

# Letters of William Miller, Lord Cochrane, and Basil Hall to James Paroissien, 1821-1823 \*

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The following letters, found among the papers of James Paroissien, <sup>1</sup> one of San Martín's principal aides-de-camp, need no elaborate introduction. They begin in February, 1821, when the future General William Miller, at this time a Lieutenant-Colonel, had been assigned with a small body of troops to the command of Lord Cochrane in an ill-founded hope of gaining possession of Callao. <sup>2</sup> They continue, thereafter, as a running commentary on Miller's operations (described in his celebrated *Memoirs*) during Cochrane's expedition to Pisco and the southern parts of the viceroyalty. <sup>3</sup>

This expedition, as is well known, left Huacho on March 13th (Nº 2), and Miller, in command of 500 infantry and 60 cavalry, landed near Pisco early in the morning of March 21st (Nº 4), to re-embark, after a severe bout of fever, on April 18th (Nº 6). "Cold, hunger, fatigue and hard duty", he remarks, "are all bareable, but sickness in such a damnation, sandy, wretched place as Pisco is insupportable . . . I thought myself invulnerable, but Pisco would kill the devil himself" (Nº 8).

Cochrane, in the meanwhile, had paid a further visit to Callao Bay. "Everything is in an uproar at Lima", he wrote to Paroissien on April 3rd. "Were the army here *now* we could drink our champaign this very night in your room

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(\*) Basado en el archivo de James Paroissien, que no había sido anteriormente utilizado, el profesor R. A. Humphreys publicó, en 1952, un importante estudio histórico: *Liberation in South America 1806-1827*. Precisamente, las cartas de William Miller, Lord Cochrane y Basil Hall, publicadas ahora, pertenecen al citado archivo y complementan en forma sustantiva los aportes expuestos al trazar la carrera pública de James Paroissien.

1. See R. A. Humphreys, *Liberation in South America, 1806-1827. The Career of James Paroissien* (London, 1952). The Paroissien Papers are in the possession of Messrs Cunnington Son and Orfeur of Braintree, Essex, to whose repeated courtesies I am much indebted.
2. Cf. John Miller, *Memoirs of General Miller in the Service of the Republic of Peru* (2 vols., London, 1828), i, 285, and Diego Barros Arana, *Historia Jeneral de Chile* (16 vols., Santiago, 1884-1902), xiii, 174-5.
3. Cf. Thomas Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald, *Memoranda of Naval Services in the Liberation of Chili and Peru from Spanish Domination* (London, 1858), pp. 105-7.

over the great entrance of the Palacio" (Nº 5). Repeating this opinion on his return to Pisco (Nº 7), on the night of the 21st he set sail southwards and by May 3rd was within twenty-five miles of Arica (Nº 9). It is unfortunate that between the landing of the troops at Sama some days later and their final evacuation of Tacna and Arica in July only two of Miller's letters to Paroissien survive, those written from the Valley of Locumba on 8th June and from Tacna on 1st July (Nos. 10 and 11), and the letters of 1821 close with two notes, one wrongly dated, sent from Pisco in July and August (Nos. 12 and 13).

On the last day of the year, Paroissien, now promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General in recognition of his services in the liberation of Peru, and, together with Juan García del Río, entrusted with the conduct of the first Peruvian diplomatic mission to Europe, left Callao en route for England by way of Valparaíso, Santiago, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. He and Miller continued to correspond, though only three of Miller's letters to him have been found. The first of these, in April, 1822, gives the news of the defeat of Tristán by Canterac at Macacona. "The affair", says Miller, "has been the most shameful", adding "But what in the world could people expect from a man of 50 whose sole pursuits have been the gambling table with all its attendant refinements?" (Nº 14). The second letter, written in May, tells of the departure of Cochrane with the *O'Higgins*, the *Valdivia* and the *Montezuma* and of the arrival of Joaquín Mosquera —"a gentlemanly and clever fellow"— from Colombia (Nº 15). The final, long letter, of 29th November, 1823, embodying the contents of earlier draft letters, contains Miller's reflections on Alvarado's disastrous expedition to the Puertos Intermedios and on the further expedition of Santa Cruz and of Sucre, together with a commentary on the political and military affairs of Peru; and its gossip of soldiers and civilians (including Alvarado, Monteagudo, Santa Cruz and O'Higgins) is both lively and informative (Nº 16).

