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E-List 6: Historical Documents

Richard Allen: African-American Founder, Bishop, Abolitionist and Chimney Sweep

Trade and Unrest in Revolutionary Latin America, 1809-1838: The Eliphalet Smith Archive
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An incidental but highly suggestive document from the life of Richard Allen, whom historian Richard Newman has argued should be recognized as being numbered among “the broader pantheon of American founders” (Newman, 14). Born into slavery, Allen taught himself to read and write. Performing extra work for pay, he was able to buy his freedom in 1780. Inspired by circuit-riding ministers, Allen joined the Methodists in 1777, and was qualified as a preacher in 1784. Repudiating their second-class status at St. George’s Methodist Episcopal Church, which segregated white and black congregants, Allen and his colleague Absalom Jones (1746-1818) formed the Free African Society in 1787. In 1794, this was reorganized as the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, which after years of legal struggle gave rise to the AME Church, the first independent African-American denomination. In addition to his revolutionary religious leadership, Allen would serve the black community in other ways as well, though his efforts on behalf of the causes of abolition and African colonization.

Allen’s came to prominence as a mediator between Philadelphia’s power elite and the black community through his leadership during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. The epidemic hit the city of 50,000 residents in August 1793. By November, one out of ten Philadelphians had succumbed to the disease, and almost 20,000 people had fled the city. Benjamin Rush, a physician, abolitionist, and signer of the Declaration of Independence, established camps to tend to the sick. Believing that people of color were resistant to yellow fever as they were to malaria, Rush turned to the black community for help. Richard Allen and Absalom Jones stepped forward, “sensible that it was our duty to do all the good we could to our suffering fellow mortals” (Jones & Allen, 3). The work included heavy labor such as hauling away the dead as well as delicate operations, such as bleeding infected patients – the remedy recommended by the College of Physicians. Writing to his wife, Rush expressed gratitude to his “African brethren” who “furnish nurses to most of my patients.” (Butterfield, 654) As Newman argues, Richard Allen’s leadership during the yellow fever epidemic provided the foundations for his establishment of the AME Church and his political activities.
Allen funded his religious and political activities through economic enterprises. His various businesses included laboring as a whitewasher, dry goods dealer and cobbler, as well as a master chimney sweep. As Newman notes:

"Allen's chimney-sweeping business was particularly profitable. Ever known as a dangerous trade, chimney sweeps stuffed themselves into the narrowest possible fireplace chutes, danced on top of sharply slanted roofs, and spent their days face-to-face with ashes and soot. (Newman, 56)"

Because the work was both necessary and dangerous, Newman continues, “Philadelphians had established a price index that paid chimney sweepers according to risk – the higher the chimney, the greater the wages” (Newman, 56). Chimney sweeping was also one of the few lucrative avenues of employment open to young men of color, for whom other positions of mastery in labor were closed off. Allen started his business in 1789, and hired apprentices to help him, offering employment opportunities “to black men and women transiting from slavery to freedom.” (Newman, 57). The work also exposed him to powerful white leaders. In the winters of 1797 and 1798, the customers for Allen's chimney sweeping service included George Washington's presidential mansion at Sixth and Market. His biographer speculates that Allen's interaction with the president, who was certainly aware of his leadership during the epidemic, may have influenced Washington's increasingly abolitionist sentiments (Newman, 127, 140-42).

Dated October 26, 1799, the present document is a receipt in the amount of £1 12s. for work Allen performed sweeping the chimneys at the Pennsylvania Hospital, whose staff – including Benjamin Rush – had striven on the front lines with Allen during the yellow fever epidemic several years earlier. Manuscript material by Richard Allen is very rare. His business activities are known from Washington's account books, from newspaper advertisements, and from reports of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, but we have not located other receipts akin to this example. A wonderful survival documenting a subtle and important relationship between one of America's founders and the communities he served.

Works Cited:

Jones, Absalom and Richard Allen, A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People During the Late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia... (Philadelphia, 1794).

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$12,000
An Important Correspondence Archive Relating Primarily to Latin American Trade and Politics during the Wars of Independence from Spain, as well as Trade with China, with Allied Documents, 1809-1838.

Mostly Latin America, 1809 - 1838. Over 150 pieces, comprising over 280 pages, .5 linear feet.

The Massachusetts merchant Captain Eliphalet Smith Jr. (1780-1838) was a merchant trading primarily in Latin America during the Revolutionary Period. Described by the Chilean historian Diego Barros Arana as “an unscrupulous adventurer who saw in the countries struggling for independence nothing more than a field for his speculations,” Smith bore witness to many seminal events in the continent’s political history. These letters offer first-hand accounts of such events as the Sieges of Cadiz and Montevideo, Admiral William Brown’s victories in the Argentinian Independence War, the Peruvian silver trade, Simon Bolivar’s arrival in Guayaquil, and the battles of Real Felipe Fortress.

Smith's business correspondence from the period sheds light on the pro-Regency networks active in the Americas during the period, as his loyalties - like most merchants - were based on the Spanish Armada's control of trade. The tensions between Smith and the nascent Chilean government came to a head when goods from Smith's ship, the Brig Macedonian were seized by Lord Cochrane, Vice Admiral of the Chilean Squadron in two separate incidents in 1818 and 1821. The ensuing legal disputes would cast a long shadow over relations between the United States and Chile until the cases were resolved by international tribunal. The collection includes several original documents relating to the episodes, including Smith's recollections of the events and several letters to investors describing the confiscated goods.

