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# MEMORANDUM

## MEMORANDUM

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# NARRATIVE

OF THE

## EXPEDITION

WHICH

SAILED FROM ENGLAND IN 1817,

TO JOIN THE

### *SOUTH AMERICAN PATRIOTS;*

COMPRISING

EVERY PARTICULAR CONNECTED WITH ITS FORMATION, HISTORY,  
AND FATE; WITH OBSERVATIONS AND AUTHENTIC INFORMATION  
ELUCIDATING THE REAL CHARACTER OF THE CONTEST,  
MODE OF WARFARE, STATE OF THE ARMIES, &c.

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BY JAMES HACKETT,

*First Lieutenant of the late Venezuela Artillery Brigade.*

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LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

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1818.



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GENERAL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

## INTRODUCTION.

**I**N submitting the following Narrative to the public attention, I should feel myself liable to the charge of presumption, were not the occurrences to which it refers immediately connected with an enterprise deeply involving the welfare and safety of a large number of my countrymen.

Already enthusiasm, seductive promises, or disappointed hopes, have induced a considerable number to embark for the purpose of attaching their fortunes to that of the South American Independents; and of those a great proportion have either actually perished, or, unable to procure the

means of returning to their native land, are probably at this moment wandering friendless and destitute amongst the West India Islands, dependent upon the bounty of the humane and charitable. A few, indeed, not equally devoid of resources, or to whom sympathy for their sufferings induced some kind-hearted seaman to afford a gratuitous passage, have returned to Europe,—warning examples to those who may at this moment be preparing, under a similar delusion, to engage in the same hopeless speculation.

Of the few thus rescued from impending misery, it was my good fortune to be one; and I now submit the following Narrative to the Public, in the sincere hope, that a knowledge of the circumstances it records, and the hopes and anxiety I and my associates experienced, may preserve others not only from similar disappointments, but even the hazard of encountering sufferings



and afflictions ten-fold greater and more difficult to surmount.

Having thus explained my object in publishing the following Journal, I will proceed shortly to state the motives which prompted me to embark for the Spanish Main, as also the hopes excited, and the positive promises made by the Independent Agents and their partisans in this country, for the purpose of enticing British officers and others into the service of the South American Patriots; and I trust this statement will not be considered irrelevant, as, by comparing it with the ensuing Journal, the Public will be enabled to judge how far these hopes have been realized, and to what extent good faith has been kept with those who, placing implicit confidence in the honourable performance of stipulated engagements, had consented to unite their fortunes to that of the Independent cause.

It would be absurd to suppose that motives of a nature purely disinterested induced individuals to engage in an enterprise so hazardous and remote ; but although my principal reason for accepting a commission in the service of the South American Patriots, was a sanguine hope of promoting that worldly prosperity in a foreign country, which my utmost exertions in my own had failed to procure ; yet no consideration would have prevailed on me to adopt that course, had I conceived it to be one in which a gentleman, a man of honour, and a British subject, could not with consistency engage.

The termination of the late war, and consequent reduction of the British army, compelled me to resign the hopes I had entertained of procuring a commission in the military service of my own country ; and the kind and earnest exertions of my friends having failed to promote my inte-

rests in any other capacity, I was led, in the month of September, 1817, seriously to turn my attention towards the contest in South America, as presenting a fertile field for honourable enterprise. At that time the public feeling was warmly interested in the dispute between the Spanish American Provinces, and the mother country ; and the enthusiasm was so general and strong in favour of the Patriot cause, that, exclusive of numerous individuals daily crossing the Atlantic for the avowed purpose of joining their armies, several experienced British officers were actively engaged in the formation of regiments for the same service, who had received from Don Mendez (the accredited Agent of the Independents, in London) the rank of Colonel, and full authority to grant commissions to such gentlemen as they might consider qualified to hold the subordinate ranks in their respective regiments ; the

officers to whom I have alluded, acting altogether under the authority, sanction, and guarantee, of Don Mendez, and in every respect governed by his directions.

On learning these particulars, and being personally acquainted with several gentlemen who proposed engaging in the same enterprise, I readily accepted the offer of a friend to procure me an introduction to Colonel Gilmore, who had been appointed by Don Mendez to the command of an intended Artillery Brigade; and my wishes were speedily gratified by receiving from the Colonel a nomination to a First-Lieutenancy in his own corps, with his positive assurance and engagement for the faithful performance of the following conditions:—

- 1st. That on arriving in South America I should retain the rank to which he had thus appointed me.
- 2dly. That I should from thence receive the full pay and allowances enjoyed



by officers of similar rank in the British service.

3dly. That the expenses of outfit (with the exception of the passage to the Spanish Main) should be, in the first instance, borne by myself; but,

4thly. That I should, immediately on arriving in South America, receive the sum of two hundred dollars, towards defraying these expenses.

Such were the promises held out to me, in common with the other officers, by Colonel Gilmore, against whom, however, I do not in the most remote degree insinuate the charge of delusion or deceit; for he and the other commanding officers had received from Don Mendez, his guarantee for the faithful performance of the stipulated conditions. It is upon the latter gentleman, therefore, exclusively, that the responsibility must rest, of having excited hopes which he must have known would

never be realized ; of having guaranteed the performance of conditions, the fulfilment whereof he must have been aware was impracticable ; and of having induced those desirous of embarking in this destructive enterprise, to believe that their services would be joyfully and gratefully accepted by the Independent Generals and their Armies ; whilst he, at the same time, could scarcely have been ignorant, that the strongest hostility was manifested by the Patriots to the admission of foreign assistance ; and that the jealousy of the native troops of those few British officers who had been tempted actually to join their armies was so rancorous, as to subject them to the perpetual hazard of assassination.

The preceding observations originate in no hostility to the South American Patriots ; on the contrary, I am at this moment animated with the same warm feelings in their favour, and sincere good wishes for

their success, which induced me to proceed from this country for the purpose of sharing their dangers and fortune; but it will be obvious that the abstract justice of the Independent cause, or probability, if not certainty, of its ultimate triumph, are utterly distinct from the question;—how far it is judicious for British subjects to take an active part in this sanguinary contest? My anxiety is to warn my countrymen of the fallacy of those hopes they have been led to entertain; to explain to them the true character of the enterprise, the estimation in which their services will be held, and the imminent hazard they must inevitably encounter from the jealousy of the natives. Nor should I omit referring to the exterminating and ferocious principle on which the war is carried on; each side being so infuriated against the other by a long train of barbarities and cold-blooded slaughter, as to render it almost necessary

for those who actually engage in the struggle to divest their minds of every feeling of humanity, and prepare themselves to be not only witnesses of, but participators in, acts of the most revolting and indiscriminate brutality.

I will now conclude, referring for a confirmation of the preceding statement, not only to the occurrences narrated in the ensuing Narrative, but likewise to the united testimony of those officers who were either my associates in the expedition to which I was particularly attached, or who, having actually landed on the Spanish Main, have had the good fortune to return in safety to their native country.



**PRELIMINARY**  
***OBSERVATIONS.***

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AS the occurrences detailed in the following pages, relate not exclusively to that particular corps to which I was personally attached, but have likewise frequent reference to various other brigades, raised in England for the same remote service; an account of their respective commanders, strength, equipments, character of service, &c., will not, I trust, be considered superfluous, previous to entering upon the Journal.

Five distinct corps embarked at nearly the same period, for that part of the seat of war in South America, occupied by the Independent General Bolivar.

1st. A Brigade of Artillery under the command of Colonel J. A. Gilmore, consisting of five light six-pounders, and one five-and-half-inch howitzer, ten officers and about eighty non-commissioned officers and men. This corps embarked on board the *Britannia*, a fine ship of about four hundred tons burden, commanded by Captain Sharpe, with a crew of twenty-one able and well-conducted seamen. An immense quantity of every description of military stores had been stowed on board this vessel, comprising arms, ammunition, clothing, waggon, and, in fact, every requisite for enabling the brigade to enter upon active service immediately on arriving at its place of destination.

The uniforms and equipments of the officers were extremely rich, very similar to those of the British Artillery, and provided altogether at the expense of the individuals who had accepted commissions in

this ill-fated expedition. The equipments of the other corps were likewise in every respect extensive and complete, and the uniforms remarkably rich and costly, more especially in the regiment commanded by Colonel Wilson, one of whose officers informed me that his outfit amounted to upwards of two hundred guineas.

2d. A corps of hussars (called the First Venezuelan Hussars) under the command of Colonel Hipplesley, consisting of about thirty officers, and one hundred and sixty non-commissioned officers and men; uniform dark-green faced with red. This corps embarked on board the Emerald, a beautiful ship of about five hundred tons, commanded by Captain Weatherly, with a crew of upwards of thirty men and boys.

3d. A regiment of cavalry (called the Red Hussars) under the command of Colonel Wilson, consisting of about twenty officers,

and one hundred non-commissioned officers and men. Uniform—full-dress, red and gold; undress, blue and gold. This corps proceeded in the *Prince*, a vessel of about four hundred tons burden, commanded by Captain Nightingale.

4th. A rifle corps (named the First Venezuelan Rifle Regiment) commanded by Colonel Campbell, consisting of about thirty-seven officers, and nearly two hundred non-commissioned officers and men. Uniform similar to that of the Rifle Brigade in the British service. This corps embarked on board the *Dowson*, Captain Dormor, a fine ship about the size of the *Britannia*.

5th. A corps of Lancers, under the command of Colonel Skeene, comprising, in officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, about two hundred and twenty men; who embarked on board the unfortunate ship *Indian*, and the whole of whom,

together with the crew, perished miserably at sea, being wrecked on the island of Ushant shortly after their departure from England.

These several corps sailed from England at nearly the same time, with the intention of acting conjointly on arriving in South America, and having previous to their departure appointed the islands of Saint Bartholomew and Saint Thomas, as places of general rendezvous, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of affairs on the Spanish Main, and determining the point at which it would be most judicious the disembarkation should take place.

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the first of the year, the weather was  
very cold, and the wind was  
strong, so that the ship was  
forced to anchor in the bay.

The next day, the wind was  
still strong, and the sea was  
very rough, so that the ship  
was forced to anchor in the bay.  
The third day, the wind was  
still strong, and the sea was  
very rough, so that the ship  
was forced to anchor in the bay.  
The fourth day, the wind was  
still strong, and the sea was  
very rough, so that the ship  
was forced to anchor in the bay.

The fifth day, the wind was  
still strong, and the sea was  
very rough, so that the ship  
was forced to anchor in the bay.





# NARRATIVE,

*&c. &c.*

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THE various preparatory arrangements being completed; the stores, &c., of every description embarked; and the ship ready for sea, peremptory orders were issued for the officers to proceed on board without further delay.

*Dec. 2d, 1817.* I accordingly on this day departed from London for Gravesend, and there embarked on board the *Britannia*, which was in every respect prepared for sailing at an hour's notice. The *Emerald*, destined for the transport of Colonel Hipplesley's corps, lay at anchor about half a mile lower down the river, and was likewise in momentary expectation of receiving orders for finally proceeding for our common destination. All the other vessels, appointed for the conveyance of

the before-mentioned corps to South America, had put to sea a few days previously.

The *Britannia* was a beautiful ship, and appeared to have been fitted up in every respect, with an anxiety for the comfort and ease of her passengers. She was commanded by Captain Thomas Sharpe, who, on several trying occasions, evinced the most perfect knowledge of his hazardous profession. Her freight consisted exclusively of an immense quantity of military stores, the property of a great mercantile firm in London, by whom they had been embarked, partly on speculation, but principally as I was informed, in consequence of a previous understanding with Don Mendez, that the entire cargo would be purchased by the Independents immediately on the *Britannia's* arrival at the main. This property was intrusted to the care of Mr. John Ritchie as supercargo, a gentleman of whom I shall hereafter have occasion to speak in terms of grateful eulogy; and whose conduct throughout the voyage secured the esteem and respect of every individual on board. His anxious exertions

were at all times contributed towards preserving good humour, contentment, and cheerfulness, whilst his generous and feeling heart, ever sympathized with those who suffered under the pressure of disappointment or distress.

A printer, armourer, and several other artificers and mechanics, likewise embarked on board the *Britannia*, for the purpose of exercising their respective arts in the service of the South American Patriots. Some of these individuals had been furnished by Don Mendez with letters of introduction to General Bolivar, and the Independent Government; and the printer was proceeding for the especial purpose of being attached to Bolivar's army, for whose use a most valuable and extensive printing apparatus was sent out in the *Britannia*, by the merchants to whom the cargo belonged, under an assurance of being in like manner immediately purchased on the vessel arriving at her destination. The armourer had on board a very large quantity of fire-arms of various descriptions, for which he anticipated a ready sale on reaching the Spanish main.

These facts are no otherwise important, than as tending further to exemplify the extraordinary delusion at this time practised by the Patriot agents, and the strange misconception which generally existed as to the state of affairs in Spanish America.

There were, besides myself, nine commissioned officers on board, *viz.*, Colonel Gilmore, one captain, one first lieutenant, four second lieutenants, and two surgeons; all of whom appeared in the highest spirits, confidently anticipating an honourable and successful termination to the extraordinary enterprise in which they had embarked. To me the situation was both novel and interesting. I now for the first time found myself cast on the wide and stormy sea of life, on the eve of being far removed from those who were endeared to me by the ties of kindred and friendship. My sphere of action had heretofore been confined within the limits of my native land; for although my natural feelings induced a prejudice in favour of the military profession, until now my inclination in this respect had never been gratified. All these circumstances tended

to produce thoughtfulness, and mental anxiety; nor could I, for a considerable time, shake off the feelings of melancholy with which I was oppressed, by having so recently undergone the distressing ceremony of bidding farewell to friends for whom I entertained the most affectionate esteem, and whose reciprocal regard I felt confident of possessing. The bustle, however, of the surrounding scene; the diffusion of mirth; and the hope which I fondly entertained of being ere long enabled to revisit my native country, gradually dispelled every gloomy sentiment, and qualified me to partake of the general happiness.

The mild and gentlemanly manners of my immediate senior officer, Captain ——, and his anxiety to afford me that advice and information for which his experience so well qualified him, induced me to form the highest opinion of his character and military talent; and the closest subsequent intimacy and friendship fully justified my original prepossession. In all the vicissitudes of fortune to which we were afterwards subjected, our destiny was the same,



our hopes and fears mutual, and our sufferings and privations similar; nor were our fates disunited, until having triumphed over every difficulty, we at length succeeded in effecting, what we had often nearly despaired of ever accomplishing,—a return to our native shores.

*Dec. 3rd.* On the afternoon of this day sailed from Gravesend, and anchored for the night about one mile and a half lower down the river.

*Dec. 4th.* Again weighed anchor, and proceeded as far as Faversham, where we remained for the night, the wind blowing hard from the S. E.

*5th.* Arrived in the Downs about six o'clock in the afternoon, and anchored. Four officers went ashore.

*6th.* The officers who went ashore yesterday returned this morning with the colonel's baggage, preparatory to his embarkation, which took place in the afternoon.

*7th.* Remained at anchor in the Downs, the wind blowing hard and adverse.

*8th.* Weighed anchor about two o'clock



in the afternoon, with the wind from the N. E. and had nearly weathered Beachy Head, when it commenced blowing hard from the S.E., which obliged us to continue beating about during the whole night.

*9th.* Still beating about without making any material way; again in sight of Beachy Head, with the wind fresh from the S. W.

*10th.* During the greater part of this day becalmed within view of the Isle of Wight.

