was at- tempted with great hazard. When we had run about four leagues to leeward, the sea at once again presented a deep sandy bay; the shores in which appeared to be free from dangers; and the sea was then so high, that any point which could show us up would show track. We therefore ran boldly in, and doubling round a projecting point of sand, came to anchor near a fleet of junks, which we found were bound north, and hark like ourselves, but in its words the strain. The gale continued throughout this and the fol- lowing day, accompanied with frequent and heavy squalls of rain, and the weather as cold as it is commonly in Boston in the month of December. After our recent fatigue and anxiety, the relaxation and comfort afforded by lying two days and a night in so smooth a har- bour, while the storm was howling and the sea roaring without, was almost beyond the power of description.

In the evening of the 28th, there was ex- ceedingly a conspicuous abatement of the gale, and in midnight the weather was serene and pleasant. Before dawn on the 29th, we per- ceived a number on board the junks, by getting under way, and, following their example, we also weighed anchor, and went out in company with thirty-two sail, with which we plied to windward till one p. m., when the tide, making against us, we all came to anchor in three and a half fathoms, opposite a small fishing village.

We perceived, during this day, that when working up in smooth water, sometimes caused by a projecting point, our vessel was decidedly superior to the junks in sailing; but that when we got out where the sea was rough, they had as much the advantage of us; indeed, I was as- tonished to perceive how fast such square, un- ceasing, ob-shaped craft, with hand-sails, would work to windward in a sea which almost burst my cutter.

At eleven o'clock in the evening, we per- ceived the junks to be getting under way; and concluded we could not do better than to keep company with them, which we did throughout the night; and in the morning of the 30th found we had gained very considerably. Be- tween four and five a. m. the tide set against

us so strongly, that we barely maintained our position; and while a part of the fleet went to shore and anchored, a part remained under sail. At ten o'clock we had again a favourable con- vent, of which the whole fleet took advantage, and kept playing to windward till four p. m., when we all stood into a deep bay; by nature, the most extensive of which is the bay of Amoy; a place of great trade; if a judgment can be formed by the vast number of vessels which we perceived to be lying there.

The masters of the two junks that were an- chored in its made motions that were not difficult to understand, that we should go and anchor under the lee of an island a little to windward of us; which we did at six o'clock, near the Chinese junks. The captain of one of these came on board, and informed us that the name of the town was Amoy; that the land above three-and-a-half leagues to windward was the island of Kinmen; and that we must keep the fog- horn all the time, as there were numerous rocks and shoals in the intermediate space.

Some very neat houses, surrounded with trees and shrubbery, and having the appearance of summer seats of elegant men, were beautiful situated on the side of a hill opposite to the spot where we had anchored; and the whole island, of apparently not more than two miles in circumference, presented a highly cultivated and pleasing appearance. During the day, I had passed several considerable settlements, one of which had a wall round it; and the country generally exhibited an appearance of great cultivation. We dared not take advantage of a night tide, after the account of the danger which the Chinaman had given us, and there were remained at anchor all night. I was greatly have procured a pilot, but could not, as had in other respects than following the perfectly correct directions of the Chinaman, and trusting to the lead and a good lookout for safety.

Deacons of recommending the ground below us at low water, when some of the rocks were discovered themselves, we remained at anchor till five for this purpose; and saw many reefs in our track, which were not visible at low water. Of these we took the bearings, and we how to avoid many of the dangers which we pointed out to us by the Chinaman.

Early on the morning of the 1st of February we resumed the task of heaving to windward, and although we had frequently only two fathoms of water, and did not always deepen it standing off shore, we yet, fortunately, ran in safety the anchorage under the lee of the island of Kinmen towards evening, after having passed a day of great anxiety and fatigue.

The duty had now been so arduous, the pro- spect of its duration so uncertain, and the dangers so appalling, that the men, unceasingly exposed to wet and cold, became quite ill at ease; and, during the ensuing night, em-







ing anchor, we recommenced our arduous and hazardous duty of beating to windward.

We stood out to sea, with a good whole-sail breeze from north-east, till four o'clock in the morning of the 5th, when we tacked. The wind and sea having increased very considerably, reduced us to our double reefs; and, on coming in with the land, we found we had gained several miles. But with so much wind and sea as there then was, we could not advance any on our course, and we determined to find an anchorage. This we succeeded in doing by running a little to leeward; and at noon, anchored in a deep bay not more than five or six miles from the place where we had landed our men. On coming to anchor we discharged a cannon, to notify our men that there was yet time to dissolve their partnership.

Here, for a moderate compensation, I again engaged a Chinaman to fill up our water-casks, and replenish our stock of wood. In the afternoon, I visited one of the large China junks, near to which we had anchored, where I was treated with great politeness by a person, whom, from his dress and appearance, I took to be the owner. He offered us tea and sweetmeats in the great cabin, which was extremely neat and clean, and in which a Joss occupied a conspicuous place. I invited him to go on board my vessel, to which he very readily assented; and, as he seemed to possess an inquiring mind, I pointed out to him our superiority of manner over his, of taking up the anchor, hoisting the sails, &c., of which he seemed to be convinced; and, after taking some refreshment, he left us, apparently much pleased with his visit.

The gale continuing the next day, it would have been useless to put out; we therefore lay at anchor all day. About noon, observing a great concourse of people on the beach, from which we lay half a mile distant, with the help of my glass I perceived that our men were among them, and that they were getting into a boat. I then prepared to keep them off, in case they should attempt to come on board by force. When they were within hail, I desired them to keep off. They replied, that the Mandarin would not let them remain on shore, and were advancing; when, on firing a musket over them, they immediately retreated to the shore. The Mandarin, with his numerous attendants, then came off, leaving our mutineers on shore. I invited these on board, and treated them with wine and sweetmeats; but would not comply with the pressing desire of the Mandarin, to take all our men on board again. I believe I succeeded in making him understand, that four of the six I should be willing to take again, but that the other two I would not.

After remaining an hour on board, and examining every thing with much earnestness and attention, they returned to the shore. At the same time, and with the usual precaution, I

went near the beach, in my boat, and, calling each of the persons separately, by name, inquired if he was ready to go on board on my conditions. They declared they would not separate; but complained of the cruelty and hardship of being left in such a place. This was the last interview I had with them; for, soon after returning on board, I saw them marched away, escorted by the guard which attended the Mandarin. On our return to Canton, we learned that these six men had been sent there by the Chinese authorities, and delivered to the English company's residents.

The next morning, having a favourable current and a good breeze, we put out, and beat till the tide began to make against us; when we gained an anchorage near a small fishing town, where we lay the remainder of the day, and at the following night. Early on the morning of the 7th, we had a moderate breeze from north-north-west, by means of which we made a course nearly parallel with the China coast, till noon. The breeze then left us, and having a contrary current, we let run the grapnel, in twenty fathoms; and lay till five P.M. when there came a light breeze from the south-east, to which we set all sail.

In the course of the afternoon, during the calm, a large boat came towards us, full of men, shouting and hallooing, and occasionally firing a gun they had in the bow. Their conduct was very different from that of any of the Chinese we had met with, that, suspecting they might be Ladrões, I ordered a four-pound shot to be fired over them, which produced an instantaneous retreat to the shore. Between ten and eleven o'clock, the wind continuing to be very light, we discovered a large boat rowing towards us, which I supposed to be the same. When at a short distance to windward, they left off rowing and lay on their oars. Their manœuvres and number of men led me to be suspicious; and I therefore loaded two cannon and several muskets. They, however, probably from seeing we were not off our guard, returned towards the shore without molesting us.

With various winds and weather, we diligently pursued our course to the northward, till we got out of the influence of the monsoon; and on the 11th of February, had the satisfaction of seeing the north end of Formosa, bearing south distant ten leagues. Thus, after thirty-one days of great toil, exposure, and anxiety, we had accomplished that part of our passage which had been represented as an impossibility, and which with a fair wind, might have been performed in three days.

On the 17th, we passed between the north end of the Island Lekeyo (which is nearly four hundred miles east of Formosa) and several small islands which lie to the north of it, with a gale of wind from the westward, and under the head of our squaresail, having previously set the topsail, and got the yards on deck. I

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ed between the north  
(which is nearly four  
ormosa) and seven  
to the north of it, with  
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aving previously ap-  
ards on deck. I had

ly a manuscript chart of the North Pacific,  
which, I was convinced, was not to be depended  
on, having already discovered two islands that  
were not laid down in it. And as the gale con-  
tinued to blow with violence, till we had quite  
crossed the coast of Japan, the nights, which  
were long, and exceedingly dark, were passed in  
helpless anxiety, lest we should meet destruc-  
tion from some island or rock, not laid down in  
the chart.

Our passage across the North Pacific proved  
very enough the misapplication of the term  
calm sea, as it was hardly possible for it to be  
peaceful. The violence of the wind gene-  
rally obliged us to show but very little sail; and  
the sea was so boisterous, that there were but  
few days when we were not enveloped by it, so  
that the fire was repeatedly extinguished in the  
cannon. The men who composed the watch on  
duty, never escaped a complete drenching, and  
constant employment in carrying their  
things up the rigging to dry. The exposure  
and privations, though not sufficient to injure  
the health of the crew, were much greater than  
I had ever before experienced; and, as they  
perceived that the other passages were to be  
very fatiguing, they formed the design (of  
which I had notice) of deserting, as soon as they  
should, after our arrival on the coast.

## CHAPTER VI.

American coast.—Precautions against the natives.—  
Norfolk Island.—Trading with the Indians.—Their  
fantastic appearances.—Distinctive badges charac-  
teristic of the most rude states of society.—Traffic  
on the coast.—Curiosity of the natives.—Arrival in  
Nathan's Straits.—Indian fortification.—Hos-  
tile appearances.—Departure for Steeple.—  
Large canoe.—A chief entertained.—Extraor-  
inary request.—Desertion of a sailor.—His re-  
vival.—Indian mourning.—Abundance of  
wild-fowl.—Chilean tribe.—Warlike indications.  
A sunken rock.—Perilous situation.—Painful  
interval.—Escape.—Romantic anchorage.—Re-  
turn to Norfolk Island.—Grotesque appearance  
of the crew.—Successful result of industry and  
perseverance.—Charlotte's Islands.—Warlike  
appearance.—Ingenious Stratagem defeated.—Indian  
squette.—Preparations for return to China.

Early in the morning of the 30th of March,  
I saw the usual indications of land, drift-wood,  
and gulls; and at ten o'clock perceived the  
snow-capped hills of the American coast,  
some leagues distant. We immediately set all  
hands to work in bending our cables and get-  
ting up a bulwark, which we had been prepar-  
ing of hides sewed together. These were at-  
tached to stanchions of about six feet, and com-  
pletely screened us from being seen by the  
natives, whom it was important to our safety to  
keep in ignorance of our numbers. Towards

evening we anchored in a snug harbour at Nor-  
folk Sound, in latitude 57° 10' north. Here  
the smoothness of the water, the feeling of  
safety, and the silent tranquillity which reigned  
all round us, formed a striking contrast to the  
scenes with which we had been familiar since  
leaving Canton; and would have afforded posi-  
tive enjoyment, had I possessed a crew on whose  
fidelity I could depend.

The following day was very clear and pleasant.  
At the first dawn of the morning we discharged  
a cannon to apprise any natives who might be  
near of our arrival. We then loaded the can-  
non and a number of muskets and pistols, which  
were placed where they could be most readily  
laid hold of. The only accessible part of the  
vessel was the stern, and this was exclusively  
used (while it was necessary to keep up the bul-  
wark) as the gangway. As it was over the stern  
that we meant to trade, I had mounted there  
two four-pound cannon; and on the taffarel a  
pair of blunderbusses on swivels, which were  
also loaded. Soon after the discharge of our  
cannon, several Indians came to us; and before  
dark some hundreds had arrived, who encamped  
on the beach near which the vessel was anchor-  
ed. As we observed them to be loaded with  
skins, we supposed that we were the first who  
had arrived this season.

With a view to our own security, as well as  
convenience, I directed my interpreter to explain  
to the chiefs, and through them to the tribe,  
that after dark no canoe would be allowed to  
come near the vessel; and that if I perceived  
any one approaching, I should fire at it; that  
only three or four canoes must come at a time  
to trade, and that they must always appear un-  
der the stern, avoiding the sides of the vessel.  
With my own men I neglected no precaution to  
make escape impossible, but at the imminent  
risk of life. While at anchor they were divided  
into three watches. One of these I took charge  
of; and stationing them in such parts of the  
vessel that no movement could be made undis-  
covered, obliged them to strike the gong every  
half hour throughout the night, and to call out,  
from each end of the vessel and amidships,  
"All's well." This practice so amused the In-  
dians, that they imitated it by striking a tin  
kettle, and repeating the words as near as they  
were able.

But a more hideous set of beings, in the form  
of men and women, I had never before seen.  
The fantastic manner in which many of the faces  
of the men were painted, was probably intended  
to give them a ferocious appearance; and some  
groups looked really as if they had escaped from  
the dominions of Satan himself. One had a  
perpendicular line dividing the two sides of the  
face; one side of which was painted red, the  
other black; with the hair daubed with grease  
and red ochre, and filled with the white down  
of birds. Another had the face divided with a  
horizontal line in the middle, and painted black

and white. The usage of a third was painted in black, &c. Most of them had little mirrors; hence the acquisition of which, they must have been dependent on each other for those correct touches of the pencil which are so much in vogue. And which daily require more time than the toilet of a Parisian belle.

The women made, if possible, a still more frightful appearance. The ornament of wood which they wear to extend an Indian nose beneath the lower lip, so distorts the face as to take from it almost the resemblance to the human; yet the privilege of wearing this ornament is not extended to the female slaves, who are prisoners taken in war. Hence, it would seem, that distinctive badges have their origin in the most rude state of society. It is difficult, however, for the imagination to conceive of more disgusting and filthy beings than these patibular dames.

It was quite a mystery how they could agree upon the rate of barter; but when once arranged with one of the chiefs, and the exchange made, they all hurried to dispose of their skins at the same rate; and hence might we had purchased upwards of a hundred, at the rate of two fathoms of blue broadcloth each. The Indians assured us, that a vessel with three masts, had been there a month before, from which they had received four yards of cloth for a skin; but this story was rendered improbable by the number they had on hand; and I considered it as a manoeuvre to raise the price. As soon as it became dark they retired in an orderly manner to their encampment abreast the vessel; and some of them appeared to be on the watch all night, as we never proclaimed the hour on board without hearing a repetition of it on shore.

The following morning (April 2), the natives came on soon after daylight, and began without hesitation to dispose of their furs to us at the price fixed upon the day before; and such was their activity in trading, that by night we had purchased of them more than two hundred sea-otter skins, besides one hundred and twenty seals. Our barter consisted of blue cloth, great-coats, blankets, Chinese trunks; with beads, China cash, and knives as presents. Canoes were arriving occasionally throughout the day, so that at night there was a very perceptible augmentation of their numbers.

Our friends recognised them to be the Hooded Mice, who had come this early to the coast to get a supply of the spawn of certain fish, which constitutes their principal food in the spring of the year. As this tribe had attacked the coast last year, alone, we thought it not improbable that, now they were united with the Noronk Sound tribe, they might determine to make another attempt. We therefore took every precaution against them.

On the 3rd, we were proceeding harmoniously and prosperously in our trade, when a little incident occurred which produced a short interruption. A canoe, containing eleven persons,

men, women, and children, had, contrary to our regulations, come alongside, and was raising the screams at the paddle; in look on the deck. Hence I had time to speak to them, the cook (either by accident or design) threw a table full of hot water over them, which, existing an involuntary and sudden motion of the bodies to the other side of the boat, immediately upset it, and all were immersed in the water. The confusion was now very great, as those who at the time were under the stern, engaged in trade, hearing some treachery, made haste to push away; without regard to the distress of the natives. All of these appeared, however, to be capable of taking care of themselves; excepting an infant of about a year old, whose struggles being observed by Mr. Smith, he jumped overboard and saved it. As the weather was very raw and chilly, we hastened to dry and warm the infant by the fire, then wrapped it in a blanket, gave it a piece of sugar, and returned it to its parents, who appeared to be exceedingly pleased and grateful. They all soon recovered from the inconvenience of the accident, as I was glad to find they considered it. The apprehensions of the others being but momentary, we proceeded again to business, which was continued throughout the day to mutual satisfaction.

Having observed, on the 4th and 5th, that the store of furs was nearly exhausted, we weighed anchor the next morning; and, putting on good terms with the natives, steered up a narrow passage in an easterly direction; till we arrived at that extensive sound which Vancouver has called Chatham's Straits. Nearly opposite to the opening into the sound is the village of Hoonah, where we had just parted with; and here we came to anchor. Several women came off and told us there were no skins in the village; the men were gone in pursuit of them; and that if we came there again in twelve ten days, they should have plenty. Here we passed a day filling up our empty water-casks, and getting supplies of wood.

In the afternoon of the 5th, we put out to the snug cove in which we were lying, having been informed by the Indians that there was ship in sight. This we found to be true, as, opening the sound, we saw her not more than a mile distant from us. Soon after we were boarded by Captain Rowan, of ship *Bliss*, of Boston, who had arrived on the coast at least a month before us, and who, having been very successful, was now on his way to the southward to complete his cargo, and then to leave the coast. He mentioned that ten vessels would probably be dispatched from Boston for the coast this season.

From this information it was evident, that would require all our efforts in dispose of our articles of traffic advantageously before the competition should reduce their value. For the Indians are sufficiently cunning to derive all pos-

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one vessel to another, and back again, with  
tions of others made to them which have no  
lation in truth, and showing themselves to  
a well versed in the tricks of trade as the  
best adepts.

After taking leave of Captain Rowan, we were  
sailing along the western shore of the sound  
a light breeze, when we fell in with a canoe,  
which we obtained four skins, but were  
ed to pay more for them than for any  
we had bought. This was in consequence  
of knowing what Captain Rowan had been  
which, he informed me, was twice as  
as I had given. We now were influenced  
much by the course of the wind in our de-  
termination of going up and down the sound,  
as its various fluctuations, always direct-  
ed course to any point where we discovered  
it, and reminding no longer than in pur-  
what skins the natives possessed. On the  
of the 13th, having passed up the  
branch of the sound, we came to anchor  
a high isolated rock. A space on the top  
was enclosed with a *chevrons-ade-frise*;  
the side towards us. It was inaccessible.  
received many people nursing about within  
losure; and soon after coming to anchor,  
canoes came off to us, and among them  
a war canoe, with twenty-five warriors,  
their war garments on, and well armed.  
It began but a short time near us before  
lans in her gave a loud shout, and paid  
wards the shore, at the same time dis-  
garding their muskets in the air, and saying  
enemy was in sight. But, as the other  
with which we were trading did not  
us, nor evince any fear, I could not help  
ing some stratagem, and therefore made  
llon, and kept every man on the alert.  
Only half an hour had elapsed after the  
we left us, when we again saw her com-  
panied by two others of equal size,  
fully well manned and armed. Three  
were under our stern trading; and their  
And earnest manner was evidently de-  
to divert our attention from those which  
proaching. But as soon as they were  
all, we desired them to come no nearer,  
ity of being fired at. They then pulled  
towards the shore. Whilst this was  
ing, our linguist, in selling a musket,  
suddenly held a cartridge of powder by him,  
took fire and scorched him considerably.  
He alarmed the Indians, who, as if con-  
intended mischief on their part, sus-  
it on ours, as they immediately seized  
elled their muskets at us. Without re-  
how useless was the exposure, I invo-  
ly seized and pointed a blunderbuss at  
while, in a moment, George, ever on the  
as at my side with his musket cocked and  
fire; but, fortunately, those who ma-  
the paddles exerted themselves to get out

of our reach, and so soon increased the distance  
between us that no gun was discharged on ei-  
side.

After their fears were a little abated, we called  
to some natives in a small canoe, and explained  
to them the cause of the alarm, and desired  
them to tell their friends, that, if they would  
come off in the small canoes, and without arms,  
we would trade with them. In consequence of  
this invitation, several came off unarmed; and  
while they were engaged in disposing of their  
furs, we kept a lookout after their comrades. By  
the aid of our glass we perceived that they were  
putting their arms into the small canoes, and un-  
barking as many men as each would carry.  
When within half, they were cautioned to come  
no nearer; but they persisted in advancing, till  
they saw that we were pointing a cannon at  
them. They then returned to the shore, and ap-  
peared to have abandoned their design, though a  
considerable armed body of them kept on the  
shore abreast of the vessel, occasionally firing  
their muskets, all day. The circumstance of  
their women not being with them, and also that  
of their having very few skins, tended to confirm  
me in the belief, that their intentions were in-  
chievous. But, whatever may have been their  
design, we parted with them, as we had done  
with other tribes, on friendly terms.

On the 15th, while steering, as we supposed,  
for the village of Steeken, we came across a  
canoe belonging to that tribe, from which we  
obtained directions for finding it; but, as the  
wind was light, and a current against us, we  
were unable to reach it before dark, and an-  
chored about two miles off. During the night  
there was a considerable fall of snow. In the  
morning we weighed anchor, and, about an hour  
after, dropped it again abreast the village. Se-  
veral canoes came off, and sold us, in the course  
of the day, sixty skins, several coatsacks (or cloaks  
of fur), and fifty-six tails. On leaving us, at  
dark, they promised to return the next day with  
more skins, and moreover told us, that if we  
would remain five or six days, several great  
chiefs would arrive with their families, and bring  
plenty of skins.

Unexpectedly, one of these very great chiefs  
arrived the next day, in a canoe quite as  
long as my vessel, and ornamented with a finely  
carved figure of a warrior on the prow, the head  
of which was decorated with real hair, filled  
with a mixture of grease and red ochre, and the  
white down of birds. The chief was a dignified,  
good-looking man of about forty-five. He was  
accompanied by twenty-two athletic young men,  
who appeared to handle their paddles with a  
gracefulness and dexterity, as much excelling  
the management of the ordinary canoe, as the  
armament of a man-of-war's barge surpasses those  
of a merchantman. This chief was very desirous  
to come on board; but to have indulged him  
would have been an imprudent exposure of the  
smallness of our numbers. He then expressed a



wish to have a cannon discharged; and we readily fired two in immediate succession, which appeared to astonish and gratify him, and on the subject of which much conversation was held with his men; but it was only partially understood by my linguist, as expressing admiration of the report. After this, the chief stood up and made a speech, evincing his pleasure, and at the same time handing up three fine skins as presents. An Indian's gift is understood here, as elsewhere, to be made with the expectation of a generous return; and I gave to the chief great-coats, cloth, knives, beads, and China-cash, to more than their value. He drank half a tumbler of wine with great relish, and then blew into the air a quantity of the down of birds in token of friendship. As they left us to go ashore, they all began a song, whose wildness was in perfect keeping with their appearance, and to which they kept the most exact time with their paddles.

The days of the 18th and 19th were rainy and unpleasant. We continued at anchor, and were visited by a number of Indians with skins; but they did not trade with much spirit. The rainy, chilly weather seemed to have checked their animation; and they would sit, crouched up in their canoes, looking at us for hours together, without altering their position, while it rained without cessation. At length we observed a very old chief earnestly engaged to get his canoe nearer to us; as I supposed, to sell his furs and be off. But not so; his object was to persuade me to cause the rain to cease; and, as an inducement, he assured me, they would bring a great many skins. As there was no appearance of fair weather, I told him I could not do so that day, but might possibly the next. It happened that the next day was fair; but I saw nothing more of the chief.

We sailed from this place on perceiving that we had exhausted their store of skins; and in passing to and fro in the multitude of the ramifications of this extensive inland navigation, we met many straggling canoes, and seldom any one that had not some skins to dispose of. In this way we had a great advantage over a large vessel; and, by running into various creeks, where, probably, no vessel had ever been before, our collection of a few at a time amounted to a very considerable number.

On the 1st of May we anchored near a place favourable for replenishing our wood and water; and, while busily engaged in this business, one of my Irish sailors, eluding the vigilance of the officer who was with the party, made his escape. As he was on an island of no great extent, and could procure nothing to subsist upon, there was no doubt he would endeavour to get on board the first canoe he might see. Therefore, as soon as our business was accomplished, we proceeded to the village, about four miles to leeward, and immediately dispatched two canoes after him, promising a reward of a musket to

the one that should bring him. The canoe soon came in sight, than, having no suspicion that they were in pursuit of him, he called to them, and one of them readily took him on board; but instead of bringing him to us, put him ashore at their village. The next day, it was evident that they had no intention of returning him, as they made various excuses, such as, "he was too strong for them;" "the women would not allow him to be sent on board;" and "he had gone away to a distant place." It then became necessary to convince them that I was in earnest; and, hauling my cutter near to the village, I threatened the destruction with my great gun if they delayed to bring off the man; and, firing a four-pound shot over them, it made such a cracking among the trees, that they were too much frightened to hesitate any longer. The man was brought on board; and I paid the promised reward, charging the value to the account of the delinquent. On investigation it appeared, that he and another lad had, some time past, determined on escaping in our boat, but had never found an opportunity. Had they succeeded, as we had on one boat, the loss of it would have been very distressing to us.

For the several succeeding days we did not anchor, but kept under way, and approached the shore wherever there was a smoke, or where we had before met the natives. During this time we came across many canoes, some of which were looking for a vessel to trade with, and of such stragglers we bought many skins. Others reported that they had fallen in with the ships, to which they had disposed of all, and were then on their way to look for more. Among them was an old chief, and a number of men and women of his tribe, whom we remembered to have seen at Norfolk Sound. They had now their faces blacked, and their hair cut short, which, they told us, was in mourning for a friend that had lately been killed.

As we approached the northern part of the sound, the wild-fowl became more abundant, and scarce a day passed, that we did not kill a number of geese, turkeys, and ducks. The latter were so numerous, as often to darken the horizon in the direction in which they rose; and at one time I fired a canister of musket ball from a four-pounder at them, and killed a number. Of fish, also, particularly salmon and halibut, we had always an abundant supply, both catching them ourselves, and procuring them from the natives. But our potatoes were consumed, and no vegetables could be had as a substitute. It was yet too early in the season for the berries; and the natives had not reached the first point of civilisation, which is indicated by an attention to the cultivation of the earth.

The Indians, who had last left us, perceiving we were going further north, advised us to turn on our guard against the Chilcat tribe, the village we were approaching, and whom

him. The canoeer having no suspicion of him, he called to him, and readily took him on board, giving him to us, perceiving him. The next day, I had no intention of making various excuses for them; "the canoeer was to be sent on his way to a distant part of the coast; and, hauling in the net, I threatened them with the gun if they delayed, firing a four-pound shot, which produced such a cracking among the canoes, so much frightened the Indians, that a man was brought on board, and a reward, charged on the delinquent. On the next day, that he and another canoeer determined on escaping, but never found an opportunity, as we had no time to spare, could have been prevented.

During the days we did not go away, and approached the coast, a smoke, or rather a fire, was seen from the natives. During the day, many canoes, some of which were vessels to trade with, and some bought many skins, had fallen in with the natives, and disposed of all, and then returned to look for more. The chief, and a number of the tribe, whom we had seen at the Norfolk Sound. They were, and their hair was, was in mourning, and had been killed.

The north part of the coast was very abundant in seals, and ducks. It was often to darken, and in which they rose; and a number of musket balls were shot at them, and killed many salmon and halibut. The natives, both in procuring them, and in eating them, were consumed. It was had as a substitute for the season for which we had not reached, which is indicated by the position of the earth. The last left us, perceiving the Chilcat tribe, who were, and whom

presented as being very numerous, very warlike, and very mischievous. On the 6th of May, we arrived at the northern extremity of Chatham's Straits, near the Chilcat tribe; and, being a strong wind from the south, we found a harbour in a neighbouring cove, and came to anchor within a cable's length of the shore, latitude 59° 30' north. Here, sheltered from the violence of the south-wind, we lay in both water; but, owing to the boisterousness of the weather outside, only two canoes came to us this day.

The wind having subsided during the night, succeeded by a calm. This being favourable for the canoes, they arrived in surprising numbers. We had witnessed nothing to be compared with it since our arrival on the coast. Being in divisions of four or five each, by ten or twelve canoes were assembled in the cove, of which were as long as my vessel, and being from twelve to twenty-eight persons, making an aggregate of about five hundred men, all well armed with muskets, spears, and daggers. They were unaccompanied by their women and children, and had but few skins; there was a certain indication that their intentions were of a hostile character.

It will be perceived that our situation was one of great danger. The calm continuing, it was impossible for us to retreat; and it was obvious, that if they attacked us with resolution, their great superiority of numbers would enable them to overwhelm us before the vessel could be reloaded, after the first discharge. The only alternative, then, was to make the best preparation in our power for repelling an attack, and to sell our lives as dearly as possible; our men were all convinced that death was to be preferred to falling alive into the hands of these barbarians. Accordingly, our vessel was all loaded with bags of musket balls, and our small arms, two muskets and two pistols, for each man, were also loaded; and the boats were placed at hand.

The Indians passed most of the day in their boats, keeping at about a cable's length distant from our vessel, continually endeavouring to induce us to let them approach, by the assurance of having a great many skins. Our own boats at the same time, with lighted matches, were all day at the guns, pointing at them as they altered their positions; while our linguists were calling to them not to advance, on pain of destruction from the great guns. In this hostile posture each party remained all day. In the afternoon we observed two large canoes to go by, which, returning before night, we supposed might have been sent for reinforcements. The day had been a long and anxious one; and when night came, we were rejoiced to see them on shore, haul up their canoes, and build fires. They remained quiet during the night, excepting mocking our watch, as each hour was called out. Early next morning,

there sprang up a breeze from the northward, when we got under weigh, and proceeded out of the cove, the Indians begging us to remain another day, and promising us a great many skins. We had scarcely got into the broad part of the sound, before we met two war canoes, each containing twenty-six men, well armed, who were on their way to join the others; and for whose arrival the attack had probably been delayed. Of these I purchased four skins in passing; and they were exceedingly anxious we should return and anchor again, assuring us of a great many skins. On perceiving their persuasions to be of no avail, they showed evident demonstrations of great disappointment.

But I discovered afterwards, on falling in with the English ship *Cheerful*, Captain Beck, that they were instigated to attack us by a greater stimulus than their cupidity, namely, a desire for revenge. It appeared, from Captain Beck's account, that his ship had run aground on a sand bank near where we had anchored, about a month before; that, while carrying out an anchor, the natives were seen approaching in great numbers, and he had no doubt, with hostile intentions. He therefore called his men on board, and prepared for resistance. As they advanced towards him, he cautioned them to come no nearer; but disregarding the warning, and still approaching, he fired over them. This not producing the desired effect of intimidating them, he reluctantly fired among them, and supposed he killed and wounded several, as there were great cries heard, great confusion in the fleet, and an instantaneous retreat. Captain Beck had left Macao in September, but had been little more than a month on the coast, and had not met with good success.

After leaving the Chilcat tribe, as above mentioned, we steered southward, till we reached that branch of the sound which runs in an easterly direction. It was deemed advisable to sail up this branch, and round those islands which are called by Vancouver, Admiralty, Macartney's, and Duke of York's Islands, visiting the several tribes who inhabit their shores, and purchasing all the furs they had collected. For having at this time (19th of May) nearly expended our articles of barter to great advantage, it was requisite that we should make preparation for leaving the coast, by getting a supply of wood, and filling up our water-casks.

The next day, while steering to the westward with this intention, and going at a rate of about two knots, unsuspecting of danger, the vessel suddenly struck a sunken ledge, and stopped. Perceiving that she hung abaft the midships; and that there were three and a half fathoms under the bows, we immediately run all the guns forward, and carried out an anchor ahead; but the tide ebbed so rapidly, that our efforts to heave her off were ineffectual. We therefore heeled her on the side, whence she would be less likely to roll over. At low water the posi-

tion of the vessel was such as to afford but feeble expectation that she could escape bilging. She hung by about four feet amidskips, having slid about as much on the rock as the tide fell, and brought up with the end of the bowsprit against the bottom. Her keel formed an angle of forty-five degrees with the water line, the after part of it being from fourteen to fifteen feet above the rock. This position, combined with a rank heel to starboard, rendered it impossible to stand on deck. We therefore put a number of loaded muskets into the boat, and prepared for such resistance, in case of being attacked, as could be made by fifteen men, crowded into a sixteen feet boat.

Our situation was now one of the most painful anxiety, no less from the immediate prospect of losing our vessel, and the rich cargo we had collected with so much toil, than from the apprehension of being discovered in this defenceless state by some one of the hostile tribes by which we were surrounded. A canoe of the largest class, with thirty warriors, well armed, had left us not more than half an hour before we struck, who were now prevented from seeing us by having passed round an island. Should the vessel bilge, there existed scarcely any other chance for the preservation of our lives, than the precarious one of falling in with some ship. That she would bilge there was no reason to doubt, if the weather varied in any degree from that perfect calm which then prevailed. More than ten hours were passed in this agonising state of suspense, watching the horizon to discover if any savages were approaching,—the heavens, if there were a cloud that might chance to ruffle the smooth surface of the water,—the vessel, whose occasional cracking seemed to warn us of destruction; and, when the tide began to flow, impatiently observing its apparently sluggish advance, while I involuntarily consulted my watch, the hands of which seemed to have forgotten to move. In this painful interval, I beguiled some little time, while seated in the boat, by taking a sketch of the hazardous situation of my cutter, at low water, fearing that it might soon be beyond my power to give such evidence of her sad fate.

At length, the water having flowed over the coamings of the hatches, which had been caulked down in anticipation of this event, without any indication of the vessel's lifting, I was deliberating on the propriety of cutting away the mast, when we perceived her to be rising. She soon after righted so much, that we could go on board; and at half past twelve in the night we had the inexpressible pleasure of seeing her afloat again, without having received any other apparent injury than the loss of a few sheets of copper.

To the perfect calm, smooth water, and uncommon strength of the vessel, may be attributed our escape from this truly perilous situation. On the 23d, being in a favourable place, and where

there were no indications of natives in the immediate vicinity, we took the opportunity to land the vessel ashore. The tide having left her, it was evident that there was no material injury. The keel was considerably brushed, from the effect of having slid, while on the rock. From the same cause, several sheets of copper were rolled up, and a few feet of the sheathing, under the copper, very much broken. All these were repaired as well as our time and means would permit; and at high-water we landed again.

We passed another week in cruising about the sound; but perceiving that the stock of natives in this quarter was so exhausted, that when we came across a canoe they had seldom any skins with them, it was deemed expedient to leave Chatham's Straits. We determined, therefore, to proceed to Norfolk Sound again, there pick up what we could by laying a day or two, and then go to Charlotte's Islands, previous to taking a final farewell of the coast. With this intention we steered westward, arriving in the broad part of the sound, the corner of which is north and south, and having the wind from the southward, we could make little progress on our way. In the afternoon the south wind increased greatly, and caused such a sea as latterly we had been entirely unaccustomed to. As much fatigue and some loss would be incurred by attempting to pass the night in tacking to and fro in the sound, without a possibility, while the wind was so high, and the sea so rough, of advancing at all on our way, it became very desirable to find a harbour, and a little before sunset, being near the east side of the sound, we perceived an opening of about a fourth of a mile, between two precipitous hills, clothed from the bottom to the summits with pine. The hills on each side forming the entrance were so decisively indicative of sufficient depth of water, that we ran boldly in, without taking the precaution of first sending the boat to reconnoitre. We were immediately becalmed on passing the entrance, and, in our sweeps, rowed but a third of a mile before we were in perfectly smooth water. The passage having become narrower as we had advanced in it, rendered anchoring unnecessary, and we kept the vessel suspended between the two shores, by ropes made fast to the trees.

Our position was quite romantic. The wooded hills on either side seemed almost to unite at the top; the dark gloom overhung all around; the silence and tranquillity we had so instantaneously succeeded the noise and turbulence of the sea without, and our comfort and security for the night of which we had a prospect, all combined to produce sensations of a most pleasing character. While sitting on the scenery about us, and while it was yet twilight, I perceived a movement in the bushes, and in a moment a large bear made appearance, probably attracted by the scent

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vessel. As the object of killing him did not  
ar to me to compensate the risk of the  
tempt, I refused permission to my men to  
shore for that purpose; but, as he  
elected disposed to remain and make our re-  
sistance, I caused a four-pounder to be di-  
rected at him. The piece was elevated too  
high, the ball went over him, making a great  
bang among the bushes, and the reverbera-  
tion of the report was long and loud. He  
did not wait for a second, but scampered off  
among the bushes, and we saw him no more.

The wind having come round to the north-  
ward during the night, we put out early in  
the morning of the 30th, and steering south-  
ward before night we had an unbounded ocean  
before our view. This little variation to the  
course was quite agreeable, as we had now been  
months navigating inland, without having a  
sight of the ocean, and having been at all times  
surrounded with lofty mountains whose sides  
were covered with an impenetrable forest of pine wood,  
whose summits (at the north) are, most of  
the year, covered with ice and snow.

At the first of June, approaching Norfolk  
Sound, a ship was perceived going in before us,  
which proved to be the Hancock, of Boston,  
commanded by Captain Crocker, who had arrived on the coast  
the 1st. As we drew near to her after she had  
anchored, a considerable bustle was perceived  
on board, as if they were preparing for defence;  
and, as afterwards amused to find, arose  
from our suspicious and uncouth appearance.  
We were sure, was rather unusual, from the  
distance of our harbors, at this time, being  
only five inches long; as, having found the  
business of shaving to be difficult, where the  
distance of the vessel was so great. I had neg-  
lected since leaving China, and my officers  
had followed my example; so that it  
was admitted, we did present an appearance  
so prepossessing, that it was very excusable  
in people whom we approached to be on  
guard.

The following day arrived, and anchored near  
the ship Dispatch, of Boston, Captain Breck,  
as well as the other ship, had arrived on  
the coast rather too late to ensure successful  
trading the present season. While three vessels  
were trading together here, it was amusing to ob-  
serve the adroitness and cunning with which  
the natives derived all possible advantage from  
competition. They had succeeded in raising  
the price of their skins so high, that there was a  
difficulty, at last, of our entering into an agree-  
ment respecting the price to be given, which  
ought to have been made at first, as not less  
profit than to dispatch.

Though nearly a week was passed here, yet  
the natives showed so little earnestness to dis-  
pose of their furs, that very few were purchased  
that day before our departure, and when they  
were given ample time to satisfy themselves they  
obtaining the highest price. The whole

number of skins purchased during this time, by  
the three vessels, did not exceed together more  
than two hundred and fifty, and for these we  
paid more than twice as much as for those which  
were obtained here on my arrival.

Leaving this place on the 7th, and pursuing a  
course to the southward, we fell in, a week  
after, with the ship Ulysses, of Boston, Captain  
Lamb. This ship had arrived on the coast a  
month before us; but the success which ought  
to have resulted from so early an arrival, was  
defeated by a mutiny of long and ruinous dura-  
tion. Thus it appears that no less than three  
ships had arrived on the coast before us, and  
that to accident, not less than to industry and  
perseverance, were we indebted for our great  
success.

A long continued southerly wind so retarded  
our passage to Charlotte's Islands, that we did  
not reach the Skittigates, (the largest tribe of  
these islands,) till the 20th, having found it im-  
possible to make a harbour on the way, where we  
lay three days, and were screened from the  
effects of a south-east gale. In the meantime,  
our men were employed in replenishing our  
stock of wood and water. When near to the  
Skittigates, it being calm and the current run-  
ning out, we anchored about two miles north of  
their village. As this was a numerous and war-  
like tribe, whose intercourse with foreigners had  
been great, and to whose hostility and treachery  
some of them had fallen victims, there was a  
necessity for the observance of all that vigilance  
on our part, to guard against surprise, which we  
had been in the practice of observing. One of  
this tribe, in order to decoy men ashore, covered  
himself in a bear's skin, and came out of the  
border of the woods, on all-fours, abreast the  
ship, while a party lay in ambush ready to fire  
on those who should come in pursuit. The  
stratagem would have succeeded, had not one  
of the natives been too earnest to come forward,  
so as to be discovered in time for the boat to re-  
treat, before any mischief had occurred.

Soon after anchoring, a canoe came to us, from  
which we procured three skins. The Indians  
in this canoe assured us that there were plenty  
of skins at the village, and manifested a desire  
that we should go there. In the morning of  
the 21st, several canoes came to us with some  
of the inferior chiefs. They were very urgent  
in their entreaties for us to go up to the village,  
alleging that it was so far for them to come, that  
many would be deterred by it from bringing their  
skins. Their solicitations, however, were of no  
avail, as I had no doubt, that those who had  
skins to dispose of would not be prevented from  
coming to us by the distance, and that we should  
avoid the visits of the mischievous and idle, by  
remaining at our present anchorage. By nine  
o'clock, we had many canoes assembled about  
us; but they appeared to be so indifferent about  
trading, that it was past noon before they began;  
yet, such was their alacrity when they did begin,



that by dark they had sold us upwards of one hundred skins, and one hundred and thirty tails. The succeeding day was squally and unpleasant, and we had a smaller number of the natives about us. We purchased, however, eighty-five skins, and as many tails. Towards evening a canoe came to us, with the son of the chief of the Skittigates on board, who told us, that, if we would remain another day, his father would come to us, and bring a great many skins. In the night, which was perfectly calm, we heard frequent and wild howlings at the village, and occasionally the report of a musket.

The morning of the 23rd was calm, and a favourable current for the Indians to come to us; but, having waited till near noon without seeing a single canoe moving, we were at a loss to conjecture the reason, more especially after the promise of the king's son, last evening. In case, however, of there being many skins, as they promised, we had not the means of purchasing them, our articles of barter being nearly expended. It was therefore judged best not to wait to ascertain the cause of such extraordinary conduct; and, having a light breeze from the south, we put out with the intention of going over to the Coneyaw.

The next day, when about two leagues south of Point Rose, the breeze not being sufficient to enable us to stem the current, we came to anchor. Soon afterwards, two large canoes came to us, in one of which was a young good-looking warrior, the son-in-law of Coneyaw, who is head chief of the Tytantes tribe, and who, with other warriors, had come over on a hostile expedition against Cumdashaw's tribe. Being so nearly on the point of leaving the coast, and therefore fearing no bad consequences from an exposure of our weakness, I acceded to the earnest solicitations of the young warrior to come on board. This was the only one of the natives whom we admitted on board since being on the coast. We invited him into the cabin, and gave him a glass of wine, which pleased him so much, that he soon asked for another. Having made me a present of a very fine skin, I made a return of a shirt, jacket, and pantaloons, which he immediately put on, and appeared to be well satisfied with the figure he made, and much pleased with the dress. But the friendly feelings I had inspired suffered a momentary interruption, by my careless and apparently rude manner of giving him a handkerchief. Being on the opposite side of the cabin from that on which I was sitting, I threw it into his lap, when, instead of taking, he allowed it to roll down on the floor, his feelings so much wounded that he actually shed tears; nor was it without considerable effort, that we persuaded him that no insult was intended, by assuring him that it arose from my ignorance of the etiquette which custom had established among them. This little interruption to our harmony was of short duration, the party aggrieved being satisfied with my apology;

and having purchased of him and his comrade about sixty skins, we parted with mutual good will and friendship.

It was now time to make the necessary preparation for leaving the coast, by filling up our water-casks, and procuring sufficient wood for the passage to China. With this intention we directed our course for Tatiskee-cove, where, having anchored, we set about cutting wood with all diligence, and also procuring our supply of water. This work being accomplished, we were ready for our departure on the 26th; but the wind was from the south, and the weather rainy and boisterous. It was therefore decidedly advantageous for us to lie quietly in the port where we were anchored, and wait for a fair wind and the return of good weather before putting to sea.

The wind having changed to the westward during the night, on the morning of the 27th June we weighed anchor for the last time on the coast, and put to sea, intending to reach North Island before bidding farewell to the coast. But, owing to a contrary current, it was late in the afternoon before we passed the southern point of Kiganny, previous to which we were boarded by the celebrated chief Koman whose intelligence and honest demeanour recommended him to all who had any dealings with him. He had always been in the habit of coming on board the cutter on her former voyages, and had never failed to receive the most generous and friendly treatment from Captain Lay, her former master, whom he was much disappointed in not finding on board. For a few skins he had we paid him liberally; and he left us much satisfied.

The following day, at noon, we had arrived opposite and near to the village on North Island. A number of canoes soon came off, one of which was the chief Coneyaw, and another Eltargee. The latter had, in a year or two ago, accidentally, it was said, caused the death of a Captain Newberry, by the discharge of a pistol, which he did not know was loaded. His looks, however, were so much against him, and, in the short intercourse we had with him, his actions and manner so corresponded with his looks, that I should require the clearest evidence to be satisfied that the disaster was purely the effect of accident.