Smith's efforts and their tacit support by the U.S. government make him a key figure in early relations between the United States and the new Latin American regimes. In 1822, an agent of the United States State Department acknowledged that “the Brigs Canton and Macedonian were for more than three years constantly violating blockades, neutral and belligerent rights, and supplying the royalists and flew the Spanish flag.” Likewise, historian Patricia Marks writes that Smith had business connections with Spanish merchants in Peru, and refers to a quote from Viceroy to Peru, Joaquín de la Pezuela: “Smith and the Macedonian became anathemas to the patriots. San Martín is reputed to have said that he did more damage to the cause of liberty than any other man.” Historian Joseph Byrne Lockey points out that Smith's actions had greater implications regarding the perception of the United States in Revolutionary Era Latin America: “The conduct of Captain Smith, supported in so far as it was legal, by the government at Washington, contributed, together with other incidents of a similar sort, not a little to the dimming of the earlier impression of the Patriots that the United States would be, in the struggle, their friend and ally.”
The collection here consists of 153 documents from Smith's estate, including letters received by Smith, mercantile inventories, and holograph copies of letters sent by Smith during the period. Correspondents include Smith's contacts in Latin America and his creditors in the United States. As a collection the documents relay scarce firsthand accounts of several seminal political events, and map an extensive network of mercantile contacts and inventories. They are worthy of further research by scholars of the political history of Latin America and Spain and of early United States / Latin American relations, as well as scholars of trade between China and Latin America.

Overall the collection presents an uncommon opportunity to acquire primary source material from Latin America's Revolutionary Period. We find records from the Macedonian and Smith in the Forbes family collection at Harvard, as well as some later documents relating to Smith's claims at the University of Virginia Special Collections. We find no publicly held examples of Smith's personal correspondence or papers prior to 1820. A full write-up and inventory follows.

$27,500
The Eliphalet Smith Archive - Full Description and Inventory

The Eliphalet Smith archive contains 153 documents relating to the business activity of Eliphalet Smith, a merchant from Boston who traded in South America during the 19th century. The documents include letters, inventories, invoices, and receipts relating to Smith's trade business between 1809-1838. Smith's routes were based at various times in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Arequipa; his ship stops and destinations included Rio de Janeiro, Cádiz, Lisbon, Boston, Valparaiso, Callao, and Canton. Smith's documents refer to merchant networks in Antwerp and London, as well. While based in Argentina from 1810-1815, Smith traded in hides, paper, iron, ribbons, wheat, and flour. While based in Peru from 1818-1824, Smith’s records show his cargo included plata piña (unminted silver), spices, coffee, cacao, leather, alcohol, nankins (Chinese cotton goods), India cotton, silk, earthenware, indigo, mate, gold, wool, and crockery including dishes in the “oriental pattern,” “India pattern,” and “milkmaid pattern.” The merchant ships mentioned in this archive include the Constante, Constellation, Macedonian, Ocain, O'Higgins, Ontario, Fly, Franklin, Esther, and Arab.

Smith's documents provide a window into the affairs of a U.S. merchant trading internationally against the backdrop of the Napoleonic Wars, the revolutionary era in South America, and shifting dynamics of trade with China. These global circumstances dictated the scope of Smith's business: the Napoleonic Wars created an opening for American merchants in the international market, and operating out of South America meant Smith had access to silver, which fueled trade with China. Smith was living in Argentina and Peru when each region was becoming independent from Spain. While his own political leanings are not often stated outright in his documents, his actions imply that he was at odds with revolutionary efforts. References to Smith in secondary sources such as newspaper articles and academic books state that his trade routes in South America were affiliated with Spain and functioned to hinder patriots fighting for independence. Further study of this archive can provide insight into the role of American merchants such as Eliphalet Smith in the independence efforts of Argentina, Chile, and Peru.

Between 1810-1814, as Spain was engaged in the Napoleonic Wars, Smith was shipping hides and paper from Montevideo to Cádiz. From 1808-1813, Napoleon had kept King Ferdinand VII of Spain as a prisoner in France, and appointed his brother Josef Bonaparte as King of Spain. In the absence of the Spanish King, localities created “juntas” to govern. In 1808 Spanish authorities, seeking to organize the juntas and retaliate against the French, created a representative body for the Monarchy called the Junta Central that had representatives from local juntas. The process of forming local juntas was replicated across the Spanish Americas, and some of those juntas were organized under regional congresses. In 1810, the Junta Central met in Cádiz and dissolved itself to form the Council of Regency, which drafted Spain’s first constitution. Though American delegates participated in creating the Constitution of 1812, “American juntas saw the dissolution of the Junta Central and creation of the Council of the Regency in 1810 as a usurpation and local struggles for
Independence from Spain emerged in many parts of the Spanish empire.\footnote{“The Age of Spanish American Revolutions: Formation of Local Juntas and the Spanish Attempt to Retain Control.” The John Carter Brown Library, \url{https://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/exhibitions/spanishage/pages/juntas.html}. Accessed 19 May 2020.} The forming of local juntas in Spanish America, some of which declared their loyalty to the King and some to the constitution, was the first step in creating independent governing bodies that eventually would leave the empire. Also important to this archive, during this time the Regency controlled the Spanish Armada and therefore trade, and so merchants had to be loyal to the King in order to receive the benefits of international trade. All of these dynamics come into play in Smith’s letters.

It seems likely that Smith was an intermediary merchant for Spain during the Napoleonic Wars, or at least that he got business as a result of the conflict in Europe. According to historian Alejandra Irigoin, during the Napoleonic Wars American merchants were able to maintain nominally “neutral” positions, which benefited them:


In 1810, Smith was delivering a shipment of hides to Spain when he was caught for months in the Siege of Cádiz. The Siege of Cádiz was a decisive conflict in the Napoleonic Wars that weakened Napoleon’s power in Europe. Letters from 1810–1812 describe how the French occupied the Bay of Cádiz and occasionally opened fire. In May 1810, Smith writes, “The day before yesterday we had a boat come along side for cargo when a shell from the french broke so near that some of the piers (?) fell into the longboat we had immediately to unmoor the ship and move her further out...” Smith’s letters focus on his delays in unloading the ship, and the economic impact of the conflict. Referring to his attempts to sell the ship in order to leave Spain, he writes, “the situation in this country is such that people who have money are afraid to part with it on any account...”