*Dec. 11th.* Made little progress, wind still adverse, and blowing hard from the S. W. by W.

*12th.* Blowing a stiff gale from the S. E. by E.

*13th.* Captain Sharpe on this day seriously contemplated putting into Plymouth, in consequence of the severity of the weather, adverse winds, and the little way we were making in our course.

*14th.* Arrived at Falmouth Harbour about ten o'clock in the morning, after beating about all night close on the Lizard shore, with the wind blowing hard from the S.W.

Went ashore with Colonel Gilmore, and accompanied him to the village of Saint Mawes, where we remained for the night. The most distressing reports were throughout this day confidently circulated of the loss of the Indian, with the whole of Colonel Skeene's brigade.

*15th.* Proceeded with Colonel Gilmore to the rectory of Saint Juste, and viewed with much delight the ancient and beautifully-situated church, built principally in the Saxon style of architecture, and celebrated for its antiquity, and good preservation. Returned on board to dinner.

*Dec. 16th.* Continued at anchor in Falmouth Harbour during this and the following day, in consequence of the unabated severity of the weather, and adverse state of the wind.

*18th.* We were this morning visited by Colonel Campbell, who had arrived a day or two previously, in the Dowson at Fowey Harbour, and from him we received a confirmation of the melancholy loss of the Indian, without the preservation of a single individual. This dreadful intelligence pro-

duced a general gloom, and excited feelings of deep commiseration for the fate of so large a body of our comrades ; but while lamenting the sad catastrophe by which we had been deprived of so many gallant companions, we felt ample cause for mutual congratulation on contemplating our own safety, after the imminent hazard we had so recently encountered of being involved in a similar premature destruction. The Dowson had proceeded upwards of fifty leagues on her voyage in company with the Indian, when the two vessels were separated by the severity of the weather, and the former happily succeeded in reaching a place of safety. Besides the entire of Colonel Skeene's ill-fated corps, Colonel Campbell had to lament the loss of four officers of his brigade, who had unhappily proceeded in the Indian, for want of accommodation on board the Dowson. A large quantity of clothing, and military stores, belonging to Colonel Hipplesley's corps, were likewise lost on this disastrous occasion. During our passage from Gravesend to Falmouth, the weather had

been almost uniformly severe, and the wind in general contrary ; but subsequent to our reaching this harbour, the season became still more tempestuous, and we daily witnessed vessels flying into port for shelter from the fury of the storms, which were at that time so fatally experienced in the Channel.

On the afternoon of the 21st the violence of the gale abated, and the wind having become favourable, every preparation was made for finally proceeding on our voyage. All was now hurry and bustle, in hourly expectation of bidding a long farewell to the happy shores of Britain ; nor could I contemplate without feelings of deep sorrow and regret, the indefinite and perhaps far-distant period to which the joyful day of my return would be protracted. As the moment approached which was destined for our departure, I became more feelingly alive to the recollection of former times ; but aware of the impolicy and weakness of thus yielding to a train of cheerless contemplations, I once more in a few lines bade adieu to some absent friends, and



hastened to join the busy scene of active preparation.

22d. This morning at three o'clock the *Britannia* got under weigh, and finally proceeded on her voyage with a fine breeze from the N. E. On the approach of day we were still within sight of land, but it was rapidly receding from our view, and before noon had ceased to be discernible.

23rd. Spoke the *Tullus Brig* of London, from Pernambuco,—no news—the *Britannia* going from seven to nine and a half knots an hour, with the wind brisk from the N. E.

24th. This morning passed Ushant with a fresh northerly wind. The view of the fatal Point renewed our feelings of sorrow and commiseration for our hapless friends lost on board the *Indian*. We had now entered the Bay of Biscay, so much the terror of *fresh-water sailors*, and indeed its present appearance fully justified its general character, for owing to the recent tempestuous weather, it was in a state of extreme agitation. The *Britannia* rolled excessively, and shipped several heavy seas.

On this, and every day throughout the voyage (except when prevented by unfavourable weather) both officers and men were regularly exercised in the practice of artillery and small arms, in the morning and afternoon, and the proceedings and regulations in general on board were perfectly similar to those adopted in the British transport service.

*25th.* Cleared the Bay of Biscay, making good way in our course, with a brisk easterly wind, at the rate of from eight to ten knots an hour. This being Christmas-day, we endeavoured to make ourselves as happy and comfortable as circumstances would permit; but when I contrasted my present situation with that on previous similar anniversaries, the recollection of past happiness cast a deep shade over every enjoyment.

*26th.* Wind E. and by S.; light breezes; ship going at the rate of from three to seven and a half knots.

*27th.* Proceeding favourably on our voyage. The only novel occurrence this day being the appearance of a large spermaceti



whale, which continued playing about the ship for nearly an hour, sometimes approaching close to the vessel. To the experienced mariner these extraordinary animals are too well known to attract particular attention; but to me the sight, being new, was highly interesting, and I derived much entertainment from observing the awkward gambols of this mighty monarch of the deep.

*28th.* Divine service was this day performed on the quarter-deck, after which Captain Sharpe and Mr. Ritchie dined at our mess. During the night we experienced a heavy gale from the S. E., but throughout the early part of the evening the agitated appearance of the atmosphere, and accumulation of black clouds to windward, had been sufficiently portentous to induce every preparation necessary to meet the approaching storm. The top-gallant sails were accordingly taken in, the ropes all cleared, and the watches told off to their respective quarters. The breeze continued gradually to increase until about twelve o'clock, when it assumed a most serious aspect, and at one

it blew so hard as to render it expedient to call all hands upon deck and get the ship under close-reefed top-sails. From this hour the storm continued to blow with unabated fury until four, when it became more moderate, and gradually died away. As it happened this night to be my mid-watch upon deck, I was afforded an opportunity of witnessing in all its terrific sublimity the violence of the raging elements. The waves broke over the vessel in masses of white foam, which, through the darkness of the night, produced the grandest effect I ever beheld. For security from the fury of these breakers, I was obliged to lodge myself in a small aperture between the mizen-mast and the round-house, as I perceived it would be impossible for me to keep my legs, when even the sailors, notwithstanding the assistance of life-ropes, were washed from side to side of the ship, the motion of which was such at times as to create doubts of her again righting; a good fortune, for which we were probably sometimes indebted to the immense dead weight of ordnance-stores in her hold. Having,

in pursuance of Colonel Gilmore's orders, gone to report to him the situation of the ship, I found him making a precipitate retreat from the state room, dripping wet, the sea having forced itself through the scuttle, and inundated his bed ; and my arrival was opportune to relieve him from the apprehensions excited by this false alarm. Notwithstanding the cessation of the storm, it was found necessary to continue working the pumps for a considerable time ; whilst owing to the heavy swell of the sea, the vessel still laboured exceedingly.

*Dec. 29th.* Blowing fresh, and, in consequence of the wind veering to the N. W., we were obliged to tack during the night. We this day observed that our fore-chains had been drawn during the preceding storm.

*30th.* A fine brisk gale throughout the morning from the N. W. In the afternoon the wind shifted to the N. ; the ship, during the evening and night, going from eight to ten knots.

*31st.* Had a distant view of the island of Madeira, bearing E. and by S. about ten



leagues. It presented a bold and lofty headland, but too undefined to admit of particular description.

*Jan. 1st, 1818.* A brisk breeze from the N. W. A sail hove in sight which gained considerably upon us by ten o'clock, when she made signal to speak us; and we accordingly backed the main sail and waited for her. She proved to be the Three Sisters from Glasgow, eighteen days out, bound to Kingston, Jamaica.

*Jan. 2d.* Light breezes from the W. and by N., making scarcely any way in our course.

*3rd.* Becalmed. Captain Sharpe had the jolly boat lowered, and rowed round to see the trim of the ship, after which I accompanied the Colonel, Captain —, and Lieutenant —, about two hundred yards from the vessel, where we bathed.

*4th.* A gentle breeze sprung up from the N. Going from four to five knots.

*5th.* Caught the trade winds, and made good way during the night.

*6th.* Throughout this day proceeded on our course, going from seven to nine knots,



and during the night from ten to eleven, wind E.—We parted company in the afternoon with an aquatic stranger that had been constant in his attendance during this and the preceding day. Our fellow voyager was a white shark, the largest and most destructive species of this voracious animal; and we were, probably, indebted for the honour of his society to the hope of procuring from on board something to gratify his ravenous appetite. He appeared about twenty feet long, and generally kept within fifty yards of the vessel, sometimes, however, approaching considerably nearer. Every exertion to secure him failed, either in consequence of extreme cunning, which enabled him to discover the hook intended for his destruction; or, which is more probable, owing to his having recently feasted to the full extent of his inclination. There is no animal to which sailors entertain so great an aversion as the shark, and the capture of one of these monsters is uniformly to them a source of the highest exultation. The officers on board were continually firing at him from rifles, whenever



he presented his head above water ; but, although the balls must frequently have struck him, it appeared evident they produced but little effect. We calculated that this shark accompanied us for nearly 400 miles, and frequently reminded us of our imprudence in openly bathing in the midst of the Atlantic.

*7th.* Spoke the Dauntless. During the remainder of our voyage no event of any importance occurred ; an account of the proceedings of each day would, therefore, be little more than a transcript of those of the preceding.

On crossing the Tropic the ceremonies, uniformly adhered to on similar occasions, were performed with more than ordinary burlesque solemnity, and without the slightest deviation from good humour and harmony. The general nature of this maritime frolic is well known ; but a description of the manner in which it was celebrated upon the present occasion will be perhaps excusable, as serving to vary the monotonous character of a sea journal. Had our course been so far to the south this whimsi-

cal custom would have been delayed until our arrival on the Line; but when a ship's destination renders her crossing the Equator unnecessary, the ceremonies are performed immediately on entering the Torrid Zone.

The night preceding this festive day amongst the sailors, a hollow voice was heard from the bows of the vessel, proclaiming in a loud and menacing tone the arrival of a deputation from Neptune; announcing his aquatic majesty's intention of coming on board the following day at twelve o'clock, with his entire suite, for the purpose of levying contributions and exercising his jurisdiction over those who had now, for the first time, visited the seat of his dominions.

Having performed his mission, the ambassador retired; and in order to produce the semblance of his recession from the vessel in his car, a large tarred hogshead had been imperceptibly set fire to, and lowered into the sea, where its flaming appearance, as it occasionally rose upon the

bosom of the waves, had a very curious and pleasing effect.

At the appointed hour on the ensuing day the king of ocean's approach was announced by a flourish of trumpets, and immediately after, upon drawing aside a sail curtain which screened the fore-castle, the procession advanced in grand state, preceded by martial music ; Neptune, and the fair partner of his watery throne, being seated in due form upon a gun-carriage surrounded by a numerous train of Nereides. The mighty ruler of the waves was represented by the seaman considered best qualified to give proper dignity and spirit to the character ; whilst Amphitrite was most delicately personated by another jack tar, attired with all the grace and elegance that oakum and sailcloth could bestow. The preliminary formalities, &c., being terminated, a considerable number who had not acceded to the monarch's tributary demands, or whose proffered forfeitures had been rejected, experienced the luxury of a tropical shaving ; but this part of the ceremony

is too well-known to require particular explanation. The remainder of the day was spent by the seamen with the utmost mirth and jollity.

The officers and men were as usual every morning and evening practised in military exercise, and had become very expert in the management of both artillery and small arms. The weather likewise from this date continued mild and favourable; and, on the 22d, we were enabled mutually to congratulate each other upon the appearance of land, which had been for some time the object of anxious expectation. It proved to be the island of Barbuda, bearing south, distant about five leagues.

Captain Sharpe considered himself fortunate in having made this land during daylight; Barbuda being regarded as one of the most dangerous islands in the West Indies, in consequence of its extreme flatness, and the numerous shoals by which it is surrounded.

24th. On the forenoon of this day we sailed into the harbour of Gustavia, in St. Bartholomew's, where we found (only a



few hours arrived) the ship Prince, with Colonel Wilson's corps on board, and the Emerald, with Colonel Hipplesley's regiment, which latter vessel had been in port nearly a week. They gave us three hearty cheers on entering, which we returned with equal cordiality.

St. Bartholomew's belongs to the Swedes, to whom it was restored on the general termination of hostilities in 1814, being the only island they possess in the western world; and is so small and sterile, that their acquisition appears to be one of very little real value. The produce is confined to a small quantity of cotton, by the sale of which the poor in the interior principally subsist. Sour-sops\*, prickly pears, and some other wild fruits, grow here spon-

\* The sour-sop (*annona muricata*) grows to about five-and-twenty feet high, and the fruit generally to the size of a moderate melon, but is of an elongated or oval form, rough on the outside, and of a green colour. It consists of a white and pulpy substance, possessing a sour-sweet taste. As this fruit will not keep more than a day or two after being gathered, it is never conveyed to England; but its use is strongly recommended to Europeans on



taneously, as also a few tamarind trees, and the poisonous manchineel in great abundance.

This island may be considered a place of general rendezvous for smugglers of every description. The flags of all nations (but more especially of America) are to be seen flying in the harbour of Gustavia, and the resident merchants, I understand, derive a very large proportion of their emoluments from their intercourse with those engaged in contraband traffic.

The Swedes received us with the greatest kindness and hospitality; and the Governor, Colonel Rosensvard, to whose affability and attention we were highly indebted, a few days after our arrival invited the senior officers of each rank to a grand fête, given at Government-house, in honour of the birth-day of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden. By Colonel R.'s desire we attended in the uniforms of our particular regiments, and were

their first arrival in the West Indies, being particularly cooling, and by many also considered of an antifebrile nature.

received with every mark of distinction and respect; the band striking up our grand national anthem of "God save the King" as we entered the saloon.

After passing through the accustomed ceremonies of presentation to his Excellency, &c., we commenced dancing, which continued until a late hour, when a very elegant supper was displayed, composed of the richest and most delicate produce of the West Indies. Immediately after supper the health of the Crown Prince was drank, I am confident, with unfeigned sentiments of devotion and attachment. The next toasts given, were the King of England and Royal Family; which compliment was handsomely acknowledged by Colonel Wilson, who in return proposed the memory of Charles the Twelfth, the recollection of whom is peculiarly flattering to the vanity of a Swede. Throughout the night large vases of sangree, and other cooling refreshments, were continually borne about by slaves, who appeared to vie with each other in attention and respect to the English; doubtless originating

in feelings of gratitude for the strenuous and unremitting exertions, made by the friends of humanity in Great Britain, for their emancipation and comfort. During our stay at Saint Bartholomew's, which was nearly five weeks, we experienced many similar instances of public favour and attention, with the strongest proofs of hospitality and kindness, from numerous private individuals on the island\*.

Early in the morning of the day following our arrival at Saint Bartholomew's, a ship hove in sight, beating up for the island; and about ten o'clock had approached close to the harbour, but seemed particularly

\* For the kindness and attention experienced on our arrival at Saint Bartholomew's, we were probably in a considerable degree indebted to a very general belief, on the part of the inhabitants, that we were proceeding to the Main, with the approbation and consent of the British Government. How this idea originated, or by whom insinuated, I cannot pretend to say; it is understood, however, that some of the parties who are at present so actively engaged in England, promoting new South American expeditions, encourage the promulgation of a similar belief, for the purpose of giving greater importance and effect to their operations.

cautious of entering ; intimidated, as we afterwards learned, by the formidable appearance of the English vessels. She, however, shortly after ventured in under Spanish royalist colours, and came to anchor within about a cable's length of the *Britannia*. This vessel was in the most perfect repair, and upwards of three hundred tons burthen. Her flag naturally excited considerable curiosity to learn the object of her visit ; and our anxiety in this respect was speedily gratified by discovering that she was a prize to an Independent privateer brig under the command of Commodore Parker, who put a few men on board with orders to bring her to Amelia island : the Prize-master however thought proper to vary his instructions, and ran her into Gustavia, where he immediately disposed of the cargo, and converted the proceeds to his own private use ; and his anxiety to disburthen himself of his charge was such, that he gladly accepted whatever terms were offered ; and sugar, Havannah segars, &c., were to be had from this trust-worthy gentleman for little more than thanks.