## CHAPTER VII.

Departure from the American coast.—Passage to Sandwich Islands.—Island of Owhyhee.—Supply of provisions.—Conduct of the natives.—Their characteristics.—Compensation for fatigue.—Pass Tiuan at night.—The Lema.—Anchor in the Typa.—Important reflections.—Passage to Wampoa.—Arrival at Canton.—Disposal of the cargo.—Sale of

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ceeding to India.—Sails for Calcutta.—Escape  
from Malay pirates.—Arrival at Malacca.—Pass  
to Pinang.—Another fortunate escape.—Ar  
rival at Calcutta.

purchased the few skins offered me, amount  
to thirty-two, while under sail; and now,  
ing no other object to detain us longer on  
coast, we, at 4 P.M., bade farewell to the  
sea. With a fine breeze from west-north-  
west, I steered to the south-west, not less happy  
in the successful accomplishment of my object,  
than in the reflection of its having been attained  
without injury to the natives, or other than the  
friendly interchange of commodities with  
them. Indeed, now that I was fairly at sea, and  
free from the chance of those casualties to which  
I so long been subjected, the relief from  
the comparative feeling of security, the  
satisfaction arising from a thorough performance  
of duty, and from the independence to which it  
this instance, can be more easily imagined  
described. Nor was this pleasure in any  
diminished by the task, which yet re-  
mained, of proceeding to China; as this was a  
task, for the most part, through the trade-  
winds, where the weather was fine and the sea  
calm, and where, consequently, one great  
cause of the dissatisfaction of my men would be  
removed.

ing our passage to the Sandwich Islands  
did not occur to vary the monotony of  
our voyage. We had none other than a fair  
breeze, and the gales were so propitious, that  
in the sight of Owhyhee the twentieth day  
of July, making our departure from the coast of  
Owhyhee. At three P.M. of the 19th of July,  
the low-capped summit of that island was seen  
above the clouds, at a distance of at least twenty  
miles off, and bearing south-west by west.  
We sailed in boldly for the shore all night, we  
dawn, within about a mile of it, and saw  
the beautiful runs of water falling in cas-  
cades perpendicular precipices into the sea.  
We perceived also a mustering among the natives  
to come off to us. The sea, however, was  
rough, that only two or three attempted it,  
and we bought of these a few melons and  
bananas. We proceeded to leeward, towards  
Bashi Bay, in the hope of finding smoother  
water. This was discovered as soon as we  
round Koholow Point, when a multi-  
tude of hogs, potatoes, taro, cabbages, water  
melons, melons, sugar-cane, &c.

I admitted a chief on board, who, while he  
kept the natives in order, and guarded us against  
too many on board at a time, served us  
as a broker, and very much facilitated our  
business. He remained on board all night, and  
was usually serviceable to us the next day,  
and by noon, having a sufficient supply of  
provisions which the island afforded, we dis-

missed our broker with satisfactory presents, and  
pursued our course to the westward.

The very limited intercourse we had with the  
natives of this island was hardly sufficient to  
enable us to form a correct judgment of their  
general character. The contrast which their  
cleanliness forms with the filthy appearance of  
the natives of the North-west Coast, will not  
fail to attract the attention of the most unob-  
serving. Nor have they less advantage over  
their North-west neighbours in the size, shape,  
and gracefulness of their persons, and in the  
open, laughing, generous, and animated expres-  
sion of their countenances. The characteristics  
of these islanders are activity, gaiety, volatility,  
and irritability; those of the North-west In-  
dians, heaviness, melancholy, austerity, ferocity,  
and treachery. They are, perhaps, in each case,  
such as would naturally be inferred to be the  
effect of climate operating on the materials of  
rude and savage characters.

The expertness of these islanders in the art  
of swimming has been remarked by the earliest  
navigators; and Meares mentions some divers,  
who, in attempting to recover an anchor he had  
lost, remained under water during the space of  
five minutes. Whether there are any such at  
the present day is very doubtful; although it  
must be confessed, I saw no evidence that would  
induce the belief of their talent being in any de-  
gree diminished.

On the 21st we saw the island Mowee, bear-  
ing north by east, about twelve leagues distant.  
Our course to the westward was attended with  
the weather which is usual in the trade-winds,  
in general fine, though sometimes interrupted  
by a squall, which serves to rouse the sailor  
from the inactivity which a long course of such  
weather is apt to produce. With a moderate  
and even sea rolling after, and helping us on our  
course, and with a great abundance and variety  
of such products of the vegetable world as we  
had long been destitute of, we were living so  
luxuriously, and sailing along so much at our  
ease, so entirely free from anything like labour  
or fatigue, that our men appeared to consider it  
as an ample compensation for the fatigue and  
exposure of the first part of the voyage.

On the 15th of August, 1799, we passed be-  
tween the islands Aguihan and Tinian, and very  
near to the latter; but, as it was after dark  
when we were nearest it, we had not an oppor-  
tunity of seeing those beauties, which are so  
pleasingly described by the narrator of Lord  
Anson's voyage, as well as by more recent na-  
vigators. In our passage between these and the  
Bashi Islands, we had so great a portion of  
westerly winds, that we did not reach the latter  
till the 8th of September, having, during that  
period, experienced much rainy, squally, and  
disagreeable weather. We passed the Bashi  
Islands in the night, with a moderate breeze  
from east-south-east; and the following night  
we were among tide-rips, which caused such a

roar, and so great an agitation of the water, as to resemble breakers.

On the 13th, we saw the east end of the Grand Lema, and, at three o'clock next morning, sailed between its western end and the island next to it; and passing the island of Lantao at dawn, we came to anchor in the Typa at eleven o'clock A.M. I immediately went ashore and made report to the Governor, engaged a pilot to come on board in the morning, and spent an hour with an American resident supercargo, who gave me much European and other news.

From this gentleman I learned, that the ship *Ontario*, with her cargo, had been totally lost a few days after leaving Canton for New York. This was the ship in which I had been so eager to embark. I had come very near having my desire gratified, and had been severely disappointed when I found that the place I wished was filled by another. If I had succeeded, ruin must have been the consequence. My emotions on hearing this news were of a mingled character; while I mourned over the fate of a worthy friend, I was filled with gratitude at my own escape, and my present prosperity; the feelings of discontent in which I had sometimes indulged were rebuked; I was taught to bear disappointments with patience and resignation, as we cannot foresee the good which may result from them; and I was inspired with that confidence in a superintending Providence which affords repose to the spirit under all the trials of life.

In conformity with his engagement, the pilot came on board in the morning as soon as the tide served, when, having weighed anchor, we beat out of the Typa and passed Macao roads with a moderate breeze at south-east, which continued so light throughout the day, that we did not reach Anson's Bay till nearly midnight. Here we anchored till the tide became favourable, when, proceeding to Wampoa, we arrived there, and anchored above the fleet in the night of the 15th.

Having the next day taken a boat for Canton, I accepted the hospitality of one of my countrymen till I could procure a factory. In the mean time, I gave letters to several China merchants, directed to my officer on board, to permit the bearers of them to examine the cargo. I engaged the factory No. 1, Nueguas Hong, and as soon as it was furnished, moved into it. On the 25th of September, having had various offers for the cargo, and the best being that of Nuequa, I contracted with him for it at the rate of twenty-three dollars a skin, cash; or twenty-six dollars to be paid in produce, or any proportion at these rates.

This contract being made, and the payment to be prompt on delivery of the cargo, it became necessary to determine, without delay, what course it was most advisable to pursue next. The cutter, independently of the objection of

size, being a foreign bottom, could not take cargo to the United States without being subjected to the payment of such increased duties as would be equal to the amount of the freight of an American bottom. To return again to the North-west coast offered a prospect as promising as any plan which presented itself to my mind, and could I have obtained an orderly crew, might have been the most advisable. But to undertake another voyage with a crew composed of such men as I had (and none beside deserving from other ships could be procured) was little better than living for such time with a knife in my throat, which, at any unguarded moment might be made to close the scene. The size of the vessel was another important objection; as, besides the privations inseparable from navigating in it, there was an increased danger from the hostility of the savages. As, in consequence, a greater number of men was required than could be well lodged and provisioned for so long a time, this tended to increase among them dissatisfaction; sullenness, and finally mutiny. Besides this, my inclination to such uncommon exposure and fatigue, was diminished in proportion to the recent increase of my fortune.

From these considerations, and not entirely uninfluenced by a desire of visiting the coast of British India, I made an arrangement to that effect, by disposing of the cutter to Robert Berry, Esq., and a cargo of teas and other articles of his selection, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars; for which I took a residentia bond, with a premium about equal to risk, and interest, payable three months after my arrival at Calcutta. In addition to this, I took with me gold bars to the amount of five thousand dollars.

In the mean time, while coming to this decision, my cargo had been transported to Canton and delivered to the purchaser; my crew had been paid off, and a new one shipped of less than half the numbers of the former voyage. The cutter again became the *Dragon*; had English colours, and had an English master appointed to her, because by our treaty with Great Britain it was not permitted us to bring cargo from China to Calcutta in an American vessel.

The cargo for account of Mr. B. having been shipped, and having made an agreement with him to ship to my friends in the United States as opportunities for freighting offered; the remainder of the proceeds of my cargo of teas proceeded to Wampoa on the 20th. October, 1799; where, finding all things ready, I embarked as passenger, and the next day weighed anchor and ran down between first and second bar, where we received our sea stock from the Hoppoo man; and when the tide made in our favour, took advantage of it as far as Anson's Bay, where, arriving at dark, and having no appearances of bad weather, we came to anchor.

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wards the latter part of the night the wind  
ame more easterly, and increased with rain;  
at daylight it blew with a degree of violence  
amounted to a Typhon, and which it  
ed as if nothing but the hills were capable  
sisting. Here our good fortune was again  
test; for if we had been ready only twelve  
sooner, we must have encountered this  
in a position that would have rendered our  
of escaping shipwreck very small. As it  
while riding in a smooth bay, the wind  
g off the shore, from which we lay not  
than a cable's length, we parted our cable,  
brought up with our best bower, with which  
de out the gale in safety. The 23rd, the  
abated, but it continued all day very rainy,  
ly, disagreeable weather; we therefore lay  
anchor, and employed some Chinamen to  
the anchor from which the cable had parted,  
which they succeeded without much difficulty,  
set it to us, and received their reward. The  
generally south-east.

The next day the wind was light and baffling;  
the night came round to the northward,  
clear weather; and on the 25th we passed  
roads, where we saw two large English  
one of which had lost all her topmasts,  
less in the late gale. We passed near to, and  
the ship Eliza, Rowan, who had been to  
anish coast since we had seen him. With  
ing breeze from east-north-east, we steered  
southwest, and, at dawning of the 28th,  
near to the China coast, having passed in  
of Pulo Campella. In the course of the  
ing night, we passed near to Pulo Canton,  
then steered south-south-east. The coast  
a sight most of the day, and a strong cur  
our favour, as was manifest from the  
distance of making one hundred and ninety  
miles difference of latitude. We saw the  
land abreast Pulo Cecir, on the 31st, and  
the Island Pulo Cecir de Mar, and, at the  
time, were on the bank of Holland, appar  
ly no very deep water. The next day we  
prevented seeing Pulo Condor by reason of  
the atmosphere.

The 3rd day of November the weather was  
equally, and wind variable. In the night  
ed several times in thirty and thirty-five  
ms, and, at dawning, saw Pulo Timooan.  
entered the straits between Point Romania  
Pedra Blanca on the 5th; after which  
ed west by south for St. John's Island, and,  
g passed it, we took the wind from west-  
west, and beat through the narrows be-  
the Rabbit and Coney and Red Island.  
continued to work to the westward, with the  
for the most part from that quarter, and oc-  
asionally anchoring when the current was against

while at anchor, close in with the shore, be-  
ween Mount Formosa and Mount Moora, we  
a fleet of eleven Malay proas pass by to the  
ward, from whose view we supposed our-

selves to have been screened by the trees and  
bushes near to which we were lying. On per-  
ceiving so great a number of large proas sailing  
together, we had scarcely a doubt of their being  
pirates, and therefore immediately loaded our  
guns and prepared for defence; though con-  
scious that the fearful odds in numbers between  
our crew of ten men and theirs, which probably  
exceeded a hundred to each vessel, left us scarce  
a ray of hope of successful resistance. We  
watched their progress, therefore, with that in-  
tense interest which men may naturally be sup-  
posed to feel, whose fortune, liberty, and life,  
were dependent on the mere chance of their  
passing by without seeing us. To our great joy,  
they did so; and when the sails of the last of  
the fleet were no longer discernible from deck,  
and we realised the certainty of escape, our  
feelings of relief were in proportion to the dan-  
ger which had threatened us.

Arriving at Malacca on the 11th, the curiosity  
of the people was greatly excited to know how  
we had escaped the fleet of pirates which had  
been seen from the town; as the strait to the  
eastward is so narrow that it appeared to them  
to be impossible for us to pass without seeing  
each other; and when informed of our being  
screened by the trees from their sight, they  
offered us their hearty and reiterated congrat-  
ulations.

Having the next day filled up our water-casks,  
and laid in a supply of vegetables and fruit suf-  
ficient for our consumption till our arrival at Col-  
cutta, we should without further delay have pro-  
ceeded on our voyage, had the prospect been  
favourable; but the westerly winds continued to  
blow with such violence for several days im-  
mediately succeeding our arrival, that it was evi-  
dently the part of wisdom to lay at anchor till  
their force had abated, which was not the case  
till the 14th, when there was less wind through-  
out the day. In the evening the land breeze came  
off strong, and, being all ready to take advantage  
of it, we weighed anchor, made sail, and stood  
to the westward on a wind all night; and, at  
dawning, tacked to the northward and came in  
with the land about three miles east of Cape  
Ricardo.

The town of Malacca is situated in a level  
country near the sea, and is defended by works  
built on a rocky foundation, and of great height.  
It was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch  
in 1640, and remained in their possession till  
taken from them in the late war by the English,  
who held it at the time I was there. Its inhabi-  
tants are composed of Dutch, Portuguese, Eng-  
lish, Chinese, and Malays. The trade of this  
place was very much diminished in consequence,  
principally, of the increasing growth of the Eng-  
lish settlement at Pulo Pinang. The revenue  
arising from imports and exports, was this year  
(1799) farmed to some Chinese residents for  
fifty-two thousand dollars. There are several  
very pretty country-seats about three miles from



the town, and the country generally abounds with the cocoanut tree. But its latitude, only two degrees north of the equator, deters all Europeans from making it their residence, excepting those who are willing to sacrifice comfort to the acquisition of wealth.

While proceeding on our passage to the westward, we were frequently obliged to anchor in deep water; and on the night of the 15th, while lying in twenty-four fathoms, a squall came with such violence as to part our cable, and caused the loss of our anchor; a circumstance the more to be regretted as we had but one more, and had yet a prospect before us of frequent anchoring. On the 19th and 20th the island of Pulo Pinang was in sight, the wind light from northwest. As the winds during the daytime were very light and variable, we made but slow progress in getting to the north, and even this only by keeping close in with the shore, and taking advantage of the land breeze, which came off regularly, and generally in squalls of rain, thunder, and lightning. In the five days between the 22nd and 27th, we had made only three degrees' difference of latitude, having passed, in the time, near a great many islands.

On the 3rd of December, we saw Diamond Island, after passing which we had the regular north-east monsoon. The two succeeding days we were in sight of the island Cheduba, and the coast of Ava. Being now in latitude 19° north, we steered to the north-west with the wind free, and on the 10th anchored in fifteen fathoms near the sand heads, it being calm. The next morning, at daylight, a number of vessels were near us, from one of which we procured a pilot, who informed us, that the large ships then near to us were the Lord Hawkebury and a Portuguese ship bound in, the latter of which had had an engagement, and beaten off a French privateer of eighteen guns the day before, and that the Company's cruiser Nonsuch, had gone in pursuit of her. Another fortunate escape, as, arriving one day earlier, we should have fallen into the hands of this privateer, and, being under English colours, the property would have been a total loss. In the night we came to anchor near the shipping in Saugar roads; the next day we got as far as Cudjeree; the day following to Pulla; and on the 13th of December 1799, arrived safely at Calcutta.

Detention at Calcutta.—Housekeeping.—Motions of servants.—Serra George in trouble.—Difficulty of procuring his release.—Final success.—George's gratitude.—Preparations for leaving Calcutta.—Purchase of a boat, under the Danish flag.—Destruction of tigers.—Remarks on Calcutta.—European indulgence of English residents.—Fort William.—Departure for the Isle of France.—Danger of the voyage.—Arrival there.

Here I met again my worthy friend Captain Lay, of whom I bought the cutter, and of whose kind hospitality Captain Hassell and myself availed ourselves till we could procure and prepare a house; for a hotel, or a public boarding-house, was a thing unknown in this country.

Having ascertained from the consignee of the cutter, that the cargo being of dull sale, there was no prospect of his being able to pay the amount of the respondentia bond before the expiration of the time specified therein, it was obvious that I had a detention of three months before me, unless I should find it advantageous to lay in an investment for the United States, and could make an arrangement for its payment when the bond became due. I therefore sought a house distant from the business part of the town, and where the rent would be proportionally low. Such a one I found in the Bowazaar, had it furnished in the most economical style, and took possession on the 15th of December. The multitude of servants, which custom required for the establishment of those who were desirous of living in the most free manner, was alarming. Mine, including palquin-bearers, cooks, stewards, and waiters amounted to eight, exclusive of my black man George; a number that seems to be enough for a man of small fortune, till it is considered how very small is their pay, and how little the food costs compared with ours.

Being thus established, and my mind occupied for a state of inactivity for the next few months, I was the better able to enjoy the relaxation from the sense of its being unavoidable. I rambled about the town in the morning before the heat became oppressive; books afforded resource during the day; and towards evening I was taken in my palquin to the river's bank, where, alighting, I walked on the Esplanade, Fort William, and was charmed with the sight of a fine military band, which played there every evening. In this way, with little variation, the first ten days of my residence in Calcutta passed. Nor had I any idea, that the remainder of my term there would not slide away in the same even course. For I did not conceive there was a chance of my coming in collision with any one, much less with the municipal authorities of the place.

But from this state of quiet I was aroused by the entrance of one of the messengers of the police-office, who informed me that

black man, who said he was in my service, had been taken up as a sailor, and that I must appear directly at the office, and state my claim to him, or he would be sent on board ship. Instead of attending this summons in person, I sent by the same messenger, a note, stating that the black man in question was my servant, begged he might be released forthwith. The proceeding was probably considered to be disrespectful, as it was of no avail. George's face continuing, I went in the afternoon in person, and found on inquiry, that he had been sent into the custody of the town major, who resided in Port William, in order to be sent, with the others who had been pressed, on board an American vessel lying in the river below. It was evening when I could find this officer, whom I begged to send George with the others till I could see the magistrate and obtain his release. He told me his orders were peremptory, and that he should be obliged to send him away as soon as the tide was favourable, to be put on board the *Sir Stephen Lushington*.

My friend Captain Russell and myself could procure and pay for a public boarding-house in this country. In the consequence of the falling of the sale, the vessel being able to pay a small amount before it was specified therein, it was a matter of three months and it was found to be advantageous for the United States Government for its payment. I therefore some business part of it would be properly found in the bow of the most economical of servants, which was the most economical of those engaged in the most frugal. Mine, including paid towards, and while the slave of my black man seems to be enough, till it is considered, and how little the others. And, and my mind for the next day, able to enjoy the of its being unavoidable in the morning before the books of the day, and towards evening, and to the river's mouth, and on the Esplanade, charmed with the music which played there, with little variation, and in Calcutta, and I did not slide away in my coming in collision with the municipal

of quiet I was one of one of the messengers who informed me that

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Significant at such treatment, I replied in a tone of which he had set the example—such proceeding, sir, is very extraordinary.

I doubt its being sanctioned by Lord Mornington. And why cannot you take me, and send me on board ship, with the same propriety you do my servant?"

Such a question, in such a tone, from so young a man, and one whose demeanour had been so meek, was evidently unexpected, and seemed to rouse the wrath of his worship to the highest pitch. His face became like scarlet. He seized hold of his newly-powdered wig, and pulled it over one ear, made a complete revolution on his heel, and, with fire flashing in his eyes, started on the floor, and in a stentorian voice demanded—

"And who are you, sir?"

At this time I observed that the other gentleman, not being able to suppress his laughter, had turned away. I replied—

"I am an American citizen, sir, and one who is not unacquainted with what is due to that character."

"Well, where do you live, sir,—your name,—your address?" taking out his paper and pencil, and writing in a hurried and agitated manner; and then observed, "I shall send for you to-morrow, sir."

I told him I should not let the business rest till to-morrow, made my bow, and left him.

It was now very evident, that I must procure the interference of superior authority, or I might not only lose George, but be subjected to some annoyance myself. I therefore went home, and immediately set about writing a letter to the Governor-General. The facts I had to state were very simple and clear; the oppression of which I had to complain I was satisfied could not be countenanced; and I therefore felt a confidence in a happy result. As soon as my letter was written, I went with it myself to the palace, and delivered it to the Secretary of his Excellency, who, on ascertaining its contents, assured me that immediate attention should be paid to it. Nor could there have been any delay in fulfilling this promise, by sending the same night to the ship, which lay several miles below; as, before ten o'clock next morning, George made his appearance at my house, accompanied by an elderly sergeant, who had been sent to conduct him to me.

As I heard nothing further from the magistrate, I concluded that he received a word of advice from high authority, by which others of my countrymen may have escaped a similar annoyance. Never was joy more clearly depicted in any countenance than in George's when he met me. He showed his white teeth, and making an effort to express his gratitude, exclaimed, "O, massa, a thousand tanks, a thousand tanks; George be glad to serve you he lifetime." This joy was indeed reciprocal; for, if from no other cause, we had passed together through too many trying scenes not to have excited in me the greatest sympathy for his detention, and no less pleasure at his release.

The commerce of the United States with

catta at that period was very different from what it is at present. During the three months of my residence there, no less than twelve ships were laden with the produce and manufactures of Hindostan for the United States, whose cargoes would average about two hundred thousand dollars each. This demand for manufactures, for which the purchasers preferred to pay an increased price rather than to keep their ships waiting, had a tendency, in the course of two months, to raise the prices twenty per cent., and entirely discouraged my thinking of an investment for the United States. Nor could I reconcile to myself a longer period of inactivity than that limited by the receipt of the amount of the respondentia bond, especially as the sultry and unhealthy season was advancing.

While in doubt what course to pursue, the Isle of France was suggested, among other plans, as offering a fair field for speculation. The great success of the privateers from that place led to the inference, that prize ships and prize goods would be procurable there at very low rates. And as the Danes, at this time, were the only European neutrals, a cargo could be transported from thence to Tranquebar, under the Danish flag, in safety, and with great profit. But how to get to the Isle of France; this was a difficulty of no trifling magnitude. There was no vessel going in which I could take passage. To purchase one to go to a place where I supposed them to be so abundant and cheap, would be "carrying coals to Newcastle;" besides which it would have been difficult, in a vessel of moderate size, to escape the vigilance of the Bengal government, who were decidedly hostile to all intercourse with the Isle of France.

I determined, therefore, to procure a boat of a size so diminutive as to elude observation, and, at the same time, of so little value, that much could not be lost on a resale. Such a one I found at Calcutta, nearly finished, of about twenty-five tons, which I soon made a bargain for, to be completed immediately, to be rigged as a pilate boat, with mainsail, foresail, and jib; to be coppered to the bends, and to be delivered, as soon as possible, at the Danish settlement of Serampore; for which I engaged to pay five thousand rupees. The contract being in due time fulfilled by the delivery of the vessel at Serampore, I there got her put under the Danish flag; and a cargo of oil, wax, ghee, &c., purchased to the amount of five thousand rupees, of sufficient weight only to put her in good ballast trim. As the Americans, at this time, had a kind of pseudo war with the French, it was advisable to neglect no precaution in guarding against embarrassments that might arise on this account; and I therefore became a burgher of the Danish settlement of Serampore.

While these transactions were in progress, time had come round for the payment of the bond, the amount of which was forthcoming at the moment. I had now passed three months

in the city of Calcutta, having made during the time no other excursion than one to Serampore, and another to the botanic garden. The former makes a very pleasing appearance along the margin of the river. To the extent of nearly a mile, well-built houses, neatly white-washed, give it the appearance of being larger than it really is, as the town is of very limited extent back from the river. The botanic garden is pleasantly situated on a bend of the Hooghly called Garden Reach, but it was not neatly kept. No temperature can be more delightful than that of Calcutta during the months of December, January, and February. It is very dry and healthful; and the nights I found to be invariably cool and comfortable, though there is always a necessity for the use of mosquito curtains.

During my residence at Calcutta, I witnessed an amusement which, I believe, is peculiar to India, the chase of deer by tigers. The arena occupied a space of more than a hundred acres, the borders of which were lined with mounted dragoons to guard against mischief from the tigers. The tigers had a blind of leather over their eyes, were led by a string held by their black keepers, and appeared to be under perfect control. They had belonged to Tippoo Saib, and were much smaller than the royal tigers. While one of them was held by his keeper at one end of the field, the deer was let loose in the centre. At this moment, the blind being removed from the eyes of the tiger, he darted forward with inconceivable velocity; and although the deer put forth all his strength to escape, the tiger had caught him before he had reached the other extremity of the field. It was a cruel sport; and I did not wait to see a repetition, or how the tigers were again brought under control.

But the English resident of Calcutta seems to think less of the amusements which are peculiar to Europe, than of indulging himself in the utmost refinement of luxury, which the combined ingenuity of European and Asiatic epicures can invent. The multitude of servants, which custom seems to have rendered necessary to the man of fortune, and to which he becomes familiarised by habit, commonly unfits him for a residence in Europe afterwards. His durwan, peons, jemadars, chubdars, harcareahs, luccahdar, jemadar, and consumas, form a list of obsequious beings, each, at the master's nod, ready to perform the duty peculiar to his office with a cheerfulness and alacrity, such as a despot does not always receive from his slave. He is dressed and undressed, washed, shaved, and combed, without any effort of his own, and precisely as if he were incapable of any exertion.

The dinner hour is usually after sunset; and convivial parties seldom retire before midnight. Over the dinner table is hung an immense fan extending the whole length of the table; and

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being put in motion by strings attached to  
pulled by servants in adjoining rooms, there  
always a breeze to counteract the effect of  
soups and meats in a hot climate. There  
a great variety of fruits peculiar to the cli-  
ate, of fine quality, and very abundant and  
exp.

At the period of my residence in Calcutta,  
there were no buildings, public or private, which  
could be remarked by a stranger for their ar-  
chitectural beauty or magnificence, or as con-  
forming to the generally received idea of the  
splendour of the British capital of India. But  
a defect in this respect was amply compen-  
sated for by the magnitude, the strength, the  
solidity, and extraordinary neatness of Fort Wil-  
son. The complete and elegant finish which  
has been given to it affords proof of the com-  
mand of ample means. The cost is said to have  
been two millions sterling. Of this fort, and  
the fine military band which played every even-  
ing, I retain the most lively and pleasing recol-  
lections; and not less so, of the civility of se-  
veral officers of the garrison. Very few evenings  
passed that I was not present, and never failed  
to be equally delighted with the order, disci-  
pline, extreme neatness, and soldier-like ap-  
pearance of the troops, as well as the perform-  
ance, and with those sweet sounds which seemed  
to remain vibrating on the ear long after they  
had in reality ceased.

The horrid tragedy of the Black Hole of  
Calcutta has given to it such dreadful notoriety  
that it will make the event familiar to ages yet un-  
born. Over the spot on which it occurred is  
erected an obelisk, which already gives indica-  
tion that it is not long destined to perpetuate  
the story for which it was erected.

The black town, as it is called, from being  
nearly inhabited by natives, extends to the  
west of the other. The buildings are composed  
of very frail materials, mud walls, mats, and  
poors; and the streets being narrow, con-  
gestions are frequent and extensive. The na-  
tives of Hindostan are remarked for an amiabi-  
le disposition, an evenness of temper, and  
degrees of regularity and docility, which render  
them invaluable as domestics, and I have been  
often struck by their not less remarkable for their  
simplicity and honesty. But the most striking  
feature in the character of these people is their  
veneration for the customs and institutions of  
their ancestors. Their food, their dress, their  
ceremonies, and marriages, are all under the  
dictation of religion. It prescribes rules of  
conduct under all circumstances, and there is  
scarcely any thing, however trifling, which it  
is not with indifference. Many of the native  
merchants possess large fortunes, and some of  
them have apartments fitted up in the European  
style, and live at a corresponding expense.

On the 18th of March I saw my boat pass by  
Calcutta, which, in conformity with previous  
arrangements, was to wait for me above Fulta.

As no notice was taken of her by the English  
authorities when she passed, I felt secure from  
any interruption from that quarter. The next  
day, with the balance of my funds in bills and  
gold mohurs, I proceeded in a native boat, ac-  
companied by my man George, to join the ves-  
sel. In conformity with an understanding with  
the ostensible owner, I found her manned with  
a Danish captain and mate, and four lascar sea-  
men; and myself and servant embarked in the  
quality of passengers. Soon after joining the  
vessel, as the tide was favourable, we proceeded  
on our course, and came to anchor at Fulta, in  
order to purchase a supply of fowls, &c., but  
found their stock to have been exhausted by  
sales made to vessels which had preceded us.

The next night we had very heavy squalls  
from the westward, accompanied with much  
thunder and lightning, and were compelled by  
their violence to let go a second anchor. The  
succeeding day the weather became pleasant;  
but, the wind being against us, we turned down  
with the ebb as far as Culcutta, where we an-  
chored for the night, and the next morning  
went ashore and purchased a stock of ducks,  
fowls, fruit, &c., sufficient for the passage. The  
next ebb carried us to Cudgerree, where, in con-  
sequence of a gale from the south, we lay at an-  
chor the two succeeding days; nor, with so  
much wind, could we have proceeded if we had  
desired, as, in the hurry for dispatch, the sail-  
maker had neglected to put in any greenmills  
for reefing; and all on board who could handle  
a needle were set about this business.

On the 25th the weather became settled, and  
when we had arrived opposite Ingerby, the black  
pilot, who had conducted the vessel from Seram-  
pore, left us, having previously given us direc-  
tions how to steer. The tide was now strong,  
and running with a velocity which is peculiar to  
this river, when we suddenly and unexpectedly  
found ourselves in only seven feet water, having,  
as we supposed, mistaken the direction of the  
pilot, and taken the wrong side of the buoy on  
the little Barabulla. We had scarcely time to  
reflect on the consequences of touching, before  
we had passed over the shoal and were again in  
deep water. When the tide had ceased to be  
favourable we anchored, and again pursued our  
course when it set out, and in the evening of  
the 28th, we anchored in Balasore roads, and  
lay becalmed during the night.

Early the following morning we hauled up our  
anchor, and with a brisk breeze from south-  
southwest, stood out on a wind to the south-east.  
While passing out of the Bay of Bengal, we had  
very variable winds, and generally good weather,  
nor, indeed, had we any occurrence during the  
passage worthy of remark. The boat, which  
was named the Maria, was quite as uncomfort-  
able as I had anticipated, and this, not so much  
from its contracted size, as from the scorching  
effects of the sun, which was most of the pas-  
sage nearly vertical, and from the rain; for our



only retreat was of a kind that would not be considered by every one the least of the two evils. In this doubtful state we passed forty-five days before we arrived at the Isle of France; on the 14th of May.

## CHAPTER IX.

Subjects of the inhabitants.—Their conjectures.—Familiarity of the natives.—Visit to the American Consul.—Compatriots for the cargo.—Miner at the Governor's.—His paternal character.—Sale of the boat.—Prosperous state of affairs.—Excursion to the Isle of Bourbon.—Arrival at St. Denis.—Visit to St. Paul and Riviere d'Aborde.—An Irish resident.—His hospitality.—Ascent to the summit of the island.—The volcano.—Return to the Isle of France.—Sale of a prize-ship.—Sudden death of the Governor.—Magnanimous conduct at the English Commemorate.—Extraordinary cargo.—Profitable investment.—Capture of the Kent Indianan, by the Commaunders.—Hostile feeling against Americans.—The Kent freighted for Europe.—French ships on a voyage of discovery.

It was fortunate for us that we escaped those gales, which are very common to windward of the Isle of France during the hurricane months, and which would scarcely have failed to put us and our speculations at rest together. The attempting such a passage in such a vessel was certainly impudent. It was not so much owing to ignorance of the risk, as to the impatience which would not permit ordinary difficulties to interfere with or obstruct the pursuit of a favorite object.

If the vessel in which I arrived at the Cape of Good Hope excited surprise in the inhabitants, this, of little more than half the size, could not fail to excite the curiosity and wonder of the people of the Isle of France. Consequently, a great crowd assembled on the quay to see a vessel approaching it, which, unlike all others that entered the port, did not anchor, but was conducted by the pilot directly to the landing for boats. Exclamations of astonishment were interchanged by those collected near the boat, when it was understood by them where we were from. Some remarked on the hazard of such an undertaking; others on the apparent absence of all comfort; and others were earnest to know if we had experienced any bad weather, and expressing a belief that we could not have survived one of those gales which are common in this vicinity at this season of the year.

While accompanying the linguist to the Governor's and the Intendant's, the multitude walked up near us; and, as no one suspected that I understood the French language, I heard such remarks as, "This gentleman has nothing like a Dane in his appearance."—"No," was the reply, "he looks like a Cheechee;" and in truth I had become so burnt, by such long and great exposures, that it was not sur-

prising I should be taken for a native of India. Then the object of my voyage was discussed. One remarked that he thought I must have other views than those which appeared in the disposal of so trifling a cargo. Perhaps I was in pursuit of prize-ships. "Then how would suit his purpose," was the reply. Such were some of the observations and conjectures which I heard while on my way to the Governor's; and which were proofs of the same inquisitiveness, nettles, and energy, which I had observed in this people in a residence of six months among them; more than six years before.

On being introduced to the Governor (General Malartic), he received me with that urbanity which is a peculiar characteristic of the French and which, banishing restraint, places a stranger at once on a footing of familiarity. When I had replied to his various questions relative to the news from India, and to the vessels I had seen on my passage, he remarked on the probability of my enterprise; how hazardous he considered it; how out of proportion to the risk he considered any profit that could be made on such a cargo; though, he remarked, it was much wanted. He said I should sell it well and profitably, however, that when report was made to him of the size of the vessel, he had sent orders to the captain of the port to see the room sufficient was made to admit her entrance. On taking leave he invited me to dine with him the next day.

Having made a like visit of ceremony, but a less duration, to the Intendant, I was afterwards free to pursue my own course; and, in the first place, went to the residence of the Consul of the United States, by whom I was assured there would have been no hazard in coming in the character of a citizen of the United States, he was in giving evidence that I was not a Dane taking a room at his house. To this proposal, very readily accepted, and besides an honor with the only three American of the island one of whom was William S. Dr. author of "Sketches of Algiers," &c. &c. only vice-consul-general of the United States at the time.

Notwithstanding that the Danish and the Han-burgh were the only neutral flags in port (and of these there were but two of the first and one of the latter), yet the equipment of privateers, the sale and resale of prizes and the cargoes, and the occasional arrival of a slave-ship from Madagascar, kept up the bustle and appearance of business; though the small value of the products of the island indicated that it was not of the most important and salutary description. From the owners of the hulk to purchase my cargo, I had no doubt of making a handsome profit on it; but before accepting the proposal, I waited till the following morning, that a fair opportunity might be given to each of the competitors, when I closed with

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In conformity with my previous engagement,  
went, at two o'clock, to dine with the Gov-  
nor, who was not less affable than at my first  
roduction. His intercourse with the young  
cers composing his staff, and who constituted  
majority of the party, resembled rather that  
a father with his children, than of a military  
if with his subalterns. The dinner was  
ed up in plain but handsome style, and  
ted of a good variety of well-cooked  
es. There prevailed at table an ease, and  
ntire freedom from restraint, which formed  
ing contrast to the formality and ceremony  
I recently had an opportunity of observing  
English tables. The repast was of about  
hours' duration, and finished with coffee  
liquors, when each one unconsciously  
drew.

My unloading and delivering my cargo was  
accomplished, and a day or two after I  
an application for my vessel from a person,  
as plantation was contiguous to some little  
for navigating which my boat was peculi-  
adapted by her easy draft of water. On this  
of my speculation I had not anticipated  
ing any profit—the main object being that  
passage, which could be obtained in no  
way. But I found the gentleman willing  
to give three thousand five hundred dollars for  
boat, and I closed with him at that price.  
There appeared evidently to be a tide in my  
boat, which was leading on to fortune, and I  
deriving an advantage where I had not an-  
ticipated it.

At a few days' residence, satisfied me that I  
derived too late to profit by the purchase of  
of those vessels or cargoes which had pre-  
viously been sent in. Some of them were  
on their way to India under the Danish  
and others had been purchased on specu-  
lation for resale, by merchants of the place.  
These I had several ships proposed to me,  
at too high a rate to profit by taking them  
into. There remained to me, therefore, no  
alternative than to be ready with my funds,  
to wait the arrival of some of those prizes which,  
as I had little doubt, would be sent in by some  
of the numerous and well-appointed cruisers  
which had been dispatched from this port.

A month having elapsed, and no opportunity  
offering for investing my funds, I determined  
on a short excursion to the Isle of Bourbon  
Reunion, as it was then called; and, on the  
1st of June, took passage in the brig *Crocodile*,  
of St. Louis. During the  
four-hour journey immediately succeeding our  
departure we had a continued gale of wind,  
which compelled us to lie to under a reefed fore-  
sail, the sea running very high, and prevented  
anchoring in the road of St. Denis before  
the 10th. A letter of introduction to

the most considerable merchant of the place  
procured me access to one of the most accom-  
plished and pleasing families of the island,  
from whom, during my residence there, I ex-  
perienced that polite attention and true hospi-  
tality, which are always the mark of a grateful  
people, as in this instance, they are known to be purely  
disinterested.

After a few days' residence in this family, I  
crossed the mountain to the south, by a zigzag  
path, accessible to horses, and soon arrived at  
the coffee plantation of Mr. Damste, to whom  
I had a letter, and whose hospitality had been  
made known to me by several of my countrymen,  
who had experienced it. This plantation is  
beautifully situated at a great elevation, com-  
manding a view of the ocean with its boundless  
horizon in the west; and the greater part of the  
grounds, which the slaves are employed in cul-  
tivating, may be seen from the house. The  
coffee tree, this year, promised an abundant  
crop, and the harvest time would arrive in  
about six weeks.

Leaving this charming residence with the  
most favorable impressions of the kind feelings  
and amiable character of the owner, I proceeded  
to St. Paul's, which, in point of mercantile im-  
portance, is the second place in the island, the  
roadstead being generally smoother and prefer-  
able to that of St. Denis. The town is situated  
on part of a spacious, flat, and sandy tract, on  
the border of a large bay; and though it spreads  
over a considerable extent, as the houses are  
not contiguous, yet the population is very in-  
considerable. Its value principally consists in  
being a place of embarkation for the produce of  
the neighboring plantations. The surf on the  
beach, particularly on the full and change of  
the moon, is often so great as to render land-  
ing dangerous; and whenever this is the case, a  
signal is made from a flag-staff, erected for the  
purpose, to notify the vessels which may be  
lying in the road.

From this port I took a water conveyance to  
the Riviere d'Aborde, and proceeded, on landing,  
to the plantation of Mr. Nivrac, an old Irish  
resident, to whom I had a letter, and who re-  
ceived me with those hearty demonstrations of  
welcome which are peculiar to his countrymen.  
His long residence among the French had not  
so entirely obliterated the knowledge of his na-  
tive language, as to prevent his conversing in it  
familiarly; though from long disuse of it there  
was often evidence of embarrassment in finding  
terms to express himself. Everything about  
this plantation gave indication of the wealth of  
the proprietor. Such was its symmetry, its ex-  
treme neatness, and the beauty of its walks,  
that it had more the appearance of a garden  
designed for pleasure, than of a plantation  
intended for profit. The prospect, however  
was limited in every direction, either by the  
mountains or the tall trees bordering on the pre-  
mises; so that the resident was as much ex-

cluded from the view of the world, as from the clouds and darkness.

As this situation is distant from either of the ports where vessels usually appear, the visit of a steamer is a rare event, and therefore particularly appreciated. This was noticed by the French agent in town, a Mr. de Lamoignon, and by sending dispatches, in certain directions, with instructions to come in the morning and parkade at it. Accordingly, the next day about a dozen gentlemen assembled, who, for those qualifications which give life and spirit to a community, constituted the population of their country, male and female, and arrived in procession to the boat. Mr. de Lamoignon had promised to give me, when I had been seen in a typical character, a piece of coral worth equal to dollars, and the value to me I had been given in Europe in America; and this promise was quite redeemed, for it was of a quality which could not be surpassed, and which, at the time, I had already supposed to be limited in the temperate climate.

The natural habits and character of the party, by accidental stimulus. Consequently, there was a great abundance of coral. The next morning, they were taken with such liberality as to believe, that for one of the party possessed the distinction of being considered able to sacrifice more than his neighbor. Early on the following morning we embarked our stores, and bidding farewell to our excellent hosts, began our ascent toward the summit of the island. When we had reached its highest elevation, the sight was so great, that I found it advisable to dismount and walk, to warm my feet; and in the little hollows where the rain had lodged, it had frozen in the thick mass of the sight of an inch. We went back the route which is called "passage by the plain," and which also passes near to the front of the volcano. Arriving at St. Louis in the evening, we found a comfortable lodging at a private house; and pursuing our course early in the morning, we traversed quickly over a good road, and here in the afternoon arrived in safety at my friend's house in St. Louis.

In this excursion I ascertained, that none of the products of the island could be purchased at the moderate rate which I had expected from the stagnant state of commerce. The reason was obvious; the general ability of every one to keep his produce when it is below its ordinary value; an ability produced by frugal habits, by limited wants, and an entire absence of those luxuries of furniture and equipage, which our long stay rendered indispensable to the European and American; and for which they, in some measure, devote themselves to a life of toil and anxiety.

A speedy return to the Isle of France being now desirable, I embarked, on the 1st of July, in a schooner; but, owing to unfavorable winds and bad management, we had the very long passage of ten days. It appeared that,

during my absence, the initial price had risen so in this the steamer of Baltimore, named "Patoka," with all accepted cargo. I had then lost an opportunity of purchasing my property at my price.

A few days only had elapsed, however, since my return, when the Company's extra ship, a small vessel, taken on her passage from England to Calcutta with a valuable cargo, by the "Patoka." This ship was of six hundred tons burden, strong built, and was on her first voyage. As I was confident that there was no other person there at the time, who was prepared to purchase the instruments and notions to take ship to India, and was persuaded that he would be willing to pay high with a view of resale, I felt an anxiety of being the purchaser, that I took some precautionary steps to avoid an additional loss of time in waiting for a ship. I expected to purchase her at from eight to ten thousand dollars; but at the sale, contrary to the expectation of every one, and to the astonishment of those interested, she was put up by the purchaser for at twenty seven thousand five hundred dollars. I was so far disposed to submit to the disappointment, that I was disappointed but twenty-seven thousand five hundred and fifty dollars; and was taken, when referred by the superior bid, which he had made. This was a great disappointment to me; but, upon closer reflection, my loss from paying too much to have a chance of profit cancelled me to it.

But a few days had elapsed, however, after the sale, when I was surprised by the receipt of a check, if I could take the ship at what I had bid. On reflecting, he thought she might be obtained for something less. This was a great consolation, which were the next day confirmed by the information, that the purchaser of the ship had a long credit to whatever he bought at the sale; and, supposing I wanted the ship, I would be willing to pay him as high as I had offered at the sale, he had anticipated this loss of my money (which was then at very high a rate) but the most soothing of his additional bid. In a few weeks after, the ship was offered to me for several thousand dollars less than she brought at the sale; but, having waited so long, I determined to have a cheap ship or none.