Smith was witness not only to the Napoleonic Wars, but also to the regional conflicts in Rio de la Plata (present-day Argentina) and the Banda Oriental (present-day Uruguay), as the juntas in the region jockeyed for power from Spain as well as from each other. At this time, Smith was based in Buenos Aires and his primary colleagues were based in Montevideo. Montevideo was one of the main port cities in the Spanish Atlantic, and its location put it in the middle of the competing forces of Buenos Aires, Brazil, Great Britain and the Spanish empire. Between 1813-1815, letters exchanged between Smith and his colleagues in the region describe the patriot Siege of Montevideo. In February of 1814, Samuel McCall writes, “Never have we been so badly off as at present, having neither bread, fresh meat, poultry, fruit or vegetables. Jerked beef, fish, rice and
beans form our table with little variation, added to this doing bad business, asking uselessly monies due + not a single foreign newspaper for months.” A letter from April 1814, unsigned, describes battle details of General William Brown's victory at the Island of Martin Garcia, which allowed the Argentinean navy to gain control of Uruguay's rivers. In a letter from August 1815, Smith, writing from Buenos Aires to McCall in Montevideo, mentions leader Jose Artigas: “The deputy who came from Artigas returns tomorrow after remaining here for many days under the particular protections of two aids belonging to the government. I believe no settlement of differences is likely to take place & war between your side & this is I think likely to be the order of the day.” This letter hints at dynamics between the juntas in Montevideo and Buenos Aires; Buenos Aires was the Junta Suprema of the region, and Montevideo rejected its leadership.3

By 1817, Smith had returned to the United States and was in financial trouble. Two documents from this period give insight into the opportunities he was weighing in order to better his circumstances. One document, unsigned but likely written by Smith, contains notes to a colleague named Balch about the idea of moving west to Ohio. In 1817, there was significant migration to Ohio from New England, as the War of 1812 and a cold summer had damaged the eastern economy.4 Balch seems to have wanted to go into business bringing settlers west. Smith was initially interested, but then expresses uncertainty: “Since writing you last I’ve convers’d with several inteligent men who have been all over the western country and two who have lived on the Ohio ten years and have finally gave it up and returned. In fact all my friends to a man advise me not to think of moving that way.” One of the people who advised Smith against moving west was S. Curson, a merchant based in Havana. Curson instead encouraged Smith to continue using his expertise in the Spanish trade to begin trading in silver from Peru. “You cannot doubt when I tell you I have given up most valuable permission to work the Spanish mines in Peru. I am satisfied steady effects & certain emoluments with connections preserved & accumulating are to be preferred to all the dreams of discoveries & extraordinary emoluments. Take my advice, my friend, sell your patent & come into this trade to which you will be an acquisition.” Though Curson’s name does not appear again in this archive, Smith did choose to move to Peru and his ship inventories show he was trading in Plata Piña, or unminted silver. We cannot confirm if he was in business with the mines Curson references or not.

In Peru, Smith’s trade activity on the west coast of South America at times involved him in revolutionary events. Based on Smith’s documents, he began trading with China after moving to Peru in 1818. His access to silver was likely a driving factor in this. According to Irigoin, “North American intermediaries accounted for a full 97 percent of silver imported into China between 1807 and 1833... and over the subsequent thirty or forty years they were the sole source of silver from the West.”5 The viceroyalty of Peru was a large territory that included parts of Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador, and it was the royalist base in South America. During the 1820s, revolutionary armies led

5 Irigoin, “The End of a Silver Era.”
by Jose de San Martin from the South and Simón Bolivar from the north sought to gain command of Peru. In July 1822, after being unable to defeat the royalists in Peru, San Martin met Bolivar in Guayaquil, Ecuador, in what is known as the Guayaquil Conference. One letter to Smith from July 1822 describes Bolivar's arrival in Guayaquil in detail. “General Bolivar returned Guayaquil on the 11th July with about three thousand men he was received by the populace with open arms but I cannot say what sincerity there was, but if I may judge from the great noise, parties, (?) Balls & (?) & Bull Beats given in honor to him there is no doubt of the friendly feeling...” Not much is known of the Guayaquil meeting, but the result was that San Martin resigned and Bolivar took over the fight for independence in Peru. Documents from later years show that Smith was sometimes more directly involved in revolutionary events. In 1827, Smith and his colleagues were implicated in the Siege of Real Felipe Fortress, which marked one of Spain's final battles in Peru. During the Siege of the fortress, some of Smith's goods were seized by the Governor of Callao for the patriot army. It is unclear which side Smith was on; the letters that document the event are attempts to get the Chilean government to reimburse his business for the goods.

A significant number of documents between 1818-1838 relate to several incidents in which Smith's cargo was seized from the *Macedonian* as it returned from Canton, China. Twice, in 1818 and 1821, Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Navy Thomas Cochrane seized valuable cargo from the *Macedonian*. In 1822, after patriots were in control of the government in Lima, the *Macedonian* was seized by the government there. Each of these incidents resulted in court claims, some of which led to diplomatic cases that took years to settle. Letters and affidavits from the decade after these incidents show that Smith sought legal advice and eventually the case of the 1821 seizure made it to the United States Senate, as an international issue between the U.S. and Chile.