This vessel afterwards sailed in company with the Emerald for Grenada, but was, I understood, scuttled in the Caribbean sea, with her anchors, cables, &c., and upwards of twenty thousand dollars' worth of logwood on board.

We had now been upwards of three weeks at St. Bartholomew's, without receiving any intelligence from the Main, on the veracity of which we could place the slightest reliance.

This dearth of information, and the uncertainty of our future destination, were rapidly exciting feelings of doubt and uneasiness; whilst the reports in circulation relative to the progress of affairs in South America, and general situation of the Patriot cause, were ill calculated to allay the anxiety so universally experienced. In this state of incertitude and deficiency of news, it was at length considered advisable that Colonel Wilson and one of our officers should proceed (disguised as fishermen) in a schooner to Margaritta, and from thence up the Oroonoco to Bolivar's head-quarters at Angostura, for the purpose of apprizing



him of our arrival in the West Indies, and of likewise ascertaining the actual state of affairs upon the Main. Colonel Wilson, immediately after performing the object of his mission, was to return to Saint Bartholomew's, where our ulterior proceedings were to be finally arranged. This scheme, however, was unfortunately found impracticable, in consequence of the impossibility of procuring boatmen sufficiently daring to risk their lives in so dangerous an enterprise.

The extreme difficulty and hazard attendant on any attempt to communicate with the Continent, was this day further evinced, by an account received at the island of the indiscriminate massacre of the entire crew of a vessel which had been captured by a royalist brig. The unfortunate ship had, it appears, been concerned in mercantile intercourse with the Independents, whom they had supplied with a quantity of provisions in exchange for a cargo of mules then on board. She was proceeding from the Main to Trinidad, when she fell in with the Spanish cruizer; and, on inspection of

her papers, the nature of the traffic in which she had been engaged being unhappily discovered, the sanguinary captain of the royalist brig considered the offence of sufficient magnitude to justify the above barbarous proceeding.

To devise some other mode of effecting this important communication, now became the primary object of consideration; but, after much anxious consultation and debate, it was not found possible to discover any channel through which an intercourse could be opened with the Independent Government:

The general feeling of dissatisfaction and uneasiness now became more manifest; and we began seriously to apprehend, that the ideas we had been originally induced to entertain of the nature of our enterprise, were founded upon false or visionary representations of the actual state of affairs in South America.

Every information we could obtain, either from the inhabitants of Saint Bartholomew's, or individuals who had recently arrived from the Main, was of the most dishearten-

ing description ; all concurring in portraying the state of the Continent in terms directly contrary to the representations made to us previous to our departure from England : and these statements were doubly dispiriting, inasmuch as they proceeded from persons who were avowedly the friends and well-wishers of the Independent cause ; by one and all of whom we were advised in the strongest manner to relinquish the idea of personally engaging in the conflict.

Our situation, in itself sufficiently distressing, was rendered still more critical by the spirit of dissension and jealousy which now subsisted amongst the officers commanding the different corps, who had become so perfectly disunited as scarcely to observe towards each other the common forms of personal recognition. This want of harmony among the superior officers destroyed all exertions for the general cause ; and the Colonels, instead of evincing a solicitude to forward the views and realize, as far as lay in their power, the expectations they had excited in the minds of their followers, appeared to be influenced solely by an

anxiety for personal precedency. The spirit of jealousy and disunion soon extended amongst the officers in general; private pique and quarrelling were the results, more particularly on board the Prince and Emerald. Colonel Hipplesley, on his arrival in the West Indies, assumed the rank of Brigadier-general, and had, during the passage, caused every individual, under his command, to take an oath of allegiance to the Independent Government. This usurpation of rank was ill calculated to restore amity or concord; and the general spirit of dissension still continuing, the Governor manifested his displeasure by withdrawing his former attention, and even prohibited several of Colonel Wilson's officers from again proceeding on shore; actually posting sentries upon the beach, for the purpose of enforcing due obedience to his commands.

The Colonels now became desirous of proceeding to the Continent at all hazards, without permitting any further time to elapse for the arrival of information from the seat of hostilities. To this proposal, however, the Supercargoes of the different ships



positively refused acquiescence. They were very properly tenacious of the property intrusted to their care, and would not on any account, hear of departing for the Main, without being first perfectly convinced that the finances of the Patriots were in such a state as to enable them to pay, either in money or produce, for the military stores embarked on board their respective vessels. In order to obtain, if possible, satisfactory information on this particular point, as also to learn how far the various unfavourable rumours, so confidently circulated, were or were not well founded, our Supercargo determined on proceeding to Saint Thomas's, for the purpose of having a personal communication with Mr. Molony, an Agent of the Independents, resident at that island. Mr. Ritchie accordingly, at considerable expense, engaged a sloop, and sailed on the 4th or 5th of February. The period which elapsed between Mr. R.'s departure for, and return from, Saint Thomas's, was, as may be well conceived, one of anxious suspense; the fate of the expedition proba-



bly depending upon the nature of the information he might procure—his return was therefore awaited with the greatest impatience.

As this event, however, could not be reasonably expected to take place before the expiration of ten days or a fortnight, leave of absence was readily granted to any of the officers desirous of obtaining it, and, amongst others, I availed myself of this indulgence, and gratified my curiosity by visiting the neighbouring island of Saint Martin's, bearing W. S. W. of Saint Bartholomew's, and distant about thirteen miles. Having procured the necessary passport, I proceeded in an open boat, accompanied by my constant associate Captain —, and Lieut. Y—\*, of Colonel Hipplesley's corps. When about mid-way, between the two islands, the rapidity of the current, with a contrary wind and heavy sea, compelled us to abandon our course to Marygott, and drift down

\* This officer, having proceeded to Angustura, died shortly after his arrival.

to leeward of the island. Evening was now fast approaching, and with it every appearance of tempestuous weather; we however, arrived safe in Great Bay about seven o'clock, in the midst of a heavy gale, with our boat half full of water, and thoroughly drenched by torrents of rain, and the high spray which had been continually dashing over us.

Saint Martin's is in the joint possession of the French and Dutch; and Great Bay, where we had now landed, is the principal town in that quarter of the island belonging to the latter nation. It presented a dreary and comfortless appearance, being, with the exception of a few respectable planters' houses, the most wretched place imaginable. Numbers of poor half-naked negroes surrounded us on the beach, proffering their assistance for conveying our portmanteaus from the boat. On entering the town our first anxiety was to discover an inn, where we could procure refreshment, and change our wet clothes (which are considered more productive of fever than even the natural malignity of the West

India climate); but to our great disappointment, we were informed there was no place of that description in the town. In this unpleasant situation we began to despair of even procuring a lodging for the night, when Lieut. Y—— fortunately recollected having been, on a former occasion, introduced to Doctor de Briton, the resident physician at Great Bay, to whose house he conducted us as an only resource. The Doctor was from home, but our friend's easy manner, and good address, soon secured to us every comfort we could desire. Next morning we were so fortunate as to meet with Mr. Cuthbert, the principal planter in the town, and uncle to our supercargo, Mr. Ritchie. Having spent the remainder of the day with this gentleman, we in the afternoon set out for Marygott, accompanied by Mr. Cromoni, proprietor of the lottery estate, who kindly insisted on our remaining at his house during our stay on the island.

I had now the opportunity afforded me of witnessing the richest production of an highly-cultivated West India estate, at the

period of the year most interesting in this climate. The appearance of the sugarcane was extremely beautiful, exhibiting in different fields its progress through the various stages of vegetation; nor was I less gratified on observing the mode of extracting the juice, and reducing it to the state of crystallization, in which it is seen in Europe: but the process is so familiarly known as to render a minute description altogether superfluous. The situation of Mr. Cromoni's estate was truly picturesque; and slavery, so abhorrent to nature and humanity, appeared here to possess but a nominal existence. The general aspect of the negroes sufficiently evinced their happiness and comfort, and how anxious their kind master was to lighten the weight of their chains: nor were the slaves ungrateful for the humane treatment they thus experienced; on the contrary, manifesting in every act and proceeding the warmest, and, I am confident, most unfeigned attachment for their generous proprietor. The sincerity of their regard was indeed unequivocally proved, by the joy

with which these poor creatures hailed their master's return, after an absence from the estate of only two or three days: the negroes on our approach running towards Mr. C. from various directions, and, thronging round his horse, rivalled each other in expressing the warmth of their congratulations; whilst their master no less gratified with these interesting demonstrations of regard, encouraged their familiarity by the affability and kindness of his demeanour.

But similar principles of humanity and feeling, I fear, rarely influence the conduct of West India planters; the great proportion of whom, so far as I could observe, treated their negroes in the most unfeeling manner, seeming very little solicitous for either their happiness or welfare—the appearance of these people in general betrayed the wretchedness of their situation, and the cruelty of their treatment.

The state of this unhappy and degraded race excites in the humane mind the most painful sensations; and however powerful some individuals in England may consider



arguments drawn from expediency and self-interest, a visit to the West Indies would probably induce the greater proportion of even the warmest advocates of the slave trade, to retract their sentiments, and unite in detestation of this barbarous and unnatural traffic.

The negroes in this island, and the West Indies in general, principally subsist on fish, of which the surrounding seas possess a most astonishing quantity and variety. In this latter respect, however, selection is absolutely necessary, as a great proportion is unwholesome, and many species even poisonous in their nature. The natives from experience are generally enabled to separate the fish fit for use, from that of a deleterious quality; and, accordingly, on drawing up their nets, select those of the former description, and restore the others to their liberty. But, whenever they secure fish with which they are unacquainted they bring them ashore, and decide upon their future estimation by exposing them to the ants, upon (as I am assured) a well-grounded conviction, that these insects will

abstain from feeding upon any of a poisonous property. I have, likewise, frequently seen them determine on the quality of doubtful fish, by placing a silver spoon in the body, and leaving it there during the process of boiling; under an idea that in the event of the fish being of a dangerous kind, the metal will assume a dark tinge. How far this experiment is to be depended on, I cannot form any opinion; it is, however, generally considered effectual. Nothing can be imagined more beautiful than the colours of the West Indian fish; surpassing in brilliancy even the most gaudy of the feathered tribe.

Mr. Cromoni's estate is bounded on the South by a very lofty hill, called the Paradise, from whose summit issues a small stream, which flowing down the side, falls at the base into a deep and rocky ravine, where the rivulet forms a cool and refreshing bath, completely overshadowed by orange, banana, and chaddock trees, at this time in heavy bearing. Here Mr. Cromoni frequently retires to shelter himself from the overpowering effects of the noon-day sun,

and remains for hours together in the water smoking segars, an enjoyment which, however apparently indolent or luxurious, will in a West Indian, be acknowledged perfectly excusable, when we consider how difficult it is in this unhealthy climate to preserve a vigorous constitution, and prevent that lassitude of body almost invariably experienced. As Mr. Cromoni's horses were at all times at our service, we were enabled to visit the greater part of the island, which appeared in general highly cultivated, and the scenery in many places rich and beautiful.

The morning after our arrival at Marygott, we, according to custom, waited on Colonel Elliot, the French governor, by whom we were received in the handsomest manner, and the whole party invited to dine with him on the following day. Colonel Elliot's appearance and manners were in every respect those of a highly-accomplished gentleman and officer; and he had, as I understood, followed the fortunes of Buonaparte throughout the greater part of his extraordinary career.

During our visit at Saint Martin's, Mr. Cromoni introduced us to his father, one of the most extensive and respectable merchants in the West Indies. This gentleman, whose high character and unquestionable veracity are entitled to the most unqualified confidence and respect, related to us the following extraordinary account; at the same time assuring us, that during a long residence in the northern parts of the South American Continent, he had himself been, on many occasions, an eyewitness of the fact.

The city of Cartagena is, at certain periods of the year, particularly celebrated for its extensive fairs for the sale of various descriptions of foreign merchandise, and other goods no less valuable to the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. For some days previous to these periodical meetings, immense bodies of Indians, regularly assemble at particular points, on the banks of the river Choco, well-known for the treasure embosomed in its deep and rapid stream. Here these amphibious mortals plunge into a depth of not less than

from ten to fifteen fathoms, and rising at some hundred feet distant from their place of descent, bring up with them from the river's bed a quantity of gravel or sand, from which they afterwards separate small particles of gold, generally about the size of pins' heads. Having by repeated trials thus provided themselves with what they consider a sufficient quantity for their present purposes, they proceed in numerous parties for the city of Cartagena, nearly four hundred miles distant, where they barter it in the most thrifty and parsimonious manner, for such articles as they may be desirous of procuring ; and, which is most extraordinary, should they, after effecting all their purchases, still retain any gold in their possession they faithfully carry back the overplus, and deposit it in its original place of security, the bottom of the river ; ascribing as the motive for this strange proceeding their dread of the Spaniards, to whose cruelty and insatiable thirst for wealth so many of their countrymen had already fallen victims. Mr. C. further assured me, that numbers of the Spaniards have perished in



attempting to procure riches in the same extraordinary manner.

We had now been nearly a week at Marygott, when a letter from Great Bay announced to us the arrival there of Mr. Ritchie, on his return from Saint Thomas's. This information compelled us immediately to prepare for our departure, and with feelings of much regret we took leave of our hospitable friend, and having shortly after joined Mr. R——, returned with him to Saint Bartholomew's.

The result of our Supercargo's communication with Mr. Molony was in every respect unfavourable, and too fully corroborated the inauspicious reports in general circulation. The intelligence thus procured by Mr. R. was to the following effect, on the correctness whereof Mr. M. not only assured him he might place the most implicit reliance, but even furnished him at his desire, with certificates to the same purport, for the satisfaction of the officers commanding the different corps. Mr. M. stated, that so great was the poverty of the Independents, as to render it utterly im-

possible for them at this time to collect, in money and produce, a sum exceeding twenty thousand pounds; and on our Super-cargo informing him that the value of the stores, &c., onboard the Britannia alone, was estimated at about thirty-five thousand pounds, Mr. M. observed that no provision whatever had been made for the purchase of those supplies, and that the Independents were altogether unable to meet the engagement entered into by Don Mendez in London; adding, that he (Don M.) must have far exceeded the authority and powers with which he had been invested.

Mr. Ritchie now considered it incompatible with his duty, after the undoubted information he had received, to hazard the property intrusted to his care; but proposed, in fulfilment of the charter-party, to provide a conveyance for the officers and men, *without the guns or stores*, and send them forward to the Main. This proposal, although the only alternative left to Mr. R——, could not otherwise than excite feelings of the strongest dissatisfaction and surprise. It was totally inconsistent with

the engagements which had been made with us, and received our unanimous dissent. We could not accede to a measure which would, on landing, leave us in a state of the utmost helplessness; equally destitute of the means of subsistence, or defence against the depredations and barbarities of the natives in general, and at the distance probably of many hundred miles from the Independent army:

The state of our affairs had now become still more critical and alarming, as we knew not how soon we might be compelled to depart from the ship, and, of course, thrown upon the island, dependent upon our own individual resources for subsistence; it having been frequently intimated to us that our rations on board could not be much longer continued.