The last of the letters here printed, from Captain Basil Hall (Nº 17), then engaged in preparing for the press his *Extracts from a Journal written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the years 1820, 1821, 1822*, has an interest of a different kind, and I make no apology for reproducing it. It only remains to add that in the text of these documents I have corrected eccentricities in punctuation but that, except where the error is manifestly inadvertent, I have left eccentricities in spelling severely alone.

R. A. HUMPHREYS

## 1

## MILLER TO PAROISSIEN

*On board the Valdivia,  
off the island of San Lorenzo.  
15 February, 1821.*

My dear Paroissien,

Owing to calms, unfavourable winds, and the heavy sailing of the *Consequencia*, we did not join the admiral and rest of the squadron off Cañete, the rendezvous appointed, until the 12th. We are now within two hours sail of Callao and it is said our destination is to this place. Unless the enemies' garrison declare for us I don't know what it will be possible for us to attempt against such fortifications. Of course our operations will be guided by circumstances, and as I am not acquainted with the instructions given to Lord C and Heras, <sup>4</sup> I am unable to form an opinion as to whether we are likely to succeed or not. But I must confess I have little hope of doing any thing worthy of notice. On the contrary I am inclined to believe that we shall, perhaps, to use a vulgar expression, botch the business. Heras landed at Cañete two days previous to our arrival with the marines of the *O'Higgins* and *G1. San Martin*, but it is said they got so drunk, and behaved with so much insubordination, that it was found necessary to order them on board again much sooner than was intended. They found nothing of consequence in the town. About 80 of the enemy's horsemen were stationed there, but they ran immediately upon the appearance of our soldiers. Nine of the latter either deserted or were left behind drunk. They are missing. I hope it is not intended to employ the detachment of the army placed under my orders in these pettyfogging landing expeditions. The men are too good for that sort of service. I wish they could meet twice the number of the enemy in the field upon equal terms.

Lord C. has heard of the report in circulation about Bennett, <sup>5</sup> which is that he offered to Barnard <sup>6</sup> for sale a certain quantity of silver or gold supposed to belong to the captors of Valdivia <sup>7</sup>, and I was given as the author. His Lordship having questioned me upon the subject I gave you as my informer, telling him at the same time that you had given me leave to make use of your name. Thus ended the matter. But the Admiral says he shall trace the whole business and report to their foundations.

This climate is dreadfully unhealthy at present. The fogs and dews are so great that it is impossible to see more than 100 y[ar]ds from the ships' sides excepting now and then when it clears up for an hour or two du-

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4. Colonel (later General) Tomás Heras.

5. I assume that the reference is to William Bennett, better known as William Bennett Stevenson, Lord Cochrane's secretary and author of the well-known *Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America* (3 vols., London, 1825).

6. J. J. Barnard, an English merchant. See Humphreys, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 91-2.

7. Taken by Cochrane in February, 1820.

ring the day. I am far from being well and get thinner and thinner upon it daily. In fact this climate will not agree with me and perhaps the sooner I am out of it the better.

Pray be so good as to forward all my letters that may have arrived at Head Quarters. If Martinez <sup>8</sup> has any for me and you can conveniently send for them pray do, for I am almost raving with anxiety to get some English news. Of course a line or two from Chile will not be unacceptable. I enclose you a packet with this for Blanco <sup>9</sup>.

When you see Lady Cochrane be so good as to mention me to her. Be so good also to make my respects to Las Heras, <sup>10</sup> Borgoynne <sup>11</sup> and Castillo <sup>12</sup>, and believe me,

My dear Paroissien,

Yours ever sincerely,

Wm. Miller.

If you can let me have the Chile gazette with Lord C—'s official dispatch of the taking of this frigate <sup>13</sup>. I should be very much obliged to you.

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MILLER TO PAROISSIEN

*On board the Valdivia.*

13 March, 10 a.m.

My dear Paroissien,

We are now getting under weigh and it is unlikely that. I shall have the pleasure of seeing you on board before we are off, which I regret much. I wish to say several little things to you, but I am so busy and all is such hurry and confusion here that I cannot for my life commit them to paper.

If any thing unfortunate should occur to me I shall direct my baggage, papers, etc. to your care, and I rely upon your friendship to comply with the *private instructions*. I shall write for your perusal the moment we are clear of the shore and out at sea.