These incidents demonstrate how Smith's trade was linked with the interests of the royalists on the west coast of South America. In 1822, an agent of the United States State Department acknowledged that “the Brig Canton and *Macedonian* were for more than three years constantly violating blockades, neutral and belligerent rights, and supplying the royalists and flew the Spanish flag.” Likewise, historian Patricia Marks writes that Smith had business connections with Spanish merchants in Peru, and refers to a quote from Viceroy to Peru, Joaquin de la Pezuela: “Smith and the *Macedonian* became anathemas to the patriots. San Martin is reputed to have said that he did more damage to the cause of liberty than any other man.” Historian Joseph Byrne Lockey points out that Smith's actions had greater implications regarding the perception of the United States in revolutionary-era Latin America: “The conduct of Captain Smith, supported in so far as it was legal, by the government at Washington, contributed, together with other incidents of a similar sort, not a little to the dimming of the earlier impression of the Patriots that the United States would be, in

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the struggle, their friend and ally." For these reasons, the relationship between Smith’s business and revolutionary efforts in Chile and Peru is worthy of further research.

Inventory

153 letters

1809 - (1 document, 2 pages)


1810 - (18 documents, 30 pages)

- 9 documents, 21 pages, relating to shipments, including the voyage of the Frigate Constante from Montevideo to Cádiz. January - August, 1810. Invoices, expense accounts, receipts of payment, letters. Documents detail the food they were eating on the voyages; that they were using African slave labor (one line item is “negro hire loading, deloading,” one letter says “This will inform you that slaves just got the last of my cargo on board.”); that they were shipping paper and hides.

- 9 letters, 9 pages, from Smith in Cádiz after the Constante arrived there with the shipment. April - August 1810. 3 letters to Joseph Hunt; 3 to Phillip Jansom; and others. The letters contain descriptions of the Siege of Cádiz, details of billing and payment for the goods, and the process of selling the ship after the voyage.

Cádiz was one of Spain’s most important ports, and a key player in the Peninsular War. In 1810, Madrid and Northern Spain were under Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte’s control, but Cádiz refused to surrender to the French. The siege of Cádiz lasted from February 5, 1810-August 25, 1812. The port survived the siege, and Napoleon’s inability to gain full control of Spain was the beginning of the end of his empire.\footnote{Hindley, Meredith. “The Spanish Ulcer: Napoleon, Britain, and the Siege of Cádiz.” \textit{HUMANITIES}, January/February 2010, Volume 31, Number 1, \texttt{https://www.neh.gov/humanities/2010/januaryfebruary/feature/the-spanish-ulcer}. Accessed 7 April 2020.}

Smith describes his difficulty with unloading the hides from the ship, as the bay is under fire from the French and he is concerned about the ship getting damaged. On May 8, 1810, he writes, “The French as yet are quietly erecting battery but when they open I expect they will make great destruction in some parts of this City if not among the shipping however I hope they will be civil enough to wait until I have realiz’d the cash for the C…” And on May 21: “...The day before yesterday we had a boat come along side for cargo when a shell from the french broke so near that some of the piers (?) fell into the longboat we had immediately to unmoor the ship and move her further out where the shipping...” The letters show how Smith’s business is delayed as the conflict intensifies, and how the conflict affected the market. Referring to his attempts to sell the ship, he writes to Hunt, “the situation in this country is such that people who have money are afraid to part with it on any account...”
1812 - (3 documents, 12 pages)

- One letter, 4 pages, in which Smith writes notes to several men including John Cauley and Edward Sharp, appealing to them for insurance of the cargo on the Constante during the voyage back to Montevideo. March 1812.

- Two documents, 8 pages, relating to cargo and expenses, June 1812–Jan 1816.

1813 - (23 documents, 42 pages)

- 11 letters, 28 pages, exchanged between Smith in Buenos Aires and Samuel M’Call in Montevideo. 9 letters from McCall, 2 from Smith. March 1813–November 1813, during the Siege of Montevideo. During the Siege of Montevideo, which occurred on and off between 1810–1814, Argentinean and Uruguayan forces put the Spaniards in Montevideo under siege.

In his letters, McCall discusses personal and business matters. In March 1813, he writes “times are getting very hard indeed here, and the suffering, I really believe, surpasses the general idea of it, every chap feels the effect, expenses of house keeping enormous and none making a farthing but the importers of viveres [in spanish: provisions].” He writes when he is in low spirits, and asks Smith to send food – meat and cabbage -- which Smith does. On the business side of things, M’Call confirms the arrival of shipments and discusses investment opportunities. Their primary goods seem to be paper and ribbons. He frequently mentions Stewart, who is in business with them. Though M’Call is impatient with the political circumstance, he also sees some opportunity in it. In March he writes, “now, this very epoch, is the moment to be doing something, whilst most others are sleeping, waiting the result of the present state of political affairs.”

There are fewer letters from Smith. In one from September, he says, “since I wrote to you last the government has ordered all the Spaniards to leave BA,” and “the people here are indefatigable in every kind of warlike preparation.”

- 8 letters, 11 pages, in Spanish, March–September 1813. Correspondence and instructions about shipping on the Constante between Smith and his contacts Yldefonso García and Rogue Pérez. Goods mentioned: socks, flour, silver, cacao, ribbons, iron, and paper. García is Smith’s agent in Montevideo. He and Smith correspond about a fine or tax that has been imposed on cargo inside their ship; they claim they do not have any cargo on the ship, and that this is a conspiracy. There is also an unsigned note saying that the city of Montevideo is allowing foreign and national ships to bring and sell provisions; the authorities offered protection to the traders. The writer asks Smith to consider sending his

frigate to the United States to buy some flour, and to bring it back to Montevideo to earn some silver. In response to García, Smith asks not to show his name in the papers, nor the name of Francisco Olevilla. In his correspondence with Rogue Pérez, too, Smith asks to stay informed about the progress of his ship, but not by using his name on any papers. Instead, he asks Perez to use his servant’s name, Juan, as the owner of the frigate.