On the 20th of this month a general alarm was thrown over the town by the sudden death of their excellent Governor, General Mathias, after an illness of forty-eight hours. In a room in the government-house, lying with black, and with rows of lighted tapers on each side of the coffin, the body lay in state till the 25th, and the was interred with military honors, and even magnificent demonstration of respect. He had expressed a wish, that his funeral expenses might not exceed thirty dollars; but as high a respect was entertained for his character and services, that there seemed to be a determination that no

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around, however, attracted by the interest he felt at what I had thought of and intended. This evening a most day catching the intelligence of my intentions he begged I would the ship, and as high as I had imagined this income of very high class of my relations; the ship was offered for less than the cost, having waited a year a cheap ship

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It should be stated to excuse it. The  
the days of Intemperance, there was only  
to till a magnificent feast could be built  
Chapel de la Made in London his company  
being prepared by the latter part of the  
the night, the body was taken from the  
and carried thither in procession, with  
guns firing; and, having arrived at the  
the, a salute was pronounced to a number  
of attentive auditors. A few days pre-  
ceding the English Whistling squadron had ar-  
rived, contrary to Commodore Huttson's  
order, on the day of the funeral procession, as a  
respect for the deceased general, which  
from windward, and lay by, off the en-  
trance of the harbour, with their colours hoisted  
at, and firing salute guns. Such a re-  
spect from my ship is an honour  
that it ought not to be considered in  
to its birth nation; and while such acts  
are applause of the civilized world, they  
have their influence in diminishing the  
our and interests of war.

As they all were giving this evidence of their courtesy, the squadron gave us notice of character of a different kind. A high ship had, during the night, and from the squadron and the land, and at day, discovered by them several tall trees and near Stuart Island. All sail was the squadron in chase; and although the last approaching land, the Namoo, was engaged in pushing for the port, with speed and determination, which greatly excited sympathy of the multitudes, who were, by intense interest, the result. She had got quite up with the fort at the end of the point, the Lancaster, of sixty tons, passed so close to him (outside) that she from her broadside passing over and above. Then the Adamant, of fifty tons, and fired her broadside with as little and there being up thus for repeating the ship got in safe, while the air was with the shouts and congratulations of the great multitude. It is difficult to conceive, as such formidable broadsides could be so, from so short a distance, against an object without destroying it; and that produced no injury, seemed almost mira-

The ship was immediately warped up, hored near to the guard ship. But the Commander was determined not to be done in enterprise. And although his lot of success seemed as hopeless as that of the Hamelincher had done in the past, he sent in his boats about ten o'clock in the evening, of which we had notice by the cannon from the guard ship and from the land, in defiance of these, actually carried up off, while the crew supposed themselves in such perfect safety, that the broker was actually taking a list of the articles composing

the animal. It was said there was a few hours  
that the tide was high.

The aqueduct had already intercepted a ship from London when near the island, and had also taken several of the foreign sailing vessels. There remained, therefore, but a lonely chance for any vessel to succeed in entering the port. Under these circumstances, now late in the month of September, I decided to abandon the plan of returning to India. Money was in unusual demand, and coffee to be procured with it at enormously low rates. Hence it was obvious that, to invest the principal part of my capital in this article before the opening of the sales, confer with Ainslie, or any other agent, should enhance the value of it, and to be prepared to freight it, by the best good opportunity, for Europe of the United States, was the most judicious course to pursue.

Acting on this determination, I had soon secured the quantity I desired, and on very advantageous terms. In the mean time, and early in the month of October, the English squadron went off without being relieved by another, to the great joy of the merchants in particular, and of the inhabitants generally of the Isle of France. In their short cruise, and principally from the capture of cruising vessels, they had caused the ruin of many families, and the distress of many.

The blockade had been raised but a day or two when there arrived a national corvette, and also a French and a steamship, all from Europe. The general tenor of the news they brought was, that the war was prosecuted in Europe by all parties, with its accustomed vigour; and that there was an immediate expectation of an adjustment of difficulties between the French and American governments. This last was a "circumstantialia" devoutly to be wished by the Americans here, not less in public than in private considerations. Nor was it less desired by the cultivators and owners of plantations, whose produce would be enhanced in value by an open intercourse with the United States, more than by all the neutrals of Europe combined. Hence the planters never failed to regret the arrival of an American prize, from the fear that each additional one would have a tendency to prolong hostilities.

In the course of the month of November, arrived the *Companien* privateer, conducting her prize, the East India Company's ship *Kent*. The action which resulted in the capture of this ship will rank amongst the most chivalrous and gallant which the naval annals of any country record, and which even *Bucanins* would hardly have risked, had he been aware that his antagonist had more than the usual complement of men for a Company's ship. But, in addition to the ordinary number, of probably 150, were the troops and passengers, who were going out in the *Queen*, which was burnt at St. Salvador, and who amounted to about 300; making together



450 men. Their ship had a complete battery betwixt decks, of twenty-two or twenty-four twelve-pounders, and had the advantage of an elevation above the water double that of the privateer; so that it might be supposed that one man would successfully resist at least four assailants. The *Confiance* mounted twenty nine-pounders, and had, on sailing from the Isle of France, 180 men. She had greatly the advantage of her opponent in sailing. The action being begun by the *Kent*, but few broadsides were exchanged before the *Confiance*, lifting up under the quarter, and pouring in a broadside, hoisted in the smoke, with nearly the whole crew. The resistance on deck was not of long duration; and when it ceased, a scene of plunder ensued, which is considered to be justified by the practices of war, when a place or ship is taken by storm, and which is promised to our men previous to the assault. Nor is it in the power of the commander, however he may be disposed, to arrest the progress of those irregularities, which are inseparable from such a state of confusion. Were it possible, there was no person in the world who would have been more ready to do it than Captain Surcouf, whom I knew to be not less deservedly distinguished for humanity and generosity than for intrepidity and the most daring courage. The value of this prize to the captors was not very great, as she was laden principally with military stores. One of the privateer's men produced considerable mirth on the Exchange, by appearing there dressed in a suit of the English general's uniform, which he had taken the liberty to appropriate to his own particular use. But a few weeks had elapsed after the arrival of this prize, when the American brig *Traveller*, with upwards of 100,000 dollars in specie on board, was sent in by the *Adèle* privateer. To prevent any influence which the captain, supercargo, or officers might have in averting condemnation, neither of them had been permitted to proceed in the brig. This we learned from the sailors who came in her.

Great efforts were made, not less by the consul of the United States than by several respectable individuals of the place, for the release of this property, but ineffectually. The fact of there being such an amount of specie on board, and of its being much wanted, was of sufficient weight to bear down all opposition to its condemnation. These efforts, however, combined with the information recently received, that several of their privateers had been foiled, and much cut up, by American letters of marque, which they had met in the Bay of Bengal, tended greatly to promote a hostile feeling towards the Americans; in those, particularly, who were interested in privateers.

During the existence of those feelings a Boston newspaper was produced on Change, in which was inserted a list of those merchants of the Isle of France who were engaged in pri-

vateering; and some of whom were at rogues, noted villains, &c. Among the last was a very insensible, arrogant, and physically powerful man, who was an *armateur* and a Captain of *Dragoons*. No sooner was he furnished of the ungracious notice taken of him in this paper, than, incapable of suppressing wrath, he gave vent to it in the most gross, abusive language, directed to a young Bostonian who happened to be the only American on Change. The consequence was a challenge. They met the next morning, and fought at five paces distant, when the Captain of *Dragons* received his adversary's ball, diagonally, in arm, which laid him up for six weeks. Bostonian escaped unhurt. We expected afterwards, in our intercourse with the inhabitants, nothing but the civility and politeness which are proverbially French.

Some time in the month of December, prize ship *Kent* was sold to a Dane for thirteen thousand nine hundred dollars. Soon after which she was put up for freight for Europe, being called the *Cronberg*, and having transferred to her the papers of a ship of that name, of a three hundred tons burthen. But at this time few persons were desirous of freighting to Europe; and all considered the risk too great, both on account of the deficiency of the requisite papers, and of the proposal of an agent to take French property. More than a month had elapsed after this ship was put up to receive a cargo, and none had been offered, while the daily expenses were rapidly consuming the means indispensable for putting her to sea. Under these circumstances, overtures were made to Mr. Slater and myself to freight the ship exclusively, and with a particular agreement, that no French property or passenger should be taken on board. Terms were low in proportion to risk; the accommodations for ourselves spacious and tempting; the chance of the market soon opening with America uncertain, and we had both become equally tired of a life of inactivity; and of our residence at the Isle of France. We, therefore, engaged to freight this ship, and stipulated to sail in sixty days from the date of the contract.

During the remainder of this and the ensuing month, there were several arrivals from Europe, which caused a rise in the price of the produce of the island of fifteen or twenty per cent. A coasting brig from Bourbon, with fourteen hundred bags of coffee, was chased on shore by an English frigate, near to Little River; and the vessel and most of the cargo were lost. Animation and vigour were given to the commerce of the place by the young men attached to two national ships, *Naturaliste* and *Geographe*, under the command of Monsieur Baudin, who had touched here on the route to New Holland and the Pacific Ocean, on a voyage of discovery and scientific research. The ships on their arrival looked rather as if they were return-

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 there was nothing connected with the ex-  
 that promised to add to the national  
 or to repay the expense of the equip-

## CHAPTER X.

ments for departure.—Remarks on the Isle  
 are.—Its plantations.—Commercial advan-  
 —A long-sighted personage.—Amiable cha-  
 of the late Governor.—Influence of priva-  
 —Embarkation for Europe.—“Old  
 ones more.”—A pleasing contrast.—Fuel  
 of the voyage.—Arrival on the coast of Nor-  
 —Unpleasant discovery.—Proceed to Chris-  
 —Leave the ship.—Curious custom.—  
 —Copenhagen.—Appearance of the city—  
 —gardens.—National obelisk.—Libraries  
 —Character of the Danes.—Love of  
 —Customs.—Arrival of the ship at Copen-  
 —Sale of the cargo.—Handsome profits.

period of my departure now drew near,  
 asked forward to it with great impatience;  
 reached the middle of March, ten months  
 completed since my arrival—a term ren-  
 ditionally tedious from the want of oc-  
 During this time no opportunity had  
 of putting into execution the plan I  
 contemplated on leaving Calcutta; and,  
 by circumstances, I was now again  
 stirring every thing, without the possi-  
 covering any part of the risk by insur-  
 Should we arrive safe in Europe, my  
 would be much greater than I could  
 ly have hoped to possess at this outset.  
 could fail to do so, or should be inter-  
 an English cruiser and condemned,  
 property, which had been sent home  
 na, would amount to more than double  
 signal outfit from France. Thus, though  
 out at hazard was greater, its loss would  
 ed with none of the distressing conse-  
 which would have resulted from the  
 the property in an earlier stage of the  
 an. These considerations greatly di-  
 the anxiety at having a large portion  
 fortune at hazard, and reconciled me to  
 the risk. Moreover, our ship was so  
 and made so warlike an appearance, that  
 was but little chance that any cruiser less  
 frigate would approach within reach of  
 us.

as agreed that we should avoid, if possi-  
 making any vessel, and that we should  
 long way to the south of the Cape of  
 Hope. We determined also to avoid see-  
 Helena or Agassien, or indeed any land,  
 the time of losing sight of the Isle of Bour-  
 we should see the land about Fair Isle  
 ; and before coming up with this, to

make a long sweep to the westward, and approach  
 this passage on an easterly course. With such  
 precautions we considered the prospect to be  
 tolerably fair, especially if the ship sailed as well as  
 reported, of arriving in safety at our destined port.

Before noticing this passage, it is proper to  
 say something of the Isle of France, and its go-  
 vernment and people. The very rugged, moun-  
 tainous, and irregular appearance presented to  
 the voyager on a first view of the Isle of  
 France, would naturally cause him to believe  
 that it could not be well adapted to agriculture.  
 By a nearer view, however, he will be unde-  
 ceived. The luxuriant valleys which meet his view  
 as he passes along to leeward between Round  
 Island and the port, and the aromatic breezes,  
 doubly agreeable to one who has been long at sea,  
 will convince him that there is no deficiency of  
 land which is prized by the agriculturist. And this  
 opinion will be confirmed by visiting the pro-  
 ductive cotton, coffee, and indigo plantations,  
 and noticing, moreover, the prosperous cultiva-  
 tion of the clove, of wheat, and of Indian corn.  
 The secure harbour of Port Northwest gives to  
 the island great commercial advantages over the  
 more fertile, but, in this respect, less favoured  
 Isle of Bourbon; for the produce of the latter is  
 principally transported to the Isle of France for  
 embarkation for Europe, this being thought a  
 smaller inconvenience than to load the ships in  
 its open and dangerous roadsteads. The town  
 formerly called Port Louis, and more recently  
 Port Northwest, is situated on the eastern ex-  
 treme of the harbour; whence it extends back  
 nearly a mile to the Champ de Mars, a spacious  
 field destined for the exercise and the review of  
 troops. The view from the town is limited on  
 the north and south by hills, on which are made  
 the signals to denote the approach of vessels;  
 on the east, by those very irregular mountains,  
 called Pter-Booth, the Ponce, and Piton-du-  
 millieu-de-l'île, which have an elevation from the  
 sea of three to four hundred toises; and on the  
 west, by the ocean and an uninterrupted horizon.  
 The houses are, with very few exceptions, built  
 of wood, in a neat, pretty style, and generally of  
 one story. The public buildings are commo-  
 dious and useful, but are not of a description to  
 attract the observation of a stranger; excepting,  
 perhaps, the government-house, which is spa-  
 cious and airy, and is so situated as to command  
 a fine view of the harbour and shipping. The  
 streets are regular, of good breadth, generally  
 clean, and many of them are ornamented with  
 trees. The bazaar, or market for meat and ve-  
 getables, is on a large square contiguous to the  
 government-house. It affords but a scanty  
 choice of eatables, and those not the best of  
 their kinds, and also indicates great disregard  
 of that cleanliness which is particularly desirable  
 and proper in a market-place. The number of  
 inhabitants amounts to about thirteen thousand,  
 two-thirds of whom are slaves.

There was at this time a person at the Isle of

France, whose name I have forgotten, who believed himself to be possessed of a power to discover objects at sea, several hundred miles farther off than any other person could see. He pretended to see vessels so distant to windward, that they would only arrive, according to his calculation, in three or four days; and as they often did arrive conformably, which, from the frequency of his predictions, was not surprising, he made many converts. If they failed to come, it did not prove that he had not seen them; but that they had passed by on their way to India. The man evinced that he was equally deluded with others, by afterwards putting this faculty to a fair test, through the means of the Imperial government. They sent him out in a frigate, and the next day sent another, with an understanding that they were to come within fifty or sixty miles, and then approach till they discovered each other. In the meantime, the man of long sight was on the look-out, but was unable to discover the other frigate at a greater distance than the generality of the crew, and consequently was obliged to take his station, in this respect, with other mortals.

The Governor, who had lately deceased, and for whose memory the inhabitants appeared to entertain the most profound respect, seemed to have been peculiarly fitted by temper, disposition, and judgment, for the very troublesome and difficult times in which it was his destiny to act. A more despotic commander, one accustomed to the promptitude of military obedience and strenuous to exact it, would inevitably have perished in the early period of those turbulent times, when liberty was understood to be the uncontrolled indulgence of every passion; and each day afforded some practical illustration of this belief. In these times of anarchy, General Malartie wisely yielded to the storm which he saw it would be destruction to resist; and by an apparent acquiescence in measures which he disapproved, softened or ameliorated, as much as possible, those acts of the dominant party which he could not control, and which he saw would be injurious to the prosperity of the island. This dominant party were the Jacobins. Professing to be exclusively the true friends of liberty, they did not perceive the tyranny of persecuting and denouncing as traitors all those citizens who dared to express opinions opposed to their own.

In close alliance, and amalgamated with these, were the *armateurs* and privateers'-men; a numerous class, composed of dashing young adventurers, whose object was exclusively the acquirement of fortune, unrestrained by any law, moral or divine. Yet these *jeunes gens*, as they were called, were guilty of no acts of cruelty that I saw or heard of; but, on the contrary, behaved in many instances, towards those whom fortune had thrown into their power, with a generosity which was highly honourable to them. As an evidence of the influence which these *jeunes*

*gens* possessed over the mind of the good superannuated Governor, they, for the purpose of securing as *good prize* a rich American vessel, which had been sent in by one of the privateers, induced him to commit the ridiculous act of formally declaring war against the United States. As this declaration did not appear in any of the periodicals of the time, I infer, it was not known beyond the limits of the island.

This opinion is, moreover, strengthened by its ceasing to be acted upon as soon as the object for which it was made was secured in form. For, while this act was in full force, an American ship arrived from France, came with the flag of the United States displayed, and was admitted to entry without a question of the proprietary; the cargo was disposed of, when the vessel was ready, a clearance given for Bengal, with as little delay and intimation as if the public authorities were unacquainted with the hostile act in question. It was apparent, that the government had no disposition to enforce the observance of an act which had been extorted from it; and which could not fail to be prejudicial to the best interests of the island. At the same time it was not less apparent, that the party possessed much energy and strength as to control the government whenever it was for their interest to do; while their respect for it was limited to the observance of unimportant forms. It was therefore, less surprising that they should have committed some acts of injustice and more than that they should have been restrained by any bounds, which arrested their progress in the pursuit of fortune.

The preparations for expediting our ship were advanced so slowly, that the 20th of March arrived before every thing was in readiness. A gale of wind, amounting almost to a hurricane, which caused the ship to bring home her anchors, and almost drove her ashore, was the cause of embarrassment; the difficulty of collecting the great number of men required for such a ship was another; while each additional day's delay added to the chance of the arrival of the blockading squadron, which would have shut up in port for the space of another month or two. This proportionally increased the anxiety of the captain of the Cronberg, whose expenses, if detained when so near the point of sailing, would be ruinous. On the 21st of March, therefore, as this dreaded interruption had occurred, the winds and weather favouring departure, and every thing being ready, we joined the ship, and were accompanied by many of our friends as far as the buoys. There, in demonstrations of sincere regard, and wishes for a successful voyage, they left us to return to the shore. On board all was buoyancy and alacrity in spreading that crowd of sail which was invited by the breeze, and which soon carried us out of sight of the island. To be once again

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bosom of old ocean, once more with  
and definite object in view, after so long  
ous a detention at the Isle of France,  
the most lively feelings of satisfaction.  
sailing in so magnificent a ship, with no  
ore than to make myself comfortable,  
ly a novel situation to me. Nor could  
thinking of the contrast between the boat  
h I had come to the island, and the ship  
h I was now leaving it. The one of  
five tons, the other of more than nine  
tons; the one manned with four Las  
the other with one hundred Europeans;  
accommodations in one bearing some re  
ce to a dog-kennel, those of the other,  
ry, and so spacious, that the room ex  
appropriated to my use was of greater  
e than the whole capacity of the first;  
very little exceeding in size the long-  
the other. But I need not enlarge on a  
which must be obvious to all, after  
the relative tonnage. In stateliness and  
appearance, in symmetry and just  
ness of hull and rigging, in strength and  
st, and in the elegance and commo  
of the accommodations, no ship could  
be Cronberg. Nothing seemed wanting  
the passage before us delightful, except-  
dom from the apprehension of meeting  
of those British cruisers, who are so  
the habit of appropriating to their own  
property of other people.  
We soon discovered that we were mis-  
and that our anxiety was to be aug-  
by a violation of the agreement, on the  
the captain, relative to taking French  
men. We had scarcely got clear of  
ed, when a person of this descrip-  
came up from his concealment. Indignant  
treatment, we immediately demanded an  
on, and were told he was not French,  
was gentleman. Such a miserable sub-  
ed not mend the matter; and we ex-  
our opinions on the subject in terms that  
ation naturally called forth, and which  
conducive to that harmony between the  
and passengers so desirable to both parties.  
On the twenty-third day after leaving the  
France we passed the longitude of the  
Good Hope, nearly four degrees to the  
west. The only vessels seen during this  
were two ships in company, which kept  
on their course. Pursuing our way to  
the west, we passed the latitude of St.  
on the 28th of April, at the distance of  
hundred and fifty miles west of it. Having  
time had ample opportunity of trying  
in every variety of weather, we found  
that could be desired—a good sea-boat,  
her rigging, sailing and steering well,  
and strong, and exceedingly comfort-

On the first of June, being in latitude 44o  
and longitude 32o west, we spoke an

American schooner bound to Lisbon, who re-  
ported a continuation of the war in Europe, but  
knew nothing relative to the political state of  
Denmark. With strong westerly gales we made  
rapid advances towards the Orkney islands, and  
saw them on the 9th. The next day we passed  
by Fair Island passage, near to which we saw a  
ship bound to the westward; and the day fol-  
lowing, when abreast the Naze of Norway, we  
spoke a Danish fishing-boat, and received the  
astounding information of war between England  
and Denmark. We were told, that the fleet  
of the former, after having bombarded the Da-  
nish capital, were yet in its neighbourhood, and  
that we could not proceed farther towards Elis-  
nore without being intercepted by a British  
cruiser. Directing our course, therefore, more  
in shore, with a view of entering a port in Nor-  
way, on approaching it we fired several guns for  
a pilot, and succeeded in obtaining one, who  
conducted us into Fleckery, where we anchored  
towards evening near the fort. An officer im-  
mediately boarded us, and confirmed the infor-  
mation we had received from the fisherman.  
Our passage, of only eighty-four days, had been,  
in every respect, the pleasantest I had ever  
made.

Being securely anchored under the guns of a  
Danish fortress, we could not help reflecting up-  
on the risks we had encountered; so much greater  
than we had anticipated, or would have taken,  
had we been aware of their extent. We con-  
trasted our present situation with what it would  
have been if we had fallen into the hands of a  
cruiser. And our emotions of gratitude, of satis-  
faction and delight, as we thought of these  
things, were in proportion to the importance of  
the object attained, and the dangers escaped in  
the attainment. In high spirits at the unex-  
pected demand for our cargo, and its conse-  
quently increased value, we set out early in the  
morning after our arrival for Christiansand,  
where the Danish Commodore lay, with a fri-  
gate and several corvettes. Our first visit was  
to the Commodore, who congratulated us on an  
escape which he termed almost miraculous, and  
advised, that, without delay, the ship should be  
brought to Christiansand, as he considered her  
position at Fleckery an unsafe one. Accord-  
ingly, as soon as practicable, this advice was  
followed.

Perceiving it to be impossible for the ship to  
go to Copenhagen at present, and uncertain how  
long this state of things would continue, Mr.  
Shaler and myself determined to proceed thither  
without delay. For this purpose we engaged a  
passage in a coasting vessel, then on the point  
of sailing for Nybourg. We dined at the pub-  
lic-house in Christiansand, at the *table d'hôte*,  
with a number of young men of the country,  
whose pursuits appeared to be mercantile. I  
supposed myself to be generally acquainted with  
the European customs on such occasions; but a  
ceremony was observed here, which I afterwards



found to prevail in Denmark; though I believe it is peculiar to that country. When dinner is ended, all rise together, and bowing to each other, and shaking hands, say, "Much good may it do you," "God bless you," &c.; and this seems to be a piece of etiquette of such universal observance, that a neglect of it would be considered as unwomanly as the omission to drink healths would be in England.

The wind being unfavourable on the 13th, we remained at Christiansand. In the course of the night it came round favourable, and at dawn we were called to embark; Mr. Shaler, myself, and my man George, all of whom, in a general passport, were styled American merchants. The third morning after sailing, we arrived at Ny-bourg, having had a very comfortable and pleasant passage, to which the captain greatly contributed, not less by an attention to our wants, than by manifesting one of the most amiable, cheerful, and happy characters we had ever met. On the same day we crossed the Belt, in the ferry-boat, to Corseur, and slept there, having ordered post-horses and a waggon to be ready in the morning. Accordingly, at seven o'clock on the 18th, we set out from Corseur, in a very clumsy waggon without springs. But the roads were very good; and the fields of luxuriant vegetation and beautiful verdure, which met the eye on every side, were the more striking, attractive, and pleasing to us, from having been so long accustomed to the parched earth, and burnt vegetation of a tropical climate. We noticed, on either side of the road, many of those mounds which are said to cover the ashes of ancient chiefs or heroes. Arriving at ten o'clock in the evening at Copenhagen, we drove to Muller's hotel, a magnificent house, where we were provided with comfortable apartments and good entertainment.

Three years had now elapsed since I had had any accounts from home. Eager, therefore, to obtain some information relative to my connexions, I went out, early in the morning, in pursuit of some of my countrymen, and accidentally met with an old acquaintance, recently from Salem, who assured me of the welfare of my friends, only a few weeks before. Thus, every thing seemed to concur to fill up the measure of my good fortune, and to call forth corresponding emotions of gratitude to the great Giver of all good.

Although peace between England and Denmark had been some days restored, and orders, in consequence, had been dispatched to Norway for the ship to proceed, yet she did not arrive at Copenhagen before the 16th of July. Hence, we passed a month with no other occupation than sharing in the amusements of the city and its environs.

There are few cities in Europe, which, on a first view, strike a stranger more agreeably than Copenhagen. The size and beauty of the squares, the breadth and cleanliness of the streets, and

the general appearance of the houses, both public and private, are proofs of the wealth and enterprise of the city, and of the excellence of police. A closer examination will convince that all irregularities or nuisances, which are offensive to the public, are immediately corrected; that there are no beggars to be met with; and that there is the most perfect civility for person and property. The ramp which nearly encircle the city, are bordered with a double row of lime-trees, offering an extensive and delightful walk to all classes, and equally delightful ride, but for a few privileged persons only. The gardens of the Rosenborg palace, which is within the city, are thrown open in summer, and afford a cool and pleasant resort for the gay and idle of both sexes. But the sort most frequented is the garden of the summer residence, Fredericksburg palace, about two miles west of the city. These grounds are delightful, and, on Sundays and holidays, crowded with a gay assemblage of all classes who, in their best attire, meet to see and be seen.

On the way to these gardens, a little beyond the western gate of the city, and in the middle of the road, is erected a very handsome obelisk of brown stone, on a square base of marble, and on each corner of this base is a handsome figure. The four are emblematic of Peace, Plenty, Content, and Industry. The height of the obelisk is forty-eight or fifty feet; and its object is to commemorate a circumstance highly interesting to the philanthropist, and to the advocate of civil liberty and the rights of man—the emancipation of the Danish peasantry, which took place January 1800. On one square of the base is written (in Danish), "To Christian VII., King of Danes and Norwegians, from united and grateful citizens." On the opposite, "The foundation stone was laid by Frederick, son of the friend of the people, 1792." On the front of the obelisk, "The king is sensible, that liberty, determined by just laws, produces the happiness of country, and courage to defend it, the love of instruction, the taste for labour, and the love of happiness: he has ordered, that serfdom shall cease, that order and promptitude prevail in the execution of rural laws; in order the cultivator, free, courageous, enlightened, industrious, and good, may become an estimable happy citizen."

The great palace, which was burnt in 1794, and which was one of the most magnificent in Europe, is yet in ruins; and it is supposed, that the expense of removing the firm and the walls would be scarcely less than that of rebuilding it. In the palace of Roenbergh, an old-fashioned pile, which has been built more than two centuries, are kept the crown and jewels, very handsome and complete dining equipage, the purest gold, silver and mosaic tables, coronation and wedding dresses, the sword

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Charles the Twelfth when he fell near  
kashall, many fine paintings, &c. This  
is uninhabited. The royal winter resi-  
in the eastern part of the city, in the  
square of Amellensberg, in the centre  
is a fine equestrian statue of Frederik  
ed at the expense of the Asiatic Com-

public libraries are large and valuable;  
with proper introduction, are alike accessi-  
the stranger and the citizen. The royal  
is extensive, and contains a great va-  
the most curious productions, natural  
history, which usually constitute such col-  
lections.

There are two theatres, which are  
well supported; and, judging from  
the state when I have been present, I  
may be the case; but both houses  
small scale.

number of churches appears to be in pro-  
portion to the extent of the city and  
of inhabitants; and some of them are  
handsome; but, as far as I had op-  
portunity of observing, they appeared to be but  
modest; and, for the most part, by the  
of the people. All denominations of religion are re-  
cognized by the government. Among the population  
are many Israelites. Their occupation  
is that of brokers, dealers, and mo-  
nopolists, and some of them are very rich;  
elsewhere, they hold a subordinate  
position. Still their situation in this city  
compared with that of their brethren  
other parts of Europe; and there are  
of the kings having conferred on some  
distinguished marks of honour.

character of the Danes has long been es-  
teemed for bravery, loyalty, learning, and vir-  
tue. Experience has taught me, that it is  
remarkable for humanity, generosity,  
and qualities of mind and disposition,  
under the social intercourse every thing  
is desirable. Like most of the northern  
peoples, they have a strong predilec-  
tion for the customs and habits of their ances-  
tors. The peasantry, with whom the  
mode of the improved tools of husbandry  
has not been attended,  
efforts by the more enlightened citi-  
zens, only partial success. Where no aid  
to be derived from innovation it is  
not to be expected; and the night-watch of the city  
is the same doleful ditty that has pro-  
ven in use for some centuries. In addi-  
tion to the hour, which they name, they have a  
sentence, varying for each hour, and  
sung in the harmonious manner so  
characteristic of the watchmen, is particularly edifying.

Remarks, however, do not apply to the  
of creation, who watch the progress  
of the people, in dress and etiquette, with  
evidence, that the fashion of a new hon-  
orary deviation in the mode of saluta-  
tion, in Paris, is at once known

and adopted by them: Hence, the change in the  
fashion of their habiliments keeps pace with the  
ever-changing modes which are imported; and  
hence, the belles of Copenhagen are as justly re-  
marked for good taste in dress, as for fine per-  
sons and graceful manners. The love of exer-  
cise, or the desire of seeing and being seen; or  
perhaps both, induces them to frequent the  
public walks, in great numbers, every fine day;  
where they are admired and courted by the mil-  
itary and the idle young men; who usually  
abound in most of the large cities of Europe.  
They possess the facility of acquiring languages,  
which seems to be peculiar to the northern peo-  
ple; and it is not uncommon to meet with  
young ladies who speak three or four different  
languages. Indeed, the subject both of male and  
female education receives here that attention  
which its great importance demands.

The safe arrival of the ship from Norway  
seemed to close the risk on this adventure; and  
the occupation it immediately gave, in assisting  
to receive and sell the cargo, was a very plea-  
sant one, especially as coffee was of ready sale,  
and bore such a price as to produce a very hand-  
some profit. At the same time that I was rea-  
lizing the amount of this property, I had ac-  
counts from America of the safe arrival there of  
that part of the proceeds of my Northwest voy-  
age which had been left to be shipped, and  
which, combined with this, rendered me, as to  
pecuniary affairs, very independent.

## CHAPTER XI.

Past success stimulates to new adventures.—An as-  
sociate in the voyage.—Departure from Copen-  
hagen.—Passengers and pipes.—Arrival at Ham-  
burgh.—A vessel purchased.—Preparations for  
sailing.—A proscribed Pole.—Treaty of Amiens.  
—Doubtful prospects.—A storm.—The vessel in  
jeopardy.—Sail from Cuxhaven.—Arrival at  
Grand Canaria.—The town.—Scarcity of provi-  
sions.—Sailing qualities of the vessel.—Arrival at  
Santa Cruz.—Jealousy of the authorities.—Hens-  
delline convent.—Scenery of the Bay of Rio.  
—The aqueduct.—Departure from Rio.—Passage  
round Cape Horn.—A man overboard.—Arrival  
at Valparaiso.

The voyage, which was begun with such very  
contracted means, at Havre de Grace, in the au-  
tumn of 1797, and was completed by my arrival  
at Copenhagen, in the summer of 1801, had been  
crowned with a success far surpassing my most  
anguine anticipations. The fortune I had gained  
was amply sufficient to enable me to live inde-  
pendently in the moderate and unostentatious  
style which I proposed to myself. But I had  
been too long accustomed to a life of acti-  
vity and excitement, to be reconciled to one of  
indulgence and repose. Indeed, it is generally

acknowledged, that the stimulus for engaging in new adventures, and incurring new risks, is increased in proportion to the success attendant on the preceding ones. This stimulus with me would have been great under any circumstances; but when, as at this time, I could have, as my associate in a voyage round the world, my tried friend and fellow-passenger from the Isle of France, William Shaler, a congenial spirit, the temptation was irresistible. On our late passage together we had discussed the project of a voyage to the west coast of America; and, indeed, we had so far agreed upon it, as to make it dependent alone on the circumstance of meeting a suitable American vessel, which could be obtained at a reasonable price. None such being procurable at Copenhagen, and aware of the extensive American commerce with Hamburg, we determined to proceed to that city, in the expectation of procuring such a one as we desired.

Accordingly, as soon as we had settled our business at Copenhagen, we took passage in the packet for Kiel, early in the month of August; but owing to unexpected adverse winds, our progress was very slow. Our fellow-passengers consisted of two Swedish barons, a *militaire* of the same nation, a Swiss *valet*, and three Danish merchants, each of whom was provided with an enormous pipe, the frequent use of which seemed to be no trifling solace during the tedious hours passed on board the packet.

After having been four days on board, during which, from the absence of every comfort of accommodation and food, we suffered greater privations than are usually experienced on a passage across the Atlantic, we were all very glad to be landed on the Island of Feneren. Here we took post-horses for Hamburg, and arrived there on the 14th of August. We had some doubts whether our appearance, having had no opportunity of making our toilets for several days, was not so much against us as to prevent the landlord's admitting us, or whether, as they said, their houses were so full that they could not; for, after having unsuccessfully tried at three different hotels, we were finally obliged to put up with rooms in the fourth story of the Krone-rampshaus. Further observation, however, convinced us that the city was uncommonly crowded; as, in addition to the multitude of strangers, who were there for commercial purposes, there were computed to be thirty thousand French emigrants. Hence the difficulty we experienced in finding lodgings. After some days, we succeeded in procuring rooms at a private house in the Great St. Michael's-street.

It was soon obvious that we should meet with no embarrassment in finding here a vessel suited to our purpose; for the number of American vessels in port afforded us a choice almost equal to what is usual in any one of the great commercial ports in the United States. In selecting one, on board of which there was a prospect of

passing two or three, and in cases where repairs and articles of equipment were doubtful attainment, it was important to the properties of strength, durability of material, swiftness of sailing, capacity for cargo, and comfortable accommodations. Such a vessel was offered us in the brig *Lella Byrd* of Portsmouth, Virginia, of a hundred and seventy tons burthen, which we purchased at a price.

While my friend and associate went to Denmark, to settle some affairs of his own, I remained at Hamburg, to attend to repairs and repairing the vessel, to enlarging and proving the accommodations, and to purchase the cargo, which we had agreed should be harked. These objects were accomplished the vessel laden by the end of September, which time Mr. Shaler returned from Denmark. It now became necessary to set about shipping our men; but before this could be done, it requisite to determine which of us should be the capacity of master. As both were equally competent to the task, and neither ambitious of it, the subject had not even been mentioned. When it became absolutely necessary to settle the question, we agreed to decide it by lot, the decision was in favour of Mr. Shaler, who commanded and enlisted the men, while I harked in the capacity of supercargo, but with an understanding that these designations only for "our sake; and that the duties of each were to be reciprocally performed by each. Interests in the vessel and being equal, there existed no inequality of powers, or in the profits, of whatever decision, that might be realised.

During our sojourn at Hamburg, we became acquainted with the Count de Rouine, a young Polish nobleman, of superior education and talents. He had fought for the liberation of his country, as aide-de-camp to the unfortunate Kosciuszko; and being one of the proscribed, living at Hamburg on slender means, and without occupation. In the society of a gentleman of such intelligence, accomplishments, and amiable traits, we knew that we should be repaid for the additional expense of taking as a *compagnon de voyage*, and we agreed to invite him to accompany us as such. He had never been at sea, and a voyage round the globe to a man like him, reared in the interior of the continent, offered such attractions that he acceded to the proposal, not only without hesitation, but with expressions of great satisfaction and delight.

Various causes tended so to retard our departure, that it was late in the month of October before every thing was ready for our departure. In the mean time we received information of the sudden and unexpected termination of the peace between France and England, by the treaty of Amiens, an event which had a most important bearing on the prospects of our voyage.

and in consequence of the equipment was so important to the length, durability of the vessel, capacity for accommodations. Such as the brig *Lella Byrd* of a hundred and seventy tons, which we purchased at

an associate went to the affairs of his own, in attend to copper, to enlarging and alterations, and to purchase and agreed should be accomplished. At the end of September, returned from Bordeaux to set about ship, which could be done, in which of us should be. As both were equal, and neither ambitious, not even being mentioned, it was necessary to decide it by lot. Mr. Shaler, who of the men, while of supererogation, but these designations, and that the duties reciprocally performed in the vessel, and stated no inequality of duties, of whatever description.

At Hamburg, we had the Count de Roussillon, of superior education, sought for the liberation to the unfortunate one of the proscribed, slender means, and the society of a gentleman, accomplished, and knew that we should at the expense of taking, and we agreed to us as such. He had a voyage round the world, and in the interior, which attractions that not only without the lions of great sailing

ended so to retard our progress in the month of October, ready for our departure, received information of the termination of the war in England, by the treaty of peace, which had a most inspiring effect on our voyage.

commerce of Spain with her colonies, which had been for so many years annihilated by the all-powerful marine of Great Britain, would be renewed. By the regular introduction, in which ships, of the manufactures of Europe, the hitherto exorbitant prices would be reduced, which would proportionally lessen the excitement which had before existed for obtaining them in an irregular manner. It was obvious, therefore, that a voyage to Chili and Peru could now be made only under the most encouraging auspices; as the same cause which acted to enable the inhabitants to supply themselves with manufactures, would also operate greatly to increase the danger to foreign ships, by the increased number and vigilance of the *guardacostas*, hitherto confined to their posts by the presence of a superior hostile force. A retreat in this advanced state of the business, by a resale of the vessel and cargo, could be effected without great loss; and although it might have been the most prudent part, we did not reconcile our minds to it; and, therefore, determined to prosecute the voyage.

Before we could act on this decision, all our arrangements and fears for the future came near being terminated by the loss of the vessel, while yet in the river. The day after anchoring off Gluckstadt, whither she had been taken by the pilot, a tremendous storm occurred, which brought in the tide so as to inundate the lower part of the city. The damage done by the loss and injury of vessels and destruction of property, was very great. Our vessel dragged her anchors some distance, and was in imminent danger of going on the piers of the wharf, where a total loss would probably have ensued. One cable parted, and the pilot was urgent for cutting away the masts, but the captain would not consent, and we finally escaped only the loss of the stern-boat, which was lost from the davits by the violence of the

storm. Having recovered our anchor, and purchased a new boat, we took the first favourable opportunity to proceed down the river, and after a short stay at Cuxhaven, put to sea on the 20th of November, 1801, in company with a fleet of ships and brigs, which, like ours, were bound to the westward. The opportunity of sailing of the *Lella Byrd* was soon lost, as, at the expiration of four hours, but the number that sailed with us were disabled from the deck, having been left far behind. The wind throughout the night and the day was light and variable, and our progress in consequence so slow, that we did not reach Dover till the 13th, off which we were met by a boat from that place, with the offer of a pilotage, or of forwarding letters; neither of which services had we any occasion for. Proceeding on our course, we passed in sight of the Isle of Ushant with a fine breeze at north-east; and, without any occurrence worthy of

notice, came in sight of the island of Grand Canaria, on the 28th, where, although only twenty days out, we determined to stop for an additional supply of fruit, vegetables, &c. We therefore anchored next morning in twelve fathoms, sandy bottom, about three miles from the town, which, from this position, presented a very pleasing and somewhat imposing appearance.

After the customary visit from the public authorities, Messrs. Shaler, Roussillon, and myself, accompanied by the captain of the port, as *eleerone*, went on shore to see the town, and to ascertain if our wants could be supplied without losing too much time. We dined with the captain of the port, who engaged to procure for us the stores of which we had need. Palma de Canaria, which is the name of the town, is the most considerable place on the island, numbering about twelve thousand inhabitants, who are a hardy and industrious race, living principally by the cultivation of the soil. It is a residence of a bishop, whose revenue is said to exceed one hundred thousand dollars per annum. The town is pleasantly situated on a plain at the foot of the mountains, and on the east side of the island. The cathedral is built of stone, and of dimensions and site which make it the most conspicuous object on approaching the town from the sea. The bishop's palace, the hospital, and the convents, of which there are three of nuns, and two of friars, make an imposing appearance; but the private houses in which wealth, if it exists, is usually displayed, do not generally afford proofs of ease and independence in the circumstances of their proprietors. We found provisions of all kinds to be extremely scarce and dear. Three-fourths of a dollar was the price of a moderate-sized fowl, and sheep and pigs in proportion. Under these circumstances, we took on board no greater supply than would be sufficient to last us to Rio Janeiro, where we had determined to stop with some hope of being able there to dispose of our cargo.

On the 2d of December, having made our acknowledgments to the captain of the port for his civilities, and taken leave of him, we went on board, weighed anchor, and made all sail to the southward. The trade-winds were unusually light, the sea proportionally smooth; and the weather serene and pleasant. Nevertheless, our little vessel felt the impulse of the slightest breeze, and would make considerable progress at times when many vessels could not keep steerage way; hence we had no apprehension of long delay in passing the calm latitudes. On the 20th, having crossed the equator in longitude 26° west, we soon took the southeast trade-wind, which for several days blew with such strength as obliged us to single-reef our topsails. As is usual in advancing southward, the wind became more easterly, which enabled us to set our studding-sails, carried us onward



at the rate of ten to eleven miles an hour, for several days in succession, and gave us promise of soon reaching our destined port. On the 1st of January, 1802, we came in sight of Cape Frio, and the next day, towards evening, came to anchor in seven fathoms, outside the fort of Santa Cruz, it being calm, the tide setting against us.

Soon after anchoring we were visited by the captain of the port, accompanied by an officer from the guardship, who, after making themselves acquainted with the object of our visit, desired us to remain in our present position till the will of their superiors should be made known to us in the morning. Accordingly, as soon as the sea-breeze set in, the captain of the port again came on board with the requisite permission to enter the port. Then weighing anchor, he conducted us to a very snug berth within the Ilha das Cobras, where we moored near an American and a Danish ship, the only foreigners in port, and where we appeared to be perfectly sheltered from the influence of any of the storms or hurricanes which are peculiar to the tropical region.

The next morning we were visited, with much formality, by the municipal authorities, accompanied by the interpreter, to ascertain the condition of our vessel, and to know our wants; in order that, from their report to superior authority, it might be decided how long we should be permitted to remain in port. Aware of the jealousy of the government towards all foreigners, and their practice of rigidly enforcing the law for the exclusion of any other flag than their own, except in cases of emergency, we presumed the time granted to us would be very limited, and were therefore very well satisfied, when it was announced to us, that the Viceroy permitted us to remain eight days. This was ample time to fill up our water-casks, to procure a supply of stock, vegetables, and fruit, and to ascertain if it were possible to dispose of our cargo to some one of the traders who were here from the River Plate.

Having at length obtained leave to go on shore, we readily availed ourselves of it, although with the incumbrance of a soldier constantly following us; nor, during our stay, were we at any time on shore without being thus watched. Nevertheless, as there were no limits to our wandering about the city, we visited nearly every part of it. We passed one evening at the theatre. The company was numerous, orderly, well-dressed, and apparently respectable. Their patience was put to the test by his Excellency the Viceroy, before whose arrival the curtain could not be raised, and who kept them waiting till past eight o'clock. When he entered his box, all rose, with their faces towards him; at the same time the music struck up a favourite air. After this a comedy in five acts was performed, succeeded by a ballet, which gave

general satisfaction, and which detained us till past midnight.

On the third day after our arrival, being in one of the largest streets of the city, engaged in conversation with the linguist, whom I had accidentally met there, I perceived a man carried off in the arms of two others; his clothes were very bloody, and he appeared to be dying. On inquiring what accident had happened to him, I was told, with much *sang froid*, that he had just been stabbed, and that the perpetrator of the deed had escaped. The linguist seemed to receive the information with as little emotion as if it were a circumstance of every day's occurrence. Yet, it is apparent that no people are more attached to life; and, if the crime of murder were held in as general abhorrence as in many other countries, it would be of equally rare occurrence. But, in this country, the assassin generally escapes with impunity; and this encourages a repetition of the crime on every trifling provocation.