Such was our situation when the occurrence of the following circumstance so irritated and displeased the Governor that he commanded us to leave the island before the expiration of the ensuing week. In relating the particulars of this event it will be necessary to refer back to the day but

one previous to our return from Saint Martin's:—On the forenoon of this day, a Spanish polacre, laden with wine, brandy, oil, and, as was also understood, some specie, bound from Cadiz to the Havannah, put into Marygott bay, and there anchored. Almost immediately after our arrival at Saint Bartholomew's, we were alarmed by the discharge of a gun in the town, and repaired to the place from whence the report proceeded; when, to our great astonishment, we found the entire garrison under arms, the Governor and fort-major with the troops, and the town in a perfect uproar. A small schooner, full of men, in the middle of the harbour, appeared the general object of curiosity and inquiry; and an armed boat, which had been despatched by the Governor for the purpose of bringing those persons ashore, was soon after seen returning; and, with astonishment and regret, we beheld Colonel W——, with a number of his officers and some other individuals, conveyed on shore as prisoners, all armed, and disguised under large cloaks. It appeared that they were on the point of proceeding



to Marygott bay, for the purpose of cutting out the Spanish polacre, whose arrival at that place has been already mentioned; but the Governor, having through some channel received information of their daring project, frustrated the design, and apprehended the party. The polacre, indeed, was otherwise secure from the attack, having sailed from Marygott early in the forenoon. The prize-master who came into Gustavia the day after our arrival, was likewise a conspicuous character in this enterprize. Colonel W—— and his party were shortly after restored to liberty; but notice was transmitted to Colonel Elliot, stating the particulars of the late intended attack, and warning him against similar attempts. I was subsequently informed that the French admiral, on being made acquainted with the circumstance, proceeded to Saint Bartholomew's in search of Colonel W——, who had, fortunately for him, left that island for Grenada.

A few days prior to our return from Marygott, the ship Emerald sailed for Grenada from St. Bartholomew's, leaving be-



hind four of Colonel Hipplesley's officers, who had resigned their commissions in consequence of some irregular promotions in that corps. The time was also fast approaching for our departure, in obedience to the peremptory orders recently issued by the Governor, when the arrival of the ship Dowson with Colonel Campbell's rifle regiment on board, in some little degree exhilarated our spirits; and it was determined, after much consultation, that the three ships (the Britannia, Prince, and Dowson), should together proceed to the island of Grenada, in order, if possible, to receive more direct intelligence from the Oroonoco, and endeavour to strike out some plan of future operations. In conformity with this resolution, the three vessels sailed from Saint Bartholomew's, on Saturday the 21st of February, and arrived at Grenada on the Friday following.

Our anxiety for news was too ardent to admit of delay. Mr. Ritchie, Colonel Gilmore, and some other officers, therefore, immediately waited on Mr. Guthrie, the Independent agent resident at this island,

whose accounts in every particular coincided with those which had been before received from Mr. Molony, and in other respects represented the general situation of the patriot armies in terms so unfavourable and disheartening, as not only to confirm Mr. R. in his determination against proceeding with the stores to the main; but likewise placed Colonel Gilmore in a situation so irrecoverably desperate, as to leave him (as he considered) no other resource than that of altogether disbanding the brigade; which measure, so distressing and ruinous to our hopes, he put in execution on the following day. Our condition now may be readily conceived: deprived of the support of our Colonel; destitute of resources or friends; and unable to devise any means of extrication from our difficulties, we saw ourselves threatened with all the horrors of privation and want. Of the men composing our late brigade, some joined the other ships; others enlisted in the Queen's regiment (at this time garrisoned in Grenada); whilst a few determined on endeavouring to work their passage to the United States.

The various artificers were put ashore at the same period. The printer, having been permitted to carry with him a portion of the types and printing apparatus, fortunately procured a situation in the newspaper-office. The armourer afterwards returned to Saint Bartholomew's, with the intention of proceeding to New Orleans. The fate of the remainder I never learned, but fear their distresses must have been great, as they appeared totally destitute of money, and were consequently dependent for subsistence on the manual exercise of their respective arts.

Some of the officers succeeded in providing for themselves, either through their own resources or pecuniary aid from friends; the remainder, including Captain ——— and myself, were still permitted to continue on board the *Britannia*.

At this eventful period, Colonel Gilmore intimated his determination of returning to England, first pledging himself to render the remaining officers, in their now distressing situation, whatever temporary assistance his influence or interest could pro-

cure for them in Grenada ; which promise, however, from inability or some other cause, he altogether failed of performing.

It was now absolutely necessary we should adopt some decisive course of proceeding ; and Captain —— coincided with me in opinion (notwithstanding the desperate nature of the service), that there remained no alternative but that of attaching ourselves to some of the other corps, which, although daily declining in strength, and much disorganized, had not as yet been actually disembodied. This resolution we had scarcely formed, when the arrival of several officers, recently in the patriot service, and who had just then succeeded in effecting their return, gave us such information of the state of affairs on the Spanish main, as clearly proved the madness of our previous decision, and convinced us that it would be preferable to risk every vicissitude of fortune, rather than personally engage in a contest, not only far more hazardous, and accompanied by infinitely greater hardships and privations, than an ordinary state of hostilities, but

likewise conducted by both parties, on principles at variance with every feeling of honour and humanity; whilst the extreme difficulty attendant on a departure from the patriot service of those who once actually join their standard, renders every attempt at return so nearly impracticable as to place foreigners, thus circumstanced, almost in a state of slavery. Exclusive, however, of the obstructions to return, originating in the peculiar local circumstances of the country, and the hazard which must unavoidably be encountered in traversing the interior, the Independents, for reasons sufficiently obvious, are particularly cautious of permitting individuals to withdraw from their armies.

The information received from the officers to whom I have just referred, was to the following purport: 'They assured us, that in consequence of the extended duration of the war, and exterminating principle upon which it had been conducted, the country in general displayed one uniform scene of devastation and wretchedness. That the patriot forces were reduced to a state of



the greatest poverty, totally devoid of discipline, and not one-fourth provided with proper military arms, the remainder being compelled to resort to bludgeons, knives, and such other weapons as they found most readily procurable.

In clothing they were still more destitute and deficient, in most instances merely consisting of fragments of coarse cloth wrapt round their bodies, and pieces of the raw buffalo hide laced over their feet as a substitute for shoes, which when hardened by the sun's heat, they again render pliant by immersion in the first stream at which they chance to arrive.

A blanket, with a hole cut in the middle, let over the head, and tightened round the body by a buffalo thong, has been frequently the dress of the officers; and one of them who witnessed the fact, assured me, that such was actually the *uniform* of a British colonel (R——) who was at that time in the Independent service. Whilst these gentlemen thus described the patriot habiliments, they commented in the strongest language on the impolicy and imprudence

of proceeding to serve in conjunction with an army barefooted and in rags, provided with such splendid uniforms as we had been obliged to procure; and ridiculed the strange contrast which our dresses and those of the Patriots would exhibit in the field; observing, that such clothes would be alone sufficient to excite the jealousy of the natives, to whose eagerness for their possession, we would almost inevitably become a sacrifice\*.

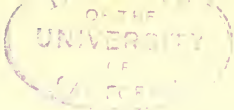
The Independent armies march in hordes, without order or discipline; their baggage consisting of little more than the scanty

\* There is serious reason to apprehend that the truth of this observation has been recently but too fatally exemplified on the banks of the Oroonoco, in the massacre of several British officers, who were proceeding to join the Independent armies. As, however, this melancholy event has not received perfect confirmation, I shall merely observe, that the occurrence was fully credited at St. Kitt's, previous to my departure from that island; and I have, since my return, heard from officers more recently arrived that it was universally reported that our unfortunate countrymen had been assassinated by a party of the Patriots themselves, for the purpose of gaining possession of their baggage.

covering on their backs. They are totally destitute of tents, and in their encampments observe neither regularity nor system. The commanding officers are generally mounted, and likewise such of the others as are able to provide themselves with horses or mules, the latter of which are in great plenty. The exterminating principle upon which the war is carried on between the contending parties, render their campaigns bloody and destructive; desolation marks the progress of those hostile bands, to whose inveterate enmities the innocent and unoffending inhabitants are equally the victims, with those actually opposed to them in military strife. In action the Independents display much bravery and determination, and frequently prove successful, notwithstanding their want of discipline, deficiency of arms, and disorderly manner of attack and defence. Unhappily the work of death terminates not with the battle, for on whatsoever side victory rests, the events which immediately succeed those sanguinary struggles are such as must cast an indelible stain upon the Spanish American Revolution.

The engagement is scarcely ended, when an indiscriminate massacre of the prisoners takes place ; nor is the slaughter only confined to the captives, the field also undergoes an inspection, when the helpless wounded are in like manner put to the sword.

The following instance of vindictive cruelty on the royalist side, was related to me by an officer who was present in the engagement in which the transaction originated. In this action, a young French officer, in the service of the Independents, had his arm severed from his shoulder by a sabre cut, and being unable to sustain himself from loss of blood, he sunk to the ground. His distinguished bravery had however previously been observed by his companions, who succeeded in bearing him off the field, from whence they conveyed him into the woods, and sheltered him in a negro hut ; where having applied such balsams as could be procured, they departed. The armies retired to other parts of the country, and the officer was fast recovering from the effects of his wound, when Gene-



ral Morillo, advancing upon the same route, discovered his retreat, and had him instantly put to death.

Such was the barbarous system pursued by the belligerent parties ; although I must in justice observe, that I have always understood the exercise of these cruelties originated with the Royalists, and were subsequently resorted to by the Independents on principles of retaliation. Hence the system became reciprocal ; passed into a general law, and has now, it is to be feared, become unalterable.

The sufferings which the Independents undergo during their campaigns, from the difficulty of procuring food, are most severe ; mules' flesh, wild fruits, and some dried corn, which they carry loose in their pockets, frequently constituting the whole of their subsistence : and we were confidently assured, that the army, under General Bolivar has even often been for days together dependent for support, solely upon the latter description of provisions and water. Pay was now totally unknown to them, in consequence of the utter exhaus-



tion of their resources ; and, however successful they might eventually be, there existed no probability whatever, that they would even then possess the means of affording pecuniary compensation to those who may have participated in the struggle.

As confirmatory of the foregoing information, I shall refer the reader to an extract of a letter from Trinidad, written by a most intelligent officer, with whom I am intimately acquainted, and addressed to our particular friend in London, some time previous to my return from the West Indies. This gentleman proceeded from England under the auspices of Don Mendez, on board the *Gladwin*, about two months prior to my departure to join the patriot standard in South America. No man left this country for that purpose possessing greater spirit, and few more scientific military talent ; with a mind more enthusiastic in favour of the cause, or a firmer determination of meeting and encountering every attendant difficulty and hazard. Yet notwithstanding this ardent prepossession, he was so forcibly struck on his arrival at Marga-

ritta, with the barbarous and inhuman proceedings of the contending parties, the lawless and despotic characters of the patriot chiefs, and the state of indescribable misery and desolation to which that island had been reduced, that he turned in disgust from the enterprise, and proceeded to Trinidad ; trusting to his natural abilities, and the kindness of the inhabitants for support, rather than become an accomplice in acts so repugnant to every feeling of honourable warfare.

*Trinidad, Dec. 18th, 1817.* “ On our arrival at Margaritta, we were struck with the desolate appearance of the place, which is wretched and barren beyond description, the earth totally parched, not having any rain for the last eight months. The Royalists had been there about a month previous to our arrival, and had destroyed every thing in their progress through the island. There was not a single house with an entire roof, and but two or three with bare walls, the rest had been totally destroyed, together with every human being they discovered. Women and infants, all

shared the same indiscriminate fate; and many by the severest tortures. The priests were cut to pieces at the altars, to which they had fled for protection, and the churches stripped of every thing valuable. The convents were in like manner destroyed, and such of the nuns as were reserved from slaughter, were carried away with them as victims of their brutality. In several places the remains of carnage were distinguishable by the bleached bones of the sufferers. Some few miserable wretches who had by a timely flight to the mountains escaped slaughter, were observed nearly starved, and half naked, sitting amongst the ruins of their former houses. In every occurrence a total want of system in the leaders was evident; each merely made the cause a pretext or cloak for his own private views: there are no laws or regulations to bind them, or even to control their inclinations, each possessing absolute, arbitrary power, without a sentiment of honour, justice, or humanity. An instance of this was related to me by a black ruffian, who is the interpreter to

General Arismendi :—he said, that a few days before we arrived, the general sent for one of the Royalists who had been taken prisoner, and amused himself by thrusting his sword into various parts of his body ; the black, who longed to have his share of blood, at length lopped off the poor fellow's head, and appeared to take the most savage pleasure in reflecting on the jump which the headless carcass gave before it fell to the ground.

“ The ship, called the Two Friends, arrived about three weeks previous to us, on the same unlucky errand. She left England with about 100 passengers, all except thirty quitted her at Saint Thomas's ; these thirty were in the most miserable condition, having been under the necessity of selling their clothes and every valuable to procure food, being only allowed a bite each per day, (about five pence), which would not purchase three ounces of bad bread. Meat is totally out of the question, there not being any cattle whatever on the island ; their fish is, however, tolerably good but extremely dear.

“ I dined several times with the General,

(he is second in command to Bolivar;) there were usually several of the chief officers at table. The dinner always consisted of bread, fish, and execrable rum and water, (there was not a bottle of wine in the island). The table was set out under a shed at the back of the remains of a house; they never in general are able to muster a plate between two; if not, a saucer or earthen pan answers the purpose. We were at no loss for knives and forks as they generally make use of their fingers in preference. The General appeared to be a bold determined character, well suited for a captain of banditti; the rest appeared equally well qualified to hold their subordinate situations; nor could they be distinguished from such a gang by any other means than the want of the luxuries, or even necessaries which those gentry usually possess. We understood at Margaritta, that the Independents had lost the whole of Venezuela, and that Bolivar was in the Oronoco. Some few, who, I believe, have no other resource, still continued resolved to join the cause—others determined to return to



England; and we, therefore, agreed to make this island, which would, of course, enable each party to follow their own inclinations.”

On referring to these gentlemen for information relative to the estimation in which foreign aid was held by the Independents, and how far our services would be considered of value, they stated that the Patriots, in general, were decidedly adverse to the introduction of other than natives into their armies: arms and ammunition appeared the only supplies they were desirous of accepting; that the introduction of British officers, particularly, had already excited greater jealousy and dissension amongst the native troops, than their most zealous exertions could possibly make amends for; and to so violent a pitch had their jealous feelings carried them, as to subject foreigners, attached to the patriot service, to perpetual hazard of assassination; and rendered it prudentially necessary, that they should, on retiring to repose, place themselves under the protection of sentries on whose fidelity they could depend.

That similar sentiments were entertained by General Bolivar himself, was strongly manifested by the total indifference with which he treated a dispatch, which had been forwarded to him through his agent Mr. Guthrie, some time previous to our departure from Saint Bartholomew's ; apprizing him of our arrival in the West Indies ; our strength, equipments, &c. This dispatch Mr. Guthrie assured us was personally delivered to General Bolivar, who, however, never condescended to return any answer. The letters of introduction with which numerous individuals had been furnished by Don Mendez, were treated with like indifference; and their bearers, instead of procuring the commissions for which they had stipulated, were compelled to accept whatever rank he thought proper to confer on them ; and have, in numerous instances, been even degraded to the situation of common soldiers in his army.