Based on these correspondences to Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro, it is clear that Smith was using a route heading northward: Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio, and Lisbon. One of the letters also mentions imports from London to Lisbon. Smith is asking García not to give his name in Montevideo because not only does he owe debts and fines there, but also the Captain-General in Montevideo (the governor of the province) was against them. This is because Montevideo is in conflict with Buenos Aires as part of the Independence War; and because Smith is moving between Empires (Portugal, Spain, England) during the Napoleonic Wars.

- 4 letters, 6 pages, in English, July - October 1813. Letters and inventory regarding shipping goods to Rio and then on to Lisbon on the Constante. Goods include paper, clothing, wheat, and flour. One letter, from 30 September, goes into detail about how payment works for the ship and the cargo - there are many people in the chain who buy the goods and then get reimbursed at different points of the shipment process. Getting the ship back to South America is contingent on being able to sell goods, reimburse the chain, and load the ship with return goods.

1814 - (13 documents, 25 pages)

- 6 letters, 14 pages, exchanged between Smith in Buenos Aires and Samuel McCall in Montevideo. This correspondence occurred between January-August 1814, during the Siege of Montevideo. 5 letters from McCall, 1 from Smith.

As in 1813, McCall writes to Smith about the political situation in Montevideo, and requests food as little is available. He also writes about business, asking Smith to pay him so he can pay others back, and make an investment. In the August letter, he congratulates Smith on getting work with a distillery.

- 6 letters, 9 pages, in Spanish, January-April 1814. 4 to Smith, from contacts in Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro. 2 from Smith in Buenos Aires. These letters refer to Smith’s trade route to Lisbon, and reference the political climate they encountered along the route: the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, lack of food in the Siege of Montevideo, and the need for armistice in order to travel through South America.

In letters exchanged with Yldefonso García, García refers to “Macol” (likely M’Call) as a stupid and senesless man because he has not paid García; Smith defends M’Call and arranges for him to be paid. Another contact in Montevideo, Miguel Garcia, writes with business updates.
and also asks for cookies, as he only has enough bread for a few days. Pérez writes to Smith upon arriving in Rio after 37 days of sailing from Lisbon. He relays news from Europe: two Spanish deputies went to France, and Fernando VII is in Paris concluding the peace treaty with the French. In response, Smith says he is waiting for an armistice so Pérez and Juan can get to Buenos Aires from Rio.

- 1 letter, 2 pages, to Henry Child, from Buenos Aires, not signed. April 12, 1814. In quite a lot of detail, the author describes General Brown taking possession of the Island of Martin Garcia. He mentions Captain Notter, who was a loyalist fighting against Brown, and how even when he was wounded and they were carrying him, “he attempted to draw his sword to cut a man down.” The writer appears to be a loyalist sympathizer. The incident he is referring to is when General William Brown captured the island of Martín García, important because it controlled access to the Parana and Uruguay rivers. At the end of the letter, the author also mentions Artigas -- “Artigas seems to me to be the most formidable enemy they have...” Not long after the date of this letter, Argentineans gained control of Rio de la Plata.

1815 - (3 documents, 5 pages)


- 2 letters, 2 pages, exchanged between Smith (first in Buenos Aires, then Colonia) and Samuel McCall in Montevideo. In Smith’s August letter, he writes that he is heading to Europe, and gives an address in London. He writes about the political situation in Buenos Aires, saying that there has recently been a deputy of Artigas there, and that “I believe that no settlement of differences is likely to take place and war between your side and this is I think likely to be the order of the day.” In McCall’s October letter, he writes about how conflict is interfering with their business: “The enclosed came to me the other day...it was sent to me from Cádiz by an American by name of Sam Larned, who has written me a damned long letter, which you shall see if you come this way - they appear to be impatient there about their interest in the Constante, without at all thinking of the state in which matters have been here as relates to our late war with England.” Sam Larned later became consul to Cádiz and served as a diplomat in South America.

1816 - (5 documents, 10 pages)

- 5 letters, 10 pages, exchanged while Smith is in Antwerp, March-May 1816. 4 from Smith, 1 to Smith. Correspondence with John M. Miele, Mr. Price, and Sam Larned. Smith is trying, with difficulty, to sell the Constante, collect the payments, and get back to Massachusetts (he writes that he has been “left without a shilling”). In a March letter, Smith writes “all kinds of

business on the Continent seems to be in a state of stagnation and will be until trade works itself into a proper channel from which is has been so long so long obstructed by that rascal of a Nap who by the by I'm sorry to say is very popular in this part of the country." It seems possible that Smith is referring to Napoleon here. Napoleon went into exile in October 1815, but his influence was likely still felt economically in Europe in 1816.

1817 - (2 documents, 5 pages)

- Several notes, written on 2 pages, not signed but likely from Smith, Dec - March 1817. Addressed to either Carson or Balch. The writer is in financial trouble, and is considering going west and settling in Ohio. In 1817, there was significant migration to Ohio from New England, as the War of 1812 and a cold summer had damaged the eastern economy. Balch seems to have wanted to go into business bringing settlers west.

  July 27, to Curson: “I had an idea of going into the western country and seeing if anything is to be done there for I'm heartily tired (?) of moving alone or rather of retrograding in the manner I've done for some years past & mean to (?) at whatever may offer favourable. I've not been in town since I received yours, but shall call & see Capt Night who I am acquainted with and if any arrangement your way can be made I shall most heartily enter into it.”

  March 15, to Balch: “In fact I know not which way to turn as I think our prospects to the west are rather gloomey than otherwise. Since writing you last I've convers'd with several inteligant men who have been all over the western country and two who have lived on the Ohio ten years and have finally gave it up and returned. In fact all my friends to a man advise me not to think of moving that way however all this has not affected my opinion and at least if i had the meens would take the route and see if anything should offer worth attending to but I assure you my dear sire I feel really afraid that it will cost me 150 out of 300 which all I can muster in any direction and not realize our expectations after all. As to settlers that's out of the question in this quarter. I've made every exertion in all directions without meeting the least encouragement, I wrote to Nantucket and received for answer that during the war a number of families went up that way but as soon as peace came they all (?). You say Pick has done well in this business which I believe & if we had the same meens no doubt we could do the same, he or his agents go to a family say if you will go I will pay all your expenses until you come to the ground (?) work on, this my dear sir is out of our, or at least my, however to do. Mr Ned Holder (?) of this town has got advertisements all over the place inviting farmer to settle on the Ohio on (?) land, which he is the agent for as much more reasonable terms than we could offer.”