In one of our morning walks, Mr. Rouissillon and myself went to the convent of Benedictines, which is beautifully situated on an eminence facing the harbour. Seeing one of the monks at the door of the chapel, who spoke Italian, Mr. Rouissillon made known to him our desire of seeing the interior of the convent, when he civilly expressed the pleasure he should take in showing it to us. We were first conducted through the chapel, which, as usual in these establishments, is the pride of the fraternity. The profusion of ornaments and gold about the altar, which strikes the eye on first entering, is very grand and imposing, and probably produces the reverential effect intended on the majority of those who worship there. Contiguous to the chapel is a small room used exclusively as the depositary of some relics of a saint, whose history, and even name, I have forgotten. Following our conductor, we passed up a flight of stairs to the cells and the dining room. The former are about twelve feet square, with one window, and are furnished each with a bed, a chair, and a table of ordinary manufacture. The latter is about sixty feet by thirty, with small windows near the ceiling. On one side, about midway of the room, is a pulpit, from which one of the brothers reads a sermon, or homily, while the others are engaged at their meal.

On the same floor, and in a delightful room, the large windows of which open upon the harbour, is the library containing from ten to twelve thousand volumes, mostly in the French, Italian, and Latin languages. My friend evinced so familiar an acquaintance with many of these works, that the monk who accompanied us was much astonished. This we discovered by his remarking it to a brother then in the room, and taking occasion to contrast the ignorance and indifference to literature of their own countrymen, with the intelligence and laudable

which detained us till

our arrival, being in of the city, engaged in linguist, whom I had perceived a man carried off; his clothes were soiled to be dying. On had happened to him, I thought, that he had been the perpetrator of the crime. The linguist seemed to be with as little emotion as of every day's occurrence, that no people are killed, if the crime of murder is as in many countries, the assassin is punished; and this is the crime on every

walks, Mr. Rouissimont, a convent of Benedictines, situated on an eminence, being one of the monks, who spoke Italian, told him our desire to visit the convent, when he assured he should take us. We were first conducted to a church, as usual in these parts, and gold about the eye on first entering, and probably protection intended on the worship there. Convent small room used by some relics of a name, I have conductor, we passed the cells and the dining room twelve feet square, furnished each with a table of ordinary manufacture sixty feet by thirty, the ceiling. On one of the room, is a pulpit, where others read a sermon, and are engaged at their

in a delightful room, which open upon the harbour, from ten to twelve in the French, Italian. My friend evinced so much with many of these, no accompanied us was we discovered by his then in the room, contrast the ignorance of their own intelligence and laudable

loyalty of these foreign youths. The revenue of this fraternity is said to be very large, from sugar and coffee plantations. They number about forty good healthy-looking men, who may be supposed to be leading innocent lives, but, mainly to appearance, very useless ones. On leaving of our good-natured conductor, he civilly invited us to come again. The public or royal garden, which is about two miles east from the city, and on the border of the bay, is susceptible of being made a beautiful park and lounge, as it is shaded with many fine trees, and is open to the full influence of the breeze; but it is in a dilapidated state, is neglected, and but little frequented.

Nothing can be imagined more beautiful than the picture presented on entering the Bay of Rio de Janeiro. On the left is the remarkable high rock, in the form of a sugar-loaf, inclining north very considerably from a perpendicular, and bounding that side of the entrance. On the right is the formidable and beautiful fortress of Santa Cruz, near to whose walls ships must pass to enter the deep water, and from which they are called by the sentry. In front, and appearing in mid-passage, is a small rocky island, on which is a battery; and beyond this is the bay, of great extent yet to discern the extremity. Between this small island and the point of Santa Cruz, the bay is entered, and the scenery becomes more picturesque. On one side of the city, with its churches, its convents, its palaces and houses, and a battery, occupy the front ground. In the rear, and at a greater distance, is seen the aqueduct, constructed with arches. On the other side are the sugar hills, beautifully clothed in verdure, several of which are perched neat white convents and convents, whose inhabitants seem withdrawn from the rest of the world. Beyond these, the horizon is limited by a range of regularly uneven mountains, which, from their resemblance, are called the Organ-pipes. The bay, immediately in front of the city, are the ships of war, beyond which, and the Ilha das Cobras, which forms the harbour, is the forest of masts of the merchant ships. The intercourse kept up between the city and St. Domingo and Praya Grande, on the opposite side of the bay, by means of numerous small sail-boats, gives life and animation to the scene and an harmonious finish, which renders it perfectly beautiful.

The city itself, independently of its natural advantages, and the beautiful scenery by which it is environed, has nothing to recommend it to a stranger's attention. Its palace is of ordinary construction, neither remarkable for size nor architectural proportions. The convents, like all buildings of that description, have the appearance of prisons. The cathedral, being only recently built, had neither shape nor comeliness. The houses generally appear to be well adapted to the climate; but I observed nothing in the

exterior of any of them, which would indicate the wealth which is attributed to many of the inhabitants. The aqueduct, by which the city is supplied with water, is decidedly the most useful, and probably the most costly, public work to be seen here. It commences near the Corcovado, where the waters are collected in a covered reservoir, and are thence conveyed into the canal, which, protected from the heat of the sun, they reach the city without losing their freshness.

Finding that we could not dispose of our cargo here, and having provided the stores requisite for the passage to the Chilean coast, there was no inducement to prolong our stay beyond the time limited at our entry. We therefore, on the 9th, cleared out at the custom-house, and moved the vessel from the harbour into the bay, that we might be ready to take advantage of the land-breeze early the following morning. Having apprised the captain of the port of this intention, he came on board in good season, and conducted us out till past the castle, when he took leave with the customary salutation, and we pursued our course to the south.

The occurrences during this passage, with one melancholy exception, were as uninteresting as is common on such voyages. The change of latitude brings a change of weather, and this causes the most important, if not the only variety in the daily routine—that of reducing and spreading sail more frequently, as we advance toward the stormy parallel. On the first of February we saw land to the westward, being in latitude 54° 40' south. But, having headwinds for several succeeding days, we made scarcely any progress till the 5th, when we took a breeze from the north-west, which, after a few hours, came from the north-east; and next day, from east-north-east, from whence it continued a fine breeze throughout the day, and increasing in the night, so as to oblige us to take in top-gallant sails, and, before morning, to reef our topsails.

On the morning of the 7th we perceived the water to be discoloured, and soon after saw Cape Horn to the westward, distant nine or ten leagues. Soon after the wind shifted to the south-south-east, and thence to south-south-west, blowing in squalls, with great violence, which obliged us to furl the fore-top sail and close reef the main one. While engaged on the latter, we had the misfortune to lose John Green, a Norwegian, who fell from the yard, struck his head against the main chains, and fell into the sea. He was seen but a moment, his head very bloody, and then disappeared. An immediate and general rush was made to clear away the boat, but a moment's reflection was sufficient to satisfy every one, that the boat could not fall to be swamped immediately in the high and very irregular sea, which had been created by the sudden shifting of the wind. Nor had it been otherwise, would it have been of any avail, as

the blow on the head must have been fatal. Thus perished, in an instant, an excellent young man, in the prime of life and vigour of health and spirits, beloved by his shipmates, and highly prized by the master and officers. This distressing event cast a gloom on the spirits of all on board, which was not entirely effaced during the remainder of the passage, nor till new scenes and new avocations, in a degree, obliterated the recollections of the past.

We began now to experience a specimen of that tempestuous weather for which Cape Horn is so justly famed. Hard and continued gales from the westward, during which we could only lie to; some days so cold, although in midsummer, that the sleet and snow lay on the weather side of the mast till past noon. At length, after having contended more than a week with adverse winds and boisterous weather, we had the satisfaction of a favourable change, which, continuing without other incident worthy of note, carried us to the Bay of Valparaiso, where we arrived on the 24th day of February, 1802, forty-five days from Rio Janeiro, and, including stoppages, one hundred and eight days since leaving the Elbe.

## CHAPTER XII.

Difficulty in obtaining supplies.—Suspensions of the authorities.—Remonstrance with the Governor.—Successful appeal to the Captain-General.—Counterpart of the Governor of Barataria.—Attempt to seize an American ship.—Arrest of Americans on shore.—Colours hoisted to the mast.—Governor foiled.—Release of the Americans.—Indications of returning peace.—Treachery.—Seizure and plunder of the Hazard.—Application to the Captain-General.—Protracted stay at Valparaiso.—Permission to leave the port.—Departure.

On entering the Bay of Valparaiso, we were boarded by a naval officer from a *guardacosta*, then lying in port. He desired us not to cast anchor till the captain had presented himself to the governor and obtained his permission. Consequently, while Mr. Shaler accompanied this officer to the governor, we lay off and on in the bay. More than an hour had elapsed before his return with a permission to anchor, and to remain till a reply could be received from the captain-general at Santiago, to our request for leave to supply our wants, for which a dispatch was to be forwarded immediately.

We were surprised to find no less than four American vessels lying here, viz. the ship *Hazard*, of Providence, on a voyage similar to our own, detained on suspicion of being English, from the circumstance of being armed; the ship *Miantinoma* and schooner *Oneco*, of Norwich, Connecticut, each with valuable cargoes of seal-skins taken at the Island of Masafuera, both de-

tained, and finally confiscated, on a charge of having supplied English privateers, then on the coast, with provisions which they had obtained at Taleahuana; and the ship *Trial*, of Nantucket, a whaler, also detained for alleged illicit trade. If we were surprised to meet so many of our countrymen here, we were equally mortified, and in some degree alarmed, for our own safety, to find them all under seizure. Yet while we violated no law, and required no other than the privileges secured to us by treaty, we could not believe that we should be molested.

On the third day after the governor's messenger had been dispatched, a reply was received from the captain-general, the purport of which was, that our passage had been so good that we could not be in want of provisions, if we had provided such quantity in Europe as we ought to have done. But if it were otherwise, and our wants were as urgent as represented, the mode by which we proposed paying for them, by a bill on Paris, was inadmissible; and, therefore, that it was his Excellency's order that we should leave the port at the expiration of twenty-four hours after this notification. On remonstrating with the governor, and pointing out to him the inhumanity of driving us to sea, while in possession of so small a supply of the first necessities of life, he very reluctantly consented to our remaining another post; and even promised to make a more favourable report on the urgency of our necessities than he had done. But as the order was reiterated, we doubted his having performed his promise, and therefore determined to write directly to the captain-general.

In conformity with this decision, Mr. Shaler addressed a letter to the captain-general, in the Spanish language, expressing his surprise at the order for his departure, without affording him the supplies which were indispensable, and for which provision had been made by treaty. "Presuming that his Excellency's intentions had been misconceived by the governor, he had ventured to disobey the order, and to remain in port till the reception of his Excellency's reply." A prompt and very polite answer to the letter was received, granting us permission to supply ourselves with every thing we desired, and what was very extraordinary, giving us further permission, which had not been asked, of selling so much of the cargo as would be sufficient to pay for the supplies. After which, he desired we would leave the port immediately, and added, that if we entered any other port on the coast, we should be treated as contrabandists.

The latter paragraph of his Excellency's letter evidently conveyed a doubt in his mind, whether our destination and the object of our voyage was what we had stated it to be. By having subjected ourselves to the mortification of having the correctness of our statement doubted, there seemed to be no other remedy than patience and forbearance. At any rate

ated, on a charge of mutiny, then on the ship they had obtained a trial, of Naval Court, for alleged ill-treatment of the crew, and to meet so many were equally mortified, for our own alarm, for our own under seizure. We were required to offer to us by treaty, we should be molested.

The governor's men, a reply was received the purport of which had been so good that we provisions, if we had Europe as we ought to be otherwise, and one represented, the mock-ayling for them, by a while; and, therefore, a order that we should ration of twenty-four n. On remonstrating, hinting out to him to sea, while in possession of the first necessary consented to but not even promised a report on the urgency had done. But as he doubted his having perceived, therefore determined to captain-general.

In his decision, Mr. Shaler, captain-general, in the light of his surprise at the without affording him indispensable, and been made by treaty. Shaler's intentions had governor, he had treated, and to remain at his Excellency's request, a polite answer to the king us permission to try thing we desired ordinary, giving us food not been asked, of cargo as would be sufficient. After which, he the port immediately ordered any other port be treated as contra-

his Excellency's letter in his mind, when the object of our visit stated it to be. But as to the mortification of our statement to be no other remedy. At any rate

embarrassments were more entirely relieved than we had anticipated. We procured our provisions, and paid for them in manufactures, were engaged in settling our accounts preparatory to our departure on the morrow, which already exceeded a month since our arrival.

But we were unconscious of what a day would bring forth, and entirely unprepared for a train of unfortunate events, in which every American port was more or less involved. It appeared that a part of the cargo of the ship Hazard consisted of muskets. These were demanded by the governor on pretext of being contraband of war, were very properly refused by Captain Rowan, who stated to the governor that they were taken on board at a neutral port, that they were not destined to any port of the enemies of Spain, and that they did not come under the sixth article of the treaty.

During our stay here we had ascertained that the actual governor of the place was, with his wife, on a visit to the capital, and that the person with whom we had been treating, and who represented here the majesty of Spain, Don Antonio Francisco Garcia Carrasco, was an officer of inferior grade, acting as governor during the absence of his superior. Don Antonio was about sixty years of age, of pleasing manners, of a pleasing countenance, and apparently of a liberal disposition; but of no decision of character, of contracted mind, puffed up with vanity, and confounded at the audacity that should be refused compliance with an order given in the name of his king: indeed, in his person, his address, and capacities, there was a striking resemblance to the portrait drawn by Cervantes of a celebrated governor of Barataria.

The pride of the governor was evidently gratified by the refusal of Rowan to obey his demand of the muskets; and his subsequent efforts to obtain them were calculated to exasperate his folly, and to increase his mortification and hostile feelings. To suppose, with his feeble means, that he could coerce a compliance with his demand, was to suppose the American to be a poltroon as himself. As far, however, as an attempt could prove it, he certainly did not do so.

A troops of the garrison, about thirty in number, with drums beating and colours displayed, were seen marching from the castle to the shore, in the afternoon of the day on which the muskets had been refused. Rowan, who was on the alert, saw them embark in a launch, accompanied by the governor, and armed himself for resistance. The launch, with rowers and soldiers was excessively crowded, approached the Hazard with the royal arms flying. When within hail of the ship, the governor stood up, and demanded if he should come on board. Rowan replied, that he was happy to be honoured with his command, but that he would not permit any one of

his soldiers to come on board. The launch approached nearer to the ship, to enable the parties to converse with more ease. The governor again formally demanded the surrender of the arms, and was again refused. He remonstrated, and urged the consequences of resisting the authority of the king's representative. But it was all unavailing; and perceiving that neither threats nor persuasion had the desired effect, that armed sentries were stationed at the gangways of the ship, and the proper precaution taken against a *coup de main*, he returned to the shore with his soldiers, deeply mortified, excessively irritated, and vowing vengeance.

But it is not unusual, that what is done in the moment of great excitement is not of the most judicious character; and that by suffering ourselves to be controlled by our passions, we commit acts which increase the absurdity of a ridiculous position, and augment our embarrassments. This was precisely the case with the governor in this instance. Without adverting to consequences, but influenced by the violence of his passion, he, immediately on landing, ordered every American who could be found on shore to be arrested and shut up in the castle. Shaler, Roudsillon, and myself, being of this number, were accordingly arrested, and, with four others of our countrymen, were marched to prison in charge of a file of soldiers, who, by their conversation during the time, evinced that their feelings were in unison with those of the governor.

At the same time with the order for our arrest, and as if to consummate his folly, the governor made another attempt to intimidate, by ordering the captain of a large Spanish ship, which mounted eighteen heavy guns between decks, to bring his broadside to bear on the Hazard, and to order her colours to be hauled down in token of submission, on penalty of being sunk. After what had occurred, to make such a threat without daring to take the responsibility of executing it, served only to increase the awkwardness of the governor's position. While all, both on shore and on board the shipping, were watching with intense interest the result of this threat, a man was observed on board the Hazard engaged in hauling the colours to the mast. A more significant reply could not possibly be made. The governor was felled; and a calm succeeded the storm, during the time required to dispatch a courier to the captain-general, and to receive his instruction in the case.

Our arrest prevented our sailing, as we intended to do, the same evening. Having passed a most uncomfortable night, without beds, in the castle, where we were annoyed by myriads of fleas, and having been without food of any kind since noon of the preceding day, we wrote to the governor in the morning, requesting to be provided with food and beds. Our letter was returned unopened; but about noon, by a ver-



bel message from the governor; we were informed that liberty was given us to go on board our respective ships. We were doubtful of the propriety of availing ourselves of this liberty, so ungraciously proffered, till an apology should be made to us for the aggression. It was finally settled that Shaler, being the most important person, as master of the vessel, should remain in prison. We therefore sent to him a bed and provisions. This was a determination for which the governor was entirely unprepared, and which seemed to confound him. With characteristic imbecility, he went to the castle, and greeting Mr. Shaler with apparent cordiality, begged him to go on board his vessel and proceed to sea. This Shaler offered to do, on condition of receiving a written apology for imprisoning us. He declined giving it. Permission was then asked to send an express, with a letter, to the captain-general. This he peremptorily and angrily refused, and then suddenly started off to superintend the preparations which he was making to compel a surrender of the Hazard, the orders for which he expected to receive the next day.

Although the ostensible reason for refusing a compliance with the governor's order to go to sea was to obtain satisfaction, yet the real cause of our delay was the hope and belief of being able to render essential service in aiding to extricate Rowan from his difficulties. It was evident that the governor desired only the sanction of the captain-general to attempt coercion; and, in expectation of receiving it, he was making the requisite preparations. The soldiers of the garrison and the populace were busily engaged, under the direction of the governor, in placing cannon in every direction to bear on the ship. The inhabitants of the houses in the vicinity left them, and retired to the hills. The activity and bustle of business had given place to the preparation and excitement of war; and the confusion and apprehension could hardly have been exceeded, if the town had been on the point of being taken by assault.

While Mr. Roussillon and myself were walking through one of the streets, we encountered the governor, who saluted us, and asked me if I was not next in command on board to Mr. Shaler. Answering in the affirmative, he ordered me to go on board, and proceed to sea. On my rejoining that I could not go without my captain, he threatened to seize the vessel, and, without waiting for a reply, left us abruptly, and apparently in an angry mood. In the course of the following day, being the fourth from the beginning of hostilities, the express arrived from Santiago, bringing a letter to Captain Rowan from the captain-general. It contained such promise of redress, if he would comply with the requisitions of government by delivering up the arms, that he was induced to yield. The arms were accordingly delivered to the order of the governor, and his receipt taken for them. The

portentous cloud, which had been lowering on the affairs of our countrymen in this place, appeared to be now dissipated. The columns of defiance, which had been waving on the ships and at the castle from the beginning of the dispute, were hauled down; the cannon, which had been transported to the beach, were returned to their ancient position; the sentries were no longer seen at the gangways of the Hazard; the old women and children returned to their habitations; and every thing indicated peace and repose.

This repose, however, was only the treacherous calm that precedes the hurricane. The governor could not brook the indignity he had suffered. The vengeance he had vowed, and which he had not the courage to take openly, he determined to execute treacherously; and his measures, which were taken with great secrecy, and with the stimulus of plunder, were executed with such success, as must have satisfied his highest ambition, and served as a balm to his wounded feelings.

On the evening of the day when the *Minister* were surrendered, Mr. Roussillon and myself made a visit to the governor, and found him to be as affable and pleasant as was naturally to be expected on attaining the object of which he had so long been in pursuit. He hoped we should proceed to sea the next day, and inquired why Rowan did not come on shore; adding, to our surprise, that if he did not come voluntarily he should use coercion. We assured him of our belief, that his not having been on shore that day was accidental, and not from any apprehension of molestation; begged him not to think of coercion, and offered our guarantee that he should present himself at the castle the morning. On leaving the governor we went on board the Hazard, and reported to Rowan our conversation with the governor. He had no hesitation in determining to act in accordance with his desire, by visiting him as early as it was permitted strangers to be on shore.

Fearing, in this instance, a too ready compliance, in which case the opportunity for revenge would escape him, the governor must have had every thing planned and prepared in the evening, probably while we were with him, to execute his cowardly design in the morning, before it was permitted Rowan to come on shore. The launches, which were used to transport wheat from the shore to the large ship before mentioned, passed and repassed near the Hazard while thus engaged; consequently, they would excite no suspicion when approaching near the ship. An enterprise, involving so little risk, and which promised so golden a harvest of plunder, had not to wait for the requisite number of men. About two hundred ruffians, armed with pistols, swords, and knives, embarked in the launches used for carrying wheat, and boarded the Hazard, on each side, while her men were

had been lowering our men in this place, as stated. The colours of waiting on the ship at the beginning of the day the cannon, which had been, were returned to the sentries were many of the hazard; the returned to their homes. Indicated peace and

as only the treacherous hurricane. The go the indignity he had he had vowed, and courage to take openly treacherously; and then with great secrecy plunder, were executed must have satisfied he as a balm to his

day when the musketousillon and Inyeor, and found him as was naturally to be the object of which result. He hoped to the next day, and he not come on shore; and at if he did not come overboard. We assured as not having been a mental, and not from a on; begged him not offered our guarantee himself at the castle. The governor was ward, and reported to us with the governor determining to act there, by visiting him and strangers to be a

ee, a too ready compliance opportunity for revenge. Governor must have been prepared in the evening with him, to enter in the morning, he went to come on shore were used to transport the large ship below passed near the hazard. Consequently, they would approaching near the involving so little risk. Golden a harvest of plunder the requisite number of ruffians, armed with lives, embarked in the wheat, and boarded, while her men were

irely off their guard, unsuspecting of any act of hostility. To save their lives, such of crew as were able made a hasty retreat to the shore. But there were two poor fellows lying in their hammocks; and these were both severely wounded. Rowan was screened from the vengeance of the banditti by the interference of an officer, taken immediately on shore, and sent to the castle.

The scene of plunder and confusion which attended beggars all description. Perceiving that mischief was likely to be more extensive than he had imagined, the governor went on shore, with a party of soldiers, to arrest its progress. But he soon discovered that it is easier to set a mob in motion than to control its movements. With his utmost efforts, aided by soldiers, and by the commandant of the town-house guards and his satellites, he was unable of resisting the progress of the plunder, until, being satiated, they retreated with booty to the shore, as opportunity offered. There were but few remaining, he succeeded in driving them away, and placed the island in charge of the natives.

After such an achievement, such a gathering of natives, there was some hazard to a foreigner calling on the governor, even though it were to compliment him. But, being determined the captain-general should have our version of the transaction, I called on him at noon and gave to send an express to the capital to inform of the outrage, and to demand that we there which we asked in vain here. In a very tone, and instead of replying to my request, he inquired if we were desirous of procuring him to serve us in the manner he had served the ship? I replied, that I hoped there was no danger of our causing him any provocation, but should it be our misfortune to do so, to the extent intimated, there could exist no reason for such violent measures as had been taken towards the ship, as no resistance would be made. I then remarked on the advantage which would result to the government in keeping the rabble, and thus securing the whole property. I stated also that there were many valuable instruments, charts, and books on board, which would be useful to the Spanish government, but which might be destroyed if, as he stated, "he served us in the manner he had served the ship;" and I repeated a hope that he would not do so. Seeing that I was not to be satisfied, and was, moreover, determined not to go to sea without communicating with the captain-general, he at length reluctantly consented to our sending an express.

We had reason to believe that, if we could obtain permission to visit Santiago, we should be able to make a sale of our cargo, sellable outside the port, and which, at one half the prices current in the city, would yield us a handsome profit. To gain an additional number of days in port, therefore, in the hope of obtain-

ing leave to proceed to the capital, or of meeting some person from there desirous of purchasing the cargo, was another inducement for the refusal of Mr. Shaler to leave the castle. When, therefore, this object was attained, by opening a correspondence with the captain-general, he left the castle, and returned on board the *Lelia Byrd*.

The letter, written by Mr. Shaler in Spanish, and complaining of the outrageous conduct of the governor, to the unoffending citizens of a friendly power, was sent by a courier. It produced an interchange of several letters, the purport of which was, on one side, to deny the right of any foreign vessel to traverse these seas, which, his Excellency said, like the territory, belonged exclusively to his Catholic Majesty; on the other, to refute the absurd doctrine of any nation's possessing an exclusive right to any particular sea, and giving chapter and verse in the treaty, not only for our right to sail where we please, but to enter their ports, and demand anchorage. His Excellency closed the correspondence by expressing a hope that, if we did not admit their exclusive right to these seas, we should, at least, allow them to be masters in their own ports.

It being now very evident that we should not succeed in obtaining leave to visit Santiago, and having assisted in bringing Rowan's affairs into such a train as promised a speedy and satisfactory adjustment, there existed no farther inducement to remain longer in port. Accordingly, having settled our various accounts of disbursements, Mr. Shaler, accompanied by Mr. Roussillon, waited on the governor, to notify him of his intention to proceed to sea next morning, and to take leave. He received them with great cordiality, expressed much regret at what had occurred, promised to remedy the mischief as far as he was able, offered us every facility in his power to ensure our departure at the time appointed, and, though it would not have been surprising if he had wished us to the devil, on the contrary, wished us a good voyage.

There was a number of our unfortunate countrymen in port, principally the crews of the condemned vessels, who had lost their little all, and whose situation excited commiseration. We knew that, if they could get to Matanzas with the provisions they could obtain here, they would, by pursuing their vocation, soon bring up arrears. We determined, therefore, to go so far out of our way as to give them all passages thither. They all, very gratefully, accepted our invitation. Being ready, on the 21st of April, and on the point of leaving the port, a message was brought from the governor, requesting to see Mr. Shaler. He went immediately to him, and found, to his astonishment, that he wanted him to defer his departure a few days. It appeared that some suspicious or malicious person had suggested to this silly governor, that our object in taking so many men on board was

to capture the large ship, then on the point of sailing for Lima. To guard against this, he begged Mr. Shaler to defer sailing till forty-eight hours after that ship had sailed, and, moreover, hoped we would not revenge ourselves on any unarmed Spanish vessel we might chance to meet.

In acceding to the governor's solicitations we felt more for the disappointment of our passengers, than for any inconvenience to ourselves. Three, or, at most, four days would soon wear away, when we should be off, and experience once more the blessings of liberty; for it did not enter our imaginations, that there could possibly exist any further difficulty. The time we had agreed to wait, however, had not quite expired, when we were taken all back again. It appeared, that one of our sailors, an Irishman, who had deserted, had given information, that we had many kegs of dollars on board, stowed under the ballast. As he had pointed out precisely where they were, an armed force came on board, by order of the governor, and proceeding directly to the place indicated by the sailor, found, instead of kegs of dollars, kegs of quicksilver, of which they took away four, giving a receipt for them.

We flattered ourselves, that this aggression would be the means of opening the way for our going to the capital. Renewing, therefore, our correspondence with the captain-general, to complain of this outrage, and remarking on our entire want of confidence in the capacity or honesty of the governor and his advisers, we reiterated our request for leave to repair to Santiago, for the more speedy adjustment of our grievance. In reply, his Excellency remarked on the loss of time which our coming to Santiago would cause, and observed, that the difficulty could be easily adjusted at Valparaiso, by answering satisfactorily the following questions, viz., Why was the quicksilver hidden under the ballast? To whom does it belong? To what port destined? These interrogatories, being solemnly propounded by the governor to Mr. Shaler, a notary public being present, he replied to the first, that it was not hidden; to the second, that it belonged to the owners of the vessel and cargo; to the third, that its destination was round the world; and to this deposition, he took an oath on an old volume of Shakespeare, presented him by the governor for that purpose.

The result of this investigation was immediately dispatched to the captain-general, and an answer returned by his Excellency with the least possible delay; the purport of which was, that the four kegs of quicksilver should be restored to us on board, and that we should then leave the port without further delay. We were now surprised by an overture from the commandant of the custom-house guards, to purchase the quicksilver. He proposed to us a good price, and to take it out, and bring the

amount, in dollars, on board himself. The only objection at his proposal, would have been a very advantageous one; but our experience had taught us to beware of treachery; and, imagining such to be lurking in this proposal, we declined accepting it. During this controversy, the men, whom we intended taking to Masafuera, had dispersed in various directions; so that, having on board only our original small complement of men, the authorities had no cause to apprehend any act of piracy from us.

The functions of Don Antonio, as governor, *ad interim*, having ceased on the arrival of his senior from Santiago, when we were on the point of sailing, we made him a visit as soon after his arrival as etiquette would permit. He gave us a most cordial, frank, and friendly reception, and expressed much regret at having been absent on our arrival; as, he said, not only would the trouble we had experienced have been avoided, but he would have obtained permission for us to visit Santiago. The order for our departure, however, being now given by the captain-general, was irrevocable, and he therefore hoped there would be no further delay. On taking leave, he inundated us with civilities and good wishes, promising, moreover, to use his best endeavours to bring the affair of our unfortunate countryman, Rowan, to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. These civilities, professions, and promises, passed with us for no more than they were worth, after the observations and opportunities had afforded us, of judging of the character, and motives of action, of the authorities here.

It was now the 6th of May, being two and a half months from the date of our arrival; a long time, considering that we were allowed only twenty-four hours by the captain-general to remain in port; and for the third time had settled our accounts, and made all ready for our departure. No further obstacle to our sailing occurring, and having taken leave of our acquaintance and countrymen, we left Valparaiso to the great satisfaction of the governor and authorities, no less than of ourselves.

During our sojourn at Valparaiso, we had become acquainted with, and were in the habit of visiting, on familiar terms, several interesting native families; for the native inhabitants sympathised with us, and condemned the unfriendly course manifested towards us by their rulers. They seemed, generally, to be awakening to a sense of the abject state of vassalage in which they were held by their European masters; the posts of honour and profit being exclusively in possession of Europeans, to the great annoyance of the Creoles. Bursts of indignation, at these and other grievances connected with them, would sometimes escape them, which were generally accompanied with a hope that the period of emancipation was not very distant.

Such sentiments were met by us with corresponding ones, by drawing a parallel between

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tonito, as governor, from the arrival of his son, we were on the point of making a visit as usual, but he would permit. I thank, and friendly remarks, and with regret at having to leave, as, he said, not only experienced have less than obtained permission the order for our departure given by the captain, and he therefore further delay. Our affairs with civilities and kindness, to be in the affair of our uniform, to a speedy and successful conclusion, these civilities, professions with us for no moment, the observant and judicious, of judging of the situation, of the authorities,

day, being two and a half days of our arrival; a long time for us to be allowed only a few days. The captain-general who a third time had returned, was already ready for our attack, and was on the point of starting to our sailing. On the leave of our captain, we left Valparaiso, and returned to the governor and ourselves. As we were in the habit of visiting the several interesting places, we were surprised to find the inhabitants complained the unfriendly manner in which we were to be awakened to the necessity of vassalage in which we were to be kept by the European masters; they were being exclusively in the hands of the great annoyance and indignation, at these proceedings connected with them, in which were given the period of our distant

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country and ours, while each was under a despotic system of government, by advertising to the water physical means in their possession to break them to throw off the yoke, than was effected by the Anglo-Americans, in the progress of their revolution, by demonstrating to the world the greatly increased value of the products of their soil, and the diminished prices at which they could receive the manufactures of Europe, their commerce should be freed from the shackles to which tyranny and folly had so long subjected it; and finally, by remarking on the flagrant and debasing effects on the mind, inseparable from a protracted state of ignorance and vassalage. For the better protection of the embryo cause, we gave them a new Federal Constitution, and a translation of our Declaration of Independence.

It is also probably indebted for its name to the romantic scenery and to the salubrity of the climate, for in no other respect does it deserve the appellation.\* Between the base of the hills, on the sea, there is a street of moderate length, which is bounded on the west by high precipitous hills; on the east, is continued the adjoining village of Almendrale. In this street are the best houses; some of which are very high, of brick plastered, and of good construction and appearance. Crossing this street at right angles, are others in the deep valleys between the hills, which soon cease to be straight, and become crooked and narrow, leading up on either side the hills, to cottages and huts of very mean appearance, the construction of which is a very ordinary structure, is built on an elevation on one of the cross streets, and near the centre of the town. The enclosure including the governor's residence, fronts the sea, and is a dilapidated enclosure, under the name.

of Valparaiso is apaculous, and being from the south winds, which prevail even months of the year, from October a very smooth and safe riding for ships that season. At the season when the winds prevail, from May to October, it is a lying there, as there is no shelter from, and its usual accompaniment, a rough sea sometimes comes in with a force and fury which cannot be resisted, even with ground-tackle. It is the nearest seaport to Santiago, the capital of Chili; and hence of importance, which it possesses not fully.

native inhabitants are generally amiable, idle, indolent, and ignorant. It seems as if the policy of the existing government to encourage industry by the trammeis to which the people of the country is subjected. If a quantity of wheat or other perishable commodity is raised than can find vent through

**VAL-TANAISO, Valley of Paradise**

the narrow channels that are open, it is lost to the cultivator; and copper, the other staple product of Chili, is, by the same governmental restrictions on commerce, kept at a price not exceeding half its value. The government also, and particularly the ecclesiastical part of it, are sensible that their power rests on the ignorance of the people: hence the excessive dread of the introduction of all books; the watchfulness of the priests to guard their flocks against possessing any volume, which they have not seen and approved, as well as against the contaminating influence and opinions of foreign heretics. The care, anxiety, and efforts made by them, to suppress all means of information, do not, however, pass unobserved by many of the most sensible Creoles, who seem to be waking up to a sense of their degradation. With these the seed is planted, which, in due time, may be expected to bring forth abundant fruit.

## CHAPTER XIII.

**Voyage to San Blas.**—Gallipagos Islands.—A week's recreation.—A singular flaw of wind.—Arrival at San Blas.—Friendly reception there.—Arrangement with the Commissary.—Objections of the Governor.—Hostile attitudes of these functionaries.—Ship ordered to leave San Blas.—Sails to the Three Maria Islands.—Detention there.—Excursions on shore.—Awkward predicament.—Unfounded suspicions.—Return to San Blas.—Baiting chase.—Profitable sale of a portion of the cargo.—Purchase of skins.—Suspected treachery.—Departure from San Blas.—Death of Roussillon.—His character.—Return to the Three Marias.—A tailor on board.—The mate's powers seized.—Suspicions confirmed.

Our long detention, and unfortunate controversy at Valparaiso, operated unfavourably to our prospects, as our vessel, ourselves, and the disturbances we had caused, had become known, not only to the government officers, but to almost the whole population of the various ports of Chili and Peru included between Valparaiso and Lima. To enter, therefore, any other port than between those limits, or to be captured in the neighbourhood of any one of them, would subject us to the risk of confiscation. It was consequently judged to be most prudent to proceed to some place so distant from the scene of our late transactions, that the knowledge of them could not have preceded us. This object would, doubtless, be realised in any of the ports of the Vice-Royalty of Mexico; and, from various sources of information, we were induced to believe that San Blas offered the greatest facilities for the disposal of our cargo, with the least risk attending it. To San Blas, therefore, we determined to proceed, touching on our way at the Gallapagos Islands.

In conformity with this determination, we



shaped our course, and having none other than the favourable winds, delightful weather, and smooth sea, which are peculiar to this region, we arrived and anchored at the bottom of a spacious bay at Albemarle Island, on the 30th of May, at about a mile distant from the shore, and opposite a beach of black sand. Here we passed a week very agreeably in rambling about the island; and in the enjoyment of a freedom of action and of will, the more highly prized and enjoyed, from the restraint to which we had been, of late, so much subjected, and not unlike what the schoolboy feels when emancipated from the control of the master. The fish was so abundant at our anchorage, that no skill was required in taking them. As many hooks as were lowered and baited, would bring up fish, and this as fast as we could haul them in; so that beside having abundance for the immediate use of all, we salted a barrel full for consumption on the passage. In size, texture, and flavour, they had a great affinity to the cod. The turtles are very abundant, and taken with great ease. We took on board as many as there was a prospect of our being able to consume. Guanos of various sizes and colours are exceedingly numerous here. They are said to be as delicate and agreeable food as the chicken; but the ship's company had the same antipathy to them which is so universal with regard to snakes; and while they had such a bountiful supply of fine fish and turtle, they had no disposition to try the guano. We traversed various parts of the island, and camped out one night, in search of water, but found none, though there were evidences of its being abundant at some seasons of the year.

Having satisfactorily accomplished the object of our visit, we sailed on the 8th of June for San Blas. While yet but a few miles from Albemarle Island, and going with a moderate breeze during the first watch, the weather clear and the sea smooth, we experienced a very singular flaw of wind, which, without any warning, and without being felt on deck, or by the sails on the mainmast, carried the fore-topmast over the side, after which it became calm, and so continued for more than two hours.

In a few days after leaving the island, we came in sight of the coast, in the vicinity of Acapulco, and from that time, having delightful weather, we kept the land in sight every day, till our arrival in the bay of San Blas, on the 11th of July. It is very remarkable, and strongly indicative of the low state of the Spanish commerce in these seas, at this period, that, from the time of our departure from Valparaiso, to that of our arrival here, and sailing all the time not very distant from the most beautiful coast to navigate in the world, we did not meet or see a vessel of any description.

Our reception at San Blas formed a contrast to that experienced on arriving at Valparaiso—a friendly welcome from those in authority, and

encouragement to expect that our wants would be supplied; and though this welcome was but subaltern, and might not be sanctioned by the superiors, it was, nevertheless, viewed by us as a favourable omen. At this season of the year, San Blas is a very unhealthy residence; and in consequence, it is the practice of the governor, the commissary of the arsenal, and the most opulent of the inhabitants, to reside at Tlapeac, a healthy and pleasant town, about twenty leagues distant in the interior. Notice of our arrival having been sent to them, the commissary came down immediately; and on a first interview with him, we had much reason to flatter ourselves, that the current of our affairs would meet with less obstruction than we had hitherto experienced. There was no hesitation on his part, in engaging to supply us with every one of our necessities required; and ascertaining that we had some boxes of tin plate, which was exceedingly wanted, he engaged to take these in payment, at a very great advance on its cost. An arrangement being made with the commissary, required the sanction of the governor before it could be carried into effect.

Our friend Roussillon, being very desirous of visiting Mexico, was determined, on this occasion, not less than from the desire of obtaining a mission from the viceroy to dispose of our time here, to leave no effort untried to obtain the requisite passport. With this view, he accompanied the commissary to Tlapeac, on his way thither. By a letter from him, dated a few days after his arrival, we had cause to apprehend, that obstacles to our success would be no degree less than those we had experienced at Valparaiso. The governor he represented to be proud, vain, and very passionate man, unaccommodated to any opposition to his will, and ignorant that the commissary should have precedence to enter into any engagement with us, without first consulting him. He had, therefore, refused to confirm the doings of the commissary, positively forbidding the landing of the tin. He decided that our supplies must be paid for by draft on the American ambassador at Madrid.

We had now been the means of placing in hostile attitudes the two great officers of the government. The commissary, whose appointment emanated from the same source as that of the governor's, and whose line of duty was distinct and independent of him, was exceedingly mortified and piqued, at the attitude in which he was placed, and seemed determined not to submit to it. The governor, who could brook opposition to his will, was incapable of concealing his wrath; hence the quarrel became known, and was soon the all-absorbing topic of the inhabitants of Tlapeac. The feelings of the community became enlisted on one side or the other; but the preponderance was as great on the side of the commissary, as the native population exceeded the foreign. Such general excitement, however, as this little affair

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was never before known in this hitherto  
and dull town. An unfortunate lieutenant  
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the chiefs and populace of Tipec were  
ed in an angry controversy on our account,  
d passed a week, free from annoyance, at  
as; where we had procured a new top-  
filled our water-casks, and obtained all  
plies we had asked. But it became very  
that the rancorous hostility of the go-  
would effectually prevent the disposal of  
et of our cargo, notwithstanding the aid  
the commissary was disposed to give us. In-  
without any reference to payment, and at the  
time with the receipt of the supplies, was  
ed an order for our immediately leaving  
et, accompanied with a threat, in case of  
lence, of ordering out the gun-boats to  
away. The possibility of such an event  
en anticipated, and its injurious effects  
against, by an understanding with  
llion, that we should go to the Three  
Islands, which are about sixty miles dis-  
ed there remain until his return from  
for which city he was in momentary  
on of receiving a passport, and where,  
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tain permission to dispose of our cargo,  
ast of some part of it. Of the result of  
ociation, he would inform us by a boat,  
should be dispatched to the islands im-  
ly on his return to San Blas, which, it  
posed, would be in the course of six or  
weeks.

being no further cause for remaining  
e readily obeyed the order of the go-  
without putting him to the trouble of  
ing it; and, having signed duplicate re-  
the amount of our supplies, we sailed,  
evening of the 1st of August, as soon as  
breeze came off. The next day we an-  
in a beautifully smooth sandy bay, on  
th side of the middle island, at about  
les' length from the shore, and perfectly  
from the violence of the south-east winds,  
at this season of the year blow occasionally  
at force. Here we again enjoyed the great  
of uncontrolled action; and here, with-  
estimation, we improved the opportunity  
hauling the rigging, repairing the sails,  
up the vessel, and procuring a good  
of fuel, which was very abundant, of good  
and obtained with great ease. In the  
ance of these necessary labours, with al-  
periods of recreation on shore, we had  
ed five weeks; and then, desirous of  
g the scene, we visited the northern is-  
of the group, and found as good anchorage  
y, on the eastern side of this island, as that  
just left. After passing nearly a week on

this beautiful island, we returned to our former  
anchorage, at the middle island, in the hope  
and expectation of seeing the messenger from  
Roussillon the following week. But the fol-  
lowing, and even the ninth week since leaving  
San Blas, passed away; and the messenger  
failed to make his appearance.

We made excursions on shore, every day, for  
the advantage of exercise and recreation, and  
frequently permitted the crew to do the same,  
one half at a time. The underwood formed an  
impassable barrier, which prevented our pene-  
trating to the interior in any other way than by  
the gullies, which had been made by the rains.  
It was unusual for my friend Shaler and myself  
to leave the vessel at the same time, because we  
had not much confidence in the mate; but, oc-  
casionally, this precaution was neglected. On  
one of those days, when we were on shore to-  
gether, we were astonished, in emerging from  
the woods, to perceive our ship, under sail, a  
long way to leeward, and standing out to sea.  
Although the wind blew strong, yet it was off  
shore; consequently, the water was smooth,  
and there was no reason to suppose the cable  
had parted. The idea, therefore, suggested it-  
self to our minds, simultaneously, that the mate  
was going off with the ship. With such an im-  
pression, on a desert island, without a boat,  
without provisions, and destitute of a change of  
clothing, our situation may easily be imagined  
to have been a forlorn one. Watching, there-  
fore, with intense interest, in the hope of seeing  
the ship tack, and perceiving that she kept on  
her course seaward, until her hull was scarcely  
discernible, we began to believe in the correctness  
of our first impressions, and to despair of again  
controlling the destiny of the *Lelia Byrd*, when  
we had the great satisfaction of seeing her wear  
round, and stand in for the anchorage. In  
about six hours from the time of parting the  
cable, she again cast anchor in the bay, and we  
were rejoiced to find our suspicions misplaced.  
It appeared that the anchorage was less clear  
than we had supposed, and that the cable had  
been chafed off.

Such a protracted state of suspense and un-  
certainty had become extremely irksome and  
embarrassing. With the great loss of time and  
consequent expense, our provisions and stores  
were daily diminishing, without our perceiving  
how or where they could be replaced. It had  
become, therefore, indispensable, that a decision  
should not be delayed, as to our next move;  
and the choice was presented, of going away  
without hearing from Roussillon, or of risking  
the effect of the governor's hostility, by again  
entering the roadstead of San Blas. The latter  
appearing to us to be the least of the two dif-  
ficulties, when viewed as connected with the dis-  
posal of our cargo, we acted in conformity. Our  
advances, when nearing the port, were made  
with caution; and every preparation was made  
to repel any force that might be sent to molest

us. In the afternoon of the 14th day of October, being nearly up with the remarkable rock at the western entrance of the bay of San Blas, it was considered to be most prudent not to anchor. We therefore lay by all night in sight of the town, using all requisite caution against being taken by surprise.

Early the following morning, we perceived a canoe approaching us, paddled by Indians; and soon after they were alongside, and handed us the long-expected letter from Rouissillon. It was dated at Guadalajara, on his way to Mexico; and its contents were of the most encouraging character. He had been treated with great kindness and hospitality by many of the most respectable inhabitants of the place, whence the letter was dated. He had received a very civil letter from the viceroy, accompanied with a passport for the capital, and a permission to sell, at San Blas, a sufficient amount of the cargo to pay for the supplies with which we had been provided, and expressed a confidence of success in obtaining permission to sell the whole cargo, and to return to San Blas, in the course of a week or ten days. This was, indeed, intelligence of a very exhilarating character, and tended to annihilate those forebodings of failure, for which, before the receipt of this letter, there was but too great cause. Among other items, Rouissillon informed us, that, in consequence of the combined representation of the commissary and himself, backed by several of the most respectable people of Tipec, of the very uncivil and rude treatment of the governor, towards citizens of a power in amity with Spain, he had been reprimanded by the viceroy. Being in feeble health, this circumstance, combined with the vexation produced by perceiving himself to be out-generalled by the commissary, acting upon an exceedingly irritable temperament, had produced a fever, which terminated his existence, about a week previous to the date of the letter.