I send you 20 dollars by Charles, <sup>14</sup> which you were good enough to lend me, and ten more to purchase six bottles of cognac at the coffee house in Huacho, which I wish you would commission some one to do for me, and

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8. Colonel (later General) Enrique Martínez, of the 8th Battalion of Artillery.
  9. Manuel Blanco Encalada, with whom Miller had served in Chile.
  10. General Juan Gregorio de las Heras, Chief of Staff.
  11. I suspect that Miller refers to José Manuel Borgoño, of the Chilean Battalion of Artillery.
  12. Possibly Colonel Juan Paz del Castillo, then attached to the General Staff.
  13. The *Valdivia* was the former Spanish frigate *Esmeralda*, captured by Cochrane in November, 1820.
  14. Probably Claud Charles, who joined the Chilean navy in 1819.

send them to Martinez 15 without saying a word about them to him until he has recd. them. I am quite ashamed of not having done this encargo before for him.

I recd. 2 English letters last night with a trunk cont[ainin]g all Robertson's works, 16 publications, etc., etc., etc. It came open and a gold seal is missing with some silk socks. Price 17 told me he had sent *two*, only one has arrived. My brother has forwarded me 22 large maps and three trunks or boxes of knick-knacks which have not arrived and which I have reason to think are lost. No news worth communicating in my letters.

Orteja [?] has just been to say I have only 30 dollars left. I therefore request you will be good enough to pay for the cognac and place the amount to my account.

Now no time for more. If I should not see you, good bye and God bless you.

Yours ever most sincerely,

W. Miller

3

*MILLER TO PAROISSIEN*

*On board the Valdivia frigate.*  
20 March, 1821. (p.m.)

My dear Paroissien,

We are now in sight of the town and fort of Pisco, and I am in great hopes of being enabled to land at Parraccas some time to night. From our having been distinguishable for such a length of time from the shore (since yesterday we have not been more than ten miles from it), I fear we shall not have it in our power to surprize the few militia who may form the garrison of the place. We shall do our best to procure the general as many slaves for soldiers as possible. It is the Admiral's intention at present to send to Cañete, immediately we have effected a landing and obtained intelligence at Pisco, about 150 soldiers to drive all the ganado and other supplies to Pisco, which will be the punto de re-union for the division. In the mean time perhaps I may pay a visit to Ica with three hundred men, if it be possible to procure horses and mules for them to mount. I can say nothing more of our intended operations because I am ignorant of the Admiral's plans which, of course, will be guided entirely by circumstances.

I inclose you some pamphlets. Be so good as to let Garcia 18 see them

15. See note 8.

16. William Robertson, the historian.

17. Richard Price, an English merchant in Chile.

18. Juan García del Río, San Martín's Secretario de Hacienda.

as well as Robertson's *Ancient India*,<sup>19</sup> which forward to me when he has read it.

I enclose you letters for Blanco<sup>20</sup> and Turner [?]<sup>21</sup>, which I would thank you to forward.

I close this now, in case I should not have an opportunity of writing to you when we put on shore, and leave the packet on board to be sent to you by the first conveyance.

Nothing has occurred during our voyage worth relating and I have now only to beg by way of concluding that you will ever believe me

Yours most sincerely,

W. Miller.

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*MILLER TO PAROISSIEN*

Caucato. 28th March, 1821.

My dear Paroissien,

I have not time hardly to write a dozen lines because 50 men are waiting for me to ride to the front in search of a party of negroes and I have but this moment learnt His Lordship was about to sail.

The enemy saw us nearly two days before we landed, and the rich haciendados made such preparations as to be off with their mules, slaves and most valuable articles before we landed. At 6 a.m. 140 men landed near the Palmas, at 9 entered Pisco. At 10 the infantry of the 2 and 11 proceeded to Chinchabaxa, halting only a few hours at Caucato after fording the river, which is extremely difficult to pass, and with 15 cavalymen joined them. Forty cavalry were mounted at 4 p.m. Some of them, with the Detachment of the 4th, proceeded on the road to Robles. Our captives were that day, and the ones following, 140 slaves, 80 lances, 400 and odd head of oxen, 600 sheep and 300 horses. There are 3000 loaves of sugar at this place, chancaca and other articles of that description in proportion. We have embarked some of it as well as Pisco wine etc., etc. A report of the enemy's advance in force, and for want of good information, have prevented me procuring the quantity of mulas aparejadas required to get every thing on board as one would wish. 80 horsemen attacked 43 of our infantry the other day in Chinchabaxa and were routed.