Their obstinate hostility to the admission of foreign aid, can in a great measure be accounted for ; from a confidence in their own numerical strength, and the obvious

weakness of the mother country. They encourage a probably well-grounded conviction, that, however the contest may be protracted, success must ultimately attach itself to their party; and an anxiety to enjoy the entire fruits of their triumph, has created this aversion to the admission of foreigners, whose services, they cannot but know, are proffered rather from motives of personal aggrandizement, than any particular solicitude for the emancipation of South America.

These particulars appeared to us in themselves conclusive, against both the policy and propriety of engaging in the Spanish American war; but they were further enforced by a consideration, which many will probably regard as entitled to most serious attention, although one which alone certainly would not in the slightest degree have influenced our determination. Few need be informed of the strength and peculiar character of constitution, which are requisite for enabling Europeans to resist the destructive effects of a tropical climate, even when enjoying every advantage which

wealth or luxury can bestow ; but if thus naturally injurious, under circumstances the most favourable towards correcting its malignancy, how infinitely must its virulency be increased, by the extreme fatigue, deficiency of nourishment, and inadequacy of clothing, suffered by the Independents during their predatory campaigns. Being destitute of tents, or change of dress, they are invariably exposed to every vicissitude of weather, in a country where the transitions are sudden and extreme. After getting drenched with heavy rains, they have no other resource, than that of allowing their dripping garments to dry upon their backs, under the influence of a scorching sun.

The troops continually in the open air, and devoid of any protection from the weather, are necessarily exposed at night to the heavy fogs and dews, which in the West Indies are so dreadfully destructive to human health ; and the severity and hardship of their campaigns are, in every respect, infinitely greater than can readily be conceived, by those who have been only sub-

jected to the privations usually encountered by a British army in the field. Even the natives themselves sustain serious injury and sufferings; but the uniform testimony of every individual acquainted with Venezuela, concurred in assuring us that a campaign in that country, under such circumstances, could not otherwise than prove more fatal to Europeans, than even the sword itself.

Such was the substance of the information those gentlemen afforded us, nor could we for one moment hesitate in placing the most perfect reliance on their statement, coinciding, as it did, with every other account we were enabled to procure from the merchants, who were in the habit of repeated communications with the Main, or the Patriots' own recognised agents, by whom, it must be naturally supposed, matters would be represented in the most favourable colours; the united testimony of all, friends and foes, (the former by far the largest party) concurred in establishing the truth of the foregoing particulars.

This mass of authentic information made



a deep impression on our minds, and we unhesitatingly determined on relinquishing every previous idea of joining the Independent armies. In this moment of perplexity and trouble, I could scarcely refrain from accusing myself of rashness and precipitancy, in having placed such implicit faith in the alluring expectations which had been so widely and confidently circulated in England, by the South American active partisans ; but on cool reflection, I felt, that I was rather the victim of deceit, than the dupe of my own folly and want of prudence. At the period of my departure from England, the tide of popular feeling ran strongly in favour of the patriot cause ; and the black and sanguinary character of the warfare, and other derogatory circumstances, were either unknown, slightly glanced at, or enforced by authorities which I, perhaps too readily, considered undeserving particular attention. My own personal situation, and prejudice in favour of the colonists, likewise tended to weaken the strength of those arguments which were opposed to the South American pro-

ject ; but they now recurred most forcibly to my mind, with unavailing regret at having permitted them to possess so little influence and authority.

It was extremely difficult to procure information sufficiently authentic to authorize any positive opinion of the existing state of parties on the Spanish Main, or probable consequences of the present revolutionary contest ; but those persons whose intelligence or local knowledge best qualified them to arrive at just conclusions on this interesting subject, appeared generally to consider the contest as one which would be far from terminated by the defeat of the royalists, and separation of the mother country. In numerical force the Independents are infinitely superior to their opponents ; poverty, defective arms, and want of discipline, however, have heretofore paralyzed their exertions, and disabled them from combating with the actual strength they possess ; but these circumstances, although they may protract the war, can scarcely render its termination in favour of the Patriots more doubtful.

At present the original or Indian natives, and the South American Spaniards, have united their exertions for the subversion of the royalist power ; but it is only a mutual feeling of hostility against a common enemy, which has induced these two distinct classes to join their interests, and suspend the sentiments of jealous enmity with which they are animated against each other ; and it is generally apprehended, that should their combined strength succeed in the present struggle, the contest will immediately assume another character, and South America become the seat of hostility between its white and black population.

The power and influence of the latter are even already sufficiently great to enable them to reach the highest military rank, and the system of slavery now scarcely exists ; the Royalists and Independents having long since proclaimed a very general manumission, in the hope of securing from these people a more cordial and effective support. The adoption of this act of policy, I understood, originated in the Royalists granting freedom to such slaves as would

act in support of the established government. This circumstance, and the progress of the war have naturally tended to strengthen and give confidence to the coloured inhabitants, and it may not perhaps be too much to anticipate an ultimate result, similar to that which has taken place in the island of St. Domingo.

Shortly after our communication with the ex-patriot officers, we met with a person of the name of Hudson, who had been for several years in the service of the Independents, which he abandoned, as he informed us, in consequence of the non-fulfilment of engagements entered into with him by Bolivar. This man appeared a most mysterious, and was, as will be hereafter seen, no very estimable character; but his evidence was important as corroborating the accounts we had previously received.

Mr. Hudson had, on many occasions, witnessed the hardships and distress encountered by the foreign officers attached to the patriot standard; and uniformly found them disgusted with the cause, and

anxious to embrace the earliest opportunity of abandoning it; and, as exemplifying his statement in this particular, he informed us that on a recent occasion he was present in the *Oroonoco*, when four foreign officers entreated in the most supplicating terms, the master of a vessel then trading on the river, to permit them to embark; offering him at the moment whatever they possessed, and, on their arrival at any of the West India Islands, such further compensation as he might demand; but the extreme hazard of discovery, and almost certain consequent destruction, deterred the master from acceding to their request.

To enter minutely into all the particulars with which we were made acquainted by Mr. H., would prove merely a repetition of what has been already stated; but as this gentleman performed a very conspicuous part in many of the ensuing events connected with the expedition, his appearance in the *Journal* will again become necessary. For the present, however, I shall refer to the proceedings on board the other vessels, and to some occurrences at Grenada, which



although not immediately connected with the enterprise, will not probably be considered altogether unentitled to attention.

The brigade originally commanded by Colonel Wilson, had by this time become almost wholly ineffective, having split into two distinct parties, each bearing towards the other the most inveterate enmity. One body, headed by Major Graham \*, joined Colonel Campbell's regiment; whilst the other, under Colonel Wilson, after a strange variety of adventures, (assaults, imprisonments, &c.) finally embarked on board a schooner, and although not one half equipped, (from the supercargo refusing to grant the necessary appointments) proceeded for Bolivar's head-quarters on the Oronoco.

A few days previous to Colonel Wilson's departure for the Main, he personally applied to me, and appeared solicitous that I should attach myself to the remnant of his brigade; and as an inducement, offered to place me upon his *staff*; which proposal,

\* The death of this officer has been recently announced.

however, I considered it most prudent to decline ; observing at the same time, the impossibility of procuring hussar equipments. This objection Colonel Wilson would have reconciled in a manner, which, *however calculated to heighten the character of the appointment, and induce a compliance*, was at least, for its sincerity, entitled to some commendatory acknowledgment. It was, that the mere uniform was a minor consideration, and could in this instance be readily dispensed with ; as his officers would most probably find it necessary to *carry muskets* on their first arrival ; it not being likely that the regiment could be immediately mounted and organized. The remark at the time made a strong impression on my mind, appearing to me forcibly indicative of Colonel Wilson's opinion of the uncertain and desperate nature of the service on which he was about to proceed. Of the subsequent fate or operations of this party I never afterwards heard.

The Emerald, with the remainder of Colonel Hippesley's corps, sailed for the neighbouring island of Cariacou, several

days previous to our arrival at Grenada, having, since her departure from Saint Bartholomew's, lost a large proportion both of officers and men : and, in consequence of some breach of the navigation laws, had also been a considerable time under seizure, but was subsequently released. The quarrelling and dissensions on board this vessel unhappily produced, during her stay at Grenada, a duel between Lieutenant Braybrooke and one of Colonel Hipplesley's sons, which terminated in the death of the former officer. This melancholy event occasioned the deepest sensation on the island, and was likewise, I believe, referred to in the English papers, without particularly mentioning the nature of the dispute, or the interesting events which succeeded its fatal termination. The quarrel, to all appearance, had been amicably settled by an apology from Hipplesley ; but unfortunately the majority of the officers having expressed their disapprobation of the arrangements, and insinuated that the dispute was such as could only be decided in the field, Lieut. B. insisted upon the meeting which ended in his death.

This tragical occurrence took place at the time the Emerald was under seizure in the harbour. A verdict of wilful murder having been pronounced against young Hippesley by the coroner's inquest, a reward of one hundred pounds was offered for his apprehension, and every possible means taken to effect it. All the parties, however, escaped, after encountering much hardship, and a series of adventures, the relation of which will not perhaps be uninteresting.

In order to secure their escape, they obtained the ship's jolly boat and four seamen, to convey them off the island; and, through the close friendship and influence of one of the seconds, prevailed on a Mr. W. (from whom I received these particulars) to accompany them. This gentleman's experience in maritime concerns, rendered his assistance of the greatest value; to him, therefore, they eagerly assigned the management of the boat, and after nightfall rowed off from the island, in the direction of the Grenadines, in the hope, on the following day, of joining the Emerald, whose

release was hourly expected. They continued rowing the whole night; the breeze was fresh, and at intervals accompanied with heavy showers, from the effects of which, and the over-dashing spray, their open boat afforded little protection. On the approach of morning they found themselves about eight miles distant from the island, without any appearance of the Emerald preparing for sea. The sailors, from extreme fatigue, expressed themselves no longer able to row, and in the most urgent terms insisted on being put ashore. Their wishes, in this respect, it was accordingly found necessary to gratify; after which the arduous duty of rowing the boat devolved upon Mr. W. and his weary companions, who with much difficulty succeeded in again reaching the offing, previous to broad day-light; when they rested on their oars until evening, in anxious expectation of witnessing the Emerald's approach. The appearance of night and want of provisions rendered it necessary for them to return to the shore; which having done, and secured the boat on the beach, they cauti-



ously proceeded a short distance into the interior, where a negro hut fortunately afforded them, not only a sufficiency for their immediate wants, but also a day's supply in advance. Under this propitious shed they continued throughout the night, and at day-break returned to their boat, and again sought security in the offing. There the fugitives passed another day of fruitless expectation; during which an incessant rain not only drenched them, but likewise rendered their small stock of provisions nearly uneatable. They again, at night, pulled in for the shore; but considering it hazardous to revisit their late lodging, they rowed in a more southerly direction, and landed upon another part of the island. No vestige of habitation or other place of shelter was here discoverable, with the exception of a spreading tamarind-tree, that grew near the beach. Under its branches they contrived to light a fire, on which they fried some meat, and rebaked a small portion of bread which had been, by the rain, a second time converted into dough. Before sun-rise they again abandoned their covert,

oppressed with weariness both mental and bodily; and having with difficulty relaunched the boat, once more pushed out to sea. Unable longer to endure a continuance of such hardships and suspense, they determined, should the departure of the Emerald be further protracted, on approaching her at all hazards in the afternoon, and secreting themselves, if possible, on board. To this plan they found it necessary to resort, and early in the night, having arrived along-side, Mr. W. cautiously entered the vessel through one of the ports; when he was seriously alarmed at seeing a number of soldiers laying on the decks. This discovery suggested the necessity of his precipitate retreat; and having effected a safe return, the party were again pushing off, when the military officer on duty perceiving the boat, hailed it, and demanded their business; but Mr. W. replied with so much presence of mind, as to prevent any further inquiries. They then rowed to the shore, where Mr. W.'s influence obtained them a secure asylum for the few days which intervened, prior to the Emerald's

departure, on board which they had, some hours previously, effected a private embarkation, and escaped.

The Emerald continued at Cariacou for some time, from whence she proceeded to Saint Lucia, where having accidentally fallen in with the patriot schooner, Tiger, Colonel Hippeley and his remaining officers and men went on board that vessel, and sailed for the Oroonoco. Of their future proceedings or what became of them I never subsequently heard.

Mr. W., who was on board the Emerald, when she fell in with the Tiger, informed me, when I afterwards met him at Saint Bartholomew's, that the general state of this vessel, and the appearance of her officers and crew, perfectly accorded with every account we had heard of patriot wretchedness. The captain himself was literally in rags; they were without ammunition; whatever bad provisions their stock consisted of nearly exhausted; and their joy, he said, appeared indescribable on receiving from the Emerald a considerable supply of all those necessaries.

A few days prior to the Emerald's departure from Grenada, a detachment of Colonel Hipplesley's regiment, consisting of a few officers and about twenty men, under the command of Lieut.-Col. English, sailed for Angustura, taking with them a considerable proportion of the officers' baggage. This party proceeded for the Oroonoco, with orders to provide quarters for the corps, which it was then intended should immediately follow; but although the detachment arrived in safety, a considerable number shortly afterwards fell victims to severity of suffering, and it is to be feared that few survived to rejoin the main body of the regiment.

The propriety of this measure was at the time strongly canvassed, and conjectures of a very free nature were insinuated as to the motives which prompted its adoption; but notwithstanding the deprivation of their baggage (to the disposal of which only they could look for relief) several of the officers subsequently threw up their commissions, and thus forfeited their property rather than proceed on an enterprise so unquestion-

ably impolitic; and many were probably induced to continue with the regiment, in preference to encountering, in the West Indies, distresses and mortifications, from which they were thus rendered totally unable to secure themselves even a temporary alleviation.

To return to the *Britannia*:—The brigade had been for a considerable time disbanded; but a few officers and men still continued on board. With Colonel Gilmore's conduct personally to myself I had not heretofore any reason to be dissatisfied; great as were our disappointments, we considered him a fellow-sufferer; and that the distressing measure of disembodied the corps was the result of a necessity which he had no means of controlling. We indeed concurred in one strong feeling of dissatisfaction and displeasure, but our indignation was exclusively directed against that individual in London, by whose hollow and faithless engagements we had been all equally ensnared. The occurrences subsequent to this period were, however, of a nature badly calculated to preserve mu-



tual feelings of friendly regard between our late Colonel and the officers on board the *Britannia*; for, although no longer actually under the command of Colonel Gilmore in a military point of view, yet considering the peculiarity of our situation, and his professions at the time of disbanding the brigade, we were not altogether without hopes of receiving from him whatever protection his own situation enabled him to afford. These expectations I shall merely observe were not in any particular realized.

The only events of any importance that occurred during the remainder of our stay at Grenada, were the transactions in which Mr. Hudson was concerned. The intercourse between this person and Colonel Gilmore was constant, and appeared manifestly connected with some enterprize on which they intended jointly to proceed.