Two notes on 3 pages, to Smith in Boston, from S. Curson in Havana. Sept 27, Oct 7th, 1817. Curson was a merchant in Havana. Smith seems to have lost a significant amount of money or business. Curson writes with advice, urging Smith to continue trading.

“Permit me however to say to you that all schemes & plans are dangerous to a man who has lost much and has little time to lose. Your advantages as regards Spanish Trade is decided, & I cannot think you could find anything would pay so well as following in this way. It might not seem brilliant at first but would grow rapidly. In two or three years you would make the shoe easy & could retire to your farm... you cannot doubt when I tell you I have given up most valuable permission to work the Spanish mines in Peru. I am satisfied steady effects & certain emoluments with connections preserved & accumulating are to be preferred to all the dreams of discoveries & extraordinary emoluments. Take my advice, my friend, sell your patent & come into this trade to which you will be an acquisition.”

1818 - (2 documents, 2 pages)

- Two copies of a document, 2 pages, containing lists of shipments and expenses. August 1818 - October 1819. “John Ellery in a/c with Eliphalet Smith.” According to the Senate documents, John S. Ellery was the owner of the Macedonian and a resident and merchant in the United States. One line item reads: “Balance in favor of Ellery which was taken by Lord Cochrane Commander of the Chili Govt Ship O'Higgins” - though this list does not mention the Macedonian by name, it refers to one of the incidents in which Cochrane seized goods from the ship.

Another item on the list is the amount of spices and plata piña on the ship Ontario. Silver from mines in Peru made up a significant portion of South American trade to China. Plata Piña, or “silver pineapple,” was unminted silver. Plata Piña got its name from the extraction process: “The metal is then taken up by quicksilver and placed in cast-iron patterns and pressed, thereby giving it form and expelling a large percentage of the quicksilver... the remaining quicksilver is distilled, leaving as the finished product a porous mass of pure silver in the shape of a pineapple.” Most important to this archive is the use of Plata Piña: “This is the class of silver used for coining and in the industrial arts, while large quantities are clandestinely taken out of the country, thus escaping the payment of the export duty of 80 cents per mar.”

1819 - (1 document, 1 page)

- One letter, 1 page, from Smith to Stephen Amadore. Discussing a shipment that included coffee, cacao, and leather. Likely also transporting alcohol, as they refer to “puncheons,” a unit for alcohol.

1821 – (4 documents, 5 pages)

- 3 letters, 4 pages, containing instructions for or regarding Juan Luis, who is going to La Paz to pick up cargo and bring it back by mule. Spanish and English. June 1821. Goods mentioned include: silk fabric, black silk fabric, fabric with linen balls or tassels, colored cotton fabric.

- 3 notes, 1 page, from 1821, Sept and Nov. From Smith to Yereberry, likely the “Yrriberry” noted in the Senate Proceedings. Smith has had business losses, and has been trading in Nankins. Nankins (“Nankeens”) are cotton goods exported from China.\footnote{Perdue, Peter C. “Rise and Fall of the Canton Trade System - I: China in the World (1700-1860s).” \textit{MIT Visualizing Cultures}, \url{https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/rise_fall_canton_01/cw_essay02.html}. Accessed 8 April 2020.}

1822 – (8 documents, 15 pages)

- 6 documents, 9 pages, relating to shipping: lists of goods, accounts, invoices, receipts. Feb-Dec 1822. Spanish and English. Ships mentioned include: the Constellation, Esther, and Macedonian. Ports mentioned include: Canton, Valparaiso, Arequipa, Callao, Chiloe, Boston. One document is “Sales of merchandise in Chiloe” from the Ship Esther of Boston. It is a long list of goods, including: India cotton, nankins, sewing silk, paper, earthenware, indigo, and mate. Another document, written in Spanish, is a list of colors and fabrics. This list uses words referring to handcrafted fabrics or other items that don’t exist anymore -- highly localized words that come from the process of making the product, or from the place of origin of the color.

  A document titled “Mr. John S. Ellery...acct for errors & omissions in the acct of brig Macedonian with E. Smith,” is significant as it likely relates to one of the trips in which the Macedonian was seized after returning from Canton, China. This account also mentions Arismendi, Perkins, and the ships Ontario and Constellation. According to the Senate documents, Arismendi was a “Spanish merchant of Lima.” According to historian Patrician Marks, the Ontario was “one of many foreign ships actively engaged in supplying resources to the royalists.”\footnote{Marks, Patricia H. \textit{Deconstructing Legitimacy: Viceroyos, Merchants, and the Military in Late Colonial Peru}, p. 277. Penn State Press, 2010.}

- 17 August 1822, one letter, 3 pages (the third has one sentence and is ripped off just after the signature), to Smith from H.H. The handwriting is difficult to read, and a portion of the
letter is missing. Here are a few fragments: “General Bolivar returned Guayaquil on the 11th July with about three thousand men he was received by the populace with open arms but I cannot say what sincerity there was, but if I may judge from the great noise, parties, (?) Balls & (?) & Bull Beats given in honor to him there is no doubt of the friendly feeling...” “...Quito free on the 25 May this has completely decided the wars (?) of this country.” “The authority of Colombia begins at the River (?) and extends to the River (?)