The inhabitants remain in Pisco and I do not think 10 families are missing. They appear very content and great patriots, at all events better than when the whole of the army was there. I have returned to them their oxen

19. William Robertson, *An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* (London, 1791).

20. See note 9.

21. Possibly John Turner, who had previously served with Miller.

that those which draw [sic] and have two bullocks killed daily for their consumption, which pleases them mightily. Besides this I make free with old Mazas' 22, chancaca at this place and give quantities of it to the indians as a recompense for their sufferings inflicted by the godos. This operates wonderfully. I have no time for more.

Yours ever sincerely,

W. Miller.

Forward my letters. Neither the doctor or staff officers came in the *Potrillo*. They are much wanted. Remember me kindly to my Colonel 23 and tell him this letter is intended for you both. Say also that only 1 of the 8th with me is sick and that the men behave well. Thank you for what you inclose me.

I have no time to write to Blanco 24. If you have an opportunity let him know that I am well.

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COCHRANE TO PAROISSIEN 25

*San Martin*, Callao Bay. 3 March [April], 1821.

My dear Colonel,

Everything is in an uproar at Lima —not entirely because of the certainty of your losing you bet, but possibly on account of the news just arrived that the Navios are not coming, nor any other help. Were the army here now we could drink our champaign this very night in your room over the great entrance of the Palacio, whence the *great* bell should not remove us by warning of the lapse of time, until the first sun of liberty should attain the zenith on the following day.

Lima is at this moment defenceless, both by the diversion of the troops towards the South and towards the Mountains as well as by the despondence that prevails.

Miller is working away amongst our old friends at Pisco, where he had taken on the first night 300 horses, 400 cattle, many sheep and some mules.

What news with you?

Believe me ever

Yours truly,

Cochrane.

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22. Fernando del Mazo, a Spaniard, owner of an estate at Caucato later expropriated.  
 23. See note 8  
 24. See note 9.  
 25. Cf. Cochrane to San Martín, 3 April, 1821 *Documentos del Archivo de San Martín* (12 vols., Buenos Aires, 1910-11), viii, 22-3.

## MILLER TO PAROISSIEN

Pisco. 18 April, 1821

My dear Paroissien,

I hardly know how to begin or what to say. I have been confined so long to my bed with such a violent ague and fever, attended by delirious fits, and so lately began to recover, that I am, as it were, awoke from a dream, knowing little of what has passed and at a loss to think for the future. Your kind letters have reached me, but I really do not recollect either the dates or number of them and until I recover a little more strength I shall not be enabled to regulate my papers.

This climate is during the present month and one to come beyond all description bad. 176 of my division are ill in hospital and their number increases daily. 14 or 15 have died. The climate kills us by inches and every thing is wretchedness and misery here. The sick, thank God, are to embark to day for Huacho, which will decrease my perplexities wonderfully. Only think of not having a medical man attached to the division. It is of no use a naval surgeon occasionally stepping in to look at the sick. He must be permanently with them to be service. But enough of this. I am sick of the very thoughts of my poor fellows in hospital.

The enemy is in Chincha about 300 strong and they say all cavalry with three field pieces under the command of Garcia Cambar <sup>26</sup>. He does not appear inclined to advance. We have shown ourselves once or twice to his advanced posts in San Jose and they have always scampered off. We have made two prisoners. Their horses are too good and ours too bad (or rather the malditas monturas have ruined them) to follow them up any distance.

The result of our expedition has fallen so short of calculation that I am extremely low on the subject. This, added to my illness, to tell you the real truth, has made me wretched and I must confess I never felt myself more miserable than at present. Five long and interesting English letters from my brother have rather added to my gloom and melancholy. You see my indisposition has prevented me taking a trip to Ica, as I intended, and in fact several other little things which would in some measure have made amends for our inactivity with the enemy.