To this project, which originated with Mr. Hudson, Colonel Campbell's union had been obtained, (doubtless under a misconception of its real nature), and we were

induced to consider it in a very mysterious light, from the extraordinary caution and secrecy observed by the parties, who declined divulging the nature of their scheme, even to the individuals whose assistance would be absolutely necessary for carrying the plan into effect; but to all those whose alliance was solicited, the value of the enterprize was portrayed in the strongest colours, with assurances that the short period of two months would terminate an affair which could not possibly fail of enriching them beyond their most sanguine expectations. Amongst others to whom Colonel Gilmore applied for co-operation I and my friend Captain ——— were included, and on our expressing our determination not to engage in any scheme of the nature of which we were ignorant, and consequently unable to form any opinion of its propriety or policy, Colonel G. with much warmth observed that he could contrive to dispense with our services. This observation, and a circumstance which had just then come to our knowledge, at once

occasioned a mutual coolness, and a rupture of that social intercourse which had heretofore subsisted. Although we were not positively acquainted with the nature of this scheme, yet every circumstance conspired to induce a conviction of its *adventurous* character, and the correctness of this opinion was, it will be seen, fully confirmed on our subsequent return to Saint Bartholomew's. To all appearance every arrangement had been perfectly completed between the Colonels and Mr. Hudson, previous to our departure from Grenada; and I likewise understood that Mr. H. had intimated to our Supercargo that he would, on the Britannia's arrival at Saint Bartholomew's, treat with him for the purchase of a large portion of her stores. We left this island on the 10th of March, having now remaining on board only five officers and three privates of our late brigade, together with Mr. Hudson as passenger. The Dawson likewise sailed from Grenada on the same day.

The night previous to our arrival at Saint Bartholomew's, we encountered the most

tremendous gale I ever experienced at sea. It commenced immediately after twelve o'clock, at which time we were close upon the island of Nevis, with the wind blowing directly on the land ; the darkness was also intense, and the rain fell in torrents. The previous state of the atmosphere gave us no indication of the approaching storm, and before the hands could be got aloft to take in sail, our fore-topmast stay-sail was blown to pieces. An attempt was made to put the ship about, but she missed stays, and we were left to the mercy of the wind on a lee shore. The most decisive measures alone could now prevent our striking, in which case, from the nature of the cargo, the ship must, on that rocky shore, instantaneously have gone to pieces. Captain Sharpe, therefore, finding that the vessel would not tack, with a promptitude, energy, and skill, which cannot be too highly applauded, ordered all sail possible to be set, and had her close hauled to the wind ; determined, as his only resource, to get what way he could upon the ship, and make one bold effort for weathering the island. Hav-

ing but ill recovered from a slight feverish attack I had suffered at Grenada, I was the only person remaining below, all the others being on deck, prepared, in case of extremity, to make the best shift they could for themselves. Half dressed I sat up with difficulty in my berth, every moment expecting to feel the vessel strike; whilst chairs, trunks, portmanteaus, &c., were tumbling from side to side of the cabin in the utmost confusion. In the midst of this disorderly and menacing uproar, the captain's speaking-trumpet was continually heard on deck, intermixed with the rattling of ropes, shouting of sailors, and whistling of the wind through the rigging; making altogether the most appalling tumult I ever heard. About half past three o'clock the squall began to moderate, and on the approach of day, to our infinite joy we found ourselves clear of Nevis and the reef, having trailed close along the shore, but with so much rapidity as to prevent the vessel making much lee way.

Having thus happily weathered the gale, we early on the forenoon of the 17th again



arrived at Saint Bartholomew's, where we were without interruption permitted to anchor, in consequence of there then remaining so few military on board. The inhabitants, although considerably surprised at the Britannia's revisiting the island, found no difficulty in discovering the true cause of our return; they were aware of the apprehensions we had entertained previous to our first departure, of both the disinclination and inability of the patriots to realize our expectations, and naturally imputed the Britannia's reappearance to a confirmation of those fears.

Immediately after our arrival, Mr. Hudson engaged a schooner, and sailed for Saint Thomas's, for the purpose, as we understood, of making the requisite arrangements preparatory to the execution of the intended speculation; however, previous to departing he expressed his determination of returning within a few days, in order to meet Colonel C—— who had not yet arrived. Shortly after Mr. H. sailed, Colonel Gilmore took a final leave of us, and proceeded for the same destination on board a

French ship, taking with him all his baggage.

The Dowson, whose prolonged absence excited much conjecture and surprise, did not arrive until a few days subsequent to Mr. Hudson's return to St. Bartholomew's. It appeared that this vessel, on her passage from Grenada, had been driven out of her course, and touched at the islands of Santa Cruz and Saint Thomas's, for provisions, and her delay was occasioned by the adventures she encountered at the latter place, where a party of her officers, including Colonel Campbell, were arrested, the ship's jolly-boat seized, and the sailors imprisoned. The Dowson was likewise for a short period in the possession of Captain Westrop, of His Majesty's sloop of war Childers. With the cause of these events and detention I was never informed. After some time, the parties were released, and the ship again restored to them, with peremptory orders for their immediate departure from the island; and so determined was the Governor to enforce a prompt submission to this mandate that he ordered a shot to be fired

at her from the fort before she could get under weigh, which the Dowson, when on point of sailing, returned from an eighteen pound carronade.

Mr. Hudson's manner, on returning from Saint Thomas's, strongly indicated his having failed in making satisfactory arrangements at that island, and Colonel C—— appeared in a great measure to have withdrawn from the previously concerted project, and to have relinquished the idea of further intercourse with this gentleman, who still, however, continued to entertain hopes of being able to prosecute his plan, and again renewed his solicitations to me and my friend Captain —— for our personal support; but our determination was fixed, and we therefore declined any sort of co-operation, at the same time insinuating to him our suspicion of the piratical nature of his project. To this observation he made no reply, but appeared tacitly to acknowledge the correctness of our conjecture.

. In a few days after, the actual nature of the enterprize became a subject of general

notoriety, in consequence of Mr. Hudson acknowledging to several individuals that his plan was to conduct an armed party against the town of San Martha, for the purpose of plundering it, and afterwards decamping with the booty.

Shortly after our arrival at Saint Bartholomew's, the remaining officers and men (six in number) were put on shore, but we were still permitted to remain on board, through the special favour of the Supercargo, who further extended his kindness by continuing to us our customary rations, an indulgence which could only be protracted a few days longer, as he had determined on proceeding to Port au Prince, in the island of Saint Domingo, in the hope of being there enabled to dispose of the artillery and military stores.

On Saturday the 21st, we finally quitted the *Britannia*, it having been intimated to us that she would sail in the course of that day. When put ashore we were utterly devoid of even the means of procuring a single meal; without a friend upon the island to whom we could make application for relief;



in every respect destitute and penniless, and reduced by a long train of disappointments, and the wretchedness of our present hopeless situation, to a state of the most desponding misery.

On landing, we should have been even at a loss where to deposit our portmanteaus and trunks, had not a gentleman, who witnessed our embarrassment, granted us permission to secure them in one of his warehouses.

The apprehended period of penury and want had now apparently arrived, when our friend Mr. Ritchie, to whose kind and feeling heart we had already been so deeply indebted, again sympathising in our sufferings, voluntarily, and in the most handsome manner, advanced us, from his own purse, a sum sufficient to meet the exigencies of the present moment.

Shortly after taking leave of Mr. R., my friend Captain ——, proceeded with a gentleman for a few days to one of the small neighbouring islands. The remainder of the day I spent in endeavouring to procure a lodging, but was unable to discover



any sufficiently moderate for my scanty finances. Anxious to avoid the inquisitive observations of the inhabitants, I returned to the beach, and again indulged in the melancholy but pleasing recollection of home—the remembrance of happier days, and of those absent but dear friends from whose society I was now so distant. Every circumstance connected with former felicity recurred with double force to my imagination, and I was only roused from this train of cheerless contemplation, by the well-known cadence of the sailors weighing anchor on board the *Britannia*. I thought my heart would have burst when I saw the vessel (which from habit I almost considered my home) depart from the bay without me; despair nearly took possession of my mind, and the barren hills of Saint Bartholomew's at this instant appeared more desolate than ever. Whilst in this gloomy reverie, the approach of night and want of nourishment, warned me of the necessity of proceeding to the town, in order to procure shelter and refreshment: weak and spiritless thither I accordingly pursued my course,

but had only advanced a short way when I met Mr. Vaucrosson, the merchant to whom the *Britannia* had been consigned, who offered me the use of a waste room in one of his outhouses, of which I gladly accepted. A black woman, who also occupied part of the place of which I had now become a temporary tenant, appeared solicitous by every means in her power to render my situation comfortable; but swarms of musquitoes, which proceeded from a well of stagnant water under the floor, only covered by a few loose boards, prevented the possibility of repose, by their intolerable stinging.

The following day I spent in endeavouring to devise some means of relief from my present painful condition, but was unable to conceive any practicable plan. Monday was spent in a similar lonely state of fruitless anxiety, but my spirits were considerably cheered on the following morning by the return of my companion, who now likewise became a sharer in Mr. V.'s bounty, and a fellow lodger in the same ruinous abode; for such it may justly be

designated, being merely composed of some old wainscot, which had by time become so disunited as to admit free ingress, in every direction, to the sun's rays.

Our thoughts were now wholly occupied in forming plans for returning to Europe, but every suggestion for attaining that object proved nugatory, in consequence of our pecuniary inability; a circumstance which even rendered the prospect of ultimate success extremely doubtful and uncertain. A week had now elapsed since the departure of the *Britannia*, during which short interval we contemplated with alarm the rapid decline of our finances; owing to the exorbitant price of every article composing the common necessaries of life.

From the Swedish inhabitants, whose hospitality and friendship were so conspicuous on our first arrival in the island, we no longer experienced either kindness or attention; they appeared wholly forgetful of their recent flattering professions, and their present conduct fully exemplified how difficult it is to form a just value of human sincerity, except through the medium

of adverse fortune. From some few of the original merchants of the island we still, however, occasionally received marks of sympathy and commiseration.

A number of officers having already proceeded to the United States, in consequence of the comparatively moderate rate of passage, we had likewise determined on pursuing a similar course, and, in order to provide ourselves with the requisite funds, and replenish our nearly exhausted resources, we immediately converted into cash every article of property we could possibly dispose of, (consisting of our swords, epaulets, books, &c.) Having by this means collected what we calculated would be sufficient to secure us a conveyance to North America, we entered into a treaty with the captain of the brig, General Jackson, bound to Philadelphia, and had nearly agreed with him for a passage, with ship fare, at thirty dollars each, when our attention was diverted from this purpose by an occurrence at Saint Kitt's, which revived in our minds the nearly expired hope of again returning to our native country.



The circumstance to which I have just referred, was that of several English merchant vessels, (which had either through neglect or misconception of the navigation laws, been subjected to seizure ;) having been taken possession of by the admiral on that station.

Some of the merchants in Saint Bartholomew's hearing of this event, advised us, in the strongest manner, to proceed to Saint Kitt's; observing, that the above named ships must, in order to obtain new registers, unavoidably return to England in ballast; and would, in all probability, afford us a passage home at a moderate rate. We felt too much elated with even this distant prospect of returning to Europe, to hesitate one moment as to the course we should pursue. We at once relinquished our North American project; and having determined on proceeding to Saint Kitt's, made every preparation with the greatest despatch; obtained our passports, and in less than two hours had the satisfaction to find ourselves on board a small schooner, on the point of sailing for that island; to the



captain of which we each paid four dollars for our passage.

We took our final leave of Saint Bartholomew's in the afternoon of the third of April; leaving behind us the ship Dowson, with Colonel Campbell and his remaining officers on board, as likewise Mr. Hudson, who having been altogether foiled in his original scheme, had, a short time previous to our departure, declared it to be his intention immediately to beat up for recruits throughout the island, and proceed with any number he could collect.

The Emerald, which proceeded to Saint Bartholomew's, after transferring Colonel Hipplesley's party to the patriot schooner, Tiger, also continued at anchor after our departure.

Early on the following morning we were close in with Saint Kitt's, which island presented the most fertile and highly cultivated appearance. The minor hills exhibited the most lively and pleasing variety of shades, covered with verdure to their summits, occasionally interspersed with small timber and brush-wood.

The numerous and widely-extended fields of sugar-cane were peculiarly attractive; displaying, according to the state of forwardness of the plant, an infinite diversity of tints. Nothing, perhaps, can give a more correct idea of a distant view of a young sugar plantation, than a half-ripe field of wheat; with this difference, that the former is far superior in richness of colouring.

The mills were in every direction in full operation, pressing the cane, whilst innumerable canoes were to be seen carrying the produce of the different plantations to the West Indiamen at anchor in Bass-terre Roads; the scene was altogether the most lively and cheerful imaginable, and the general appearance of the island, the active industry of its inhabitants, and wide display of substantial wealth, were particularly striking, as contrasted with the barren and uncultivated island from which we had so recently departed.

About nine o'clock in the forenoon we landed at Bassterre, and immediately proceeded to an inn situated a short distance from the beach, where we met with three

officers formerly attached to Colonel Wilson's regiment; but who had some time previously resigned their commissions in disgust. These gentlemen had been particularly fortunate, having, in consequence of an early appeal to Governor Probyn, and his Excellency's recommendation to the legislative body, been provided with ample means for their return to Europe. The successful result of this application encouraged us to the adoption of a similar course of proceeding, previous to making any inquiries relative to the vessels under seizure. Having thus formed our resolution, we immediately proceeded to pay our respects to the Governor, then at his country lodge, about two miles distant from the town; but the same good fortune that attended the former applicants was denied to us, although in every respect similarly situated, and our claims (which could be only those upon humanity) equally entitled to consideration.

- On being admitted to the Governor's presence, we explained to him the painful situation in which we were placed; that we

had, in common with numerous other officers, been deluded into an enterprise from which we had been compelled to withdraw under circumstances peculiarly harassing and distressing; we solicited his protection as British subjects, observing that unless we could procure some mode of conveyance to England, we must speedily be reduced to the greatest extremity; and, finally, expressed our hope that his Excellency would have the goodness to consider these particulars, and extend to us that protection and assistance which had been already granted to some of our brother officers. But his Excellency, receiving us with cold official politeness, declined any interference in our favour; adding, that could he secure the captain of the schooner who brought us to Saint Kitt's, he would immediately imprison him for presuming to put us ashore without previously making a proper report of the persons on board his vessel; concluding with a very salutary warning against the contraction of debts in that island, as confinement would be the certain consequence, and payment of the money our only means of relief.



Grievously disappointed at the utter failure of our application to General Probyn, we resolved, without further delay, to enter into communications with the captains of the vessels under seizure, and with that view proceeded on our return to the town, but had scarcely advanced half way, when, weakened by lassitude and vexation, we found ourselves so completely overcome, as to be under a temporary inability to make further progress. In this state we sat down by the side of the road, where we continued for some time musing on our unfortunate fate; and had been in this situation about three quarters of an hour, when a poor negro woman approached us with a basket of oranges on her head, from whom we purchased five for the small sum of one dog\* : and, considerably refreshed, we arrived at Bassterre, about one o'clock. The remainder of this, and the two following days, were spent in fruitless researches and applications amongst the captains of the vessels in harbour, with none of whom we

\* Value somewhat less than one penny.



found it possible to conclude any engagement, in consequence of their enormous demands for passage, &c.

Our hopes, with reference to the ships under seizure, we found altogether frustrated, as out of the total number, one only (the Hornby) was destined to return to Europe in ballast, and the period of her sailing was as yet uncertain; whilst the absence of her captain from Bassterre precluded us from knowing on what terms a passage could be obtained. Finding the impracticability of effecting arrangements with any of the captains, we began seriously to contemplate with regret our departure from Saint Bartholomew's; where, distressing and mortifying as our situation was, yet the sympathizing kindness of some of its natives, occasionally diverted our minds from a sense of our affliction. But here we were utterly unknown; the expense of every description of necessaries far more exorbitant; and the inhabitants probably wearied by the daily appearance amongst them of numerous victims of similar misfortune, beheld our sufferings with perfect

apathy, and were solicitous only for our departure from the island.