By 1822, Simón Bolivar had united northern South America in Gran Colombia, and José de San Martín had fought for independence in Argentina, Chile, and Peru. On July 11, 1822, Bolivar occupied Guayaquil, Ecuador. On July 25, 1822, José de San Martín arrived in Guayaquil as well, after being unable to defeat Spanish royalists in Peru. Bolivar and San Martín met in Guayaquil for several days, in a meeting known as the Guayaquil conference. There is “scanty documentation of their deliberations,” and the meeting has been a subject of debate among historians, but the result was that San Martín withdrew and Bolivar went on to lead Peru's fight for independence.

According to Ronn Pineo in *Ecuador and the United States: Useful Strangers*, the people of Guayaquil recognized that independence could lead to various outcomes, and joining Gran Colombia was the least popular. “By late 1820 local opinion in Guayaquil was divided among four options, in descending order of preference: continuing as a free city, joining Peru, remaining royal, or becoming part of Gran Colombia.” Another historian, Christon Archer, characterizes a warm welcome to San Martín in Guayaquil: “General San Martín was received by the people of Guayaquil in a manner befitting his high rank and his great contribution to the American cause. During his two day's stay in the city he divided his time between important official business and the festivities improvised by the hospitable people to celebrate the happy occasion.” For these reasons, it makes sense that H.H. is trying to gauge the “sincerity” of the attitude towards Bolivar upon his arrival in Guayaquil.

- One letter, 3 pages. 19 August, 1822. To Smith in Callao from E. Lynch in Lima. Advice and explanation for Smith regarding a legal matter, in which he is hoping to establish that a sentence is illegal. Involves his ship the Macedonian and Mr. Howe. Likely referring to the seizure of the Macedonian, which became a case in the Senate in 1858.

1823 – (6 documents, 8 pages)

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- 4 documents, 6 pages, referring to shipment, including receipts, cargo lists, and letters. Jan - April 1823. These documents show that Smith was investing in Canton and selling in Lima. One invoice is a list of 39 crates and 19 boxes of crockery, including dishes with “oriental pattern” and “india pattern” and “milkmaid pattern,” written from Valparaiso. One letter about accounts, from John Hartt, was written in Canton. Ships include the Constellation and the Macedonian.

- Two letters, 2 pages, from Smith to Hogan, March 1823. Smith is concerned the ship Ocain will get detained. Smith is writing from Valparaiso, Chile.

1824 - (23 documents, 40 pages)

- 5 letters, 10 pages, from “Edw” M’Call in Lima to Smith. Two letters are signed by Nixon & M’Call. January - July, 1824. Updates on business, ships, wool. In one letter, M’Call mentions the widow of Laguerico, who believes Smith is in debt to her regarding the “Canton speculation.” There are records of an Edw M’Call in Lima, under the company name Edward McCall & Co, who was a Navy Agent of the United States at Lima.23

- 3 letters, 4 pages, about the comings and goings of ships and cargo from Quilca. Feb - July 1824. Names include James Clay, Stephen Howe. Ships include the Ocain, the Fly, the Franklin, the O’Higgins, the Esther. Cargo includes indigo from Mexico, and silk.

- 12 letters, 20 pages, regarding a shipment from Quilca, Peru on the ship the Arab. March - July 1824. Smith is in Arequipa. Cargo seems primarily to be wool, he also mentions skins and gold and silver. Smith’s correspondence is with Captain Williams and Badlam, sometimes Howe. According to the Senate documents, Howe was Smith’s nephew. Captain Williams was not well, and Smith writes to him and to Howe and Badlam about how to help him. When writing to Badlam, he gives detailed instructions about how to move the cargo to Rio de Janeiro and then on to either Boston or Europe. Smith seems concerned that something will prevent the ship from reaching Europe, mentioning war, and he relies on Williams to give Badlam advice on the different steps of the process. Smith seems to be in financial trouble and relying on this cargo to get him out of Peru and back to Massachusetts. In a July letter to Williams, Smith writes, “Ah Stephen - how I envy every one that leaves this Country and here am I in a state of suspense without knowing what will be the final result whether I shall have my desired competency which you know is not much or whether I shall be left as...before without a cent.”

- 2 letters, 5 pages, referencing tobacco speculation and indiscreet smuggling. May - July 1824. It is not clear that these are all about the same person or incident, but seems possible. In the May letter, Daniel Cucois in Lima asks for assistance about tobacco

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speculation. In the July letter, Smith writes to Williams and Badlam about a colleague (name unclear) who behaved badly and smuggled tobacco indiscreetly and "blab’d" about it. In the July letter, Smith writes that the receiver of the letter is involved in unfortunate business and advises him to drop it and take the business hit, rather getting into bigger trouble.

- June 15, 1824. Two notes, 1 page. A letter to Daniel Coite from Smith, containing a statement describing the Macedonian's trip from Canton to Peru when it was forcibly taken by Thomas Cochrane. Smith specifically states the money from Coite that was invested and lost. This account reflects accounts given in the testimony when the incident later went to the Senate.

1825 - (3 documents, 8 pages)

- One letter, 2 pages. February 5, 1825. From Fred Huth in London to Stephen Howe in Boston. It seems the Arab stopped in Boston and did not proceed on to Europe. This letter explains their insurance policy.

- 2 letters, 6 pages, to Smith about business. Edw M’Call reports on the fluctuating prices of wheat, cotton, and silk.

1827 - (3 documents, 7 pages)

- One letter, 1 page. January 11, 1827. Correspondence about owing money from Sohier.

- One letter, 4 pages. June 3, 1827. To Smith. No signature. Written in Arequipa. Handwriting is difficult to read. Writer is encouraging Smith to return to Peru, saying Smith could make a fortune from mining, and that the richest mines are underwater. He describes how he thinks they could best extract from underwater mines, and goes into detail requesting different types of tools that would be best for the mines there. He describes how much money Smith would need to start an operation, and mentions selling quicksilver. He references the regions of Pasco and La Paz.