Having dispatched the Indians with a reply to Rouissillon's letter, we again returned to our old anchorage at the northern island; for, notwithstanding there was now no longer any danger in lying at anchor near San Blas, yet, as the regulations made it imperative that we should receive a guard on board while there, it was considered to be worth all the trouble of going to the islands, if only to be emancipated from this incumbrance. Our excursions over them had been so often repeated, that there seemed to be no other inducement to penetrate into their woods than a desire for exercise. A deviation from the general monotony of our situation occurred one day, in the taking of an enormous fish. A shoal of them had been, several hours, gambolling about the bay, sometimes throwing themselves wholly out of the water, and coming down into it again with a splash and foam, which might be heard at the distance of a mile. As they approached our anchorage, the mate and two men went in the jolly-boat, and suc-

ceeded in throwing the harpoon into one of them. The monster, feeling the wound, darted off, seaward, like a shot. As soon as he had taken off about twenty fathoms of whale line, the end of which was made fast to the boat, he carried off the boat with such prodigious velocity, that it was only by good steering, and keeping her in a direct line with his course, that we were prevented from swamping. It was an amazing spectacle to see the boat going off with such great rapidity, and for such a distance, without perceiving the propelling power. At length, after having run about a mile, he became exhausted; and the men in the boat hauled in the line, until they came up with him, when they contrived to get his head towards the island, and after a moment, as it were, to breathe, he returned with almost equal velocity. When near the island, they hauled up to him, and, beating him with the oars, drove him on shore. He was supposed to be a sun-fish, in shape unlike a flounder, and weighed seven or eight hundred pounds.

The beautiful group of islands, called, from their number, the Three Marias, where we had passed so many weeks, presents to the view from the shore to their summits, a thicket of trees and underwood of the most luxuriant verdure. So strongly interlaced is this underwood that it is impenetrable; and it is only through the deep ravines made by the rains, that a part of the interior can be reached. The islands abound with rabbits, raccoons, turtles, wild pigeons, parrots, parrots, and various kinds of beautiful small birds. Wood suitable for fuel is procurable in any quantity, with moderate labour. Among the hard woods, lignum vitæ is very abundant. Water is procurable only at the issue of the ravines, after a considerable rain, excepting at the eastern side of the northern island, where there is a well, which never failed to yield us an abundant supply.

The time agreed upon for our return to San Blas having arrived, we again proceeded thither and anchored in the roads on the 20th of October. The usual guard were immediately sent on board, the sergeant of which was the bearer of a polite note from the commandant of the Reguardo, desiring to be informed of the object of our return. A visit from him, almost simultaneously, superseded the necessity of a reply; he immediately acknowledged it to be only a piece of necessary formality without meaning. There was a general freedom and ease observable in his manner, which formed a contrast with that manifested at our previous visit; from which we inferred that the new governor was of a character less severe and exact than his predecessor, and consequently, that we might indulge a hope of being permitted to proceed in the accomplishment of our business, without encountering any new obstacles.

By a letter from Rouissillon, dated at Mexico we found, that there was cause to apprehend

While in this state of apprehension, and about the time it was supposed the guards from Guadalaxara would arrive, the men in our boat, which brought off the day's provisions, reported that there were two large launches at the landing, ready manned. The men were lying on their oars, apparently waiting the arrival of their officers, and said they were going on board our vessel for a hawser we had borrowed. Two launches, with twenty men each, to carry on shore a hawser, was a very improbable story; and as I could imagine no other cause than that of putting into execution the rumoured search, I immediately made all preparation to avoid it. But, as it was exceedingly desirable to avoid a collision, if possible, I caused all the sails to be loosed, the topsails to be sheeted home, and the cable to be hove short. With great anxiety I watched the setting in of the sea-breeze, which was unusually late; but at length it came with much force, and dissipated our apprehensions. Desirous of being relieved from so unpleasant a state of suspense, I dispatched the jolly-boat with a letter to Shaler, informing him of my suspicions, the measures I had taken, and my determination to be off, if the jolly-boat did not return before the sea-breeze began to abate.



As the guard could not avoid seeing our preparations, I advised him to anticipate any thing they might communicate to the governor, by stating the facts to him in person.

Whatever may have been intended, nothing was done; our men performed their errand, and returned on board unmolested. The next day the commandant made us a visit in the government felucca of twenty oars, and with the royal flag displayed. After rowing round the vessel, as he said, to see how she looked rigged as a ship, he came on board, and partook of a collation, which had been prepared during the time he was engaged in reconnoitring our vessel without and within. We observed him to be particularly attentive to our armament, and his inquiries relative to the number of small-arms we had on board, &c., led us to believe that the object of his visit was to ascertain our strength.

Apprehensive that we might be pounced upon at any moment, by an overwhelming force, but presuming that they would wait until we were nearly ready to depart, as then the prize would be most valuable, and our culpability most palpable, it was important that the commandant should be kept ignorant of our intention. When he asked, therefore, if we intended going the following day, we suggested to him that we could not settle our accounts with the commissary in time for that purpose, to the truth of which he assented. As a further evidence of the necessity of another day's delay, we referred to the large bulk and amount of merchandise yet on shore.

This merchandise, to the value of about three thousand dollars, was intended to be left in charge of Rouissillon, to be sold for our account; and the proceeds to be settled for when we should meet in the United States. Although no permission was obtained from the governor for taking the sea-otters' skins on board, yet, as they were under the charge of the commissary, from whom we received them, there was no obstacle to it. It was nearly dark by the time we had received the last of them on board; and then the commissary was very urgent that we should not delay a moment unnecessarily before putting to sea, as he was apprehensive, that if the transaction became generally known, it would involve him as well as ourselves in trouble. However friendly this advice, it was not needed, as our preparations were already made to be away, as soon as the object for which we had been so solicitous was secured. We therefore sent the guard ashore in the launch that brought off the skins, and were away under a crowd of sail before even the launch could have reached the shore. As the commandant had no doubt of our intention to remain another day, if his designs were what we had strong reason to suspect, he must have been greatly disappointed in the morning to discover that "the bird had flown."

It was with feelings of deep regret that I parted here with our excellent and amiable friend Count John de Rouissillon, with whom we had been so intimately associated for so long a period, and who had shared so largely in various perplexing scenes incident to the prosecution of our object. To his address and severance we were mainly indebted for the permission obtained from the viceroy of Mexico for the sale of a part of our cargo, and for indulgence of the additional time in port necessary to secure the sea-otters' skins. We left with him manufactures to the amount of about three thousand dollars cost, and which were worth, at the actual prices there, more than three times that cost. From the proceeds of this, after defraying his expenses, he was to account with us in the United States, where he anticipated much pleasure in meeting him in course of the ensuing year. At parting, he expressed the unalloyed enjoyment he had experienced on board, his grateful feelings for our confidence, and his earnest desire of realizing the pleasure of meeting us again in that land of liberty and of equal rights; of which, he said, he should be proud to become a citizen.

The Count de Rouissillon was the descendant of an ancient noble family of Poland. An advocate for liberty, he could not brook the subjugation of his country, and for his efforts to free it, he was proscribed and was without a home when we became acquainted with him at Edinburgh. He possessed a powerful intellect, and gave evidence that great care had been taken in its cultivation. His acquirements in mathematics, in astronomy, in music, in drawing, were very respectable; and there was scarcely a European language with which he was not familiar. Having with him, among other books in the Russian, Polish, and German languages, the Spanish authorities, who are extremely watchful and rigorous in their examination of all books, were actually confounded by them; but allowed them to pass, on the well-grounded conviction, that nobody in the country could read them, and therefore that they could do no harm. For these attainments he was more indebted to a fine intellect than to any tiring industry; which was so habitual, that he seemed to grudge a moment's time that he passed without adding something to his knowledge. So that when walking the deck for exercise, if there was nobody to walk and converse with him, he would be engaged in practicing some new music on his flute. Being at this time only twenty-eight years of age, his prospects of honourable distinction seemed all that his ambition could desire; but, unfortunately, his career was cut short not long after we parted. To our great grief we learned, on arriving in the United States, that he died at Mexico in the time in the year 1803. The exclusive policy of the Spanish government, relating to all foreign trade, then in full operation, made it so difficult

f deep regret that, excellent and amiable, with whom I was associated for so long, shared so largely in the incident to the point of his address and only indebted for the viceroys of Mexico, our cargo, and for the time in port needed for the skins. We were now perceived that the worms had made a fearful havoc with the wooden sheathing. It was now necessary to careen and repair the vessel, an operation for which we were poorly prepared; and, therefore, in the space of it, and in replenishing our stock of provisions and water, a fortnight was consumed. We accidentally found out that our danger was not so great as we had apprehended, from a cause we had no suspicion, and therefore we were not guard against, the treachery of the English officer. This officer was a young Englishman whose conduct after leaving Valparaiso was reprehensible as to make it necessary to remove him from duty; but he occupied his spare time, was permitted to go on shore as he pleased, and was treated with proper respect. From some intimations which he occasionally threw out to the men, that he had intended to cause the vessel to be seized, and had been offered a thousand dollars for the purpose, it immediately occurred to us that he was more intimate with the authorities of the place than was consistent with our safety; and, therefore, that we ought to know it, to guard against the future. As it seemed to be the most prudent mode of proving his guilt or his innocence, we determined that that was justifiable, on the principle of self-preservation, we had no hesitation in examining his papers. These we found to consist of letters and his sea-journal. On examining the journal we perceived it had been falsified, and dates only previous to our departure from Valparaiso, and subsequent to our arrival there, remained. Hence there was presumptive evidence that the interpolation, relating to our transactions at Valparaiso, was in possession of the government of Mexico. Amongst the letters, there was one that related to us. This was a letter of introduction from the commandant to a friend of his, in which he speaks of our ingratitude towards him, and of his having so committed himself in endeavour to be serviceable to us, that he was unable to act as duty required, from the consequences, &c. He also recommends us to give more credence to any representation which the bearer might make to him, than to those of the captain. The investigation satisfied us that we had been seized by the mere accident of the

mate's not making his communication to the commandant until this officer had become so much a party in the transaction, as to make his own safety depend on its concealment. Our suspicions of his hostile intentions, therefore, may have been erroneous, and our hurried departure unnecessary; but, if we erred, it will be acknowledged to have been on the side of prudence.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Account of San Blas.—Awful thunder-squalls.—Unhealthy climate.—Discontent of the Creoles and Indians.—Departure from the Three Marias.—St. Clement's Island.—Miserable state of an Indian family.—Arrival at San Diego.—The Commandant's visit.—An arrant coxcomb.—Excursion on shore.—No trading.—Detention of seamen.—Their rescue.—Preparations for war.—Get under sail.—Fired upon by the fort.—Return to the bay.—Safe at sea again.—Damage repaired.—Arrival at St. Quintin's.—A fellow-sufferer.—Missionaries and their train.—A set of jolly fellows.—Official letter.—A sensible corporal.—Good offices of the Padres.—A doubtful point.—Excellent harbour at St. Quintin's.—Departure.—Arrival at Guadalupe.—Proceed to San Borgia.—Another missionary.—Supplies of provisions.—Primitive mode of dining.—Amiable character of the missionary.—Present of horses.—The parting.—Arrival at St. Joseph.—Water procured.—Departure for the Sandwich Islands.

Our opportunity for becoming acquainted with San Blas and its environs had been even greater than we desired, and a short notice of it may be proper in this place. San Blas is a port and royal arsenal, in the province of New Galicia, in the viceroyalty of Mexico, in latitude 21° 36' north. The port, formed by a branch of the river Santiago and an island to the south-westward, is of small capacity, very narrow, and perfectly secure. A bar at its entrance, on which there is not usually more than fourteen feet of water, makes it necessary, before attempting to enter, to lighten the vessel in the road to ten or eleven feet, or in proportion as the swell may be on the bar at the time of going over it. It is defended by two batteries: the one, of eight guns, on an eminence of the island; the other on the beach abreast the town, besides several gunboats. The road is perfectly safe for ships while the north-west winds are prevalent, which is from November to April. During the other months of the year, when the south-east winds prevail, which sometimes blow with great force, it is not safe lying there. At this season, also, the thunder-squalls are frequent, and are the most awfully sublime that can be imagined. On one night in particular, for the space of three hours, there was scarce a moment's intermission between the claps of thunder; the roar of which, by drowning the voices, made it requisite

to substitute signs for performing the duty of giving the ship more cable. The lightning was incessant and vivid, running in currents down the rigging and fore and aft the ship, and apparently would have enveloped her in flames but for the torrents of water which were at the same time falling. The scene was by far a more awful one of the kind than I ever witnessed before or since; and we considered ourselves very fortunate in escaping all other mischief than that of dragging our anchor a mile or two.

The town is situated on a hill, commanding a fine view of the bay, from which it makes a pretty appearance. This impression, however, is not confirmed on entering it, the houses being generally very ordinary structures, and the streets very dirty. There are about five thousand inhabitants, including the seven hundred usually attached to the arsenal. The annual expense of the arsenal at this time was about half a million of dollars. The commerce of San Blas is, indeed, trifling, there being only three small merchant-vessels owned here. The most valuable production of the neighbouring country is the red cedar, which is of large size, and very abundant. This is used for the building of ships, for the masts and spars, for boats, oars, houses, and, indeed, for every thing. From the month of June until September, the climate of San Blas is considered to be so unhealthy, that all who have the ability to remove, go to Tipec, which is situated in the highlands, about sixty miles distant.

The domestic Indians in the neighbourhood of San Blas and Tipec are beginning to manifest signs of discontent and insubordination which are alarming to the Spanish authorities. An insurrection was quelled last year, which came near to annihilating the Spanish supremacy in this quarter. An alarm was given while we were here. All was bustle and activity; and all the able men with field-pieces, &c., were ordered to Tipec, near which the attack was suspected. It is understood that the Indians are instigated by Creole Spaniards, who, incapable of longer supporting their oppression, are ready to make use of such auxiliaries to effect their emancipation. A spirit of discontent and alienation towards the government seems to pervade the whole viceroyalty of Mexico. This was confirmed by our letters from Rouissillon, while at Mexico, who mentions that inflammatory and revolutionary addresses to the people are currently circulated in the city, one of which was handed to him while at the theatre. It was written in the French language. Its purport was to make known to the citizens their rights; to show them how they were violated and trampled upon; and to suggest that the remedy was in their own hands. With a view of giving such aid as we supposed might be useful, we sent them copies of our Declaration of Independence, and of the Constitution of the United States.

Having succeeded in the completion of our object at the Three Maria Islands, we left on the 14th of February, bound to San Diego, in California, where we had information of there being a parcel of sea-otters' skins, which might be obtained advantageously. It being the season of the prevalence of northerly winds, our passage was long and tedious. On the morning of the 16th of March we were becalmed near St. Clemente Island, where, perceiving a smoke, we landed abreast of it, and found that it proceeded from a cave, formed in the side of a hill by some overhanging rocks and earth, but insufficient to afford shelter from the weather with any other than northerly winds. In this miserable domicile resided eleven persons, men, women, and children; and though the temperature was such as to make our woollen garments requisite, they were all in a state of perfect nudity. Their food was exclusively fish, and, having no cooking utensils, their only resource was baking them on the earth. We could not perceive that they possessed a word of any other dialect than their own, of which we understood nothing. I had been familiar with the Indians inhabiting various parts of the western coast of America, but never saw any so miserable, so abject, so speechless, so nearly allied to the brute.

Leaving this wretched family, after distributing among them a few articles of old clothing, we stood to the eastward under easy sail all night, and found ourselves early in the morning abreast of the port of San Diego. A heavy northerly wind prevented our gaining the anchorage till the afternoon, when, having passed near the battery without being hailed, we came to anchor about a mile within it. The next day the commandant, Don Manuel Rodriguez, with an escort of twelve dragoons, came down aboard of the ship, and requested that the boat might be sent for him. This being done immediately he crowded the boat with his escort, and probably regretted the necessity of leaving on shore his horses. We had been told at San Blas, that Don Manuel was an exceedingly vain and pompous man; and, indeed, we found him to be so. For such a ridiculous display of a "little authority," and pompous parade, I never before witnessed. His dress and every movement evinced the most arrant coxcomb. Having invited us on coming over the ship's side, he waited, before proceeding aft, until his escort were drawn up in two lines, with hats off in one hand, and drawn swords in the other, and then passed between them to the companion-way. After the ordinary inquiries, of whence we came, whither bound, and the object of our visit, he called to the officer of the escort, and desired him to take a minute of the articles we required. With these he said that he would supply us the next day; on receiving which, he should expect we would not delay a moment in leaving the port. He counted our men, and, perceiving there to be only fifteen, all told, expressed astonishment.

the completion of our voyage to the Islands, we left on the 1st of May for San Diego, in California. Information of there being no Indians, which might be a disadvantage, it being the season of the year, and the winds, our passage was not very pleasant. On the morning of the 1st, we were near St. Clemente, and a smoke, we landed, and it proceeded from the top of a hill by some one, but insufficient to be seen, and with any other, in this miserable domain, men, women, and children, the temperature was such that garments requisite, the perfect nudity. Their food, having no cooking, was baking them, and we did not perceive that the other dialect than the Spanish understood nothing. The Indians inhabiting the coast of America, are, in general, so subject, so stupid, and so brutish.

A family, after distributing articles of old clothing, and under easy sail, arrived early in the morning of San Diego. A boat was sent to gain the shore, when, having passed being hailed, we came within it. The next day, Manuel Rodriguez, who came down aboard, and that the boat might be done immediately with his escort, and the necessity of leaving on shore, as told at San Blas, was exceedingly vain. Indeed, we found him to display of a "little parade, I never before, and every movement of the coxcomb. Having, over the ship's side, and, until his eyes, lined, with hats off in the hands in the other, and to the companions, of which we were the object of our visit, of the escort, and death of the articles we required, he would supply us with which, he should expect, in leaving the men, and, perceiving, told, expressed astonishment

at the presumption of undertaking so long a dangerous a navigation with so few men. He forbade our going to the town, which is distant about three miles, but gave us leave to go ashore in the neighbourhood of the vessel. We took leave with characteristic pomp, leaving aboard five of his escort, as he said, to see we carried on no contraband trade.

In the afternoon we made an excursion on shore, and, having rambled towards the battery, we commanded the entry of the port, without allowing any person to prevent our entering, and availed ourselves of the opportunity to ascertain its strength and state. We found eight nine-pounders, mounted on carriages, and appeared to be in good order, and a small supply of ball; but there was no appearance of their having been used for a long time.

As the examination of a battery belonging to a people the most jealous and suspicious, was a delicate business, we did not remain long within its precincts, and having had a pleasant excursion, returned on board at five.

In the evening we made acquaintance with the guard, the sergeant of which appeared an intelligent young man. He informed us, only a few days past, the ship Alexander, of Boston, Captain Brown, had been

that he had succeeded in purchasing the soldiers and people several hundred dollars, that information of it had been given to the commandant, who, without first demanding a surrender, boarded the ship with an armed force, made a search, and took away all the money they could find, together with some merchandise.

These skins, he said, were now in the possession of the commandant, which, with the money he had of his own, probably exceeded a hundred dollars. These we made every effort to obtain; and though there is no doubt, that we should have been as well pleased to sell them, as they would have been to purchase them, if the commandant had been practicable without being so to the people, yet, as this was out of the question, and they were all spies on each other, we did not indulge his desire of selling them. Had Brown negotiated with the commandant first, it is more probable he would have obtained the whole quantity, and, at the same time, have avoided the humiliating prediction of having his ship taken possession of by the Spaniards.

It is evident now that the object for which we were here was unattainable. Having, on the 10th, received the supplies we had requested, the commandant again visited us, in the same style, to receive his pay. On the 11th, we made known his expectation, that we should leave the port next morning, wished a pleasant voyage, and we parted on the most friendly terms. We had been offered a number of small parcels, in the course of the day, delivered to us after dark, and determined to take as many as we could that night.

Accordingly, between eight and nine o'clock, (the time agreed on,) both boats were dispatched to different parts of the harbour, one of which returned in proper time with several skins; but the other, in which was the mate and two men, did not return that night. That some disaster had occurred to prevent her return was presumable, but to attempt ascertaining the cause, in the night, would have been incurring too great a risk. We watched the approach of morning, with a view to seize and act upon any contingency that circumstances might present, before the moving of the people.

The first discovery, after dawn, was that of our boat, lying on the beach, abreast of our vessel, with, apparently, no person in her. On seeing this, I went immediately to the boat, and, when there, perceived a group of men at a short distance, among whom ours were discernible. Being without arms, an attempt to rescue them would have been imprudent. I therefore returned on board, taking with me the other boat. It was now very evident, that not a moment was to be lost in deciding on the course to be pursued. The choice presented us was that of submission, indignant treatment, and plunder; or resistance, and hazarding the consequences. There was not the least hesitation with Mr. Shaler or myself, in adopting the latter alternative. As a preliminary step, the guard on board were disarmed, and made to go below; then I went with four men, each with a brace of loaded pistols, to the rescue of those on shore. On landing, we ran up to the guard, and, presenting our pistols, ordered them instantly to release our men from their ligatures; for they had been tied hand and foot, and had been lying on the ground all night. This order was readily complied with by the three soldiers, who had been guarding them; and, to prevent mischief, we took away their arms, dipped them in the water, and left them on the beach. The mate reported that they were arrested immediately on landing, by a party of horse, with the commandant in person at their head; whence we concluded, that he had sent the soldier, with whom we made the agreement for the skins, expressly to decoy us, that he might have an apology to plunder us.

Arriving safely on board, we perceived our men to be so indignant at the treatment of their shipmates, as to be ready for the fight, even had the odds been greater against us. We had, however, a disagreeable and a very hazardous task to perform; a failure in which, would be attended with ruin to us, besides subjecting us to the humiliating treatment of an incensed petty tyrant. Our position, at anchor, was about a mile within the fort, of which mention has been made. It was necessary to pass within musket-shot of this fort. With a strong wind, the quick passage of the vessel would render the danger trifling; but, unfortunately, we had now but the last expiring breath of the land breeze, suf-



ficient only to give the ship steerage way, and an hour would elapse before we could presume on passing the fort; but no other alternative was left us, that did not present a more dreaded aspect.

While making our preparations, we perceived that all was bustle and animation on shore; both horse and foot were flocking to the fort. Our six three-pounders, which were all brought on the side of the ship bearing on the fort, and our fifteen men, were all our force, with which to resist a battery of six nine-pounders, and, at least, a hundred men. As soon as our sails were loosed and we began to heave the anchor, a gun without shot was discharged from the battery, and the Spanish flag hoisted; perceiving no effect from this, they fired a shot a-head. By this time our anchor was up, all sail was set, and we were gradually approaching the fort. In the hope of preventing their firing, we caused the guard in their uniforms to stand alone in the most exposed and conspicuous station; but it had no effect, not even when so near the fort that they must have been heard imploring them to desist firing, and seen to fall with their faces to the deck, at every renewed discharge of the cannon. We had been subjected to a cannonade of three quarters of an hour, without returning a shot, and fortunately, with injury only to our rigging and sails. When arrived abreast the fort, several shot struck our hull, one between wind and water, which was temporarily stopped by a waif of oakum. We now opened our fire, and, at the first broadside, saw numbers, probably of those who came to see the fun, scampering away up the hill at the back of the fort. Our second broadside seemed to have caused the complete abandonment of their guns, as none were fired afterwards; nor could we see any person in the fort, excepting a soldier who stood upon the ramparts, waving his hat, as if to desire us to desist firing.

Having passed out of the reach of their cannon, the poor guards, who had been left on board, saw themselves completely in our power, without the chance of rescue, and probably calculated on such treatment as they knew would have been our lot, if equally in the power of their commandant. Their exhibition of fear was really ludicrous, for, while we were tying up their fire-arms, so as to prevent their using them, and getting the boat ready to send them harmlessly on shore, they were all the time tremblingly imploring for mercy; nor could they be made to believe, until they were actually on shore, that we intended to do them no harm. When landed, and their arms handed to them, they embraced each other, crossed themselves, and fell on their knees in prayer. As our boat was leaving them, they rose up and cried at the utmost stretch of their voices, "*Vivan, vivan los Americanos.*"

Having plugged up the hole made by the shot, near the water we steered southward for

the bay of St. Quintin's, and arrived there on the 24th instant. Here we fell in with Captain Brown, in the ship *Alexander*, who gave us in detail of the rough manner in which he had been treated by the commandant of San Diego, which confirmed us in the propriety of the measures we had pursued to avoid a similar treatment. Captain Brown left us on the 5th of April, bound to the northwest coast. This was the only American ship we had seen since leaving Valparaiso, and the meeting was very agreeable to both parties; indeed, a countryman abroad is hailed like an old acquaintance, and there is always a consciousness of belonging to the same home, which makes such meeting pleasant in any part of the world, and is particularly so when, as in this instance, we had escaped similar dangers, and were among a people remarkable for treachery and hostility to strangers. We therefore viewed his departure with feeling somewhat allied to that of taking leave of an old friend.

A few days after arriving here, we were visited by the padres of the missions of San Vicente, San Domingo, San Rosario, and San Fernando, who came on horses with a retinue of Indian domestics making quite a formidable train. The commandant of San Vicente, a mission about sixty miles north of this port, accompanied the padre of that mission, and they formed together a jolly set of fellows. Their object seemed to be principally recreation, though they brought a few sea-otter skins, which they bartered with us for European manufactures. They pitched their tents on the beach, abreast the vessel, and, having provided themselves with an abundant supply of provisions and the requisite cooking utensils, they became quite domiciliated. Never was there an equal number of men more disposed to promote harmony and good-fellowship, and we dined together alternately on shore and on board, during the week that they remained with us.

As, for several days after their arrival, he did not mention the affair of San Diego, we supposed they might not have heard of it; but as St. Vincente was so near, it would be strange if the news of an event so novel and extraordinary should not have reached them. All the acquaintance had been promoted, however, a few days of such familiar intercourse, we were asked by the eldest of the padres, if we had been to San Diego? With the peculiarity attributed to New Englanders, our answer was evasive, and the question put, "Why?" He then told us of an American, who had been there since Brown, and related our transactions there so precisely as they occurred, that we acknowledged ourselves to have been the actors. He said, that the account of the affair was transmitted in a letter from the corporal, who commanded in the battery, to his senior officer, Loretto, and that the letter was left unsealed, that it might be read at the several missions on its way, and to be sealed at the last mission.

and arrived there we fell in with Captain Under, who gave us a letter in which he had the command of San Diego, propriety of the meeting was very agreeable. A countryman abroad acquaintance, and the meeting was pleasant and is particularly so. We had escaped among a people remaining hostility to strange departure with feeling of taking leave of

ing here, we were visiting of San Vincente, San and San Fernando, where of Indian domestic train. The command was about sixty miles north of the padre of that name. A jolly set of men to be principally brought a few sea-otter with us for Europe. We had our tents on the beach, and, having provided a supply of provisions, cooking utensils, and the like. Never was there more disposed to promote the cause of the wharf, and we dined on board, during the day.

After their arrival, the affair of San Diego, we had heard of it: it was clear, it would be strange, so novel and extraordinary, reached them. As soon as promoted, however, the intercourse, we were the padres, if we had with the peculiarity of the fathers, our answer was put, "Why?" The American, who had related our transaction, they occurred, that we should have been the actors in the affair was true. The corporal, who came to his senior officer, the letter was left unopened. The several missions ended at the last mission

arriving at Loretto. While the corporal, in letter, was severe in his strictures on the conduct of the commandant, in first enticing us to this difficulty, and then taking care not to leave the fort until he ascertained that we were of the reach of cannon-shot, he was profuse in eulogies of us. Our forbearance so long in returning their fire, our humanity and courtesy to the guards, under such provocation, and our ceasing to fire when they did, were considered by the corporal as acts of magnanimity, which should recommend us to the kindness and hospitality of all good Spaniards.

The padres had been friendly before this acknowledgment, but they seemed afterwards to shun each other who should show us the least kindness, offering to procure us supplies of any quantity, and assuring us of most hospitable reception at any of the missions. Their first visit in California. As they did not intend to leave home, that we should be obliged to remain long in a desert port, they provided themselves with provisions for a long stay; at the expiration of which, they left us a promise to return again in a fortnight, to supply of such stores for ourselves as we wished them a list of. Having, with ill-judged economy, coppered our vessel only to light-water, we perceived that the worm had already made dreadful ravages in our wooden hull, and that it was necessary to lay her on her side to cleanse and boot-top the bottom. The vessel was well adapted to such purpose, it was washed without difficulty. In the progress of this business, of repairing the damage sustained in our sails and rigging by the shot, in the recreation of fishing and the like, and in taking a plan of the port, the vessel was filled up until the fortnight agreed on expired, when the padres, true to the engagement, again made their appearance, with the equipment required.

Although there was nothing now to cause us delay, yet the day's detention, yet the padres were so anxious for our remaining another week, alleging that they had brought provisions with the exception that we could not resist their importunate persuasions. They were now desirous of being acquainted with some particulars of our journey to San Diego, which could be obtained from us, such as to be shown the men who were captured and tied on shore; those who were killed, if there was any attempt at resistance; the several places the shot had struck, &c.

We were very happy to be informed by the corporal that no person was even hurt by our shot. The good padres, though very amiable, were ignorant on all subjects, excepting that of religion, and so intolerant and bigotted, that they were almost ready to express astonishment, that men of sense and intelligent should be blind to the truth and beauty of Catholicism. In regard, however, to the apparent amiability of the people, I ought to except the padre of

San Vincente, who, it must be acknowledged: had no just pretensions to such a character, after boasting, as he did, that he had rendered God service by killing many of the Indians who obstinately refused to be converted. They expressed great disgust with the character and conduct of Don Manuel Rodriguez, called him a poltroon, and said he would be broken; not so much for having fired on a ship of a friendly power, as for undertaking what he was unequal to accomplish, thereby exposing the weakness of the place, and subjecting the royal flag to insult. It is, indeed, doubtful whether the éclat caused in Europe by the battle of Copenhagen, was greater than that of the battle of San Diego, in California.

The week we had engaged to pass with the padres having expired on the 3rd of May, we then, with reciprocal friendly salutations, and cordial interchange of good wishes for prosperity and happiness, bade them farewell, and put to sea, bound to the Island of Guadaloupe, in the hope of there obtaining a supply of water, for that which we found at St. Quintin's was of an inferior quality, and was only obtained by digging a well. The want of this, and equally of wood, lessens much the value of this port. It is remarkable, considering the length of time the Spaniards have possessed this country, and the accuracy and ability with which their navigators generally have surveyed their possessions on this coast, that they are yet ignorant of this excellent harbour. It was discovered about the year 1800, by Captain O'Kain, of Boston. The entrance to it is so narrow and obscure, that had not Brown been here to direct us, it is doubtful if we had found it; yet we carried in not less than three fathoms, and anchored in four, in one of the safest harbours in the world. It is also very capacious, and abounding in the sea-otter, of which, though very shy, we shot several. The shore, at short distances from the beach, is greatly infested with rattlesnakes.

Arriving at the Island of Guadaloupe on the 4th, the whole of the next day was passed in seeking for water on the lee side of the island, presuming, from its height, that there was no doubt of success, but we were disappointed. There were various gullies, indicating abundance at certain seasons, which were now perfectly dry. Steering again to the eastward, we entered a small bay on that part of the coast which is nearest the mission of San Borgia, and came to anchor. The next day we were visited by the father of that mission, Mariano Apolario, who had been expecting us some days, and had kept an Indian on the look-out for us, that he might be advised immediately on our arrival. Having received notice of our approach from the Indian the day before our arrival, he had set out, though uncertain if we had anchored. As his mission was sixty miles from the seacoast, and he was accompanied by twenty domestics, with provisions and baggage laden on twenty-

five horses and mules, he would have been greatly disappointed had we passed without anchoring, and therefore was gratified at a meeting, which he seemed to have counted much upon.

We made the best arrangement in our power for the accommodation of the padre and his domestics; but, after passing one night on board, he experienced much inconvenience from the motion of the ship, as to make it desirable to provide some shelter for him on shore. Accordingly, in the morning a sail was taken on shore, with which our men made a large and commodious tent. Here our days were principally past in conversation with the padre, interrupted only by occasional rambles over the sand-hills for exercise. Amongst the domestics of the padre was that very useful and important appendage of a missionary, a very good cook; and, as he was provided with plenty of venison and poultry, whereon to exercise his skill, we perceived it to be as much for our advantage, as it was gratifying to the padre, that we should dine with him every day. On these occasions we had neither plates nor dishes, knives nor forks; nor were they requisite, as the food was served up in a large wooden bowl, into which each in turn dipped his spoon, in true primitive style. A due degree of exercise in a fine bracing atmosphere, however, previous to taking these homely repasts, gave to them a relish which is not often experienced at the most luxurious and elegant tables.

Perceiving that water was not procurable in this vicinity, having but a short supply on board, and uncertain where it was to be obtained, there was obviously a necessity of cutting short our visit at this station. As soon as the padre was made acquainted with it, he applied a remedy, by engaging to supply us with our daily consumption of water, although he had to send six miles for it, and this he did daily until our departure, besides providing abundance of fresh provisions for the ship's company.

The more intimately we became acquainted with Padre Mariano, the more we were convinced that his was a character to love and respect. He appeared to be one of that rare class, who, for piety and the love of their fellow-men, might justly rank with a Fenelon or a Cheverus. His countenance beaming with the love and benevolence, which were his prevailing motives of action, inspired immediate and perfect confidence, even with those who had seen as much of the Spanish character as it had been our lot to do. His mild and humane treatment of his domestics made their intercourse more like that of father and children, than of masters and servants. His regular observance, morning, noon, and evening, of his devotional duties, with his uncouth-looking domestics assembled round him, and on bended knee, and with the utmost decorum, participating in his prayers to the throne of grace, was affecting, and might be re-

ceived as a tacit reproach for indifference to such duties, by that part of his audience whom his brethren would denominate heretics. But this good man was gifted with a mind too liberal and noble, and a benevolence too extensive and pure, to pronounce condemnation for difference of opinions, or to believe, in the monopoly of truth and goodness in any one sect of Christians.

Our visit here had been protracted much beyond our intentions, by the persuasions of the padre, and the promise of two horses, which we had successfully endeavoured to procure at the other missions, as a present to the King of the Sandwich Islands. These arrived at the encampment on the 19th, a male and a female, and were presented to us by the padre. In return for these, and a flagon of wine and some dried fruits, we gave him such manufactures as he desired, to more than their value. The next day we took the horses on board, and made preparation for our departure. As it was then late in the afternoon, and we could not consent to deprive the good padre of his tent for the night, we remained on this account.

Early on the following morning, we went ashore and spent an hour with the padre, while our men were engaged in striking the tent, and taking away the soil which had formed it. I expressed to us the great satisfaction he had experienced in our society, and regretted he could not pass another week with him, adding that our visit formed an epoch in his life; that at his mission he lived like a hermit, with few associates, except the rude Indian, and repeated that a visit like ours was "a God-send." Taking leave, he assured us, that we should always be remembered in his prayers, and accompanying us to the boat, repeated and vociferous his *á Dios*, until we were too distant to hear more. With our glass, we perceived him waiting, after we had arrived on board; and did not move off with his retinue until we weighed anchor.

At ten o'clock A.M., we weighed anchor, made all sail to the southward, and in the evening perceived that we had steered too near the coast, being embayed to the northward of Morro Hermoso, and were obliged to make tack out of our course. The next day we passed between the Island Natividad and the Morro Hermoso; and steering to the southeast with a fine northwest wind, were up with and near Cape St. Lucas, in the evening of the 25th instant. Early the following morning, we went to anchor in the bay of St. Joseph, at the northern extremity of the peninsula, and near the mission of that name. A beautiful clear water, which emptied into the bay, and of sufficient depth to admit our boat, gave us great facility in filling up our water-casks. The padres had no scruple in supplying us with provision, vegetables, and fruits, as the bay afforded; and were equally ready to trade

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limited. In addition to a supply of  
we purchased of them pearls to the  
amount of two thousand dollars, and also a mare  
foal. Having with much difficulty taken  
matter on board, on the 28th of May, we  
immediately for the Sandwich Islands.

## CHAPTER XV.

of California.—Its sterility.—Abundance of  
—Arrival at the Sandwich Islands.—First  
ever seen at Owhyhee.—The King's visit.  
—Landed.—The King's ignorance of the  
—Excursion on shore.—Character of the  
—Attempt to convert him to Christianity.—  
proposed test.—Customs of the Natives.—  
—Base conduct of Americans.—Ar-  
—at Guam.—St. Ignacio de Aguin.—The  
—The King's wife.—Violent gales.—Arrival at  
—Sale of cargo, and one half of the ship.  
—of a Hong merchant.—Ship returns  
California.—Author departs in the Alert,  
Boston.

—Relief and freedom from care experienced  
—once more beyond the reach of a power  
most dreaded: arms are deceit, dissimula-  
and treachery, are more easily imagined  
scribed. Fifteen months had elapsed  
our arrival at Valparaiso, and it will be  
in each of the three ports which we  
d, a state of hostility had existed be-  
the government and ourselves, which was  
always the more rancorous for the de-  
the people took in our favour,—a cir-  
which we knew to be owing less to  
selection for us, than to their deadly  
the officers of government. The lat-  
natives of Old Spain, and every where  
most had disgusted the Creoles, by their  
and overbearing manner of treating  
No inconsiderable drawback, however,  
enjoyment of this repose was the re-  
that we had yet on board nearly one  
near European cargo, which could not be  
of at Canton, unless there should  
to be a vessel fitting out from thence to  
ish coast, of which there was not much  
ty. From the profit which there was  
of our making on the sea-otters' skins,  
there was scarcely any chance of ex-  
ing a loss on the whole adventure; and  
and consolation from the reflection, that  
had been wanting on our part to pro-  
better result.

—We coasted along the western shore of  
—for the most part within a distance  
—leagues, and often much nearer, from  
—to Cape San Lucas; and, during the  
—course, had seen nothing but a continued  
—of barren sand-hills, with occasional  
—of bushes of apparently stunted growth.  
—barren coast has nothing to recommend it  
—habitation of man; no harbour, no wa-

ter, no soil adapted for cultivation. Hence,  
there are no missionary establishments near the  
shore. At a distance of about thirty miles in  
the interior, the country is said to present a very  
different aspect; and the cheapness of cattle,  
the abundance of horse and sheep, together  
with the apparently well-fed condition of the  
padres, would seem to justify the report. In-  
deed, having had ample scope to choose, the  
padres would not have evinced their usual sa-  
gacity, if they had failed to select the most fertile  
portions of the country for the establishment of  
their missions.

Although in former Editions of this Work,  
little has been said on the subject of California,  
yet, as it has become of late a place of so much  
importance in the public estimation, a short  
account of its general characteristics will not be  
deemed irrelevant in this place.

The district of country known geographically  
as Upper California is bounded on the north by  
Oregon, the forty-second degree of north latitude  
being the boundary line between the two terri-  
tories; on the east by the Rocky Mountains  
and the Sierra de los Mimbres, a continuation  
of the same range; on the south by Sonora and  
Old or Lower California; and on the west by the  
Pacific Ocean. Its extent from north to south  
is about 700 miles, and from east to west from  
600 to 800 miles, with an area of about 400,000  
square miles. A small portion only of this ex-  
tensive territory is fertile or inhabitable by civil-  
ized man, and this portion consists chiefly in the  
strip of country along the Pacific Ocean, about  
700 miles in length, and from 100 to 150 in  
breadth, bounded on the east by the Sierra Ne-  
vada, and on the west by the Pacific. In speak-  
ing of Upper California, this strip of country is  
what is generally referred to.

The largest river of Upper California is the  
Colorado or Red, which has a course of about  
1000 miles, and empties into the Gulf of Califor-  
nia in latitude about 32° north. But little is  
known of the region through which this stream  
flows. The report of trappers, however, is, that  
the river is canoned between high mountains  
and precipices a large portion of its course, and  
that its banks and the country generally through  
which it flows are arid, sandy, and barren.  
Green and Grand Rivers are its principal upper  
tributaries, both of which rise in the Rocky  
Mountains, and within the territories of the  
United States. The Gila is its lowest and  
largest branch, emptying into the Colorado, just  
above its mouth. Sevier and Virgin Rivers are  
also tributaries of the Colorado. Mary's river,  
which I have previously described, rises near  
latitude 42° north, and has a course of about  
400 miles, when its waters sink in the sands of  
the desert. This river is not laid down on any  
map which I have seen. The Sacramento and  
San Joaquin Rivers have each a course of from  
300 to 400 miles; the first flowing from the north,



and the last from the south, and both emptying into the Bay of St. Francisco at the same point. They water the large and fertile valley lying between the Sierra Nevada and the coast range of mountains.

This noble valley is the first undoubtedly in California, and one of the most magnificent in the world. It is about 500 miles long, with an average width of about fifty miles. It is bounded on the east by the great Snowy Mountains, and on the west by the low range, which in many places dwindles into insignificant hills, and has its northern terminus at the Strait of Carquines, on the Bay of San Francisco, and its southern near the Colorado River.

The river of San Joaquin flows through the middle of the valley for about half of its extent, and thence diverges toward the eastern mountain, in which it has its source. About sixty miles further south is the northern end of the Buena Vista Lake, which is about one hundred miles long, and from ten to twenty wide. Still farther south, and near the western side of the valley, is another and much smaller lake.

The great lake receives about a dozen tributaries on its eastern side, which all rise in the great range of the Snowy Mountains. Some of these streams flow through broad and fertile valleys within the mountains range, and, from thence emerging, irrigate the plains of the great valley for the distance of twenty or thirty miles. The largest of these rivers is called by the Spanish inhabitants the river Reyes, and falls into the lake near the northern end; it is a well-timbered stream, and flows through a country of great fertility and beauty. The tributaries of the San Joaquin are all on the east side.

On ascending the stream we first meet with the Stanislaus, a clear, rapid mountain stream, some forty or fifty yards wide, with a considerable depth of water in its lower portion. The Mormons have commenced a settlement, called New Hope, and built some two or three houses near the mouth.

There are considerable bodies of fertile land along the river, and the higher plains afford good pasturage.

Ten miles higher up is the river of the Tawames; it is about the size of the Stanislaus, which it greatly resembles, except that the soil is somewhat better, and that it particularly abounds with salmon.

Some thirty miles farther comes in the Merced, much the largest of the tributaries of the San Joaquin. The lands along and between the tributaries of the San Joaquin and the lake of Buena Vista form a fine pastoral region, with a good proportion of arable land and a very inviting field for emigration. The whole of this region has been but imperfectly explored; enough, however, is known to make it certain that it is one of the most desirable regions on the continent.

In the valleys of the rivers which come down

from the great Snowy Mountains are vast bodies of pine, and red-wood, or cedar timber, and the streams afford water power to any desirable amount.

The whole country east of the San Joaquin and the water communication which connects with the lakes, is considered, by the best judges, to be particularly adapted to the culture of the vine, which must necessarily become one of the principal agricultural resources of California.

The Salinas River empties into the Pacific about twelve miles above Monterey. The River empties into the Great Salt Lake. The other streams of California are all small.

The Great Salt Lake and the Utah Lake have already described. There are numerous small lakes in the Sierra Nevada. The San Joaquin is connected with Tule Lake, or La Buena Vista, a sheet of water about eighty miles in length and fifteen in breadth. A lake laid down in any map, and known as Laguna among the Californians, is situated about sixty miles north of the Bay of San Francisco. It is between forty and sixty miles in length. The valleys in its vicinity are high, fertile, and romantically beautiful. In the vicinity of this lake there is a mountain of sulphur. There are also soda springs, and a great variety of other mineral waters, and minerals.

The principal mountains west of the east boundary of California (the Rocky Mountains) are the Bear River, Wahsatch, Utah, the Sierra Nevada, and the Coast range. The Wahsatch Mountains form the eastern rim of the "great interior basin." There are numerous ranges in this desert basin, all of which run north and south, and are separated from each other by spacious and barren valleys and plains. The Sierra Nevada range is of greater elevation than the Rocky Mountains. The summits of the most elevated peaks are covered with perpetual snow. This and the coast range run nearly parallel with the shore of the Pacific. The distance is from 100 to 200 miles from the Pacific, the last from forty to sixty miles. The valley between them is the most fertile portion of California.