Day after day elapsed without bringing any prospect of relief, the various captains rejecting every proposal not founded on a pecuniary basis. Our feelings were continually harrowed by witnessing the embarkation of passengers, and the departure of vessels for England, while we, from irremediable inability, were destined to remain behind.

Every prospect having now apparently vanished, we had determined on again returning to St. Bartholomew's, although we could scarcely conceive how our circumstances would be ameliorated by this change of situation, or even in what manner our passage thither was to be effected, having already at different periods disposed of every little article of property, not absolutely necessary for personal use.

Such was our situation when we were informed of the return to Bassterre of Captain Walker of the condemned ship, Hornby, and that the sailing of his vessel was now principally retarded by the difficulty

of procuring a competent crew for her navigation. This intelligence in some degree checked our despondency, and we immediately determined (as an only remaining chance of success) on offering our services to Captain W., to work our passage to England on board his ship, as common seamen, in the hope that thus circumstanced, inadequate as we were to the duty, our assistance might not be altogether unacceptable.

Having formed our resolution we instantly put it in execution, and, to our great joy, were soon relieved from every anxiety and uneasiness, by our proposal, after some deliberation, being acceded to, and liberty granted us for our immediate embarkation.

Those only who have been similarly situated can conceive the happiness we now experienced, and the delight with which we, on the following day, availed ourselves of Captain W.'s permission to repair on board. We found the Hornby almost destitute of hands, and to our surprise, no preparations made for sailing.

The difficulties in which her captain had been recently involved, having, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours to have the vessel cleared out, rendered his departure extremely uncertain.

The Hornby continued at Saint Kitt's for nearly three weeks after our arrangement with the captain. During this period, we had many opportunities of procuring authentic intelligence of the recent proceedings of several of the vessels and officers attached to the South American enterprise, which, with accounts obtained from officers lately arrived in England (consequently of dates subsequent to our departure from the West Indies), may perhaps be more properly embodied with the Narrative, than introduced either as notes, or in the form of an Appendix.

An officer of Colonel Campbell's corps, (Lieut. L——) informed us of the arrival at Gustavia of Admiral Brion, accompanied by the Britannia; which vessel, whilst on her passage to Saint Domingo, he had accidentally fallen in with at sea, and whose



Supercargo was induced to return to Saint Bartholomew's, in expectation of disposing of her stores to the admiral.

Brion immediately on his arrival entered into treaty for the purchase of the Emerald, which he effected, and converted into his flag-ship, giving her the name of the Victory. This vessel is well calculated for the Independent service, having been originally a French corvette, but since raised upon, she will also admit of a second tier of guns, which we understood Brion contemplated mounting upon her, and had procured for that purpose from the Britannia. From Lieut. L. we likewise learned the narrow escape of Hudson on board the Dowson, where he accidentally met with Brion, who, instantly seizing him, exclaimed, "Villain, have I caught you at last?" and at the same time drawing a dagger from his breast, attempted to stab him, which he was only prevented doing by the timely interference of (Mr. J——s), the Supercargo. I am not particularly acquainted with the motives which impelled Brion to this act of violence, and as the rea-



sons which were assigned for his personal hostility to this man, (however correct) were probably rather surmised than founded on actual knowledge, I do not feel that I would be justified in their insertion. Hudson, immediately after this rencontre, disappeared from the island, and we heard no more of him. Previous to taking leave of this gentleman (who excited so much curiosity amongst the British officers, by whom he was almost invariably addressed with the appellation of *General*) I cannot avoid remarking, that notwithstanding the length of time we had been subjected to his society, and that too within the narrow limits of a ship, where the greatest familiarity and open heartedness almost uniformly and indiscriminately prevail, yet so mysterious and incomprehensible was his conduct, and cautious his conversation, that we never could learn even the country that gave him birth. His observations were those of a shrewd determined adventurer, well acquainted with the world, and whose knowledge was manifestly derived from personal experience.

His long service with the Patriots rendered him regardless of privations, and enabled him to feel comfortable whenever he could procure length and breadth for his hammock.

Hudson had in his possession a portmanteau, which he particularly valued, in consequence, as he declared, of its having been formerly the property of the royalist commander Morillo, from whom he had himself captured it on an occasion in which that officer narrowly escaped becoming a prize to *General* Hudson's extraordinary prowess. He likewise frequently exhibited a small silver snuff-box, which he said composed a part of the spoils contained in the portmanteau.

An officer, Captain C——, who proceeded from England in the *Emerald*, and had been furnished by Brion with authority and the requisite means for enlisting seamen throughout the West India islands, arrived at St. Kitt's some time after Lieutenant L——. The great object of his mission was to raise a sufficient number of able British seamen to man the *Victory*;

and I understood he succeeded in procuring about seventy hands. Captain C——— only remained at Saint Kitt's one or two days, when he returned to Saint Bartholomew's, where he had been appointed by Brion to the command of his new flag ship.

While these arrangements were making on the part of Brion, the officers of Colonel Campbell's corps, and some others who had subsequently arrived, probably irritated and soured by a succession of perplexities and disappointments, became apparently regardless of their existence, and were frequently involved in personal disputes. Several duels took place, but fortunately without injury to any of the parties. These unpleasant occurrences, and an alarming threat which reached the Governor's ears, induced his Excellency to issue a peremptory mandate for the instant departure of all the vessels from the island.

Having thus lost the protection of the Swedish government, they proceeded to Five Islands, situated about midway between St. Bartholomew's and St. Martin's. Here they were shortly after joined by other

vessels of the Independent fleet, and were actively engaged refitting and preparing for the Main when we left St. Kitt's.

Since my return to England I have been informed by officers more recently arrived from the West Indies, and through other authentic channels (but to which I am not at liberty to refer), that their intended project had been in some measure frustrated by the unexpected appearance of the Spanish squadron, which hove in sight off those islands immediately after, and rendered it advisable for the merchants' ships (the *Britannia* and *Dowson*) to take refuge in Great Bay, Saint Martin's, where they continued under the protection of the Dutch government.

Brion, who had been joined by Commodore Aury and his squadron, after some consultation declined coming to an engagement, and sailed for the *Oroonoco*, having previously intimated to the Supercargoes his intention of again returning to Saint Martin's, as speedily as possible, but this event was so long protracted as to create doubts of his re-appearance.



During this period of anxious suspense, the islands suffered seriously from the effects of several most tremendous thunder-storms; and with infinite regret I heard that the beautiful mansion of my kind friend, Mr. Cromoni, senior, had been destroyed by lightning, owing, principally, as is supposed, to the attraction of some metal pineapple ornaments, by which its exterior had been decorated.

Whilst waiting the return of Brion, the yellow fever broke out on board the *Dowson*, and proved fatal to several of the officers, men, and ship's company. This vessel also had her foremast totally carried away by lightning, whilst riding at anchor in Great Bay. The situation of the Super-cargoes was, at the time, truly critical and embarrassing, as the freights were not of a nature calculated for general sale; and the Patriots, in whom they had originally anticipated certain purchasers, were in a situation too deplorable to justify any confidence in Brion being able to effect satisfactory arrangements. During his absence, however, they were unable to form any



plan of future proceedings, and their uneasiness was daily increased by witnessing numbers of the men falling victims to the virulence of the fever. Brion at length made his appearance, after a lapse of upwards of six weeks, but his return proved altogether unimportant; for, notwithstanding the difficulties under which the Patriots laboured for want of military stores, he was unable to conclude any agreement with the Supercargoes for those under their care; and they were ultimately compelled to deposit them with merchants in Saint Bartholomew's, to be disposed of on the best terms they could procure. The *Britannia* and *Dowson* afterwards took in sugar-freights, and are now (if not arrived) on their passage home.

These circumstances fully prove the fallacy of the statements which have lately been inserted in some of the public papers, of the Patriot admiral having effected the purchase of the stores forwarded from England, on board the different merchant vessels; as I know from indisputable authority, that the only articles of any importance ob-

tained by him were a few heavy guns for his new ship the *Victory*.

Various other accounts, which have at different times been published, are equally unfounded; and were manifestly framed for the purpose of carrying on the system of misrepresentation, to which the partisans of the Patriots in England have so long and disgracefully had recourse, and which in its effects have proved so pregnant with misery and destruction to the unfortunate dupes of this unworthy principle.

I shall not presume to suppose that any of the respectable editors of the daily papers, would wilfully contribute their sanction and support to the dissemination of falsehood; but most certainly a great proportion of the information contained under the head "Private Correspondence" is so utterly inconsistent with every information I procured, and in numerous instances, so directly at variance with my own personal knowledge, as naturally to induce the supposition of its being fabricated on this side of the Atlantic.

It was very recently asserted in one of

the morning prints, that nearly two thousand British troops were collected at Saint Bartholomew's, enthusiastic in favour of the Patriot cause, and only waiting the arrival of Admiral Brion to convey them to the scene of action. This statement can only be exceeded in falsehood by another which appeared about the same period, announcing the actual junction with the Independents of the Artillery Brigade, raised in England for their service. With respect to the first of these articles, I will, without hazard of contradiction, affirm, that at no period whatever did the total force which rendezvoused at that island exceed five hundred, officers and men; that of this body not one hundred and fifty ever actually proceeded to the Main; and that even of this small proportion, probably nine out of ten were impelled by desperation and necessity, to persist in their original intention of joining the Patriot armies. The enthusiasm in favour of the enterprise was certainly warm and universal previous to our reaching Saint Bartholomew's, but these feelings rapidly subsided

after our arrival in the West Indies, and yielded its cheering influence to wide-spread gloom and dissatisfaction. The real character of the service into which we had been inveigled soon became but too manifest, and there were few who would not most gladly have retraced their passage to Europe had any opportunities occurred of which they could avail themselves.

The Artillery Brigade, referred to in the second article, could only have been that which proceeded from England, under the command of Colonel Gilmore, as no other regular organized corps, of a similar nature, was raised in this country for the South American service. The incorrectness of the newspaper accounts of its having actually landed on the Main cannot require refutation, the fate of this body having been already fully unfolded in the preceding part of this narrative; and I can, with confidence, assert that of Colonel G.'s late brigade, none ever actually landed on the Continent, with the exception of two officers, and about fifteen or twenty men, who joined Colonel Wilson's

corps, on the disembodiment of that to which they had themselves been originally attached.

In numerous other respects the intelligence conveyed through the daily papers, of the proceedings of the British Auxiliary corps, is equally unfounded and absurd ; but it cannot be necessary to particularize more minutely the gross impositions which have been practised by both sides on the Editors, and consequently through them, on the public credulity. The instances already enumerated are sufficient to prove the extreme caution which should be observed in perusing the conflicting statements of the opposite parties, and their respective literary supporters.

To return from this long digression—

The ultimate fate of Colonel C——'s corps was particularly distressing ; and this officer, whose exertions in support of the cause had been indefatigable, was (I have been informed by a friend just arrived from the West Indies) preparing to return to Europe, having resigned the command of his brigade ; and in addition to his nu-



merous disappointments and perplexities, sustained the irreparable loss of his eldest son, who had fallen a victim to the fever at Saint Bartholomew's. He was a young man of most amiable and gentlemanly manners, and universally respected and esteemed by his brother officers. This corps, originally the strongest and most effective, was, on my friend's departure, reduced by fever and resignation to ten officers and a proportionate number of men; which small remnant intended proceeding for Angustura, under the command of Major P——t.

Shortly after the return of the Victory to Five Islands, a premeditated mutiny on board that vessel was discovered, on the forenoon of the day on which it was intended to be carried into effect. The plan of the mutineers was to murder Brion and his officers, take possession of the ship, and afterwards carry her into a Royalist port. This project, with the intended hour of attack, were intimated to the Admiral in an anonymous paper which had been put into his hands by a black boy at Saint Bartholomew's.

Brion, on receiving this alarming intelligence, forwarded the particulars to Captain Gowie; who immediately piped all hands upon deck, and began to single out the suspected mutineers, two of whom, finding their plot discovered, rushed through the guard of marines, and throwing themselves overboard were drowned; eleven others, having been fully convicted of the conspiracy, received sentence of death, and their execution was expected to take place on the day of my informant's departure.

Brion is a creole of Curazoa, rather advanced in years, of a commanding and stern deportment, dark penetrating eyes, and remarkably long black mustachios, which turn up behind his ears, giving him an air of much fierceness. He is said to be a steady, resolute character, well calculated for the peculiar duties of his command; in the execution of which, however rigorous and afflictive, he has been known on many occasions to exhibit proofs of a mind not destitute of feeling and generosity.

It is a melancholy truth, that the sanguinary and ferocious character of the war-

fare, which has reflected lasting disgrace on the contending parties on the Continent of South America, also governs the proceedings of the hostile navies; the indiscriminate destruction of prisoners, is most generally accomplished by compelling the ill-fated captives, to pass through the ceremony, which is technically called *Walking the Plank*. For this purpose, a plank is made fast on the gang-way of the ship, with one end projecting some feet beyond the side; the wretched victims are then forced, in succession, to proceed along the fatal board, and precipitate themselves from its extremity into the ocean; whilst those who instinctively clinging to life hesitate prompt obedience to the brutal mandate, are soon compelled at the point of a spear to resign themselves to a watery grave, to avoid the aggravated cruelties of their inhuman conquerors.

The Independents, who (as has been before observed) impute the origin of this barbarous mode of warfare to the Royalists, resort for their justification in adopting a similar course of proceeding, to the necessity

of retaliation. How far this defence should be received, as a palliation of their conduct, I will leave others to determine; but although some may, perhaps, allow this argument, as applied to the Patriots themselves, to moderate the indignation and horror which such outrages against humanity and feeling must naturally excite; yet surely one undivided opinion must exist, of its being totally inapplicable to foreigners; who, although they may enter the Patriot service, warm with enthusiasm for their cause, confident in its justice, and zealous to promote its triumph, are still but volunteers, or auxiliaries, personally uninterested in the dispute, and strangers to the sufferings, embittered feelings, and reciprocal wrongs, which have tended mutually to exacerbate the hostility of the two parties.

Under such circumstances it may be asked, then, Can foreigners attach themselves even to the side of justice, without compromising every feeling of honour and humanity? The answer can scarcely be otherwise than in the negative; and this alone, without particularly enforcing the



impolicy of the speculation in various other respects, is, as I humbly conceive, conclusive against British officers or British subjects identifying themselves with either of the parties engaged in the contest, which has so long ravaged and depopulated the fertile plains of the South American continent.

The occurrences at Saint Kitt's, during the interval between our agreement with Captain W———, and the departure of the Hornby, were totally destitute of either interest or importance. The difficulties with which the captain had to contend, occasioned a much longer delay in the West Indies than had been originally anticipated ; but at length, on the 28th of April, having completed every arrangement, he in the afternoon came on board, and, to our infinite joy, gave orders to prepare for sailing.

The sails were soon unfurled, and I, for the first time, found myself attached to a handspike, going my revolutions round the capstan, assisting in weighing the anchor ; but, however humble my situation, joy for my happy rescue predominated over every



other feeling, and rendered it one of the most cheerful and pleasant moments of my life. The chief-mate having received instructions to keep the vessel off-and-on the island during the night, the captain again proceeded on shore, for the purpose of procuring, if possible, a few additional men. The necessity of a sharp look out, and continual tacking, kept us on the alert until morning. On putting the ship about, my friend and I were stationed at certain haulyards, with which our intimacy, for that night only, ensured a familiarity with its name, scarcely less lasting in our memory than upon our hands.