We have shipped about 300 slaves, 1000 loaves of sugar (all there is), 500 jars of Pisco, 1000 idem of wine, 6000 d[ollar]s worth of plata labrada which I had melted down in bars at Caucato, tobacco, vinegar and a few other articles, and we have consumed nearly 400 head of cattle. The communica-

26. Colonel Andrés García Camba, who has himself left an account of these operations in his *Memorias para la Historia de las Armas Españolas en el Perú* (2 vols., Madrid, 1846).



tion [having] been stopped with Lima and the southern provinces is hardly worth being mentioned.

Make my kind remembrance to Col. Martinez <sup>27</sup>. Tell him I am over and above anxious to join him again, that since I left the battalion I have scarcely spent a pleasant day, and I wish you would make him believe this, for it is really the case. Say also I am too unwell to write in Spanish. If I have no time to add more, believe me

Yours ever sincerely,

Wm. Miller.

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COCHRANE TO PAROISSIEN

*San Martin,*

Pisco. 19 April, 1821.

Dear Colonel,

Were you *all* here I would quadruple the bet, not only of the dozen, but I would stake most readily all the Champaign in the French ships which left this the other day for Huacho, that we should have the smoking turtle in the garret [?] in three days.

I am not much of a soldier, though I once was one. However when movements are connected with maritime affairs I sometimes venture to risk an opinion to a friend, and such is my belief at this moment.

Here, our people are falling sick fast; 175, with Miller, are unable to move and consequently we have not been equal to do those things which might have been done; nor could so small a force as 325 men, even if there had been a successor to Miller, have approached near enough to Lima to cut off the cattle which have been driven in considerable numbers from all parts of the south to that neighbourhood, whilst the road was open.

Many vessels are on their way here with stores of all kinds, and God knows whether some more of them may not sail in, though I have taken every precaution. Blocking up a port by sea is not so certain as stopping up a road, because the whole surrounding sea is equally a path, and in the dark the few vessels we have cannot be everywhere.

Hoping that all will yet prove for the best, and that delay may not occasion the premature death of the fat turtle, is the wish of.

Yours very sincerely,

Cochrane.

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27. See note 8.

*MILLER TO PAROISSIEN*

*On board the Gl. San Martin:*  
bay of Pisco. 21 April, 1821. (5 p.m.)

My dear Paroissien,

Three hundred men of my division, being the total number of those tolerably well in health, are embarked in this ship, and in half an hour we ought to be at sea. Not knowing our destination I cannot inform you what we are likely to be about. But to me every thing looks gloomy and I forebode nothing favorable. But when least expected lucky events often take place. We are terribly crowded and the troops will be uncomfortable aboard. There are not even kettles sufficient for cooking. I sent in the *Valdivia* the other day upwards of 100 sick. Crosby<sup>28</sup> will take the remainder. Poor devils, they have had a miserable time of it. Cold, hunger, fatigue and hard duty are all bareable, but sickness in such a damnation, sandy, wretched place as Pisco is insupportable. The strongest constitutions become the easiest victims. It is the first climate that ever got the better of me. I thought myself invulnerable, but Pisco would kill the devil himself. I have not a man who has not suffered more or less. I was delirious a considerable time and expected it would turn into permanent insanity. Thank God I have recovered now. I only want strength and flesh. You cannot conceive how happy I should be to shake you by the hand in Haucho. This is a most disagreeable service and I am tired, most heartily tired, of being Comandante general de la division del Sud.

The inhabitants of Pisco sincerely regret our departure. They have behaved well and I really believe them to be patriots. None of them deserted their houses and I was particularly careful not to injure any patriots.

I have sent you some caricatures and pamphlets by Crosby. He will be enabled to tell you all the particulars of our operations. He has promised also to take some horses for me to deliver to you. Chose one for yourself, give Martinez<sup>29</sup> and Spry<sup>30</sup> each one, and keep another for me.

Crosby has this moment come to say he is off and I have only time to beg you to believe me.

Yours ever most sincerely,

Wm. Miller.

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28. The distinguished naval officer, Captain Thomas Crosbie.

29. See note 8.

30. Captain John Spry, dismissed from his ship by Cochrane but employed by San Martín.

*MILLER TO PAROISSIEN**On board the General San Martin.*

3 of May. 1821.