Upper California was discovered in 1542, by Cabrillo, a Spanish navigator. In 1578 the northern portion of it was visited by Sir Francis Drake, who called it New Albion. It was colonized by the Spaniards, in 1768, and formed a province of Mexico until after the revolution in that country. There have been numerous revolutions and civil wars in California within the last twenty years; but, up to the occupation of the country by the United States in 1848, Mexican authority has generally been exercised over it.

The following description of the political and social condition of Upper California in 1850, extracted from a Spanish writer of that date, is given in the *Government*.—Upper California, on account

contains are vast bodies of cedar timber, and the power to any desirable

of the San Joaquin valley which connects, by the best judges, to the culture of the valley become one of the sources of California. The valleys into the Pacific above Monterey. Beyond Great Salt Lake. The valleys are all small.

and the Utah Lake. There are numerous in Nevada. The Lake of Tule Lake, or Lake about eighty miles in breadth. A lake, and known as the Californians, is situated in the Bay of San Francisco, and sixty miles in its vicinity are highly beautiful. In the vicinity is a mountain of soda springs, and mineral waters, and a

ains west of the coast (the Rocky Mountains), Utah, the Sierra range. The Wahwah range rim of the "great" are numerous ranges of which run north and from each other valleys and plains. of greater elevation. The summits of the coast range run north of the Pacific. The distance from the Pacific, sixty miles. The most fertile portion of the

discovered in 1548, navigator. In 1578, was visited by Sir Francis Drake. It was discovered in 1768, and for until after the revolution have been numerous in California, but, up to the occupation of the United States in 1848, generally been exercised

option of the political writer of that date California, on account

small population, not being able to become of the great Mexican republic, takes the charge of territory, the government of which exercises the charge of a commandant-general, whose attributes depend entirely upon the constitution of the republic and the general congress. To amplify the legislation of its centre, it is divided into deputations made up of seven vocals, the individuals being removed every year. The superior political chief presides in the sessions. The inhabitants of the territory are divided amongst the presidios, missions, and towns.

The necessity of protecting the territory was the obligatory reason for the presidios, which were established in the following circumstances. That of San Diego is the first; Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Jose were built afterwards. The form of the presidio is nearly the same, and this is a square containing about two hundred yards in each side, formed of a weak wall made of mud-bricks. Its height may be four yards in the middle of the square, and built on to the same height. Its entire circumference are a chapel, a kitchen, and houses for the commandant, his family, and troops, having at the entrance of the presidio a *corps de garde*.

The buildings in the presidios, at the first time, were not to have been sufficient, the only reason being for a defence against a surprise from the gentiles, or wild Indians in the vicinity. But, this cause having been removed, they ought to be demolished, as they are daily threatening a complete ruin, and the very limited spaces of habitation, must be so inconvenient to those who inhabit them. As to the exterior of the presidios, several individuals have built some very decent houses, and, having evinced great emulation in the way of business, I have no doubt but in a few years we shall see very considerable towns in California.

The distance of one, or at the most two miles from the presidio, and near to the anchorage, is a fort, which has a few pieces of artillery of small calibre. The situation of most of the presidios is very advantageous for the defence of the territory, though the form of the walls, and other imperfections, which may be made them very insignificant.

A battalion of each presidio is made up of four or more horse soldiers, called *cueras*; these, it has a number of auxiliary troops, and a detachment of artillery. The commandant of each presidio is the captain of its respective territory, and, besides the intervention, military and political, he has charge of all things relating to the marine department.

The missions contained in the territory are twenty-one. They were built at three epochs: that of San Diego, being the first, was built in 1769; its distance from the

presidio of the same name is two leagues. The rest were built successively, according to circumstances and necessity. The last one was founded in the year 1822, under the name of San Francisco Delores, and is the most northern of all.

The edifices in some of these missions are more extensive than in others, but in form they are all nearly equal. They are all fabricated of mud-bricks, and the divisions are according to necessity. In all of them may be found commodious habitations for the ministers, storehouses to keep their goods in, proportional granaries, offices for soap-makers, weavers, blacksmiths, and large parterres, and horse and cattle pens, independent apartments for Indian youths of each sex, and all such offices as were necessary at the time of its institution. Contiguous to and communicating with the former is a church, forming a part of the edifices of each mission; they are all very proportionable, and are adorned with profusion.

The Indians reside about two hundred yards distant from the above-mentioned edifice. This place is called the *rancheria*. Most of the missions are made up of very reduced quarters, built with mud-bricks, forming streets, while in others the Indians have been allowed to follow their primitive customs; their dwellings being a sort of huts, in a conical shape, which at the most do not exceed four yards in diameter, and the top of the cone may be elevated three yards. They are built of rough sticks, covered with bulrushes or grass, in such a manner as to completely protect the inhabitants from all the inclemencies of the weather. In my opinion, these *rancherias* are the most adequate to the natural cleanliness of the Indians, as the families often renew them, burning the old ones, and immediately building others with the greatest facility. Opposite the *rancherias*, and near to the mission, is to be found a small garrison, with proportionate rooms for a corporal and five soldiers with their families. This small garrison is quite sufficient to prevent any attempt of the Indians from taking effect, there having been some examples made, which causes the Indians to respect this small force. One of these pickets in a mission has a double object; besides keeping the Indians in subjection, they run post with a monthly correspondence, or with any extraordinary that may be necessary for government.

All the missions in this California are under the charge of religious men of the order of San Francisco. At the present time their number is twenty-seven, most of them of an advanced age. Each mission has one of these fathers for its administrator, and he holds absolute power. The tilling of the ground, the gathering the harvest, the slaughtering of cattle, the tanning of skins, and everything that concerns the mission, is under the direction of the fathers, without any other person interfering in any way whatever, so that if any one mission has the good fortune

to be superintended by an industrious and discreet padre, the Indians enjoy in abundance all the real necessities of life; at the same time the nakedness and misery of any one mission are a palpable proof of the inactivity of its director. The missions extend their possessions from one extremity of the territory to the other, and have made the limits of one mission from those of another. Though they do not require all this land for their agriculture and the maintenance of their stock, they have appropriated the whole; always strongly opposing any individual who may wish to settle himself or his family on any piece of land between them. But it is to be hoped that the new system of illustration, and the necessity of augmenting private property, and the people of reason, will cause the government to take such adequate measures as will conciliate the interests of all. Amongst all the missions there are from twenty-one to twenty-two thousand Catholic Indians; but each mission has not an equal or a proportionate part in its congregation. Some have three or four thousand, whilst others have scarcely four hundred; and at this difference may be computed the riches of the missions in proportion. Besides the number of Indians already spoken of, each mission has a considerable number of gentiles, who live chiefly on farms annexed to the missions. The number of these is undetermined.

The Indians are naturally filthy and careless, and their understanding is very limited. In the small arts they are not deficient in ideas of imitation; but they never will be inventors. Their true character is that of being revengeful and timid; consequently they are very much addicted to treachery. They have no knowledge of benefits received, and ingratitude is common amongst them. The education they receive in their infancy is not the proper one to develop their reason, and, if it were, I do not believe them capable of any good impression. All these Indians, whether from the continual use of the sweat-house, or from their filthiness, or the little ventilation in their habitations, are weak and unvigorous; spasms and rheumatics, to which they are so much subject, are the consequences of their customs. But what most injures them, and prevents propagation, is the venereal disease, which most of them have very strongly, clearly proving that their humours are analogous to receiving the impressions of this contagion. From this reason may be deduced the enormous differences between the births and deaths, which, without doubt, is one-tenth per year in favour of the latter; but the missionaries do all in their power to prevent this, with respect to the catechumens situated near them.

The general productions of the missions are, the breed of the larger class of cattle and sheep, horses, wheat, maize or Indian corn, beans, peas, and other vegetables; though the productions of the missions situated more to the southward are more extensive, these, producing the

grape and olive in abundance. Of all the articles of production, the most lucrative is the large cattle, their hides and tallow affording an active commerce with foreign vessels on the coast. This being the only means the inhabitants, missionaries, or private individuals have of supplying their actual necessities, for this reason they give this branch all the impulse they possibly can, and on it generally place all the attention.

It is now six years since they began to gather in hides and tallow for commerce. Formerly they merely took care of as many or as much as they required for their own private use, and the rest was thrown away as useless; but at the time the actual number of hides sold annually on board of foreign vessels amounts to thirty-four thousand, and about the same amount in arrobas (twenty-five pounds) of tallow; and, pursuing their present method, there is no doubt but in three or four years the amount of the exportation of each of these articles will be doubled. Flax, linen, wine, olive-oil, grain, and other agricultural productions, would be more extensive if there were stimulants to each industry; but, this not being the case, there is just grain enough sown and reaped for the consumption of the inhabitants in the territory.

The towns contained in this district are thirty, the most populous being that of Angeles, which has about twelve hundred souls; that of St. Joseph's of Guadalupe may contain six hundred, and the village of Branciforte two hundred; they are all formed imperfectly and without order, each person having built his own house at the spot he thought most convenient for himself. The first of these pueblos is governed by a corresponding body of magistrates, composed of an alcalde or judge, four regidores or municipal officers, a syndico, and secretary; the second an alcalde, two regidores, a syndico, and secretary; and the third, on account of the smallness of its population, is subject to the command of Monterey.

The inhabitants of the towns are white, and to distinguish them from the Indians, are vulgarly called *people of reason*. The number of these contained in the territory may be near five thousand. These families are divided amongst the pueblos and presidios. They are nearly all the descendants of a small number of individuals who came from the Mexican country, some as settlers, others in the service of the army, and accompanied by their wives. In a limited space of little more than fifty years the present generation has been formed.

The whites are in general robust, healthy, and well-made. Some of them are occupied in breeding and raising cattle, and cultivating quantities of wheat and beans; but for want of sufficient land, for which they cannot obtain rightful ownership, their labours are very limited. Others dedicate themselves to the service of the army. All the presidial companies are composed of

Of all the most lucrative is the most tallow affording foreign vessels on the only means the inhabitants individuals have necessities, for this reason the impulse they place all the commerce. Formerly for private use, and the hides sold annually amounts to thirty the same amount of tallow; and, method, there is no does the amount of these articles will be, olive-oil, grain, motions, would be stimulants to the being the case, then and respect for the in the territory. that of Angeles, which souls; that of the may contain six Francisco two hundred perfectly and with built his own house convenient for him. The is governed by magistrates, composed regidores or municipal secretary; the second, a syndic, and account of the small to the commandant the towns are white, from the Indians, are reason. The number territory may be families are divided presidios. They of a small number from the Mexican count in the service of by their wives. In more than fifty years been formed. robust, healthy, them are occupied, and cultivating beans; but for which they cannot obtain labours are very limited to the service of families are composed of

of the country, but the most of them are indolent, it being very rare for any to strive to augment his fortune. The arts are entirely unknown, and doubtful if there is one individual who any trade; very few who understand rudiments of letters, and the other sciences known amongst them. fecundity of the people of reason is It is very rare to find a married with less than five or six children, while hundreds who have from twelve to Very few of them die in their youth, reaching the age of puberty are sure to grand-children. The age of eighty and has always been common in this most infirmities are unknown here, and and robustness of the people show social influence of the climate; the particular have always the roses their cheeks. This beautiful species doubt the most active and laborious, their vigilances in the duties of the cleanliness of their children, and attention their husbands, dedicating all their leisure to some kind of occupation that may be their maintenance. Their clothing is clean and decent, nakedness being unknown in either sex. Commerce.—There are four ports, in this territory, which take the corresponding presidios. The best is that of San Diego. That of San has many advantages. Santa Barbara is in the best part of the season; is always bad. Besides the above places, vessels sometimes anchor at San Luis Obispo, El Refugio, San San Juan, that they may obtain the of the missions nearest these last places; but from an order sent by of war, and circulated by the commandant, we are given to understand a foreign vessel is permitted to anchor at these places, Monterey only excepted, and the commandant-general has the first three principal ports to remain occasionally. Were it not so, there would be an end to all commerce with as I will quickly show. motive that induces foreign vessels to the coast is for the hides and tallow barter for in the territory. It is well that at any of these ports there is no realizing any money, for here it circulate. The goods imported by vessels are intended to facilitate the of the aforesaid articles, well knowing missions have no interest in money, such goods as are necessary for the that several persons who have brought sell for nothing but money have not to sell them. It will appear very

extraordinary that money should not be appreciated in a country where its value is so well known; but the reason may be easily perceived by attending to the circumstances of the territory. The quantity of hides gathered yearly is about thirty or forty thousand; and the arrobas of tallow, with very little difference, will be about the same. Averaging the price of each article at two dollars, we shall see that the intrinsic value in annual circulation in California is 140,000 dollars. This sum, divided between twenty-one missions will give to each 6666 dollars. Supposing the only production of the country converted into money, with what would the Indians be clothed, and by what means would they be able to cover a thousand other necessities? Money is useful in amplifying speculations; but in California, as yet, there are no speculations, and its productions are barely sufficient for the absolute necessary consumption. The same comparison may be made with respect to private individuals, who are able to gather a few hides and a few arrobas of tallow, these being in small quantities.

It was during the month of November, 1802, the sun just retiring behind the distant high land which forms the background of a spacious harbour at the southernmost point of Alta California, that a small fleet of vessels might have been seen, directing their course as if in search of a place of anchorage; their light sails drawn up, while the larger ones, swelling now and then to the action of the breeze, bore them majestically along, forcing their way through the immense and almost impenetrable barrier of sea-weed, to a haven which, at the remote period stated, was considered the unexplored region of the North. The fleet referred to hauled their wind to the shore, and passing a bluff point of land on their left, soon came to anchor; but not until the shades of night had cast a gloom over the scene so recently lighted up with the gorgeous rays of a setting sun.

This was the commencement, or rather preliminary mark, of civilization in this country by the Spaniards (if so it can be called); and on the following morning a detachment was landed, accompanied by a friar, to make careful investigation of the long ridge of high land which serves as a protection to the harbour from the heavy north-west gales. They found, as reported, an abundance of small oak and other trees, together with a great variety of useful and aromatic herbs; and from its summit they beheld the extent and beauty of the port, reaching, as they said, full three leagues from where the vessel lay at anchor. A large tent was erected on the sandy beach, to answer the purposes of a church, where the friar might perform mass, and by directions of the commanding officers, the boats were drawn up for repairing, wells were dug, parties were sent off to cut wood, while guards were placed at convenient distances to give notice of the approach



of any hostile force. The latter precaution was hardly carried into effect, ere a large body of naked Indians were seen moving along the shore, armed with bows and arrows. A friar, protected by six soldiers, was dispatched to meet them, who, making signs of peace by exhibiting a white flag and throwing handfuls of sand high into the air, influenced them to lay aside their arms, when, affectionately embracing them, the good old friar distributed presents of beads and necklaces, with which they eagerly adorned their persons. This manifestation of good feeling induced them to draw near to where the commander had landed with his men, but perceiving to large a number, they retreated to a neighbouring knoll, and from thence sent forward to the Spaniards ten aged females, who, possessing apparently so much affability, were presented immediately with gifts, and instructed to go and inform their people of the friendly disposition cherished for them by the white strangers. This was sufficient to implant a free intercourse with the Indians, who daily visited the Spaniards, and bartered off their skins and furs in exchange for beads and trinkets. But at length the time arrived for the fleet to depart, and they proceeded northward, following in their course Monterey and Mendocino, where the same favourable result attended the enterprise as at other places, and they returned in safety to New Spain.

So successful had been the character of this expedition throughout the entire period of its execution, that an enthusiasm prevailed in the minds of the Spaniards, which could only be assuaged by an attempt to conquer and christianize the inhabitants of that distant portion of the American continent. Many were the fruitless results of the Spanish adventurer—numerous were the statements of his toil and labour, till at length a formidable attempt, under the patronage and direction of Don Gaspar de Portola and Father Junipero Serra, successfully achieved the desired object for which it was planned and executed.

At San Diego, where, a century and a half before, the primitive navigators under Cortez commenced with the rude and unapostolized native—there, where the zealous devotee erected his altar on the burning sand, and with offerings of incense and prayer hallowed it to God, as the birthplace of Christianity in that region—upon that sacred spot commenced the spiritual conquest, the cross was erected, and the holy missionaries who accompanied the expedition entered heart and soul upon their religious duties. Successful in all they undertook, their first establishment in a short time was completed, and drawing around it the converted Indians in large numbers, the rude and uncultivated fields gave place to agricultural improvement—the arts and sciences gradually obtained foundation, where, before, all was darkness, and day after day hundreds were added to the fold of the holy and apostolic

church. Thus triumphantly proceeded the labours of the Spanish conquerors! In course of time other institutions were founded at Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco, where at each place a military fortress was erected, which served for their protection, and to keep in check such of the natives who were disinclined to observe the regulations of the community.

The natives formed an ardent and almost adorable attachment for their spiritual fathers and were happy, quite happy, under their jurisdiction. Ever ready to obey them, they laboured in the field and workshop met with ready compliance, and so prosperous were the institutions that many of them became wealthy, in the increase of their cattle and great abundance their granaries. It was no unusual sight to behold the plains for leagues literally strewed with bullocks, and large fields of corn and wheat covering acres of ground. This state of things continued until the period when Mexico underwent a change in its political form of government, which an dishonoured the feelings of the loyal missionaries, and they became regardless of their establishments and suffered them to decline for want of attention to their interests. At length civil discord and anarchy among the Californians prepared a more effective measure for their destruction, and they were left to the superintendence of individuals who plundered of all that was desirable or capable of removal. Thus the government commenced the robbery and its hirelings carried it out to the last, destroying and laying waste wherever they were placed. In order to give the Indians a share of the spoils, some of them were permitted to slaughter the cattle by which which was an equal division of the proceeds, and the contractors were careful when they delivered one hide to a mission, to reserve for themselves, in this way following up the example of their superiors.

This important revolution in the system of the order of the monastic institutions took place in 1800, at which period the most important of them possessed property, exclusive of lands and inclosures, to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. At the present day they have but little more than stipulated walls and restricted boundaries of territory. Notwithstanding this wanton devastation of property, contrary to the opinion of many who were strongly in favour of supporting these religious institutions, the result proved beneficial to the country at large. Individual enterprise succeeded where the lands became distributed, so that the Mexican beheld himself no longer dependent on the bounty of his spiritual directors, but, on the contrary, he was enabled to give support to them from the increase and abundance of his own possessions.

Subsequent to the expulsion of the Mexican

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urs of new farms were created, and hun  
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y. Previous to 1830, the actual posses  
of horned cattle by the *rancheros* did  
ceed one hundred thousand; but in 1842,  
ing to a fair estimate, made by one an  
ot, the number had increased to four  
ed thousand; so that the aggregate is  
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most flourishing condition. The present  
is not much, if any, short of a million.  
ward to the minerals of California, very  
is known, prior to the year 1847, it  
been the policy of the owners of land  
which there existed minerals to conceal  
as much as possible; for, by the law of  
If one man discovers a mine of any  
on another man's land, and the proprie  
not work it, the former may denounce  
take possession of it, and hold it as  
he continues to work it. Hence the  
of land upon which there were  
mineral ores, concealed their exist  
as much as possible. While in California  
silver, silver, lead, and iron ores,  
specimens were taken from mines said  
exhaustible. From good authority I  
the existence of gold and copper mines,  
being continued; and I saw speci  
taken from two or three different  
at I do not know what the indications  
in quality. Brimstone, saltpetre,  
and carbonate of soda, and bitumen,  
ent. There is little doubt that Cali  
as rich in minerals of all kinds as any  
of Mexico. And this has since been  
ved by the abundance of the precious  
old, which has been found all over the

The manner of its first discovery is  
singular, and occurred as follows:—  
In the summer 1847, Captain Sutter, a settler  
Sacramento Plain, contracted with a  
small to build a saw-mill at that place.  
started in the course of the winter and  
dam and race constructed; but when  
was let on the wheel, the tall race  
nd to be too narrow to permit the  
escape with sufficient rapidity. Mr.  
to save labour, let the water directly  
race with a strong current, so as to  
wider and deeper. He effected his  
and a large bed of mud and gravel  
nd to the foot of the race. One day  
small, as he was walking down the race  
deposit of mud, observed some glitter  
ies at its upper edge; he gathered a  
ained them, and became satisfied of  
ue. He then went to the fort, told  
Sutter of his discovery, and they  
to keep it secret until a certain gret  
Sutter's was falsified. It, however,  
and spread like magic. Remarkable  
attended the labours of the first ex  
and in a few weeks hundreds of men  
own thither. Little more than three

months after its first discovery, it was esti  
mated that upwards of four thousand people  
were employed. At the mill there is a fine  
deposit or bank of gravel, which the people  
respect as the property of Captain Sutter,  
though he pretends to no right to it, and would  
be perfectly satisfied with the simple promise  
of a pre-emption on account of the mill which  
he has built there at a considerable cost. Mr.  
Marshall was living near the mill, and informed  
me that many persons were employed above  
and below him; that they used the same ma  
chines as at the lower washings, and that their  
success was about the same—ranging from one  
to three ounces of gold per man daily. This  
gold, too, is in scales a little coarser than  
those of the lower mines.

The news of the discovery soon spread like  
magic to all quarters of the globe. Vessels  
were freighted from England and America  
with passengers and merchandises to share in  
the golden harvest; which from the accounts  
received appears to have been most prolific,  
though at the same time accompanied with  
imminent dangers, as will appear by the follow  
ing statement, copied from the *New York*  
*Herald*, which is dated "Monterey, Novem  
ber 16th, 1847," and was published in London  
in February 1848:—

"The carrying out a code of laws, under  
existing circumstances, is far from being an  
easy task. The general Government may  
appoint governors, secretaries, and other pub  
lic functionaries; and judges, marshals, col  
lectors, &c., may accept offices with salaries of  
\$1,000 or 4,000 dollars per annum; but how  
they are to retain their potty offices at half  
those sums, remains to be seen. The pay of  
a member of Congress will be accepted here by  
those alone who do not know enough to better  
themselves. Mechanics can now get 10 to 16  
dollars per day; labourers on the wharfs or  
elsewhere, 5 to 10 dollars; clerks and store  
keepers, 1,000 to 2,000 dollars per annum;  
some engage to keep stores during their plea  
sure at 5 dollars per day, or 1lb. or 1½ lb. of  
gold per month; cooks and stewards, 60 to 100  
dollars per month. In fact labour of every  
description commands exorbitant prices. My  
previous information to you I merely for  
warded to your office to open the way to the  
future teller of your many readers. I had not  
much expectation of being believed. The idea  
of mountains of quicksilver only wanting the  
ingenuity of man to make them pour forth as a  
stream—of rivers whose bottoms and banks  
are of gold, is rather too much to play upon  
the credulity of New Yorkers or Yankees. I  
suppose my story passed as an enlarged edition  
of the *Arabian Nights*, improved and adapted  
to California.

"Whether you or your readers took the  
tale for fiction or truth, I know not. Your last  
paper that has reached us is of April. This I  
know, the Sandwich Islands, Oregon, and

Lower California are fast parting with their inhabitants, all bound for this coast, and thence to the great 'placer' of the Sacramento valley, where the digging and washing of one man that does not produce 100 troy ounces of gold, 23 carats, from the size of a half spangle to one pound in one month, sets the digger to 'prospecting,' that is, looking for 'better grounds.' Your 'Paisano' can point out many a man who has, for 15 to 20 days in succession, bagged up five to ten ounces of gold a day. Our placer, or gold region, now extends over 800 or 400 miles of country, embracing all the creeks and branches on the east side of the river Sacramento and one side of the San Joaquin. In my travels I have, when resting under a tree, and grazing my horse, seen pieces of pure gold taken from crevices of the rocks or slate where we were stopping. On one occasion, nooning or refreshing on the side of a stream entirely unknown to diggers or 'prospectors,' or, rather if known, not attended to, one of my companions, in rolling in the sand, said, 'Give me a tin pan; why should we not be cooking in gold sands?' He took a pan, filled it with sand, washed it out, and produced in five minutes two or three dollars' worth of gold, merely saying, as he threw both pan and gold on the sand, 'I thought so.' Perhaps it is fair that your readers should learn, that however plenty the Sacramento valley may afford gold, the obtaining of it has its disadvantages. From the 1st of July to the 1st of October, more or less, one half of the people will have fever and ague, or intermittent fever. In the winter, it is too cold to work in the water. Some work in the sand by washing from the surface in a wooden bowl, or tin pan; some gauge it out from the rocks or slate; the more lazy ones roll about and pick up the large pieces, leaving the small gold for the next emigration. The extent of the gold region on the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers extends a distance of 800 miles in length by one hundred in width. It embraces not only gold, but quantities of quicksilver in almost general abundance. It is estimated that a small population actively engaged in mining operations in that region could export 100,000,000 dollars in gold in every year, and that an increased population might increase that amount to 800,000,000 dollars annually. You may believe me when I say that for some time to come California will export, yearly, nearly or quite 500,000 ounces of gold, 23 to 24 carats fine; some pieces of that will weigh 16 lb., very many 1 lb. Many men who began last June to dig gold with a capital of 50 dollars can now show 5,000 to 15,000 dollars. I saw a man to-day making purchases of dry goods, &c., for his family, lay on the counter a bag made of raw hide, well sewed up, containing 100 ounces. I observed, 'That is a good way to pack gold dust.' He very innocently replied, 'All the

bags I brought down are that way; I like size!' Five such bags in New York would bring nearly 10,000 dollars. This man and his family last August. Three months digging and washing, producing four or five bags, 100 ounces each, is better than being made a vessel at 40 dollars per month, as the formerly was. His companion, a Mexican who camped and worked with him, only two or three cowhide bags of gold. In tough, but true, golden tale, you must not imagine that all men are equally successful. There are some who have done better; even 4,000 dollars in a month; many 1,000 dollars during the summer; and others who refuse to join a company of gold washers who have cheap made machine, and receive one cent per day, that returned to the settlements with not a vest-pocketful of gold. Some left only sufficient to purchase a horse and saddle and pay the physician six ounces of gold, one ounce of quinine, calomel, and jalap proportion. An ounce of gold for a day's given, six ounces a visit, brings the fever ague to be rather an expensive complaint. A 'well' man has his proportionate heavy expenses, also, to reduce his piles or bags of dry beef in the settlements at 4 cents per lb. at the Placer 1 to 2 dollars per lb.; salt and pork, 50 to 100 dollars per barrel; 30 to 75 dollars per barrel; coffee, sugar, rice, 50c. to 1 dollar per lb. As washing 50c. to 1 dollar a garment, many prefer throwing away their used-up clothes to paying a washerwoman; that is, if they intend returning to the settlements soon, where they can chase more. As to shaving, I have never seen a man who had time to perform that operation. They do not work on Sundays, only brush their tent, blow out the emery or fine sand from the week's work. Horses that travel only one day, and from that to a week are from 100 to 300 dollars. Freight by launch owners for three days' run, 5 dollars per barrel. Waggoners charge 50 to 100 dollars per load, 20 to 50 miles; corn, 10 dollars; barley, 10 dollars; peas, beans, 10 dollars; bushel. Common pistols, any price; powder and lead very dear. I know a physician in San Francisco, purchased a complete gold washer at 20 or 30 dollars, made of 80 feet of boards. At a great expense heated it up to the first landing on the Sacramento, and there met a waggoner bound up of the diggings with an empty waggon, at about 50 miles. The waggoner would take up the machine under 100 dollars. The doctor had to consent, and bided his time. June passed over, rich in gold; all on creek did wonders, when the waggoner sick, called on his friend the doctor, who tent was in sight; the doctor came, but would not administer the first dose under the old of 100 dollars, which was agreed to, under proviso that the following doses should

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moderate. When a man's time is  
100 dollars a day to use a spade and tin  
either doctors or waggoners can think  
of a pound of gold, and you may suppose  
traders, and pedlars are not slow  
their fortunes in these golden times.  
San Francisco there is more merchandize  
monthly than before in a year.  
after vessels arrive, land their cargoes,  
of them, and bag up the dust, and lay  
vessel, as the crew are soon among the  
The cleanest clear-out is where the  
follows the crew. There are many  
San Francisco that cannot weigh  
even with the assistance of three or four  
wing vessels. Supercargoes must land  
go on arriving, or have no crew to do it  
Some vessels continue to go to sea  
all crews at 50 dollars per month for  
Old hands are too wise for them,  
digging an ounce or two a-day, and  
hook and champagne at half an ounce  
and eating bad sea bread at a dollar  
I have seen a captain of a vessel,  
his old contract in the port whence he  
was getting 60 dollars per month,  
his cook 75 dollars, and offering 100  
per month for a steward; his former  
to his mates, having gone a 'pro  
Uncle Sam's ships suffer a little the  
although they offer from 300 to 500  
for the apprehension of a deserter.  
he, however, lay in the port of Mon  
out a month, and lost only 20 or 30  
Colonel Stevenson's regiment is dis  
99 out of 100, of whom have also gone  
ing," including the colonel, who ar  
Monterey last month from his last  
d was met by his men at the edge of  
to escort and cheer him into the town.  
ains, &c., have bought up country  
oxen, tured drivers, and gone to the  
Our worthy Gover. or, Colonel of 1st  
, &c., having plenty of carts, waggons,  
and mules, with a few regulars left,  
gone, but under better advantages,  
second or third time, to see the placer  
country, and have justice done to his  
men or himself. Commodore Jones,  
arrived in Monterey, supposed it to be  
al, head-quarters, &c., but found not  
Governor left. Where head-quarters  
be uncertain, whether in Monterey,  
Port, or in a four mule waggon travel  
the gold region. Now, whether  
arters are freighted with munitions of  
e., or whether the cargo consists of  
shirts, &c., to clothe the suffering  
for the paltry consideration of gold,  
cares or knows. But the principle  
be, that if privates can or will be off  
their thousands, those who are better  
could not go goldless."

New York Herald of January 23, 1848,  
The gold region of California is the

most wonderful that has ever been discovered.  
There seems to be no doubt, that in a short  
time—probably in less than two years—these  
mines can be made to produce 100,000,000 per  
year. The region is the most extensive of the  
kind in the world, being 800 miles in length,  
and 160 in width, with every indication that  
gold exists in large native masses, in the rocks  
and mountains of the Sierra Nevada. But  
these vast gold mines are not the only mineral  
discoveries that have been made. The quick-  
silver in the same region seems to be as abun-  
dant as the gold, so there are approximated to  
each other two metals, which will have a most  
important effect and utility in making the gold  
mines more valuable. Heretofore the gold and  
silver mines of Mexico and Peru have been  
valuable to Spain, because she possessed a  
monopoly of the quicksilver mines at Almaden,  
in the Peninsula. This is surpassed by Cali-  
fornia.

According to the last accounts now given to  
the public, emigrants were crowding in from  
every port of the Pacific to California—from  
Mexico, Peru, the Sandwich Islands, Oregon;  
and we have no doubt by this time the British  
possessions in the East, China, and everywhere  
else in that region, are furnishing emigrants to  
the wonderful regions of California. In less  
than a year there will probably be a popula-  
tion of 100,000 to 300,000 souls, all digging  
for gold, and capable of producing from  
100,000,000 to 300,000,000 dollars worth per  
annum of pure gold, to be thrown on the com-  
merce of the world at one fell swoop. This  
will produce results that no one can at this  
time estimate.

Leaving the mission of San Joseph's on the  
28th of May, 1803, we experienced undeviating  
fine weather, fair winds, and smooth sea, on our  
passage to the Sandwich Islands, and on the  
19th of June, 1803, got sight of Owhyhee, its  
summit towering above the clouds. We passed  
Kohollo Point with a strong breeze; and, pre-  
suming the King to be at Karakakooa Bay, we  
proceeded directly thither. Arriving on the  
21st in the morning, we lay by, and fired a gun.  
Not a canoe, however, nor a person, was seen  
moving. The silence and inactivity which pre-  
valled, formed a perfect contrast to all my former  
experience at these islands. At length,  
after lying by more than an hour, two persons  
were discovered swimming off to us. On ar-  
riving on board, one of them spoke sufficient  
English to make us understand, that there exist-  
ed a *taboo*; and, moreover, that the king and  
principal men were at Mowee. They piloted us  
to the best anchorage, passing over the coral  
bank; and we anchored on a sandy bottom, in  
sixteen fathoms.

The next day, John Young, who had seen us  
pass his residence, at Pooyah Bay, made us  
a visit, presuming we should anchor here. He



told us that the taboo was a periodical one. When he first became an inhabitant of the island, it was of ten days' duration; but, of late years, had been reduced, and was now limited to three. We intended to remain here no longer than was requisite to supply ourselves with a few refreshments, which Young undertook to procure for us. We improved the time, therefore, by a ramble on shore. Among other places, we visited that Moral, where, in defiance of the prejudices of the natives, Captain Cook caused his observatory to be erected; a desecration, which was the origin of the quarrel that terminated his existence. There are yet standing, near the Moral, several cocoanut trees, which are perforated with the balls fired from his cannon on that occasion.

We left Karakakooa Bay on the 23rd, and the next morning anchored at Tooayah Bay, for the purpose of landing the mare with foal, for which Young was very urgent: professing to have a knowledge of the treatment of horses, and promising to take all possible care of the animal. In the expectation that the chance of their increase would be better secured, by placing the horses in the care of different persons, we acceded to his request, and landed the mare in safety near his place. This was the first horse that ever trod the soil of Owhyhee, and caused, amongst the natives, incessant acclamations of astonishment. Leaving this bay the same evening, we steered for Mowee; off which island we lay becalmed a part of the next day. When the breeze sprang up, though at a long distance from the village of Lahina, we were boarded by Isaac Davis, the European, who, with John Young, was captured many years since, in Captain Metcalf's vessel. Soon after, a double canoe was seen coming towards us; and, on arrival alongside, a large, athletic man, nearly naked, jumped on board, who was introduced by Davis as Tamaahmaah, the Great King.

Desirous of conciliating the good opinion of a person whose power was so great, we omitted no attention which we supposed would be agreeable to him. But, whether he had left some duty unperformed on shore, or whether he had met with something to disturb his serenity of mind, we know not; certain it was, that he did not reciprocate our civilities. He appeared to be absent; and, after walking round the deck of the vessel, and taking only a very careless look of the horses, he got into his canoe, and went on shore. Davis remained on board all night, to pilot us to the best anchorage, which we gained early the following morning, and, soon after, had our decks crowded with visitors to see the horses. The people showed none of that indifference on seeing them, which had been manifested by the king, and which I believe to have been affectation, but, on the contrary, expressed such wonder and admiration as were very natural on beholding, for the first time, this noble animal. The horses were landed

safely, and in perfect health, the same day, gave evidence, by their gambols, of their satisfaction at being again on *terra firma*. They were then presented to the king, who was that one had been also left at Owhyhee for him. He expressed his thanks, but did not seem comprehend their value.

While the crowd were apparently wondering what use they could be put to, a sailor from the ship jumped upon the back of one and galloped off amid the shouts of the natives, who with alacrity opened a way to let him pass. He existed strong apprehensions in the minds of the natives for the safety of the man; but when, by galloping back and forth, they perceived the uselessness of the animal, his subjection and his fleetness, it seemed to form some little conception of its utility. The king was among the number who witnessed the temerity of the sailor; but, with all the sagacity for which he has been justly praised, remarked, that he could not perceive that the ability to transport a person from one place to another, in less time than he could, would be adequate compensation for the food he would consume and the care he would require. As a dray or a dragoon's horse, there was no prospect of his being wanted, and hence the present was not very highly appreciated. This we were much disappointed, but however, nevertheless, that the king would be influenced by our advice to have them well taken care of, that they would increase, and eventually that their value would be justly estimated.

Our supplies were received from the king, all which we paid the full price; and though he offered us a small present as an offset for the horses, we declined its acceptance. Being apprehensive that our stock of bread would last till we reached China, we hoped, as a substitute, to procure a good supply of yams; in this expectation we were disappointed, they were at this time unusually scarce, and therefore we determined to touch at the other islands for this purpose. Accordingly, on the 2d of July we left Mowee, and the next morning anchored in Whyteete Bay, island of Woahoo.

While the natives were engaged in collecting our supplies, I made a long excursion on shore among the beautiful rural scenery in the neighbourhood of the bay. In a retired spot, clothed with verdure and surrounded with cocoanut trees, my guide pointed to the grave of my friend and former shipmate, Charles Derby, who died here last year, on board a Boston schooner, which he commanded, from the North coast. Charles and I had sailed many a thousand leagues together, and being of the same age, the probability was as great, when he parted, that he would visit my grave as I his.

Meeting with but partial success in procuring here a supply of yams, we left on the 5th, and passed the following day, lying off and on, at Atoui, the most western island of the group, with no better success; and then bore away

earth, the same day, gambols, of their on *terra firma*. To the king, who was left at Owhyhee for his ka, but did not seem

re apparently wonder put to, a sailor from back of one and galley of the natives, who to let him pass. The visions in the minds of an; but when, by perceived the hostility on and his fleetness, a little conception of among the number of the sailor; but, which he has been just he could not permit a person from time than he could; compensation for the food care he would require his horse, there was wanted, and hence highly appreciated. disappointed, but hoping would be influential them well taken care of, and eventually estimated.

ceived from the king, all price; and though as an offset for acceptance. Being lack of bread would na, we hoped, as a supply of yams; we were disappointed, unusually scarce, to touch at the of. Accordingly, on the, and the next morning, island of Woahere engaged in collecting scenery in the neighbourhood, in a retired spot, clothed with cocoas to the grave of my late, Charles Derby, who had heard a Boston ship, from the Northwest had sailed many a time, and being of the same was as great, when I visited my grave as I had in my previous visits. We left on the 5th, lying off and on, in the island of the, and then bore away

all sail to the westward. Atoni, at this was independent of the government of Ahmaah, from whom we were hearers of a message to the king, purporting, that the ambassador, which had been sent to him, together with one of equal rank, must be sent to Woahere within the space of one month, acknowledging him, Tamaahmaah, as his sovereign, on the occasion of a visit with all his forces. As the message did not come on board and we did not receive the message was given to one of the American residents, who promised to convey it, but it would be disregarded.

Sandwich Islands, and their distinguished have long been so familiar to the European American reader, as to require little to be said about them. At the time of our acquaintance with Tamaahmaah, he was a perfect savage, but, by nature, both physically and mentally, to be a chief. His mind was of a high cast; its dictates induced the political of seizing and forcibly keeping Young, who was aware of the advantages that would result from it, and foreseeing, that good usage would reconcile them to their fate; calculations the result proved to have been correct. As our intercourse with these increased, the danger of a temporary cessation on shore ceased. Among others who, during this period, took advantage of it, was a man, commonly called Padre Howell, who ingratiated himself into favour with the king, and, being struck with his superiority, conceived that it would not be difficult to induce him to abandon his idolatrous practices, and substitute one of rationality. Accordingly, he lost no opportunity, after acquiring some knowledge of the language, to convince the king of the incapacity for good or evil of the idols, and of the power, and wisdom, and authority of the Supreme Maker and Ruler of the world, whom he worshipped. The first, however, the impotency of the idols, was without effect; but the second, not being understood, could not be comprehended. His mind, however, appeared to be dwelling on the subject, and increased attention, after each conversation.

At length, one day, while walking together, he was unusually thoughtful, and Howell, perceiving this, and favourably from it, the silence was broken by the king's observing, "You say your God is powerful, wise, good, and that he will not harm those who truly worship and adore him?" This being assented to, then said, "Give me proof, by going and throwing yourself from yonder precipice, and, while I call on your God to shield you; and if you are unharm'd, I will then embrace the religion of your God." It may be unnecessary to say that Howell failed to give the desired proof, and that the king remained unconverted.

The practice of mutilation was prevalent on the island of a person of consequence. At this time, every one was deficient in the two most

prominent upper front teeth, which had been knocked out, in conformity with the tyranny of custom, and to have failed in giving such evidence of loyalty would have been impolitic and unsafe. Gallantry is held in no less estimation here than loyalty; and feats are related to have been performed, to convince the adored object of devotedness and attachment, which will bear comparison with those of the renowned days of chivalry. An instance occurred, a few days before our arrival, of a man swimming from the village of Lakina, in Mowee, to the island of Ranai, a distance of not less than ten miles, to convince the idolized damsel of the truth and extent of his passion. The effect was unknown at the period of our departure, but it may be presumed to have been irresistible.

The abuse of power, in the most unprincipled and even cruel acts, has frequently been charged to our countrymen, while pursuing their avocations in these distant regions, and I am sorry to say not without foundation. To such conduct may reasonably be attributed the hostility of the Indians, the loss of many innocent lives, and of much property. Two instances in point, of recent date, were at this time the general theme of conversation among the foreigners at Mowee. The first, that of a Captain B——, in a schooner belonging to Philadelphia, who seized some unsuspecting chiefs on the Northwest coast, while visiting him, and released them only on being paid a ransom in skins, by their people. The second, that of Captain H——, of Nantucket, and master of the schooner Nancy, of Boston, engaged in the seal-skin business. This vessel, during the unfavourable season at Masafuera, went to Easter Island, where the natives came on board with a confidence inspired by the good treatment they had usually experienced from other vessels which had visited them. When on the point of sailing, he decoyed six of them below, closed the hatches over them, and went to sea. His object was to take them to Masafuera, and employ them in taking and skinning seals, and afterwards, probably, to return them unharmed to their native island and friends. It is presumable that they were as well treated as a regard to their security would admit. Be this, however, as it may, when the land was no longer in sight, there was supposed to be no danger of an attempt to escape, and consequently they were allowed to come on deck, when, without a moment's hesitation, they all simultaneously threw themselves into the sea. The boat was lowered down and every effort made to save them, but in vain, as, being expert swimmers, they used their greatest exertions to avoid the boat; thus evincing a preference of death to slavery.\*

On the 7th of July, 1803, having ascertained

\* This was related to me by a person who was at Masafuera when the schooner Nancy arrived there from Easter Island.

that we could obtain no supplies without losing more than they were worth, we made sail to the westward, with the intention of touching at the island of Guam; and came in sight of that island on the evening of the 29th. The next morning, early, we doubled round the north end of the island, and came in sight of the castle, situated on a hill. Soon after, on opening the bay, the town of St. Ignacio de Agaña was presented to our view, making a very pretty appearance, the white houses contrasting with the beautiful foliage of the trees, by which they were shaded, and the distance beyond having the appearance of a dense forest of the most luxuriant growth.

Mr. Shaler went on shore and visited the governor, who treated him with much civility, promised to have prepared for him the supplies required, and invited him to remain to dinner. As we intended remaining only long enough for collecting these supplies, or, if not preferable without delay, to be off without them, we did not come to anchor, but lay off and on, near the town. In the afternoon Mr. Shaler returned on board, accompanied by the wife of the governor, her female attendants, and three officers of the garrison. These guests remained with us till the boats came off with our supplies, in which they remained on shore, having expressed themselves much pleased with their visit, and promising to offer up petitions to the Virgin for our safety and happiness. On their leaving us, towards evening, we steered again to the westward, with all sail spread.

Guam is the southernmost of the Marian Islands; it is but of moderate height, of even surface, and is covered with trees, even to the water's edge. There are estimated to be between five and six thousand inhabitants, about nine-tenths of whom are natives and Malays. The garrison consists of one hundred and thirty soldiers, and the annual expense to Spain is twenty thousand dollars. As no article of commerce is produced here but the *beche de mer*, and even this only in small quantities, there seems to exist no other inducement for the maintenance of this establishment, than to prevent this group of islands being taken possession of by any other people.

On the 8th of August, we had advanced about ten degrees west of the Marian Islands, when we had unfavourable indications of approaching bad weather. And as at this season of the year, particularly, it is advisable to be cautious, our top-gallant yards were sent down, and our top-sails double reefed; before night, the wind strong from southwest with rain. Early in the morning, the wind and sea having increased, we removed our sails to a close-reefed main-top-sail and fore-sail, and hoisted the top-gallant masts. The wind still increasing, compelled us to heave to under storm staysails. We had now a continual succession of the most violent squalls, accompanied with torrents of rain; these shifted every

two or three hours, from west-southwest to east and north-northwest, blowing in opposite directions with equal fury, and causing an irregular sea, as to threaten every thing from our decks, particularly as between the shifting of the winds there were few moments of calm; and when, from the vessels deep and quick rolling, there was a chance to approach the loss of our masts, the weather continued for twelve hours, and was followed by gales from the westward and from southward, with scarcely any intermission; the 10th, when the weather became settled to the eastward. This was a harder gale, and a severe weather than any we experienced on board.