“As I told you in my last there is nothing to be done here in the commercial line - but in the way of mining much - if you could form a company of one or two hundred thousand (?) / although one might do a great deal/ and come out with material & utensils for mining a fortune might be made...being out all dearth of mining tools - and particularly a quantity of pumps for raising mines of great depthe - the riskiest mines here are underwater - steam engines won’t answer but other pumps to be worked by water or mules are what would do.”

- One letter, 2 pages. October 20, 1827. A letter from Edw M’Call, referring to an incident in which their goods - the word looks like “bags” – were seized by the Governor of Callao for the patriot army during the Siege of Real Felipe Fortress in Peru. Call writes that they are
trying to get reimbursed for the goods, but "we cannot however give you much hope, as this
government have not wherewith to pay their daily expenses. In fact they are paying nobody
and swindling all the world."

Peru gained independence on Dec 9, 1824, at the Battle of Ayacucho. However, a few
Spanish officers refused to surrender, including General Rodil in the fortress of Real Felipe
in Callao. The fortress was under siege until January 1826. Call’s letter references and
describes these events.

1828 – (5 documents, 10 pages)

- 2 letters to Smith, 3 pages, Feb- Sept 1828. Business matters: trying to sell a ship;
  insurance receipts. Stephen Howe and Edward Sharp.

- 2 letters, 5 pages, regarding the claim to the goods that were taken during the Siege of the

- One letter, 2 pages. Nov 1, 1828. To Smith in Quincy from Sohier. A note about one of Smith’s
  former mates, Lewis, who believes he has a claim to a larger proportion of the sum they
  may receive from the Chilean government.

1829 – (3 documents, 6 pages)

- 3 letters, 6 pages, regarding business. March - December 1829. Correspondence about
  selling a schooner. Badlam, Howe. Howe is in Callao, and in an April letter he writes, “I can
give you no news of the political state of the Country, but it is generally thought that Bolivar
will gain the day.” From 1828-1829, Peru and Gran Colombia were at war over Bolivia, which
had been considered part of upper Peru at times during the colonial period.

1830 – (2 letters, 10 pages)

- 2 letters, 10 pages, from John Thwaites in Lima. March 1830. Thwaites gives an account of
  what happened with the Macedonian eight years ago. Mentions Ellery, Arismendi, and
  silver.

1831 – (2 documents, 5 pages)

- One letter, 1 page. May 11, 1831. To Smith in Quincy. Correspondence about another
  statement regarding the Macedonian, from Mr. Dexter.

- One letter, 4 pages. Dec 12, 1831. To Smith in Boston, from Taylor in Arequipa. Trade goods mentioned: chairs, bodices, clocks. Taylor sympathizes with Smith's financial troubles and says that he is at a low point in getting business, as well. “Business is at the lowest ebb here - abundance of goods always, and at very low prices every day brings on a decline in price, and no confidence whatsoever among purchasers - political affairs are in the same state "aspirationes" among the "jefes" - no money in the country of course the government extorting - troops without pay - no public credit...intrigues among all public men to get into power - no honesty - no patriation - nothing but "pieardias" - Gamarra, who is governing now, will probably soon be turned out and perhaps Riva-Aguero who has held to Lima, will get in - Lt Cruz, pres of Bolivia, may eventually become head of Peru- and in fact he is the best man in all the country - he has improved astonishingly.”

1834 - (2 documents, 2 pages)

- Two letters, 2 pages, from W. D Sohier. Feb, Sept 1834. Correspondence about corrections on a claim. Sohier is identified in the Senate documents as “Wm D. Sohier, esq, a counselor at law in this city.” Also mentions Ellery and Arizmendi, so perhaps about the Macedonian trial.

1836 - (1 document, 1 page)

- One letter, 1 page. Nov 30, 1836. From Smith in Boston to M'Call. Asking for help collecting money from people who owe him. Also mentions an invention that helps with packing wool - I think a wool press.

1837, 1838 - (4 documents, 7 pages)

- 4 letters, 7 pages, referring to the Macedonian and relations between Smith and Ellery. 3 letters between Smith and Sohier. Feb-Dec 1837. Correspondence about a hearing starting soon, and settlement with Ellery. 1 letter from an accountant.

1844? (1 document, 1 page)

- One letter, 1 page. November 6, 1844 (looks like?) Letter to Henry Farnam. It seems Farnam has made a claim related to Ellery and goods in Coquimbo, and the writer of the letter is trying to make sense of inconsistencies in the claims. In pencil on back, written that the letter is from Sohier.

Undated/Unknown - (15 documents, 21 pages)

- 2 documents, 4 pages, related to shipping. A list called “Relacion & Medicinas.” And an account of insurance for the Constante on a voyage first from Montevideo to Rio then to Lisbon.
- 3 letters, 3 pages, to Smith in Buenos Aires from Samuel McCall. Business matters; request for beef and cabbage. No dates but consistent with letters from the Siege of Montevideo years.

- 2 letters, 2 pages, from Smith in Arequipa to Badlam about a shipment of wool and nankins. No dates but consistent with letters from 1824, as he refers to Williams’ illness. “...am very sorry to hear that Capt Williams is still unwell and I believe his illness is more from the mind than body, you must therefore use your utmost exertions to keep up his spirits.”

- 8 letters, 12 pages, referring to the incidents with the Macedonian. Letters mention Arismendi, Howe, Ellery, etc. Statements, advice, information about claims. Correspondence includes Lohier. Many of the documents relate to the accounts of Mr. Ellery on the Brig Macedonian and the legal fallout and liabilities following the seizure of goods, including statements by Henry Farnham Smith, the executor of the Eliphalet Smith estate, as mentioned in Senate proceedings surrounding the case.

Scans of any documents available upon request.