My dear Paroissien,

I have already informed you of the re-embarkation of the division at Pisco, of the fatal climate of that place, of the number of sick (about 170) sent to Haucho, and of my bad state of health. It remains for me now only to add that the remaining 300 of my soldiers embarked in this ship, and we sailed from the bay of Parraccas on the night of the 21st ulto. The schooner *Aranzazu*, and detained brig *Columbia*, in company, shaping our course to windward. We are now within twenty five miles of Arica and if the wind allow us we shall most probably pay this town a visit either tonight or tomorrow. As our future operations must depend solely upon unforeseen circumstances I can give you no idea what is likely to be the result of them. We do not know what force the enemy has hereabouts, but if it be small or disaffected, and the inhabitants of Arequipa feel inclined to rise and declare for our Cause, they will have a very good opportunity of convincing the world they possess the patriotism for which they are so much famed, and strike a blow that would make the godos in Lima quake again. But this perhaps is judging of the appearance of things in too favorable a light. I am told, but it is not credited, that there were at Arica and Tagna 800 regular and well disciplined Spanish troops, and as at the outside I could not land more than 280 of the division (effective), we may, if attacked, have a few broken heads without reaping much advantage. The landing place is bad, not because it is close under a nine gun battery, for this could be silenced, but on account of the reefs of rocks, and being so very close to the houses of the town. At all events I most heartily wish we may have some fighting, and that we may either gain laurels or be most severely beaten. We are all quite tired of being inactive. Every one knows that it is expected this little division of the army will do something, and it is mortifying to lose so many men by sickness without having an opportunity of trying our fortune with the enemy.

Although I have had a relapse of the ague and fever since leaving Pisco so much care has been taken of me on board that I am almost as well as ever. Bark twice a day with good port wine and good living have had a wonderful effect upon me. Four days more in that unhealthy, wretched hole, Pisco, would have sent me to the other world for a certainty. I was during my illness almost constantly delirious and it brought me down to a mere shadow. Plaza 31 and Soler 32 are the only two officers who have escaped, but there is not a single individual in the division who is not debilitated. If

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31. Captain José María Plaza.

32. Major Manuel José Soler.

the godos do not pay for our sufferings I do not think it will be my fault. The ships' crews were never more healthy.

I shall deliver to Wilkinson, 33 with this, two packets for you for him to forward by the first opportunity. One contains a work translated from the French by General [ ] and Bland's report 34. The other is a collection of various caricatures, pamphlets, and some Cobbett's registers 35. Amongst my papers is also another packet for you containing various letters, but this is only to be forwarded to you should I be knocked off the hooks by any chance.

As I shall write to you from the shore I shall add nothing more at present. In fact, to say the truth, I cannot think of any thing else to scrawl about just now. It is, besides, very late at night, and my candle is going out, therefore good bye and.

Believe me,  
My dear Paroissien,  
Ever yours most sincerely,

W. Miller.

My best remembrances to Col. Martinez 36, Mr. Montegudo 37, and Garcia 38. Tell the former, if I do not write to him, how I am getting on, and that I was never more anxious to see him y mis demas compañeros qe. ahora.

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MILLER TO PAROISSIEN

Vally of Locumba. 8 June, 1821.

My dear Paroissien,

For the particulars of our small successes at Mirabi, Moquegua and La Calera 39, I refer you to the oficial reports. Nothing since has occurred worth mentioning relating to military operations excepting that Ramirez 40 has collected in Arequipa about 1000 veterans. Although our force does not exceed one half this number I am pretty certain he will not attack us. We are now retiring towards Sama where perhaps we shall remain some time. If the old gentleman should be enticed to follow us as far Tacna perhaps we

33. Captain William Wilkinson.

34. Theodorick Bland, one of the three commissioners sent from the United State to South America in 1817-18. His report was published at Washington in 1819 and a bowdlerized version appeared in London in 1820. It is conveniently accessible in W. R. Manning, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations* (3 vols., New York, 1925).

35. William Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register* began publication in 1802.

36. See note 8.

37. Bernardo Montegudo, Secretario de Guerra.

38. See note 18.

39. For the "affair" of Mirave see Miller, *Memoirs*, i 299-303.

40. General Juan Ramírez Orozco.

might embark, land at Quilca and so march to Arequipa before he had time to return.