In the afternoon of the following day, Captain W. returned, bringing with him a reinforcement of three men, which increased our crew (including himself), to the inefficient number of fifteen.

We were now under weigh, some miles from the shore; and the boat which had brought the captain on board returning, when one of our seamen (a son of St. Patrick), relenting his engagement, perhaps from contemplating the danger of proceed-

ing on the voyage with so lubberly a crew, embraced, at the risk of his life, the only opportunity left him of escaping, and, running to the gang-way, with the most daring temerity jumped headlong overboard. Before he shewed his head above water, the vessel (which was then going nearly five knots), had left him a considerable distance, and every one on board watching with the most anxious and impatient expectation for his re-appearance. At length he rose upon the waves, with the utmost composure shook the water from his head, and, looking round exultingly after the *Hornby*, appeared to bid defiance to his wondering shipmates. Our fears for his personal safety soon subsided, on perceiving that he was perfectly at home in his new element. He swam in the direction of the boat, which we some time after saw him reach, get aboard of, and return to the shore. This man was unfortunately one of our best seamen, a circumstance which occasioned much regret, as there were now remaining on board only five experienced mariners, the rest of our crew being landsmen who were as little

acquainted with the management of a vessel as ourselves ; their services were, notwithstanding, most acceptable, owing to the great difficulty experienced in procuring seamen throughout the West Indies, from whence they take every opportunity to join the Independent fleet, or of proceeding to the United States, where innumerable privateers were then fitting out for the same service.

It was not, however, without much mortification, we recognized in our new associates, three of the privates originally attached to our late brigade on board the *Britannia* ; to whose intrusion and familiarity we now were subjected without any superiority of rank or distinction ; but, in justice to these men, I must observe, that they were not altogether forgetful of their former subordinate situation, nor did they presume so much as might be apprehended upon our humiliated condition, and temporary equality.

On this day, the 29th, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we sailed from Bassterroads, steering a N. W. course, with a

gentle easterly breeze, and, with feelings of pleasure to which we had long been strangers, observed the town and shipping gradually recede from our view, and diminish into obscurity. Shortly after dusk, we were close in with Eustatia, and, on the ensuing morning (the 30th), the islands of Saint Martin and Anguilla were discernible; early in the afternoon Dog Island bore faintly in sight to the N. E., from which we took our departure, and bade a final adieu to the West Indies. Although yet scarcely clear of the islands we began to anticipate the enjoyment of home, and cheerful society of friends, in which we had frequently almost despaired of participating. Feelings so enlivening and joyous reconciled us, in a great measure, to the roughness of our duty, and stimulated us to a lively discharge of our novel and laborious employment.

Having now cleared every obstruction, and being once more afloat upon the wide Atlantic, we set all sail and steered a N. E. course. With the exception of a few slight squalls, accompanied by much vivid light-



ning, we experienced an uninterrupted continuance of fine weather, and favourable though light winds, which enabled us to carry our studding-sails nearly the entire voyage to the Azores; which islands we made on Tuesday the 26th of May, without having once had occasion to put the ship about.

So favorable a passage has probably been rarely experienced from the West Indies, and was to be attributed, independently of the season, to our course, which varied considerably from that generally adopted by vessels homeward-bound from the windward islands. The masters of West-Indiamen, almost uniformly, in the first instance, proceed nearly due north until they reach the island of Bermuda, from whence they take a fresh departure, and steer direct for England, but Captain W——, aware of the incompetency of his crew to contend with the bad weather, heavy gales, and fogs, usually experienced off the great bank of Newfoundland, judiciously deviated from the customary track, and stood to the N. E. by E., keeping the ship as close as she



would lay to the southward and eastward ; by which means he was enabled to fetch the western islands, so unfrequently touched at, except by vessels for the immediate purpose of commercial traffic.

Of these islands the first land made was Pico, whose lofty summit was by the ship's log discernible, at the great distance of twenty-four leagues ; and on our approach, the following day, presented an appearance inconceivably bold and majestic ; its insulated situation, extreme elevation, and luxuriant scenery, combining to form a view of the most impressive grandeur.

The peak was seen proudly towering above massy clouds, which, hanging upon the steep sides of the mountain, at intervals occasioned a partial obscurity, and even sometimes appeared to envelop the base itself.

As we bore up abreast of the channel, which separates the island from Fayal, the density of the atmosphere became less intense, and the clouds gradually dispersing as the sun advanced above the horizon, the

celebrated Peak was shortly after visible in all its sublimity ; a few light clouds still hovering around its summit, increasing the general interest of the scene. Its extreme height is generally estimated at upwards of 7,000 feet above the level of the sea, and cultivation appeared to have been carried to within about one-third of the summit. These lofty regions were not only unsubdued by human industry, but apparently destitute of even the slightest vestige of natural vegetation. Here nature reigned in the midst of the most picturesque and barren wildness, more strikingly interesting as contrasted with the luxuriant fertility of the lower and inhabited districts. The entire island seemed devoted to the growth of the vine, which rendered its appearance rather gloomy and sombre ; enlivened, however, by the white cottages of the peasantry, the monasteries, churches, and a few other elevated buildings.

Owing to the lightness of the wind, we were unable to make Fayal as early as we had expected ; and it was five o'clock in the afternoon before we anchored in the roads

of Horta, the capital of that island. The prospect which unfolded itself as we approached the harbour, surpassed in natural beauty any thing I had ever before witnessed; equal to the most highly-cultivated pleasure grounds in England. The island throughout exhibited a charming variety of scenery, and its features were, in many parts, in the highest degree romantic.

The weather being so uncommonly calm, and the sea free from the slightest ruffle, I attempted to make a few sketches, but never before more sensibly felt the inadequacy of my pencil to do justice to the captivating scenery which successively presented itself.

The Azores in general abound, I am convinced, in beauties of the most diversified character, richly deserving the attention of the artist, and well calculated to reward his labours, and display the extent and vigour of his talent.

As the vessel sailed round the point, and entered the roads of Horta, the prospect was peculiarly fine. The town is built close to the shore, and, viewed from the

harbour, has the appearance of considerable magnitude and importance, owing principally to the great number of religious buildings conspicuous in every direction ; and which, on first appearing before the little city, give it an air of architectural magnificence, of which, with the exception of the monasteries, churches, and a few private houses, a more minute acquaintance proves it to be totally devoid.

Shortly after the Hornby entered the roads, the revenue officers, attended by a strong military guard, came on board ; but, after examining our papers, and going through the usual forms, retired, leaving two officers in charge of the vessel, and granting us unrestricted permission to go ashore whenever we pleased. Of this indulgence we soon availed ourselves, accompanied by one of the officers for a guide. It was now fast approaching to twilight, the evening serene, and the convent bells chiming with the most plaintive solemnity for vespers. Our conductor led us through the principal parts of the town, pointing out the various objects deserving



attention, and describing the different religious orders to which the numerous monastic structures, &c., respectively belonged.

The height of the houses seldom exceed two stories, and are principally built of a close blue granite or lime-stone, with which the island abounds; it is capable of being worked to any degree of ornamental richness, and can be raised in blocks of considerable magnitude, presenting, when wrought, a durable and handsome appearance. The windows, which, at the time of Captain Cook's visit, were merely latticed, are now universally furnished with glass, those of the second story have likewise trellis-work balconies generally attached to them, where the inhabitants usually resort to enjoy the mild and salubrious evening temperature. The principal street, which runs nearly parallel with the shore, and extends throughout the whole length of the town, is irregular, in many parts narrow, roughly paved, and without footpaths.

Horta, although formerly a place of considerable strength, cannot at present be



said to be well fortified, as the works have in many places been permitted to fall into decay. Its chief defence consists in three forts, two of which cover the principal landing-place at the south end of the town, and are strongly garrisoned: the other, situated at the northern extremity, appears of minor importance, and is less attended to. An old wall and rampart, nearly in a ruinous state, extends along the front of the town, ill calculated in its present condition, to afford protection, and without a gun mounted on any part.

The monasteries and convents partake principally of the Moorish style of architecture, and chiefly consist of a lofty and ornamental white front, terminating in the centre in a curved line pediment, containing some emblematical religious device; a square tower at either side, with circular-headed windows, black quoins, cornices, belting courses, &c., and surmounted by Turkish or Arabic turrets. The rear presents nothing more than a plain building of rough masonry.

The Jesuits' college was originally a fine

and graceful structure, but now partly in a state of dilapidation ; such parts as still remain habitable have been converted into government offices and king's stores. This building is situated on an eminence, towards the north end of the town, and has an imposing appearance.

During our perambulations through this little city, the only interruption to the placid stillness of the evening was the tinkling of guitars, which proceeded from almost every house, and appeared to be the general pastime of the inhabitants. After night-fall the Portuguese seldom go abroad ; the few we met were wrapped up in large blue cloaks ; and walking with an air of the most solemn gravity. About ten o'clock we returned on board, but early on the ensuing morning again proceeded on shore. This being market-day, the peasantry were crowding in from all parts of the island with various articles of provision, consisting of butter, eggs, poultry, &c., which were to be had remarkably cheap. The men exhibited much the appearance of the hardy mountaineer, inured

to the fatigues of toilsome and laborious industry. Cleanliness, good order, and contentment seemed to characterize the women, whose peculiarity of dress, healthy appearance, and apparent artlessness of manners, give them an air of the most interesting rustic simplicity.

I was informed that the inhabitants of Fayal, and the Azores in general, enjoy a life of the most social and domestic happiness, and are far superior both in elegance of manners and liberality of sentiment to the generality of Portuguese resident on the Continent of Europe. On proceeding a short distance into the interior, the scenery fully justified my prepossession on landing. The luxuriant evergreen *Faya* (from which the island is said to have derived its name) grows unheeded in almost every direction. The gardens possess a combined assemblage of Tropical and European trees ; that of the American Consul (Mr. Dabney) was a perfect little paradise, presenting the interesting novelty of the orange and banana, flourishing in the same soil, beside

the apple and other fruits of common English growth. The different compartments were enclosed by hedges of geranium bearing a full-blown scarlet blossom, in appearance particularly rich and beautiful.

An intimation from Captain Walker, that the vessel was ready for sea, precluded the possibility of extending our excursion so far into the island as we had intended, and with much regret we were compelled to return on board.

Through the zealous attention of the British Consul (Mr. Parkins) who procured for us during that day every necessary we stood in need of, the *Hornby* was, by five o'clock in the afternoon, cleared out, and once more ready to proceed on her voyage. About six we weighed anchor and steered a N. E. course, close by the west point of the island of Saint George's, next morning observed Gracioza, bearing E. and by N., and at eleven o'clock passed within four miles of it. Its general appearance was rather barren, presenting a brown turf-like soil, and much covered with heather;



towards the S. W. end the shore bluff and rocky, against which the sea beats with much violence and breaks to an immense height; the interior of the island is mountainous. The wind continued favourable until the sixth of June, when it shifted round to the N. E., and sent us considerably out of our course to the westward. The wind still continuing adverse, we on the tenth tacked, and stood in for the Bay of Biscay, when it became variable, and gradually veering round to the N. W. we were obliged to continue beating about, occasionally trying for soundings; our longitude, from the rapid currents, baffling winds, &c., was uncertain, but we supposed ourselves in the long. of Ushant. On Saturday the thirteenth we got soundings in 80 fathoms, and next day at noon discovered Ushant, bearing E. and by N. distant about five leagues. The wind still becoming more favourable, we, at 5 P.M., cleared Ushant, stood up Channel with a fine breeze, and late on the following day (16th June) arrived in Portsmouth harbour. We



took leave of Captain Walker, with mutual feelings of friendship and regard ; his conduct and attention throughout the voyage having evinced the warm kindness of his heart, and secured our lasting and most grateful remembrance.

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## CONCLUSION.

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I HAVE endeavoured to give, in the preceding pages, a full and explicit account of every interesting and important occurrence connected with the late unfortunate enterprise; but being totally unaccustomed to literary composition, and having now, for the first, and probably for the last time, ventured to intrude upon the public attention, I trust indulgence will be extended to its defects and inaccuracies. I do not, in any degree, aim at the character of an Author; should, therefore, my little Narrative, from the temporary importance of its subject, be considered deserving of notice, it will, I trust encounter mild and lenient criticism.

Had I exclusively consulted my own individual feelings, I would have cautiously

shunned the notoriety to which a work of the kind must, more or less, give rise. My private inclinations, however, have been sacrificed to a sense of public duty, and the earnest solicitations of friends, who (aware of the flattering expectations diligently excited by the Patriot Agents in England, and the injury and sufferings to which a confidence in their sincerity and good faith has given birth) urged me in the strongest manner to publish an immediate and minute statement of every circumstance relative to the formation, history, and fate of the expedition to which I was so unfortunately attached.

Such a detail is, at this time, more peculiarly important; as the Agents, who have, by their intrigues and deception, occasioned the misery or destruction of such numbers of British officers, continue actively engaged in prosecuting similar disgraceful and unwarrantable practices; nor are these proceedings confined to the individuals who have been so long and unaccountably permitted to carry on the system of delusion in this country, under

the real or assumed title of “ accredited Agents of the South American Patriots,” the hollowness of their profession, and notoriety of their want of faith, might possibly render further exertions on their part, comparatively innoxious ;—but several other persons, apparently independent of each other, and all acting, it is understood, without concert or connexion with Don Mendez, are at this moment zealously engaged throughout the United Kingdom, raising extensive bodies of officers and men, avowedly for the service of the Independent Government ; and for the purpose (as may be presumed) of giving their proceedings an impressive air of official consequence, occasional *levees* are actually held in London, at which those desirous of trans-atlantic military fame experience little difficulty in procuring commissions or the promise of receiving them.

For the correctness of the preceding Narrative, I can, in most instances, personally vouch, the events, in general, having passed under my own immediate observation, and their accuracy not now depending on the

mere impression which such circumstances made upon the memory and recollection ; as, from the day of my departure from England, until that of my return, I carefully preserved a written memorial of every occurrence which appeared in the slightest degree interesting or important, with minute particulars of such information as we procured during our erratic voyages amongst the West India islands.

With reference to those parts, which more or less depend upon information, I have not the most distant apprehension of their being in any important particular contradicted ; having, on every occasion, carefully avoided the insertion of any proceedings or intelligence not founded either on general notoriety and undisputed truth, or not received through such channels as justified unqualified confidence and credit.

The accounts which have been introduced of the state of affairs on the Spanish Main, nature of the warfare, &c., were not the result of mere individual communication, or received from parties biassed and prejudiced against the Patriot cause. They



were, in numerous instances, derived from quarters, in which the feelings and prepossessions were at utter variance with the intelligence—and the universal sentiment throughout the West Indies, and information, through whatever channel procured, were in these respects, too confirmatory to allow the most remote degree of hesitation or doubt.

The very fate of the expedition is almost conclusive evidence of the extraordinary misconception under which the British officers laboured ; and of the illusive and faithless engagements of those persons in England, by whom it was more particularly encouraged and promoted.

It now only remains for me to express a hope that I may not be considered as having too far trespassed upon the public attention, by the occasional introduction of my own opinion and observation. In this respect, however, I have not presumed much upon the patience of the reader, and never with a hostile feeling towards the cause of the Independents. That cause must stand or fall upon its own insulated merits : confi-

dent in its abstract justice, I heartily wish it speedy and perfect success,—but without the sacrifice of British blood, or the compromise of British honour.



THE END.

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