In the evening of the 19th, we passed the Laysan Islands. On the 23d, we came in sight of Pineda Blanca; after passing which, we much calm weather, which obliged us to make several times, and thus prevented us from making the anchorage in Mague Road till the 25th. A pilot was procured the next day, who weighed anchor and proceeded forward five; but, owing to adverse winds and currents, we did not reach Waipua till the 27th. The next day we went to Canton, and hospitably received, and lodged at the house of Captain Smith, of the *Southern*, of Nantucket, while a factory which had been engaged preparing for us. This being accomplished the 1st of September, we took possession, waited the result of various permits we had given to merchants, for the examination of the cargo. At length we accepted the proposition of the merchants, to be most eligible. This gave a very handsome profit on the skins, which to be paid for in teas at the current price; our intention was to take with them for the United States.

While making preparation to receive the American ship arrived from the Spanish with the greater part of her outward cargo on board. This it was found could be bought less than first cost, in exchange for teas; and also, a large amount of our European equipment was still on hand, these causes could point to the propriety of making an attempt on the California coast. When Shaler volunteered to undertake this, as there were so many applications to be made, that we decided to take an interest of one-half the vessel and cargo, and consequently disposed of the other half to our American friends.

The shunting of the ship being in a very state, there existed a necessity for its repair, and this was a labour of no trifling magnitude, a place like Waipua, where there were no conveniences for the purpose, and where not an attempt of the kind was never before made. But we found our countrymen ready and anxious of giving us all the aid in their power, whose ship was waiting cargo, permitted

west-southwest by  
blowing in oppo-  
sition, and causing us  
as to threaten every  
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at the current price  
made with them for

operation to receive the  
from the Spanish  
of her outward cargo  
could be bought  
exchange for tea, as  
of our European be-  
and, these causes com-  
pletely of making an  
inevitable event. When  
to undertake this  
applications to be taken  
an interest of our  
and cargo, and conse-  
over half to our Amer-

the ship being in a con-  
a necessity for the  
of no trifling magnitude,  
where there were no  
pose, and where prob-  
and was never before  
countrymen ready and  
the aid in their power  
ing cargo, permitted

out by her, another loaned us blocks for  
purpose, and the carpenters attached to the  
us ships, who could be spared, came to the  
with alacrity, for liberal pay; so that the  
was accomplished in very little more  
than would have been required for the pur-  
if we had possessed the ordinary com-  
ness. There is often experienced abroad,  
by our fellow-citizens, a liberality, a gene-  
rality, a feeling of brotherhood, which prompts  
performances of the most noble and dis-  
interested acts, and which at home are known  
to family alliances. Of this description was  
experience at this time, and the recollection  
has added in ameliorating the asperity  
and since, by an opposing experience in a  
loss alone of confidence, producing the  
disastrous effects.

Our former experience of the high estimation  
character of the Hong merchant to whom  
we sold our cargo, induced us to place a re-  
liance on his assurance of the good quality of  
hundred chests of teas received from him,  
we ought not to have done. This tea was  
received in part payment of the cargo de-  
scribed California; but the person who was to  
it was less disposed than we had been to  
in Chinese honour, however high the  
of the individual in question might  
be. Accordingly, on examination, we found  
it instead of very good, to be of very  
poor quality. When this discovery was  
made to the Hong merchant, he did not  
make an apology; but to avoid the exposure  
which he made by a controversy, changed  
the price for such as had been agreed for.  
In the preceding transactions, I had  
been engaged in preparing an investment of silks  
for the American market. When these  
silk, I contracted for their freight, and  
went as passenger for Boston, in the ship  
Captain Bithels.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Departure from Canton, with Mr. Shaler.—Departure  
from Canton.—Pass Java Head.—Isle of Bourz  
—Arrival at the Cape.—Departure.—Mishap  
of the voyage.—Arrival at Boston.—Mr.  
Shaler's disaster.—His safe arrival in California.  
Ship stricken on a shoal.—Serious damage.—His  
travelling situation.—Leaves stopped.—His ar-  
rival at the Sandwich Islands.—Procures a  
boat.—Leaves the cargo in the King's pro-  
tection.—His safety.—Unsuccessful voyage in the  
boat.—Reasons for the voyage.—Tribute to  
memory of a faithful servant.

On departing here with my long-trying, much-  
tried and affectionate friend, Shaler, was  
attended with painful emotions. We had  
abundantly in those dangers, trials, and  
trials, no less than in those pleasures and

recreations, which combined so friendly to cement  
the bonds of friendship. Our acquaintance began  
at the late of France in the year 1800, where we  
lived together at the consular residence ten  
months. We then embarked in the *Crimberg*,  
and were fellow-passengers to Copenhagen. The  
voyage now narrated, down to the period of our  
separation, having occupied more than two  
years, completed an aggregate, exceeding four  
years, that we had lived together in the closest  
intimacy. The many instances that had come  
within our observation, of intimate friends be-  
coming alienated from differing in opinion on the  
most trifles in the world, had suggested to us  
the propriety of pondering well on our ability  
to sustain harmoniously the contemplated alliance  
in affairs of greater importance. Nothing short  
of our mutual experience of each other's temper  
and disposition, could justify the presumption  
implied, of the power to maintain the harmony  
required, in a voyage of ordinary character,  
between two persons equally interested in the  
property, equally competent to taking charge of  
the nautical and mercantile part of the business,  
and on a perfect footing of equality in every thing  
relating to the management of the ship, as well  
as that of the cargo. But in an enterprise in-  
volving so much difficulty and danger, so much  
to perplex and irritate, with so little success to  
cheer the spirits and provide equanimity of  
temper,—that we should be able to accomplish  
it without a rupture, is surprising; how much  
more so, then, that we never had an angry dis-  
pute, and parted with feelings of affection, in-  
creased by the very difficulties and embarrass-  
ments we had encountered together.

Having embarked my freight on board the  
*Alert*, and that ship being all ready on the 4th of  
January, 1804, we dropped down the river in  
company with the ship *Hanover*, Captain Bar-  
ney, with whom an engagement was made to  
keep company until we were clear of the straits.  
It was soon perceived, that the *Alert* greatly  
outailed the *Hanover*, and that our passage was  
much retarded by shortening sail for her. We,  
however, arrived together at North Island,  
where, while engaged in filling up our water-  
casks, numerous Malays came down to the Sa-  
matra shore, to exchange their fruits and a great  
variety of monkeys, for old clothes. The ob-  
ject for which we touched at this island being  
accomplished on the 28th, the anchor was again  
weighed and the sails spread to the breeze. We  
passed Java Head the next day, came in sight  
of the Isle of Bourbon on the 21st of February,  
and arrived in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope,  
on the 10th of March, having seen nothing of  
the *Hanover* since the evening of leaving North  
Island.

Repeated visits to the Cape of Good Hope had  
been productive of the most agreeable associa-  
tions with that delightful place; and the re-  
newal of acquaintance with many good people,  
whose kindness and hospitality I had experienced



in "by-gone," caused the time to pass off quickly and agreeably. Such are among the soothing and satisfactory incidents, occasionally met with by those whose business is on the ocean, and which tend, if not to obviate, at least to lessen the tedium and monotony peculiar to the profession.

Having passed five days very pleasantly with our friends at the Cape, we bade them adieu on the 15th, and sailed for Boston. Our passage was marked by no interruption to the fine weather and smooth sea peculiar to the tract of ocean, comprised between the Cape of Good Hope and the latitude of Bermuda. Yet sailing far so long a time, with fair and gentle breezes, without even one such little exciting incident as the gale which requires the topsails to be reefed, becomes tiresome by its monotony; and something like it may be realised by the man who is born to fortune, reared in the lap of ease, and has never been acquainted with aught but life's smiles and sunshine. We arrived safely at Boston on the 14th of May, 1804. Nearly eight years had elapsed since my departure from home; and the period had been prolific of events of opposing characters, and producing corresponding emotions, which can be properly estimated by those only who have had similar experience.

My invoice of silks arrived at a very good market, and were sold advantageously. Had that part of our adventure, which was under the direction of my friend Shaler, done as well, the necessity for my navigating again would have been obviated. But a scene of disasters attended him, which resulted in nearly a total loss of the property under his charge. As this is a part of the *Lelia Byrd's* voyage so intimately connected with that already narrated, as to form, in fact, part of a whole, I have considered it proper to give the outlines of it, though it be only from memory.

A few days after my departure for Canton, Mr. Shaler sailed from thence, bound to the coast of California, where he arrived without accident. He had been on that coast but a few weeks, and had disposed of but a small amount of cargo, when, unfortunately, the ship struck on a shoal, and beat so heavily, before getting off, as to cause her to leak alarmingly. His situation was now one of great embarrassment. To have sought relief in any of the neighbouring ports, after such notoriety, would have been subjecting the vessel and cargo to seizure; to have attempted to reach the Sandwich Islands, while they could hardly keep the ship afloat in smooth water, would have been highly imprudent. There seemed, then, to be no other alternative than to go to one of the desert islands in the neighbourhood, land the cargo, and leave the ship out, or lay her on shore. They succeeded in arriving at one of the group, among which is St. Clement's. Here they found a snug harbor, which offered scarcely any other ad-

vantages than its solitude, and its shield from the effects of sea and wind. The tide did not rise sufficiently to enable them to come to anchor by lying her on shore; and in attempting to heave her keel out, she filled and sank. Fortunately, the water was so shoal as not to cover her deck, and she was again pumped dry. It was now evident, that they could not make repairs as would allow them to prosecute their voyage; and to stop the leaks sufficiently, enable them to reach the Sandwich Islands seemed to be the only way to avoid the loss of the property. The repairs they were able to make were done in so imperfect a manner, as would have made it unjustifiable to tempt any other passage than one where they might presume on good weather and a fair wind all the way, like the one contemplated. With these advantages, however, it was not without incessant labour at the pumps that they were able to reach the Sandwich Islands.

An attempt to repair the ship, with the inadequate means which were available, was discouraging, from the great length of time it would require. No foreign vessel was procurable, to return to the coast with the cargo. To freight a ship with it to China would have been easy; but then it would be transporting where the loss on a re-sale would be very heavy. In this dilemma it was decided, as a choice of difficulties, to barter with *Tamaahimani* and *Lelia Byrd* for a little vessel of thirty or forty tons, which had been built on the island. It was a negotiation of greater magnitude than king had ever before participated in, and of importance of which was sensibly felt by him. To place a cargo of such value, and composed of such a variety of articles, so tempting to savage, in detail, and of such incalculable value in the aggregate, in the power of this barbarian, relying entirely on his honour for its restoration, could be justified only by the pressing necessity which existed. The confidence placed in this chief, though reluctantly, was proved by the event to have been well merited. The cargo was well received into his store, and when the schooner was ready, it was all faithfully and honourably delivered to the person appointed to receive it.

To the schooner was given the name of *Queen, Tamana*; and Mr. John T. Hudson, a young man who had been attached to the ship since leaving Valparaiso, was intrusted with the charge of the voyage. The difficulties of such an enterprise in a suitable vessel have already been narrated; these were greatly increased by the small size of the *Tamana* and the consequent feebleness of the crew. Perseverance and industry, however, on the part of Mr. Hudson, appear not to have been wanting; but prudence forbade his entering a port of strength; and sales to be made among the missions, and barter with the Indians were of small amount. Nor did he meet with any success in collecting

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the missionaries any part of the sums due  
them for goods, with which Mr. Shaler  
redited them, though the hope of recover-  
seem had been a considerable inducement  
rediting this vessel. After visiting most of  
Islands in California, and navigating its  
from one extremity to the other, during a  
of between five and six months, without  
ing any sales of importance, his patience,  
as that of his crew, being exhausted, and  
visions running short, he returned in  
to the Sandwich Islands. Here he disposed  
Tamaah, took passage in China, and thence  
United States, with but a small sum left  
owners, after paying all the disbursements.  
Shaler had preceded him, one year, to the  
States, and waited there his arrival. The  
end of Mr. Hudson, at Providence, soon  
his arrival, prevented for ever the desired  
The Lelia Byrd was repaired by the  
and made two or three voyages to China,  
deal-wood. At length, worn out, and  
ing for a time a receiving-ship for opium,  
broken up or sunk at Wampoa.  
Nothing ought to be said, if not to justify,  
to extenuate, the undertaking and pro-  
an enterprise, for the success of which  
and stratagem are requisite. It is no-  
that no civilised people on the face of  
were ever subjected to so degrading a  
vassalage as the Greeks, or native Inha-  
of Spanish America. It is equally no-  
that they were sensible of it, and were  
to those strangers who supplied them with  
at half the ordinary prices demanded  
even merchants,—who sympathised with  
and made known to them the course which  
countrymen had taken, in precisely similar  
stances, to achieve their independence.  
pected our intercourse with this people,  
separately from the government. It was  
in conformity with the golden rule of  
into others as, in like circumstances, we  
have others do unto us." Hence we lost  
opportunity of confirming the advocates of  
government, and convincing the wavering  
of self-evident proposition, that governments  
are instituted for the happiness of the people,  
and exclusively for that of the rulers; that  
of right belongs to and emanates from  
the people, whose servants the rulers are. Con-  
sidering, when, by force, stratagem, or any  
other manner, this relation between people and  
rulers had become reversed, it was a palpable  
error on the part of the latter; which it  
was proper and becoming to resist under any  
circumstances, but more especially when the  
power was used to oppress and enslave.  
Some lessons to this people, however, on  
the part of governors and governed, or to  
be learned in the means of emancipation from the  
yoke, to a sense of which they were be-  
lieved to wake up, was not the object of our  
voyage; nor did we anticipate the difficulties we

experienced. We had ascertained that, for se-  
veral years previous to the peace of Amiens, the  
Spanish colonies had become so destitute of the  
manufactures of Europe, that the rigour of the  
government to prevent their entry was very  
much mitigated. And it was the expectation of  
a continuation of this policy, and which the  
peace of Amiens put an end to, that made the  
prospect flattering, and induced us to undertake  
the voyage. When once embarked in it, there  
remained to us the choice only to retreat and  
submit to great loss, or to pursue the hazardous  
course narrated, and take our chance for the re-  
sult. That result will be perceived, by the preced-  
ing narrative, to have been in no degree commu-  
surate with the hazard, toil, and anxiety we en-  
countered.

As a testimony of undeviating fidelity, it is  
only a just tribute to the memory of George, the  
black man, to say, that, throughout this long  
and troublesome voyage, he performed the part  
of a faithful ship-steward; that there was none  
so entirely to be depended on in such an emer-  
gency as that at San Diego, and that his services  
were duly appreciated. His habits were expen-  
sive, and, notwithstanding the years he had been  
on constant pay and high wages with me, I  
never could persuade him to lay by any thing.  
He accompanied me from China to Boston in  
the Alert, remained with me as a domestic about  
a year after, and then died at Roxbury, and is  
buried in the Roxbury cemetery.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Honours for again embarking.—Projected voyage to  
Peru.—Journey of the Quakers.—Departure from  
New York.—Severe gale.—Loss of foremast and  
bowsprit.—Fortunate escape of a seaman.—Crip-  
pled state of the vessel.—Arrival at Rio Janeiro.  
—Allowed to repair damage.—Vessel rigged as a  
brig.—Destination changed.—Sale of the cargo.  
—Mode of discharging it.—A cargo of beef pro-  
cured.—The mate dispatched with it to Havana.  
—Another ship purchased.—Voyage to St. Cas-  
tarine's.—Indolence of the inhabitants.—Aro-  
gance of the higher classes.—Departure for the  
Havana.—Overhauled by a British frigate and  
sloop of war.—Allowed to proceed.—Encounter  
with the English fleet.—Boarded from the Ramil-  
lus.—Indolence of the boarding officer.—Oppo-  
site conduct of his captain.—Delusive hopes.—  
Ship taken possession of by the Cerberus frigate.  
—Sent to Tortola.

Hitherto, in my enterprises, a spirit of adven-  
ture 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 ex-  
clusive 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 inclinations 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 one hundred and seventy tons, which had been recently copped 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 for-

tunes 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 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 to the side of Sandy Hook. He then left us, and we boarded a vessel bound in. The wind was a light and the ocean so smooth, presenting "the unruffled surface of a summer's sea," that it was late in the afternoon before we lost sight of the islands 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, 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 a prelude to a gale in a parallel where it entirely unexpected. During the day our vessel was double-reefed, the wind so far to the westward 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 for 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 sails were reduced, by taking off the bonnets from the foresail and jib, 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 of the night half expired, when, immediately after the vessel was relieved, a tremendous crash was heard at the same moment the foremast was seen to be falling over to leeward. Its weight, together with the topmost-yards, sails, and rigging, attached to it, was too heavy to be supported by the bowsprit, and that broke off near the base. The vessel, no longer mindful of her helm, was hurled 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, uncheered by any sail, the hard thumping against the beams of the spars which had fallen alongside, 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 the situation one of great perplexity. At each end of the vessel to windward, the stay, which held the head of the mainmast was attached to the bowsprit of the foremast, raising it out of the water, and causing a strain which threatened

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the mainmast, made it requisite to cut  
that stay as soon as possible. This could  
be only at the mainmast head; but to get  
there was a very difficult task, owing to the  
being greatly slackened by one roll, and  
up with a sudden jerk on the opposite.  
At the first attempt, the man had ascended  
half-way, when he was thrown off by one  
of these sudden jerks, but fortunately was saved  
from destruction by falling into the mainsail,  
which having been lowered part way down,  
served as a cradle for his reception, and prevented  
him from receiving any harm. A second attempt was  
successful; the man gained the mast-head  
and away the stay; but, by this time, the  
mast had become so badly sprung, that I  
was apprehensive it would fall before he could  
descend.

As soon as this was accomplished, the atten-  
tion of every one was given to cutting away  
the rigging as kept the wreck of spars  
from falling. This being done, and the precaution  
of attaching a strong line to the spars,  
their drift of the vessel soon brought  
windward, and they served to keep the  
head to the sea. Daylight unveiled the  
misfortune; but, on examining the  
foremast, an old defect was disco-  
vered which had been hidden from our sight  
by the edges of the mast, and which was the  
cause of our misfortune.

On the following day, the gale had  
considerably abated, and with great industry  
we only saved the sails and rigging, but  
lost the jury-mast, and got a sail upon it before  
noon. It was now, however, a matter of much  
importance to determine on the most eligible course  
to pursue. The sail we were able to spread was  
reduced as to make our progress on a  
very slow; this difficulty might at any  
time be increased by the fall of the main-  
mast, which was so very badly sprung, that,  
in spite of the best efforts at flogging it, and also of re-  
ducing the weight of the topmast and yards,  
we were in constant apprehension of losing it.  
In this predicament, it would be impossible to  
proceed to any one of the India Islands, would have been a task  
of accomplishment, as it would have been  
before the wind all the way; but this  
would have been ruinous to our voyage.  
The wind as it then was, two points free,  
could make five knots an hour; hence I  
deemed it practicable to weather Cape St.  
Paul, and, this once accomplished, the pros-  
pect of reaching Rio Janeiro, where  
repairs required could be easily and expen-  
sively made, and the original plan of the  
voyage prosecuted. I therefore determined  
to attempt, and shaped our course  
accordingly.

Due to the prevalence of light winds and  
the fact that the gale that had been  
favourable 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 after-  
wards, the 24th of October, we arrived at Rio  
Janeiro; having been forty-three days navigat-  
ing 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 en-  
tering 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 indul-  
gence. 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-verba*, 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 govern-  
ment linguist to compel the employment of me-  
chanics of his appointment; but the very ear-  
nestness with which he pressed this, and his  
assurance that I should be permitted to employ  
no others, awakened my suspicion of sinister  
and base motives on his part, and induced a re-  
ference 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 ob-  
ject, 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 the 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 en-  
tire 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 flatter-  
ing 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 rigour 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 of 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. Catharine, 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 sud-

den and 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 labour 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 spar-maker 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 December. 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 dispatched, 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 distance of flats, on which there are only

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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 af-  
ter 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  
small increase caused embarrassment, and the  
loss of a kedge-anchor, in returning over the  
bar. 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  
employed 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 south-west side of the  
bay; and its harbour is secure against the in-  
fluence of every wind. The appearance of the  
town, from the shipping in the harbour, is very  
impressing; but a closer inspection tends, in  
some degree, to remove the favourable impres-  
sion thus made. The houses are of very ordi-  
nary construction, generally of one story; and  
the 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  
generally in the enjoyment of ease and inde-  
pendence. Indeed, when a Creole Portuguese  
possesses enough to keep him from starving, he  
no longer labour, but riots in those slothful  
luxuries which, from education, or rather  
example, and the effect of climate, he considers  
as his happiness.

The richest individual of the place I had a  
little of introduction; but it did not procure for  
any of those little attentions which may be  
procured without any expense, and which are so  
valuable in a strange land. By the accidental  
circumstance of being near his house, during a  
rainy shower, I took the liberty of going in,  
and avoid getting wet, and was treated with all  
possible civility. This man's fortune is esti-  
mated at twenty thousand dollars; an amount  
small, compared with that of the rest of the  
community, gives him the same false estimate  
of himself, induced by the sycophancy of his  
country-citizens, which, from a like cause, is but  
too often seen in better educated and more in-  
dependent 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 go-  
vernor, 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 unknown here.  
Indeed, the inhabitants have no fancy for them;  
and the foreign sailors, who are occasionally  
here, soon discover that a sober demeanour is  
the only one allowable.

In consequence of the limited native com-  
merce of St. Catharine's, and the small number  
of foreign ships which visit it, there are no in-  
ducements 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 plun-  
dering them; and I was aware of the uncer-  
tainty, 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 descrip-  
tion 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 sub-  
jected to a rigid scrutiny; the result of which  
was a conviction of the neutrality of the prop-  
erty, the legality of the voyage, and conse-  
quently, that there existed no motive for deten-  
tion. 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 encour-

rage 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 \* \* \* \*, 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 buccaneering 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. We had scarcely filled away our sails, when, the admiral's 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 XVIII.

Conversation of the officers of the *Cerberus*.—The prize agent at Tortola.—His unnecessary severity.—His power over the Judge.—Confiscation of the vessel and cargo.—Embarrassment of the prize agent.—His tempting proposal.—Hope of ransom.—Proceed to St. Thomas.—Wreck of the vessel.—Characteristic lamentations of the owners.—Failure of negotiation for ransom.—Return to Tortola.—Reflections on occurrences there.—Departure for New York.—Arrival there.—Accumulated misfortunes.—Total loss of fortune.—Conflicting feelings.—“Home, sweet home!”

During the several days I passed on board the *Cerberus*, before arriving at Tortola, 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 profession, 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

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From a to be pre examin the judge confiscat mitted, begun at proceed, sufficient dication. board a consisted what plea question the more to say to that if t others sh advise the islands f influence themselves obvious.

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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 the admiral.

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, were 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 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 perverted, 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

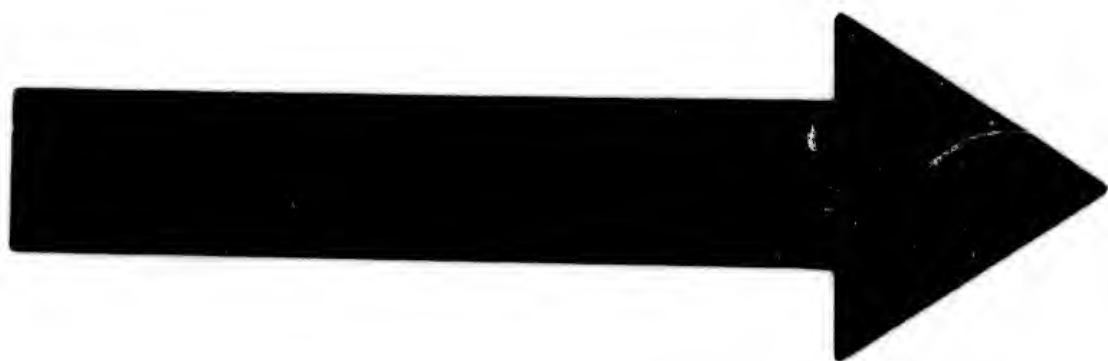
less than a shield to cover an act of villany. The ship and cargo were condemned, as good and lawful prize to the admiral, on two grounds,—the one being that of pursuing a voyage, in time of war, which is not permitted in time of peace; the other, "the inadmissibility of a continuuity of voyages."

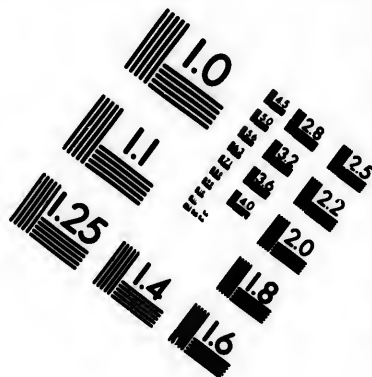
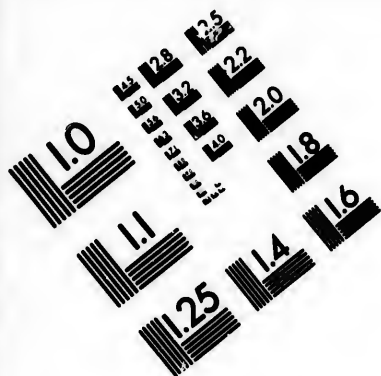
It is but doing justice to the honourable feelings of a young naval commander, who had recently arrived on this station, and who was yet uninitiated in the atrocious practices peculiar to it, to mention that, when informed by a friend of mine of the decision of the court, and the reasons for it, he indignantly, 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 honour, 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 labour 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!

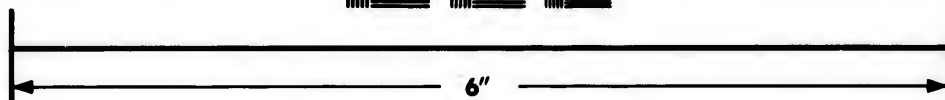
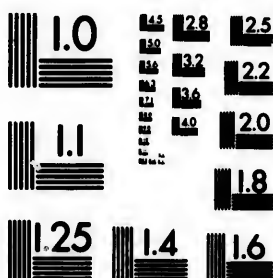
That the atrocity of this case may be viewed in all its bearings at once, I will make some repetitions, even at the risk of being considered tedious. Of the perfect neutrality of this ure-







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perty, 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, the admiral 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 conspicuous 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 ankles, 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 meantime, the owners of the vessel and cargo had heard a rumour 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,

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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 finding 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 legal 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, and one unnecessary provocation, some feverish excitement, from my opponents; or some troubles and anxiety from complaints and uneasiness of the officers and crew of our ship; and this, under the scorching influence of a vertical sun, which I had the happiness to escape the fever, which this combination of causes was so well calculated to produce, and to retain my health.

I left the harbour on my way to St. Thomas, passed near the Telémaco; which lay there by the side of the right of the strong over the weak. The distinction between this act of piracy, and that of a like character by the ancient buccaniers, must be perceived to consist alone in the circumstance, that the former is sanctioned by a red 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 trail of such atrocious invasions of the rights of neutrals; the one party justifying its thefts, 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 wasted, and suffering all the toils and anxieties incident thereto; to have surmounted, hap-

pily, the numerous obstacles and risks attendant on the peculiarity of the transactions in port; to have accomplished the business of lading and dispatching 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 experience 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 *Asia* 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

himself 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 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 anguished 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. Slater and myself. Nor was this all; he was pained to say, that the *Apasita* 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 monster, 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 disaster, 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 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 *Telemaque's* cargo at the same rate as the *Apasita'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 evidences, that my forebodings were fully realised in the repeated, long, and painful separation from those whom it was no less my duty than 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. If the 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 perversion of mind which must meet its correction hereafter.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Aggravations of British cruelties.—Anticipated war.—Proposed voyage to Africa.—Object of the voyage.—Arrival at Goree.—Successful search.—Valuable cargo.—Trade of Goree.—African Princess.—The slave trade.—Planned return.—Voyage to America.—Stagnation of trade.—Voyage to Europe.—Arrival in the Clyde.—Journey to London.—Recovery of property.—Projected voyage to the Isle of France.—Its failure, and result.—Voyage to Holland.—Arrival at Brille.—A false alarm.—Proceed to Amsterdam.—Successful speculation.—Embargo in Holland.—Release of an American ship.—Author intrusted with despatches for the United States.—Encounter with a British frigate.—Arrival at Baltimore.—Enfeebled state of health.

The long-continued course of spoliation by British cruisers, on the distressless 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 continuance; when the insult to the national flag, 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 the 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 the 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 commission from government, I sailed from Boston to the coast of Africa, in the month of April, 1807. Our accommodations being spacious and airy, and the voyage to be performed in the summer months, I was induced, no less for the mutual gratification than for the promotion of my 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 pre-

vent 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 the leeward, must 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 this information appeared to be much 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 load with a cargo of salt for the United States, he directly complied, and began the requisite preparations 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 transhipping 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 labours were accomplished, our water-casks filled, and every thing made ready for sea, there had been no arrival; consequently, no information by which the cap-



tain 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 take with sail for home.

Corce 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 favourable 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 these princes, who had come to the island in the hope, either by persuasion or threats, to win 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, as 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 Corce 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 met, had derived all the benefit from the voyage which had been anticipated. During the passage the wind was so steady as to supersede the necessity of reefing a top-sail, or even taking in a top-gallant sail; and we arrived at Salem on the 7th 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 honourable 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 favourable 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 envenomed hatred of the partisan loyalists existed, in full vigour, 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 intensification 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 in the Clyde on the 1st of October, having made our passage in safety, although the daily incursion of the British and mate caused us to fear a different result. Indeed, we had abundant reason to be in our good fortune in arriving at the time we did; as, only a few days afterwards, occurred a squall, which was uncommonly severe, causing such a number of shipwrecks, 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, during the brig on the day of our arrival, were conveyed to our destination in four days, with a degree of comfort and celerity such as probably would 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, intersected, at intervals, by neat villages, and scenes of venerable aspect. Occasionally, as from a bird's-eye view from some hill, the scenes formed by the neatly-trimmed hedges, luxuriant fertility of the enclosure, an occasional clump of trees, and the rich verdure, as far as the eye could reach, gave to the whole appearance of an immense and beautiful park. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery through which we passed, excepting in one place 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 towers in our route were Dunfermline, Carlisle, Pen. 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 *Télémaque*. 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 rejected 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 French ship, for which he had no fixed destination. This was very a *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 resale, 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 physicians 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.

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Throughout the whole distance, our way lay through rich tracts of highly-cultivated lands, interspersed, at intervals, by neat villages, and scenes of venerable aspect. Occasionally, as from a bird's-eye view from some hill, the scenes formed by the neatly-trimmed hedges, luxuriant fertility of the enclosure, 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 park. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery through which we passed, excepting that, 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 Dundee, Carlisle, Penn. Newark, &c. The latter contains a fine Gothic hospital, 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 *Telemaco*. 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 advantages 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 free 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 resale, 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 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 every where 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 arrived 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 sandbank, 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 merchants 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 refreshment for which can be best imagined by those who have had a similar preparation. When we had finished our repast, we repaired to the freshwater, 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 passen-

gers, 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 exertions were made for us by an influential mercantile house, which were crowned with success. A ship was chartered, loaded, and dispatched 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 Shale 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 escape for me, excepting by land, and led me to regret not having availed myself of the opportunity I had possessed for returning home in the ship I had dispatched 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 dispatched for that city. In this ship 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 he refused to do; on which he threatened to compel me. During this altercation the frigate had neared us, when the officer halted and informed the captain, that there was a bearer of despatches on board. "Bring him on board," was the order. The officer replied, "He says he will neither

der his despatches nor leave his ship, except by compulsion." "Then let him stay and be a—d," 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 15th, greatly emaciated, and in feeble health.

## CHAPTER XX.

General state of pecuniary affairs.—A milder climate necessary for restoration of health.—Voyage to Naples.—Brilliant prospects.—Unpleasant rumors.—Seizure and confiscation.—Exigencies of the Neapolitan government.—The present seizure contrasted with that at Tottola.—Visit to Rome.—Return to Naples.—Fortunate disappointment.—Purchase of the *Nancy Ann*.—Sail from Naples.—Chase by an English cruiser.—Disappointment to the Captain.—Arrival at Lisbon.—Placed under embargo.—Important speech.—Embargo raised.—Departure from Lisbon.—Voyage to Plymouth.—A gale in the Sound.—Quarantine.—Arrival at London.

Seven months had elapsed between my departure from Boston for Halifax and my arrival at Baltimore. During that time, although my 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 now an obb to do this without combining business, that would offer a prospect of at least defraying my expenses, it was desirable to devise some plan which would unite the two.

My departure from the rigour of the Continental system was beginning to be manifested. The king of Naples had opened his ports to all commerce, and with such appearance of health, that insurance on adventures there was effected at a reasonable premium. A voyage to Naples was therefore decided on; and I went, in company with a friend, I engaged 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 rumours in the city, that all the neutral property in port would be confiscated. These rumours 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 villainy, in meanness, in baseness, in treachery, worthy only of the barbarous ages, and of which the civilised 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, unhooked 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 favourable situation for going out, I should not have hesitated making the attempt but from the envelopment, that, in the 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 unceremonious 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 favour of the first, as candour 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 Murat had not the moral courage to prefer the dishonour and infamy of 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, Capri, Baia, Puzznoli, 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 Tirol, 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 who 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 licence to land a vessel here for that purpose. 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 licence to advantage, I purchased the brig *Nancy Ann* (one of the condemned American vessels), and loaded her with a cargo of wine, raw silk, liquors, 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 landing 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 leeward of us, under a crowd of sail, apparently in chase of us; and 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 a search of the vessel that had been chasing us in this way. When the mighty man saw the discovery 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 fed him so far, but he did not say more. The Americans, he observed, were more trouble than all other nations put together, and for that which we had done, he swore he would send us to the bottom. A hasty order was then given, propelling us to

tening home. The interest of his Captain Fair. The freight for a that their of his was balanced by old afford to appointments his opportu. other for a charge of the have been a Those who hat ship, will that I exp. A part of the in the boat, lished on the from to who

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operation 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 a prize. He therefore, very reluctantly, dissuaded us to pursue our course, while he projected 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 sagacity 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 of the British ships of war at a moment's notice; and that no means 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 had hazarding an assault, had abandoned the plan, and had begun his retreat. The embargo, in consequence, was immediately raised; tranquillity and peace were restored to the city. In the mean time, the commissary of the army had applied to purchase the wine forming a part of my cargo; and it was disposed of to him very advantageously. Having secured a fortnight at Lisbon, I took advantage of a conveyance bound to England, of about a dozen tons, protected by a frigate. Arriving safely in the Channel, I parted with them in sight of the coast, and went into Plymouth, while they continued their course to the eastward. The voyage was one of uncommon severity; and the most violent gales were very destructive to the ship. We had been anchored scarcely four hours in Plymouth roads before extending a gale, which nearly proved fatal to the crew. We lost two anchors; and, but for the adroit management of a skilful pilot who 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 ship should proceed to London, before which I should be obliged to pass some days in the Thames at Standgate Creek. It appeared that my having been so long at Lisbon,

and having ventilated the ship, by discharging the bulk of the cargo, not but remaining any length of time at Plymouth, would tend to diminish a day of the number prescribed for vessels from the Mediterranean. We hastened, therefore, 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 XXI.

Purchase of a vessel and cargo.—Departure for Copenhagen.—Wreck of the vessel on Jutland.—Crew and cargo saved.—Honesty of the inhabitants.—Seizure of the cargo.—Intelligence.—Arrival at Copenhagen.—Profitable sale of the cargo.—Shipwreck a fortunate event.—Voyage to Nige and back.—Freights to England.—War with the United States.—Reasons for remaining in Europe.—A cargo procured from England.—Its arrival at Copenhagen, and seizure there.—Procrastination.—Untimely release of cargo.—Vessels frozen in.—Napoleon's Russian campaign.—Emancipation of Europe.—Hopes of a successful adventure destroyed.—Visit to Hamburg.—Its bombardment by the French.—First defence.—Capitulation.—The victors besieged.—Journey to Paris.—Glimmy conveyance.—Arrival at Bordeaux.—Cooper's Water-witch.—Departure for America.—Disarm of an English fleet of merchantmen.—Chased by a frigate.—Escape by superior sailing.—Arrival at New York.—Once more at home.—Empty purse.—Pleasant anticipations.

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 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 fol-

lowing day. On Friday and Saturday, the wind continued favourable. 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 moved 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 favourable. 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 labour 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 circumstance of the case, an order was given for the release of the property, and an agent from the house of Ryberg and Co. was dispatched 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 fortune; for, had we proceeded on our course without interruption, we should have gone directly into the hands of a French privateer, then lying at Elsinore, 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 licence from the king. This voyage was completed satisfactorily by a safe return in November, 1811, and with 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 licence 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 storehouses of the former, as to reduce their prices greatly below the ordinary standard. The same case 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

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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 rigour of the Continental System was an achievement of no ordinary magnitude, and could only be done by means of licences, and in so circuitous a manner as to escape the vigilance of the French douaniers.

After great difficulty and delay, and a most admirable perseverance, our agent at Paris succeeded in obtaining a licence for the introduction of a cargo from Copenhagen into Hamburg *vid Kiel*, to be accompanied with certificates that the articles composing it were the product of Danish industry and commerce. This first and most difficult overcome, the next measure was much easier; to obtain from the Danish government a licence 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 apprehension of any embarrassment from the Danish 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, and we could immediately have obtained a very great advance on the cost; but the prospect was so much greater at Hamburg, the point of its destination, that the maxim of the *pro bono in the hand*, &c., did not seem applicable in 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 our associate in the adventure having been a proscribed subject. He was one of the proscribed of Vinegar Hill. Since that period, he had engaged in mercantile business on the Continent; and during the two last years had resided at Copenhagen. Some malicious or envious persons denounced him to the government as an proscribed subject; and declared, moreover, that the property he represented was English. In consequence of this, the property was seized, an investigation instituted, which was prosecuted in a manner worthy of the tribunals of

There was a fatality attending this adventure which was very remarkable. Its possession was no object to the government, nor had it any serious apprehension of its eventual disposition; 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 the 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 realisation 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 weak 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 death-blow 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 Hamburg; prices were nominal; there was no sale for anything; everybody was anxiously waiting the *dénouement* 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 de-



stroyed. This adventure, had it reached Hamburg 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 of 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 lookout 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 réserve*. 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 Hamburg 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 Hamburg. 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 Hamburg, 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, being taken and robbed by the Cossacks, who he said, were very numerous in the vicinity. On the fall of the fortunes of Napoleon, the 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 the 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 uncomfortable vehicle; it had two wheels only, and being fixed on the axle-tree, 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 the wheel 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 the fast-sailing ship would leave Nantes for the United States in about three weeks. After passing a fortnight at Paris, I took the diligence to Nantes, to examine the ship in question. It 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, in equal circumstances, would be less than that of a Baltimore clipper, and I therefore delayed engaging a passage until I should hear from

deaux, This is such as I received the vessel with his deck was like a mandarin, and accepted for the nation I passage of profits. At day the Corde a fleet of to the suspicious among the causing to appear, or and on that error in us, were clearly identified by colour, not in requirer an number of ship command to satisfy our late France west are assisted. During times; that, we of crowded on consequence of sailing the purchase. The arrive our year from the sales, and that perse were prospempted detail was a good, and a simula ting the bo

## CHAPTER XXII.

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deux, 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 main-mast, or hailed 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 colours, 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 the 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 part, we perceived a frigate almost within gunshot of us. With a fine, brisk breeze, she crowded all sail in chase of us; but we had no convincing evidence of our great superiority in sailing, as, before noon, although persisting in the pursuit, her hull was not visible from our ship. The next day, the 1st of January, 1815, we arrived safely at New York.

Four years had now elapsed since my departure from Boston, in the schooner Maria, for my sales, 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 prospect of bettering my fortune. What I attempted, and with what unfortunate results, is detailed in the few preceding pages.

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

Effects of disastrous fortune.—Doubtful voyage.—Departure from Salem for Teneriffe and Batavia.—Loss of topmasts.—Damages repaired.—Arrival at Teneriffe.—Uncomfortable roadstead.—Hospitality and benevolence of a merchant.—Difficulty of weighing anchor.—Departure from Teneriffe.—Arrival at Tristan d'Akunha.—Supply of provisions.—Fate of a settler.—Stoppage at the Cape.—Arrival at Batavia.—Precautions against fever.—Present and former Governors.—A successful merchant.—Return to the Isle of France.—Exchange of cargo.—Boarded off St. Helena.—Napoleon.—No vessels permitted to enter.—Pleasant voyage home.—Arrival at Buxton.

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 realised. 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 the south-south-west, which gave us the cheering encouragement of making up for lost time. With top-gallant sails set over whole topsails, a foretopmast studding-sail, 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, however, 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 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 mizen 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 Peak 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 hog's-head 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 honourable 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 honourably 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 3rd 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 wind-lass, 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 wind-ward 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 schoolmate 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.\*

The following more recent account of the old-looking, mountainous island of Tristan da Cunha has lately appeared in the London papers. It furnishes some curious particulars relative to the inhabitants, as well as some information respecting the island itself, which cannot fail to prove interesting to the English reader.

This island lies in the South Atlantic Ocean, lat. 37° 9' S. and long. 15° 30' W. from Greenwich. On the 19th, we came abreast of it. During the period of Napoleon's confinement at St. Helena, the British government had a garrison on it, which, on Bonaparte's death, was withdrawn. An old corporal, named Glass, having nearly lived the time in the army which entitled him to retire, obtained permission to remain behind, with his wife (a Hottentot), one child, and two soldiers of his corps. The two soldiers, however, grew tired of this mode of living, and took advantage of the visit of a whaling vessel to leave the island; and thus old Glass, wife, and child, became the sole possessors of the place—"monastery of all he surveyed." The island is volcanic, and is a high peak rising from a table land; the island is 1000 feet from the level of the sea, from it rises a peak, to a farther elevation of 1000 feet. At its summit is an immense crater filled with water, round whose margin the seals and other sea-fowl build their nests. The table land is altogether useless, being very barren and having not less than forty craters on the land, therefore, available for the settlement is merely a patch of six or seven miles long, from a quarter to nearly half a mile in breadth, the mountain-side to the sea, from whose summit it is raised about forty or fifty feet. From the solitary residence of one man, Tristan da Cunha, are now a population of seventy-three, of these, fifteen are the children of old Governor Glass; and his children and grand-children amount to twenty-seven. His daughters are good-looking, though very dark, and readily find husbands. You will be curious to know how they live. Very many American whaling ships visit this spot for supplies of potatoes and some of their crews have from time to time remained; and, unfortunately, a great number of ships have been wrecked on the island, so that the old governor has always behaved in a manner that does him the highest credit. A few of these people have remained with him, and one on the island is indebted to the good offices of some favourer, either a wife, or assistant in building and stocking a house, for a few of draft oxen, some sheep, or some sold of that kind; so each person is attached to the strong ties of interest and gratitude; being parson, teacher, doctor, and friend, loved by all with the utmost respect. Tristan da Cunha is a perfect model of a republic—the very simple, as you may suppose. Thus each person on the island, in turn, supplies ships with provisions, the profits of which sale are his, and this rule never deviated from, all are content and happy. On the evening of our

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 ships' 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 excess, 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 revolutions 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.

During my visit, the old man christened his youngest child of three months old, and, having got a supply of refreshments from the Wanderer, all the islanders made merry, and, in honour of our guest, the child was called Victoria. Since the formation of the town (?) of Somerset, as it is called, there has not been such a merry-making. Mr. Boyd gave the young one a portion, viz. five sheep, the increase of which was to be hers on her coming of age, and, en masse, the people stood up and promised to tend her flocks until she was a married woman. There are now many sheep and cows on the island, some pigs, and potatoes of the first quality; water in abundance; and, without luxuries, and not aware of any wants, the people are contented. The population of the island is somewhat mixed, consisting of Dutchmen, Danes, Frenchmen, Americans, English, and Tristans."



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 Tenariffe, 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 the 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 his 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 XXIII.