The unhealthy climate, long marches, and excessive fatigue have knocked up more than half my division. Of the 500 who left Haucho with me there are not more than 240 effective remaining. Was I to attempt it I could not relate to you the obstacles I have had to surmount and the hardships the men have undergone. At Mirabi I left upwards of 50 wounded, including the prisoners, without a medical man, and as many more on the road between that and Moquegua, who fairly dropped from fatigue. We did not halt but for four hours from Sama to Moquegua, a distance of 40 leagues the way we went, and the men only eat once. They were 48 hours without tasting a mouthful. But we owe entirely to these forced marches our successes. In fact nothing but perseverance and a run of good luck could have ensured the fortunate events that have taken place. Had we arrived at Maribi six hours later the force of 180 inf[antr]y from Puno would have joined La Hera <sup>41</sup> and we most probably should have been sacrificed. Had the attack at day break been delayed ten minutes the enemy would have gained a most advantageous position, which he had neglected to do until it was too late, and the chances would have gone against us. Of our march to La Calera I shall say nothing excepting that more than half the men were left on the road with the puna or shortness of breath. It was to me the most fatiguing I ever performed. I wish to God Brandsan <sup>42</sup> had accompanied us. This I say in secret and I hope you perfectly understand me.

I am going to recommend particularly in a private letter to the general Captains Videla <sup>43</sup> and Plaza <sup>44</sup>, Lts. La Tapia <sup>45</sup> and Correa <sup>46</sup> (Cirilios' brother), and I hope their good conduct will be rewarded by promotion.

I have so much to attend to and so many things to say that I hardly know what I am writing about. Add to this excessive fatigue and a head ache, and I am sure you will excuse this rough scrawl and allow me to conclude.

Remember me to el Sr. Mayor General, Bourgoyne <sup>47</sup> and all my friends and.

Believe me ever  
Yours most sincerely,

Wm. Miller.

Send me lots of printed papers. All the bulletins if you can. Portocarrero <sup>48</sup> is a gentlemanly clever fellow, of much influence, and

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41. Colonel José Santos La Hera.

42. Captain Federico Brandsen.

43. Captain José Videla Castillo.

44. See note 31.

45. Francisco de Paula Latapiat.

46. Estanislao Correa, brother of Cirilo Correa.

47. See note 11.

48. Mariano Portocarrero, Sub-Delegado of Moquegua and a former secret agent for San Martín, who had now joined Miller.

I expect great assistance from him. But I do not know how it is I find hardly any volunteers when there is any likelihood of going to hammer and tongs. When you have read this tear it up.

11

## MILLER TO PAROISSIEN

Tacna. 1 July, 1821.

My dear Paroissien,

I have written to you one or two long letters since the affair at Mirabi which I hope will reach your hands if they have not already found their way to them. Not a word have I heard from you since our departure from that agreeable place Pisco. However, the knowledge of there having been no conveyance by which you could have forwarded a line consoles me for your silence, but it does not decrease the anxiety I feel to know how you are jogging on, with the Head Quarter news etc., etc. I am certain it is useless to beg of you not to forget your old compaignon d'arm, unless indeed the acclamations of the Limeñas, and the shouts of victory, which must have almost drowned every other thought, upon your entry into the capital of Peru 49, have had an unaccountable effect upon you which I do not believe; but then again the soft embraces of the fair, I recollect, have sometimes a wonderful effect upon your warm constitution, and who knows what may have taken place?

The division is here and it consists of 600 plazas including the pasados of Arica and marines. Not five men of 2d, 4th or 11th exist effective and there are 125 men now in hospital. We do not recruit for the want of arms. The officers and men hitherto have behaved admirably well. The inhabitants are highly pleased with them and I have had no trouble originating from rows, misunderstandings, etc. In fact in this respect we are all remarkably comfortable.

We are quite in the dark as to the result of the armistice 50, but I expect hourly to hear from Gl. Ramirez 51 on the subject who is civil in his communication with me.

According to all accounts they are extremely anxious to look at the patriots in Arequipa and I expect La Division Libertadora will be well received if it ever go there. We are not badly off here. The people are uncommonly civil and attentive; and they tell me the niñas in general are not unkind.

49. Miller anticipates. The liberating army did not enter Lima till 10 July.

50. The armistice of Punchauca, signed on 23 May.

51. See note 40.

The greatest enemy we have to contend with is the climate, which is the most unhealthy I ever was in. No body escapes the terciana. I had a very severe attack the other day and as usual upon such occasions was delirious for a length of time. Thank God I am now well again. But I plainly perceive this part of the world will never do for me. I am certain I could not hold out eighteen months in such a sickly country. I trust therefore my destination will soon be altered. Pray let me know what you think is to be done with us. I calculate that you are all in Lima by this.