Effects of general peace on commercial enterprise. Projected voyage.—The *Beaver* fitted out.—From New York.—Reflections.—A tornado.—St. Paul's Island.—Pernambuco.—Unsuccessful attempt to touch at the Falkland Isles.—Steele's Cape Horn.—Easy passage round.—Call at Island of Mocha.—Arrival at Talcahuana.—Ceit of the authorities.—Contemplated resistance.—A guard sent on board.—Communication with the shore prohibited.

The general peace of the civilised 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 the gain. From this consideration, after returning from Batavia, I declined engaging in any other voyage till the early part of the year 1816, 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 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 against foreigners, seemed to present very flattering prospects to those merchants who should 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 advantage, which few of my enterprising countrymen possessed. It was very desirable to turn this knowledge to the best account, by planning and executing a voyage thither. With this

submitted a plan to that enterprising, intelligent, and wealthy merchant, John Jacob Astor, Esq., who, though aware of the risks attending the enterprise, was not slow to perceive and be convinced of the promise of 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 to purchase the cargo. His favourite ship, the *Arcturion* (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 dollars, 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 harbor, 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 come aboard; and, in conformity with previous arrangement, called on Mr. Astor, who at this 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 outside of Sandy Hook, where the pilot came on board. The day was remarkably fine, the sea calm, and before twelve o'clock the highlands of the coast were no longer visible. Before the vessel could be overtaken, a trial with other vessels bound to the same port, and outward satisfied me that the ship sailed as fast as could be steered easily. The watch being set at half past six o'clock, as usual, and the course to be run during the night being given, I paced the deck till midnight, pleased with the quiet progress we had so suddenly succeeded the bustle of the day, and gave to the mind ample scope to dwell on scenes past, present, and to come.

There are few who have not experienced the feelings of bidding farewell to beloved relatives, although 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 loneliness, whose destiny compels them to be absent for years, perhaps for ever. Nor could I but enter confidence manifested by my em-

ployers, in the superb ship and 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 south-west, 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 favourable 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 re-

lative 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 favourable 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, however, was not long; for before we arrived near their parallel, repeated and violent gales from the south-west 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 favoured, 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 moon-light night, we pressed forward, keeping a sharp look-out for the land. This was desisted at two o'clock, 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 desisted 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 Doosit, with a fine breeze from north-north-east, 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 north-west, which brought us under reefed courses. The prevalence of north-west 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 dispatched for the 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 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 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 Quirquina, 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 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 letter, he was about taking them away, when 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 veracity must fairly be presumed to be mischievous.

Thus situated, and with such apprehensions, it was evident that no time was to be lost in

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ing whether it was most judicious to attempt  
retreat and seek some other port, or to enter  
the, trusting to our right by treaty. In adopt  
the first measure, it was to be considered,  
it though we might succeed in beating off the  
anches, the only mode of annoyance they  
ould use while the calm continued, yet this  
at be with the loss of lives, and with a chance  
failure. If, however, we should succeed in  
oping them at bay until a breeze sprung up,  
hich would enable us to go out, the same  
ould aid the ships of war to pursue us; and  
could no more rationally expect to outsail a  
ate, than we could successfully resist her.  
Failure in either of these attempts might be  
id as a justifiable cause of condemnation. It  
no less obvious, that, if these ships were a  
of the royal navy, the royalists must pos  
the ascendancy at sea, in which case, it  
probable that the port of Valparaiso would  
be blocked; and to be taken attempting to  
there, after having forced my way from  
with a royal officer on board to detail the  
stances, could not fail to be attended  
disastrous consequences. On the other hand, however vexatious and  
the conduct of the government to  
us might be, from the resentment they  
feel, on suspicion of our intention to traffic  
those they termed rebels, such suspicion  
not to endanger the property under any  
stances; and more especially when there  
the most undeniable evidence of such  
as had been provided for by treaty.  
These impressions, and in the worst event,  
royalists being in possession of the place,  
of the two evils seemed to be that of  
myself in their power, and manifesting  
reprehension for the result; in accordance  
this conviction, I made no resistance to  
mittance of the armed men on board, who  
ent to take charge of us. These, how  
were alleged by the officer to be put on  
for our safety; to guard us against the  
who possessed the neighbouring shore  
which we were distant about one mile.  
ing a breeze early the next morning, we  
anchor, and after making two or three  
under the direction of the pilot, anchored  
front of the town, between the Velos  
bastiani, men-of-war. Here a guard  
the shore relieved those who first came on  
and here we were all confined to the  
prohibited any communication with  
the, or with our countrymen of the brig  
which lay near us.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Conduct of the government.—The crew re  
Correspondence with the Governor.  
danger.—Visit from the authorities.—

Sketch of the Governor.—Diplomatic despatch from  
the renowned Knight of La Mancha.—Advan  
tages resulting from imprisonment in France.  
meter of all foreigners.—Clearing of ships to begin  
a new score.—A detector of guilt where none ex  
isted.—The Abbe Sleyer of Talcahuano.—His  
cogent reasons for confederation.—Hopes annihila  
ted.—Resources which might prove available.

In the afternoon our sails were unhoisted, an  
unsuccessful attempt was made to unhung the  
rudder, and all (excepting two) of the seamen  
taken away and put on board other ships. Dur  
ing 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 sus  
picion 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 Concep  
cion and all the eastern side of the bay were in  
possession of the patriots, who, with a strong  
force, were besieging Talcahuano, and daily  
throwing shells into the town; while the royal  
forces, confined within their lines to the penin  
sula, 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, in  
cluding the military governor, a sketch of whom,  
which a compulsory acquaintance afterwards en  
abled me to take, may be properly introduced  
at this time. The supreme chief, or governor  
intendant of the province of Concepcion, was  
José Ordóñez, a European, but whether a de  
scendant of the one of that name, of whom ho  
nourable 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 wars,  
and, from having been a prisoner in France, had  
derived the double advantage of attaining some  
knowledge of the French language, and of ac  
quiring the happy mode of appropriating the  
property of others to their own particular use,  
which so distinguished that nation at the date  
of his captivity. His manners were those of a  
gentleman; and his character a counterpart to  
that which Tacitus had drawn of Tiberius. His  
stature was rather below middling, his physiog  
nomy dark and forbidding. His eye-lids 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



more when the peculiar properties of a man gave him a name, as "Longshanks," "Baldhead," &c. he would perhaps have obtained the sobriquet 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 Ascasibar 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 labour, showed to his astonished countrymen, that he could detect guilt where none existed. Juan José Eguluz, the submissive tool of the two preceding rogues, was a half-starved, lank, pale, doleful-looking fellow; from whom, however, Caesar 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 Matías de la Fuente, the Abbé Sibyes 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 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 labouring for its confiscation, and was earnestly engaged in producing the ruin which he affected to lament. Such were the men in whose power it was now my cruel destiny to be placed. On their flat 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 bilge-water from the pumps, and declared it to be sweet. This falsehood was contrived to substantiate another, namely, that the water in the hold being potable, was evidence of our supply having been purposely started to make a show of necessity. If there had been any doubts relative to our needs before this visit, none could exist afterwards, as the fiscal had already been so incautious, to prejudice the cause, by declaring the ship's cargo to be good prize.

It would be in vain to attempt conveying an idea of my distress, now that I realised the need of trouble which awaited me. I saw at once my fair prospects blasted; the flattering hope of meeting my family, with a competency, at a very distant period, annihilated; the satisfaction of an approving welcome from my employer, without a chance of being realised. 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 the inhumanity would not hesitate to take my life if necessary for the furtherance of their objects. I knew, too, that they were ignorant, even the existence of any treaty, by which the rights were secured; and entirely reckless of consequences. All these conspired to plunge me into an abyss of misery; to prevent 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 but momentary duration. This was neither first nor second time that my prospective life had been involved in equal darkness, but had been succeeded by days of sunshine; though I could not now perceive any chance of extricating myself, I felt such confidence that way would be opened, that I soon recovered the elasticity of spirits which is necessary to ensure success in any enterprise.

Revolving in my mind the various means 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 confiscation, producing that result. Such were now my cruel fate hung the fear and eagerness and future of this was as urgent as that, in reality, to prove the high justice had evidence or proofs equal to water from the sea. This false intimate another bold being publicly having been of necessity relative to our patriot afterward incautious in the ship's duty to a point conveying realised the sea. I saw at once flattering hope competency, steady; the satisfaction from my eyes realised. These calamities others were falling into but barely interviews, while I took my share of their obligations, ignorant, even which the reckless of courage plunged to prevent a proper draught with wisdom that his long sun, appeared however, was was neither my prospects of darkness, of sunshine; any chance confidence the soon recovered necessary to the various for the recovery very probable, which, from

the papers of the time of her sailing, 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 sentiment, 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 cope in maritime cases, no less than of their want of moral principle, would order the ship's release.

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

## CHAPTER XXV.

The examination.—A taste for liberty.—Escape of a portion of the crew.—Commotion in the prison.—Suspicion of the authorities.—Their increased vigilance.—Noisy sentries.—Search for arms.—A little more liberty.—Arrival of a Spanish frigate.—Mortifying position.—A plan of escape.—The sentries put to sleep.—A bold proposal.—Reasons for it.—Co-operation of the crew.—Suspicious circumstances.—Preparations for escape.—The Spanish frigate.—Defeat of the project.—The irksomeness of being confined to the deck of the ship, after a passage of one hundred ten days, was very great; and the fatigue of arriving at a besieged place, where fresh provisions nor vegetables were to be obtained, though circumstances in themselves when compared with the loss of the ship, were, nevertheless, so provoking, as to excite an impatience and irritability, while the examination, which was occasionally made in such disrespectful and even insulting manner, as often to break off the proceedings; 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. A tedious and often ludicrous business was carried on with me about ten days; after which, the mate, boatswain, and two seamen, were turned 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 towards 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 continual howling 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 brig of war Pazuela and Petrillo. More than a month had elapsed since our arrival; and so little had been done toward a decision in our



condemned on the ocean, would have no suspicion of their being in possession 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 my waking hours, in which the lives of myself and associates, as well as those of innocent Spanish seamen, might 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 larger number, as favouring the efforts of an oppressed people, for the overthrow of a despotic government, and the establishment of a liberal constitution, highly commendable.

To perceive or feel the full force of the wrongs by which I was actuated, it is proper to go to some scenes in my narrative, already related,—such as, the fruit of many years of my earnings being swept off, and myself and my family reduced to poverty, by the robbery of the *Venganza*, sanctioned by a wicked judge of the Admiralty, without a justifiable cause, a violation of the laws of nations; next, the treachery, mean, and cowardly manner, in which, by order of Napoleon, my vessel and crew were stolen from me by Murat; and now, my having violated any law, or deviated in any degree from the tenor of the existing treaty, again stripped of my property, reduced to poverty, and goaded with the prospect of the train of evils which were inevitable. Let repeated and deeply-distressing wrongs be done home to the breast of any one; and if he be not considered sufficient to justify the wrong on which I had determined, they will reach towards extenuating it.

Immediately after the augmentation of the crew, mentioned to have taken place on the 1st of November, such security was felt by the authorities of Talcahuano, as induced them to return to the *Beaver* her ship's company, excepting those who had escaped to the *Beaver*, had been kept as prisoners from the time of our arrival. This was a measure I had expected, and but for which the plan must have been abandoned, as I had no access to the crew away from the ship.

Five days after the arrival of the *Venganza*, my vessels of war put to sea, leaving in the place that ship, only the *Sebastiana*, a sailing vessel. The activity and enterprise of the *Sebastiana* was such as to make a rescue of all the men they could spare from

the ships of war, to guard, during the night, 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 diffidence and caution requisite to be observed in soundling 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 measure, however violent, for extricating ourselves, was 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 Vengeance, and the long train of brilliant consequences that would result from its successful capture. 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, when the disparity in the relative force was equally great. Among other instances within my knowledge, I mentioned to them that of Captain Surcouf, who, with only eight men, took an English Indianman, with more than one hundred men on board in Italian 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.

In the evening, I desired them, when a good occasion presented, to sound their shipmates as to their willingness to engage in some such plan, without boasting 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 explain it especially on them. 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 eager to embark 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 ship *Centon* had, within a few days, been ordered to take up their residence on-board the frigate. They had heard some indistinct rumour of what was going on, and it was very important to collect them in so. With this view, I made a visit to the commander, 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 time in the day or night when most weakened by absence of men, the place of deposit of small arms, and, generally, of every thing which should tend to the successful accomplishment of our object in view.

Although I had no apprehension of any one of our number proving treacherous, yet it is obvious that there is danger in trusting a secret to many individuals; and where life is involved, immediate action, if possible, to the best and safest policy. It had been observed, that on Sunday, in addition to the men required for the duties, others were allowed to go on shore for amusement; and that, in the afternoon of Sunday, most of the officers were seeking recreation away from their ships. Sunday afternoon, then, I 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 spent in great anxiety, lest some suspicion or careless conversation should avert the meditated blow, and I now fully experienced that

"Between the setting of a dreadful day  
And the first motion, all the time is  
Like a phantasm, or hideous dream:  
The genius and the mortal instruments  
Are then in conflict; 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 writing letters to my family and to Mr. Asa, 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 afternoon with as little chance of exciting anybody, or exciting suspicion, as at midnight, for all were taking their accustomed walks. I had the satisfaction of finding no wavering among them; on the contrary, all seemed to be ready and anxious for the arrival of the decisive hour. A number of fifteen, exclusive of the men on board the frigate. After settling a number of preliminary steps, such as designating the number of 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 dithering 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 irascible 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 shone in all the beauty and brilliancy which is peculiar to this climate at this season of the year, in which nothing of the kind can be imagined so charming, or less in harmony with the solitary south wind had not yet begun to blow. I made an early visit to the frigate, ostensibly to reconnoitre, but really to see the men of the ship, and to make my final arrangements with them. For this purpose, after finishing my visit, I gave a promise to return in the afternoon with a boat. As 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 favourable result.

Just so many men should excite suspicion, by being alongside the ship at the same time, it was decided that the Canton's boat, with half the number of men, should be sailing about near the frigate, and that when they saw the Deaver's boat, with the other half, go to the starboard side of the ship, they should go alongside on the port side; while the Canton's men should be engaged in drawing off the attention of the sentries, or, failing in this, to snatch from them the arms. The boats' crew, mounting simultaneously on opposite sides of the ship, would be equally clear the deck of the Spaniards; while at the same moment those designated to cast the fore-top-sail, and to cut the cable, should perform those duties; and, with the assistance of strong breezes blowing directly out of the bay, we should be well under way before the alarm would be given on board the Sebastian. Such was the general plan, which, of course, might have been varied at contingencies might require.

At past 11 o'clock when I left the frigate, I returned to the Deaver; and the calm continued. This was very unusual. With an intensity of anxiety which may be more easily con-

ceived 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, while would be in time for us; we therefore administered this 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 easterly 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 calm. 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 XXVI

Effects of the disappointment.—Dangerous attack of fever.—Enfeebled state of health.—Another source of hope annihilated.—Uncertain prospects.—The vessel and cargo condemned.—Appeal from the decision.—Progress of the Patriot cause in Chile.—Royalist reinforcements.—A new Judge.—Hopes revived.—Pursuit of the Patriots.—Their defeat at Talca.—Inactivity of the Royalists.—A startling discovery.—Destruction of the Royalist army.—Establishment of Chilean independence.—Dimmy of the people.—Consequences to the author.

Failing, as has been seen, in this first attempt, I had a presentiment that such a coincidence of favourable 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 Sebastian, Dr. Rousseau, 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 vigour 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 24th 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 Chill, 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 January, 1818, they abandoned their position, set fire to the city of Concepcion, and retreated towards San Pedro. 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. Peryra, 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 won 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 (ordonez), accompanied the army, as second in command; and from the very contemptuous manner in which I had frequently heard him speak of the patriot force, 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 to considerable extent.



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were engaged, and the patriots so much outnumbered, and, by their resistance, so disappointed the hopes and expectation 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 9th, 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 slight 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 the alternative. But, fortunately for them, the indignation 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. This gave ample time to the discomfited patriots to secure a retreat, to collect the 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 on their way to the latter. We now, for the first time, considered our situation more desperate than that of our countrymen at Valparaiso. Yet, among them there might be some (perhaps a few) who would make a 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 enemies, the commissioners at Talcahuana, expected 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 manufactures, which composed the Beaver's cargo, it was so poor as not to be able to supply one-half; and hence, with all their resources, the commissioners were unable to supply the necessities of the army; on which account they were received from head-quarters to sell

the ship. This appeared to be giving the finishing blow to the business; as, after sale, and on 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 expectation 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, rumours 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. The 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. Ordóñez, 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 Concepcion 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

\* General Ordóñez, 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 imprisoned for alleged conspiracy.



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 Concepcion to Talcahuana 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 accommodation 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. There 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 scattered myself that my affairs had approached a crisis, than would soon put an end to the painful suspense and uncertainty which I had been so long suffering, by my early de-

parture from this dreary place for Lima. In 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 XXVII.

Contemplated capture of the *Petrillo*.—Escape of the *Esmeralda*.—Arrival of a ship from Lima.—Good news.—A happy release.—Voyage to Lima.—Personal habits of Spanish officers.—Arrival at Callao.—Hospitable entertainment at Lima.—Favourable reception by the Viceroy.—Accusations against the Americans and English.—Increasing hopes.—Taking a house.—A domestic nuisance.—Relief from anxiety.—Visits to the authorities.—Probability of ultimate success.

The rainy season had now begun; and the storms from the north-west 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 close, presented a prospect so dreary and discouraging, that I began again to think of some means by which to extricate myself from the state of thralldom. The *Petrillo*, 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 the 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, 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 adding a certainty for an uncertainty?

While deliberating on the wisdom of the project, the *Esmeralda* frigate and *Pemuel* arrived; the former having been boarded while blockading Valparaiso, by the Chilean ship *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, the 6th, a ship from Lima came in, by which I hoped to hear something that might give a lot

our affairs; nor was I disappointed. The next morning General Osorio sent to 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. The 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 fever 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 not being subjected to the government of unprincipled men, wretched from poverty, filth, disease, and all those horrible calamities which accumulate in the seat of a civil war. It had been a period to us of continued privations, afflictions, 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 veteran-colonels, of the royal army, one of whom was aide-de-camp to General Osorio, and the bearer of despatches relating to the disastrous battle of Maipo. If a judgment can be formed of the cleanliness of their countrymen from those officers, the mortality on board their ships, on long voyages, is easily accounted for. We were twelve days on the passage to Callao, although the weather was always delightful, and 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 Talcahuana. 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 tell that their confidence was undoubtedly founded on the appeal thus made to our honour, 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 30th 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 favoured the restoration of our property. The following day Mr. Coffin and myself were presented, by Dr. Pedro Abadía, agent of the Philippine Company, to the viceroy. Our reception was as favourable 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 the 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 me an opportunity to reply, he abruptly withdrew. I did not augur any thing unfavourable 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 have 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 favour, 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 had 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 civilised 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*, nonsense.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII.

Return of the Ontario from Valparaiso.—Satisfaction of the Viceroy.—Building castles in the air.—Sudden change in the Viceroy's conduct.—His reasons for it.—An explanation.—Another change.—Promises of protection.—Official delay.—Plan for employing time.—Successful prospects from a voyage to Valparaiso.—A ship procured.—Indisposition of the officers and men.—Project abandoned.—Unprofitable expenditure of time.—Trip to Valparaiso in an English frigate.—Excellent discipline on board.—Erroneous impressions removed.—Superior abilities of Captain Shirreff.—Gentlemanly deportment of his officers.—A muse-

ments and exercises of the crew.—Due observance of the Sabbath.—Uninterrupted pleasure of the voyage.—Arrival at Valparaiso.

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 the 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 favourable 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

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. Then I assured him that no one of his subjects could be disposed to meddle with governmental affairs and 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. I 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—“Cleveland, I will take none of those precautions; your word of honour is sufficient; and I am convinced, if you made use of the expression reported to me, it could only have been in the guarded 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, violence threatens destruction to every man within its range, passes harmlessly away, my prospects suddenly changed from the gloomy and adverse to bright and favour-

able. Although the cases of the Beaver and Canton were precisely similar involved no question 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 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 six 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 offered for a very lucrative voyage, by taking and parading a cargo of the produce of Peru, 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 that 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 labour was suspended, 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,



called on a cruise in company with another armed ship, and assisted in capturing the Chilian privateer *Malpo*, 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 gate, 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 3rd 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 colours hoisted, and the national air, "God save the King," played, every officer and man being at his station, and the capstern manied, 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 tyrannising 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 Shirreff, having had the advantage of moving in the most elevated and polished society at home, and of receiving his professional educa-

tion from one of the most able commanders in the British navy, united the manners and urbanity of the gentleman, to those of the skilled and accomplished commander. His indefatigable 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, independent of such example, there was evidently an innate desire among them to second the views of the 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 Shirreff, the passengers, 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 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 men 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, moral lesson, perfectly adapted to the understandings of his audience; and such as

\* One of the lieutenants was a son of the admiral who, by stripping me of my property in the West Indies, created the necessity for my now voyaging in the Pacific. He was a goodly young man, and was ignorant of the suffering his father had caused me.

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On the 24th we passed between the Islands  
Sanfueria and Juan Fernandez; the next day  
we passed in sailing by the latter, to the south-  
ard of it; and the day after, we arrived at Val-  
paraiso. In the numerous passages I have made  
here, I have no recollection of any one that  
orded such a course of uninterrupted enjoy-  
ment, and which was so entirely pleasant, as  
in the Andromache. It has made an agree-  
impression on my mind, which will never  
obliterated.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Interview with the Governor.—Unfortunate meeting  
with a friend.—The present and former govern-  
ments contrasted.—Erroneous policy.—Adven-  
tures of two of the Beaver's crew.—Arrival of the  
Supreme Director.—Adventures of Ribera.—Visit  
to the Supreme Director.—His character, and  
qualifications for the office.—Offer of a commis-  
ion in the Chilean navy declined.—Advantageous  
of a cargo for Lima.—Embarco.—Visit to  
Chilian capital.—Rough riding.—Sorry ac-  
commodation.—Road over the Cuesta de Prado.—  
Arrival at Santiago.—"The lions" there.—"The  
President's Folly"—The Mint.—Salubrity of San-  
tiago.—Return to Valparaiso.

Immediately after coming to anchor, I went  
on board with the captain of the port, who con-  
ducted me to the governor's, where I was inter-  
viewed concerning the affairs of Lima. After  
answering a multitude of questions, and deliver-  
ing to the governor all the letters of which I  
was in charge, I was permitted to take leave, and  
to pursue my own private affairs. While seek-  
ing the residence of our worthy consul, Mr. Hill,  
whom I intended transacting my business,  
I accidentally and unfortunately met a relative  
of Boston, who persuaded me that the house  
in which he was intimate, Higginson, O'Brien,  
would do my business more advanta-  
geously than any other in the place. Relying  
on this information, I accompanied my friend to  
his house; was introduced to the partners of  
the accepted their invitation to take up my  
quarters with them, and had my baggage trans-  
ferred there.

These important preliminaries being settled,  
I had an opportunity of leisurely traversing  
the streets which my friend Shaler and I had  
together sixteen years before. The gov-  
ernment was then of the most despotic char-  
acter, and the most determined feature of it  
the exclusion of all foreigners; excepting  
those in distress, for whom provisions were

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 had  
ever 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 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 differ-  
ence 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 eco-  
nomy 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 gov-  
ernment is but of yesterday, there exists the  
same system of smuggling, and the same degree  
of corruption in the revenue officers, that was  
practised under the old regime. 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 per-  
formed the voyage in the Beaver safely. The  
latter was one of the number who boarded the  
Esmeralda from the Lautaro, and was so fortu-  
nate 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 car-  
penter, an orderly, active, and industrious man,  
and was probably induced to engage in this en-  
terprise 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 hostilities, however, are proverbial for moving slowly, as this instance verified, for more than a week had elapsed from the time when, according to public rumour, he should have arrived. 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 apologised 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 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 rumours 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 favourably towards me, for, in this first interview, he offered me a commission in the Chilian navy. Making due acknowledgment for the favourable 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 me 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 unfavourable 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 favourable 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 in making it general. In conformity with this, it was immediately proclaimed that licences 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. The best course now appeared to be, to proceed as soon as possible 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, 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 land the vessel in five days, and 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 could not be admitted at Lima, and the brig could in consequence be compelled to return with it to Valparaiso, he would pay the amount of the charter. Thus, having a fair prospect of saving great advantage without incurring any risk, I closed the contract, and immediately set out loading the brig.

Before the five days had elapsed, however, my apprehension of the embargo was realised. 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, that the embargo would be raised immediately after, the effect of such an act upon the enterprise on which I had already engaged was not taken into consideration; and these causes combined to produce the requisite resignation. Perceiving that a month, at least, must elapse before the embargo would be raised, and which to remain idle at Valparaiso would be very tedious, I determined to fill up the time by making a visit to the Chilean 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 stages. As there was no cause for hurrying, I jogged on very leisurely, taking three days to perform a journey of only thirty leagues. A vigorous exercise, being of a kind to which I was very unaccustomed, was, however, very refreshing to me. We found no other accommodation for travellers, on this road, than such as was afforded by the houses of the peasantry, which were very miserable, bad enough to induce a traveller to go through in a day, if possible. The road was as good as we found it, was owing chiefly to the indefatigable exertions of a late president, O'Higgins, who evinced a degree of no ordinary compass, in planning and directing to be executed that part of the road which leads to the city over the Cuesta de Maipo, or hill of the meadow, a labour of such untiring activity, and of such (for the time when it was made) stupendous magnitude, as to perpetuate his name. On the borders of the zigzag road over this hill, which was overgrown with shrubbery, among which the mistletoe 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 Chilean 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 Chilean 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 a 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 those 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 XXX.

Departure for Callao.—Arrival there.—Restoration of the Beaver.—A tempting proposal resisted.—Filthy state of the Beaver.—A thorough cleansing.— Jesuitical manoeuvre. — Another embargo.— Arrival of an American agent.—His imprudence.—Consequent displeasure of the Viceroy.—Difficulty of procuring a crew. — Selection from prisoners. — Expected visit of the Chilean squadron.—Removal of the Beaver.

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 26th 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 favourable 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 along side 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 favourable 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 20th of November, the long-looked-for decree was issued, revoking the edict of Talcahuana, declaring that no cause of condemnation had existed, and that the ship, whatever portion of her cargo remained in the government stores, should be restored forthwith, and that I must seek for the residue of 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, 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 freighting on the coast. His furnishing 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 the ship could be advantageously employed, should be for account of owners and underwriters; and feeling that, in making up to them a portion of the property which had been in my hands 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 me accompanied by a few men from the *Ontario*, and took formal possession of the ship, and of her sails, rigging, and stores, as remaining. These being very few, the business of receipt was soon accomplished, when we discharged our cannon, and displayed the American colors.

It came along. I went immediately to Captain Biddle. He told me he had been ordered by the government of the Beaver, he had stated which had been the capture of their restoration money which governments, and permission would be to the United States, and double business; but what remained independent description which made public. November, 1819, revoking the cause of the ship, remained in the restored for the residue of this decision in the months in the very dilapidated only with great effect of the very of Lima, of these circumstances would be such cases, for the bestures to me, be employed, furnishing the ship were to other, and the proposal was to doubt it would be obvious, and under the up to them, had been more grateful fortune and hesitate to decide an officer of the board with him on the Ontario ship, and as remains of reception we discharged American com-

place more on the Beaver. The 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 the girdle.

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 labour. With these the ship was cleaned and rigged in a very short time, compared with the time in which it could have been done with the resources attainable at Callao, and at a less expense. For this I felt myself greatly indebted to Captain Biddle, who extended his kindness further, by supplying a want which was imperative, and which I was unable to provide for any way, namely, that of a person to act as 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 shipman Alexander B. Pinkham, an active, intelligent officer, whose services were invaluable. The obligation, therefore, of the ship 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. His efforts were not confined to the rule prescribed by duty. He remained many days being ready for sea, that I might have the benefit of his influence in obtaining a privilege, I sought, that of introducing a cargo into the port from Chili, and in procuring an acknowledgment, and some kind of liquidation of the

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 wait 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 agents of Lima, to prevent the Livonia from taking 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 Shirreff, of the Andromache, could have succeeded in 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 protection of the Andromache. At length, with a display of perseverance, not inferior to that which

had been manifested by Captain Biddle in our behalf, permission was obtained by Captain Shirreff to tranship 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 manoeuvre, 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 relate 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 favouring 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, Capt. Hickey, from Columbia River, having on board Judge Provost, of New York. This vessel had been dispatched 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 favourable 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 stiltiness 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.

According 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 a selection was a task so disagreeable, that I relinquished it to the jailor, 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 licence for sailing 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 shipowners 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 licence.

A visit from the Chilian squadron was generally and soon expected. Its augmented force, resulting from the recent capture at Talcahuano 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 the 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 licence, 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 pursued my own course, which was that of perseverance, until there should be an opening for some advantageous operation, for which the promised licence would be granted.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Departure of ships.—The Chilian fleet.—Nature of the escape of the Viceroy.—A dense fog.—Random firing from the batteries.—Cables ship.—A timely discovery.—Favourable position of the Chilian fleet.—Unfavourable result.—Proceeding

against desertion.—Interview with the Viceroy.—Object accomplished.—Chilian blockade.—Visits to the ships.—Insolence of one of the captains.—Heaving the anchor.—On the broad ocean once more.—Arrival at Pisco.—Recognition by a seaman.—Difficulty of taking in cargo.—A mutiny on board.—The ring-leader seized and whipped.—Restoration of order.

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 load 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 Shirreff to defer his departure any longer on this account. In this, however, there was an evident want of judgment; as Captain Shirreff 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 at 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 directed 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 again every object was hidden from our

sight by a return of the fog. In neither party could now see any object to aim at, we had soon evidence that they were firing at random, for several shots 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 Wilkison. 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, favoured 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 favourable 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 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 Chilians, 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 favourable auspices, surprised every body, and, by inspiring the Spaniards with increased confidence, augmented the hazard of a second attack.

While lying at anchor at about two miles

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



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 deliberate 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 licence. The propriety and urgency of the last measure was so obvious, that, no longer regarding the remonstrances of the Lima shipowners, he directed the secretary immediately to make out a licence 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 par-

tial 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 rigorous 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 licence, 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 enobeserving. 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 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

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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 be could use with Lord Cochran 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 dispatch 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 *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 south-west, 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 before 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 seizures, 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 the 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 acceptance of that term.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

Description of Pisco.—Arrival at Guanchaca.—Trepidation of the inhabitants.—Assumed fortune of the Governor.—Profitable commerce.—Encounter with a Chilean brig of war.—Suppliances of the authorities.—Arrival at P. on voyage.—Abundance of freight.—Return to Callao.—The blockade raised.—Arrival at Callao.—Place visited on the voyage.—The curate of Guanchaca.—Troxillo.—Extreme show of sanctity.—Flattering reception at Callao.—License to trade.—Cargo discharged.—Another voyage to Pisco.—Successful return with a good cargo.—Mysterious disappearance of a Spanish brig.

Pisco is situated on a sandy plain, about a 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 such, 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 the commerce.

As the more the Pisco, we wind, and were off to a den on its on the had to p gain the sunset. In the and Guan of Callao, supposed and were All their and altho a couple merchant report of to quiet t ali night, confusion morning, licence of Immed a horse, of cavalr house, I f waiting n appeared preceding ever, did my present able-looking business. reigned i angrily ob if every v let them the mail f freshets w we were from the notwithstanding frequently, brestin was prolo usual on Having as to fine of introdu transact had been ing man, He at one and wine, ing to pa price. Th tion, and then cou had a let connexion

As the next part 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 meantime, 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 licence 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 load 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 go 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 Spy, with whom I had become ac-



quintal 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 Chilean 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 dispatched 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, preliminary to being interrogated; and thus was an open roadstead, without an officer, and 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 Guanchaca, 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 colours displayed, I sent the boat to obtain information, while the ship was lying to. On returning, I was rejoiced to learn, that the Chilean 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 alongshore to the northward while the Beaver was standing out to sea, to the south-westward, 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 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 Pausela 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, Guanchaca is nothing else than a collection of wigwags 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 south-east 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 Baie, 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 affords 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 a

tuated in soil, is built, (angles,) habitant, and the population together enjoyed and Car Quinto; vation as for its pr

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tuated 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 Carthagena, by the way of Santa Fé and Quinto; 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 be very properly 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 therewith 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 wigwags. 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 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 on landing the cargo. My reception by the viceroy was one 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 licence to go to any part of the coast I pleased.

I had now as many men at work in unloading the ship as could be advantageously employed,

as it was important to lose no time before being away again. In the meantime, 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 rumoured that the captain of the Beaver was in the castle of Callao, and several officers of the navy came to see me, kindly promising to obtain leave for me to go on board my ship, and invited 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—a general order for all masters of foreign vessels, sailing coastwise, with the viceroy's licence, to be permitted to go on shore, and, if desired, to proceed to Lima without waiting for a special commission.

A circumstance which occurred on this voyage demonstrates the extreme credulity of their 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, at 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 alarmed, 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; and 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, or 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 XXXIII.

Unpleasant suspicions.—How excited.—Appeal to the Viceroy.—Examination of the Beaver's crew.—Satisfactory result.—Profitable sale of cargo.—Advantageous proposal.—Ship chartered.—Departure from Callao.—Fortunate escape.—Arrival at Guasco.—Bad management.—Manufactures at Guasco.—Proceed to La Barranca.—A bungling pilot.—Impatience under delay.—Justifiable inference.—Departure for Samanco Bay.—More delays.—Infatuation of the charterer.—Advantages of Samanco Bay.—Victors.—Primitive manners of the Commandant of Barranca and his daughters.—Proceed to Pacasmayo.—Thence to Valparaiso.—Boarded by a Chilean man-of-war.—Safe arrival.

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 rumours 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 appears trifling in this idea, generally having received, conducted there, as a ship—and ing none readiness for the ill try, were cate the a city.

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It appeared that a number of circumstances, trifling in themselves, had combined to favour this idea, in a populace jealous of strangers, and generally very ignorant. Among them, my having remained a fortnight at Callao after arriving—my being arrested by the 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 thought 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 favourable 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 unfavourable 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 unloading, 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 reappearance 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 dispatched 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 it 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 dispatched 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 twofold 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 licence had been provided for embarking it, and another week was lost before it was received from Lima. As soon as the licence 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 hanging 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 Caneto for a like purpose, and for the same destination, tended greatly to diminish the prospect 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 dispatch, 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° 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 dispatched 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 all ready 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 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 harbour. 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° 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 licence for trading coastwise, as she was a remarkably fine ship, had

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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 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 honour, 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 Chilean 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 would 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 XXXIV.

Result of delays.—Depressed state of the market at Valparaiso.—Purchase of ships.—Return to Callao.—Surprise of the authorities.—Impertinent interrogatories.—Reasons for returning home.—Three ships freighted.—Account of Lima.—Heavy dew.—Earthquakes.—Passion of the ladies for flowers.—Prevalence of the sacerdotal garb.—Ludicrous affray.—Licentiousness and ignorance of the clergy.—Public amusements.—Private pastimes.—Passive obedience the only means for leading a quiet life.—Departure from the Beaver for Guayaquil.—Fame of Payiti.—Arrival at Guayaquil.—The pilot's shield.—Interview with the Governor.—Reasons for his hostility.—Policy of submitting to extortion.—Return to Lima.—Redress.—Description of Guayaquil.—Healthy climate.—Beauty of the women.—Commercial importance.

The great loss which I anticipated from the tardy progress in loading 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, indepen-

dently 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 licence 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 Guayaquil to return to Callao, and dispatched her as soon as unloaded. For the *Zephyr*, I procured an advantageous freight from Guanchaca and Paucamayo, and dispatched her on the 1st of March. Funds being offered me on *respondentis* 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 his unloading; (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, plums, grapes, apples, pears, pines, guavas, bananas, strawberries, and oranges, are abundant in their seasons; but

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that which is justly the highest prized, and in my opinion is the most delicious fruit in the world, is the *cherri mouie*, 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 holidays there is such a brilliant display of rich and beautiful colours, 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 ingrossing 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 favourable 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 favourite 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 holidays, constitute all the public amusements.

The Limeans appear to possess all that dread of being alone, which is the peculiarity of an idle people, and therefore never miss meeting in the evening at each other's 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 the enterprising merchant, 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 Payta, a place indebted for some fame to the circumstance of its having been sacked by Lord Anson; and latterly, by 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 23rd 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 land 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 favour of the other. I presented him my licence from the viceroy, which he admitted to be correct, and said that we might begin to land 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 licence to land. 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 land, 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, land 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 landing 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 fifty 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 mosquitoes, 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 mosquitoes, 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 sure, but their want of business of the most exacting mothers natural the race.

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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 buccanera, 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 flavour, 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 XXXV.

Bad state of the ship.—Repairs.—Difficulty of settling affairs.—Departure for Rio Janeiro.—A three years retrospect.—Good from apparent evil.—*Nil desperandum*.—Peremptory order from the owners.—Surprise and dissatisfaction thereat.—Arrival at Rio.—Imprudence of custom-house officers.—One of them treated according to his deserts.—Supplies procured.—Leaves Rio.—Pleasant voyage to New York.—Arrival there.—Letter to the underwriters.—Cordial reception by the President of the Insurance Company.—Sensation created by the voyage.—Compliments on its fortunate termination.

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, 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 *Macedonia*, 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 landed 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, victualing, and remanning her, which amounted to more than the product of the remnant of cargo returned me. I had shipped on board the *Beaver*, for New York, a cargo of cocos 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 23rd 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 the ship was earning the enormous sum of ten thou-

sand dollars per month, was perfectly comprehensible, and seemed to indicate such suspicion that my intentions were not honest, as was very mortifying. A peremptory order also was unnecessarily 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 favour 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 fore-castle, 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 the intendente, expressions of the officer about the provisions a replenishing

As the cargo adapted to the of New York I should find to proceed to at receiving mentioned, way home,

Having passed Janeiro, and sailed for home

Our passage pleasant, but of an uninteresting entirely destroyed or interrupted. The Highlands of were exchanged prospect of our labours opposite feelings instead of observable arriving, our regret, that to a close.

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sent on board in his stead. Taking leave of the intendente, with apparently no unfavourable impressions on his part, from the circumstance of the officer's denunciation, I immediately set about the necessary measures for collecting the provisions 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 its 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 labours, 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 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 underwriters, 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 towards them, which was constant and undeviating towards 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 letter; and, sending it by the pilot, it reached them several hours before I presented myself. I therein reminded them of their acknowledgment of 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 ho-

nour. 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 experienced at the time the order was received, that it had not been conveyed to me by a person authorised 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 incumbrance.

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 relative to my exertions to procure the restoration of the ship, after its seizure at Talcahuana—my neglect of my own private interests in so doing—my subsequent efforts on the Peruvian coast, in defiance of the Chilean blockade—my suppression of the mutiny at Pisco, where no other seamen were procurable—and, finally, my unintermitted services, up to the present moment, in behalf of the owners, although I had been informed, as early as June, 1819, that the property had been abandoned to the underwriters. Having also informed them that, from my year's exertion in their behalf, I had laden for their account on board the Beaver 840,456 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 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 president, when introduced to him, quite overcame me. He rose to meet me, his frank and benign countenance beaming with expressions of goodness and amiability; 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 authorised 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 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 XXXVI.

Objection to charges.—Justified by services rendered.—An arbitration, and its result.—Dissatisfaction.—Confidence in the President's assurances.—Letter to that gentleman.—Conduct of Lloyd's in a similar case.—Probable reason for withholding compensation.—Corporations have no soul.—A contrast.—Honourable treatment by a London house.—Termination of voyages.—Their extent and danger.—Extraordinary fact.—General good health of crews.—Subsequent efforts and losses.—Abuse of confidence.—Abadia and Arismendi.—Unsuccessful trip to Hamburg in quest of the latter.—Voyage to Spain.—Interview with Arismendi at Madrid.—His conduct.—Return to New York.—Hopes again defeated.—Sudden appearance of Arismendi in Boston.—Rash proceeding.—Arrest of Arismendi.—His escape through the agency of a Boston merchant.—Sordid motives of the latter.—Voyage to Havana.—Mr. Sheler's death.—Unsuccessful effort to obtain the consulate.

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 unloading, 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. 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. charge.

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 arbitra-

tion; the result of which was a reduction 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 honourable, 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 of parting expressive of those feelings.

Accordingly, under date Lancaster, 22nd 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 any other vessel then on the Peruvian coast; and this, less from any concurrence of fortunate circumstances, than from a difference in favour 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 duct of Lloyd, not, of course. Such an occurrence, its being in such a spirit, there is cause for merely across the Atlantic with a piece.

But there are those, whose rating infuses greater deference to those of any title; and taking it for granted, that the temerity of him, and thus. However it I received was dead, and thus, and a half per cent.

That corporations in a course of acts of violence, individuals, an old almost every comments on and I will on simultaneous consent, was too and eminently the company, company did so much for in the building rigates.\*

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\* A letter which use of Tookes strong relief, with contact. Its of a hundred, ing principal, take accidentractions, d which, the he light of a ny draft at a

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 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 honourably 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 in 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 vindictive feeling toward them, but from the circumstance 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

\* A letter which I received at this time, from the house of Tooke Robinson and Co. of London, places strong relief their conduct, when compared with that 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, as 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 the light of a prize in the lottery. This was paid me by draft at sight.

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 and Arismendi), were the causes of these misfortunes. Soon after these reverses I received information of the revolution in Peru, of the consequent confusion in the commerce of Lima, of the breaking up of the house of Abadia and 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 viceregal government, no stranger of respectability ever visited Lima without enjoying the hospitality of Don Pedro Abadia. It was he 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 dispatch and adroitness very rarely seen among his countrymen. While present with him he would conduct the business with which he was charged on fair, honourable, 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 Senor Arismendi at Hamburg, in the Koscoe of Salem, freighted with a rich cargo for his account from Manila. As I had no doubt of this being my quondam friend, I flattered myself, that, starting immediately, and circumstances favouring, 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 Hamburg, *via* Liverpool, London, Harwich, and Cuxhaven. But I had the mortification to find that my labour was in vain. Arismendi had been landed at Teneriffe; and the cargo of the Koscoe, yet unsold, was well covered, in the name of a Senor 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 Hamburg, and with the aid of one of the most intelligent merchants of that city, being unable to effect anything, 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 Senor Abadia at St. Thomas, and immediately wrote him on the subject of my demand, at the same time apprising him of the means I had previously adopted to recover the amount from Arismendi, and of the failure of my efforts, as detailed above; but whether my letter was ever received by Abadia I have never been informed.

Scarcely two months had elapsed after writing this 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 dispatched 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 property, 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 anything.

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 to 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 which that city abounds.

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 to Paris, where, after passing a week, I proceeded to Havre, and took passage in the *Edwards* for New York, and arrived there in the month of April, 1825.

The agency for the collection of another debt 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 Boston merchant, the justice of which he denied, and refusal to pay any part of it. A demand on a merchant at Baltimore, for a much la-

amount, a debt acknowledged by a debtor, who could not pay, and who could not bearance was and would to my friend. Amount about me from A. When I recoverable to Arismendi. Fausto Corrales, during his never obtaining of an a presented at to this court person. The would do, from large demands. Nearly two better, and I only, and my body, he was as accounted himself, spoiled. They lodgings, key, chance, comb, letters, was a cent. After the meeting had out of my ously been security, a recovery of n experienced be which it could as of man as, that is indebted right on a a merchant at any mien of it, t loved, that ayed. Wi papers, p y, with dir y, at the s receiving at an precipita d persuade giving Aris et of recove pruit. Th e, was not for want ing from h tions on w

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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 any body, 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 of 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 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 sight on a ship belonging equally to myself and a merchant in Providence, I did not imagine that 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 his 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 misapprehension, was not adhered to, the writ was issued, and for want of bail he was imprisoned; thus depriving him the power of making those calculations 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 writ; 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 justice, 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.

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 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. Takking 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-tried 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.

### CHAPTER XXXVII.

Summary of gains and losses.—Retrospect of different voyages.—Consoling reflection.—Present employment, and hopes for remaining years.

From the preceding narrative 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 north-west coast of America, together with seven thousand dollars belonging to some friends, making the cost of the expedition to the northwest coast, for vessels 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 sale 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.

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 *Telmeco* at Tortola, and the disaster which occurred to the *Aspasia*, is fully detailed.

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 to Hamburg, 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 at Batavia. By my next voyage in the *Beaver*, in the year 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. Lehigh 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 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 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 perform faithfully and in peace, during the few remaining years or months, or days, which may be allotted me on earth.

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