When you write to Chile do not forget to drop a line or two about me to Blanco 52 with kind remembrances to him and Carmencita 53 etc., etc. I have no opportunity of writing to them. Although a vessel or two have sailed for Valparaiso I did not know of them being about to proceed until it was too late to write.

Pray make my kind respects to the major general, to Col. Martinez 54, Borgoyne 55, and to the rest of my friends, and believe me, my dear Paroissien, Yours ever most sincerely,

W. Miller.

I have written twice to the G[enera]l. 56

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MILLER TO PAROISSIEN

Pisco. July 31, 1821.

My dear Paroissien,

I have only time to refer you to my precis to the Govern't. for news and assure you that I am well and more desirous that ever of seeing you. Will write tomorrow, if possible.

Yours ever sincerely,

Wm. Miller

Tell or write to Cochrane 57 on board the *Rebecca* for me and tell him upon no account to deliver any thing belonging to the division without my order. He has some cloth for soldiers' clothing and I am afraid Lord C. or some [one] else will kidnap it, and it belongs to me.

52. See note 9.

53. Wife of Manuel Blanco Encalada.

54. See note 8.

55. See note 11.

56. San Martín.

57. William Cochrane, an English merchant.

## MILLER TO PAROISSIEN

Pisco. July [August] 2d, 1821.

My dear Paroissien,

The bearer of this, Major Lira<sup>58</sup>, a tolerable good fellow apparently, will inform you of the particulars that have occurred with the division.

I am about to march for Ica, but I dare say I shall leave nearly all the division at Hurmaya [?] <sup>59</sup>, for it is most probable the enemy has abandoned the former place and it would be useless to drag the whole of the men over a sandy desert. Sixty or one hundred men mounted will be no doubt sufficient.

I wish very much to see Lima. Pray do all you can for me to obtain permission to take a slant to that place, if not with the division, on leave of absence, for 6 or 8 days. Videla <sup>60</sup>, the major, is an excellent fellow and I could easily trust the charge to him for that time.

I have no time for more. Remember me to all friends, be so good as to forward the inclosed, and believe me.

Ever yours sincerely

Wm. Miller.

## MILLER TO PAROISSIEN

Lima. April 18, 1822.

My dear Paroissien,

Your letters from Chile have reached me and they have all been regularly answered. This goes via Bs. Ayres and open for our friends at the Quinta to read and forward.

I shall give you all that I know, or seems to be most probable, relative to Tristan's <sup>61</sup> defeat, or rather dispersion, for there was no fighting. Canterac <sup>62</sup> advanced upon Ica with almost 1800 men by Guitara <sup>63</sup>, Caratala <sup>64</sup> with 400 by Cordova, and Valdez <sup>65</sup> with the same number by Nasca. *Our gallant warriors* knew in due time the several approaches of the enemy and instead of removing themselves to Molinos or Cerra Azul, or retreating at once, as they had orders to do, allowed themselves to be penned up in the town-

58. Major Agustín Lira.

59. Humay?

60. See note 43.

61. General Domingo Tristán.

62. General José Canterac.

63. Huaytará.

64. Colonel José Carratalá.

65. Jerónimo Valdés.



Knowing their retreat was cut off, they had only one good alternative by attacking the enemy, in which case they ought to have gained a victory from the superiority of their infantry and woody environs of Ica. But they ran away at night, and perhaps the chapetones, who completely dispersed them, were not more than 120 in number. 150 cavalry, 50 officers and about 50 infantry soldiers are all that have escaped as yet. The rest, about 1500, have fallen a sacrifice t'is supposed. A dreadful feeling has been excited against Tristan who, with Gamarra 66, have escaped. But what in the world could people expect from a man of 50 whose sole pursuits have been the gambling table with all its attendant refinements? Is it possible he can have courage or ambition, unless indeed they consider talk the one and vanity the other. I am neither surprized at what has taken place or do I [?] blame the man. He now knows the difference of fighting over a bottle of wine with a belly full (which always makes a man braver) than with one in the field. The affair has been the most shameful and in fact the only one the liberating army has suffered. The enemy only took the arms the men had. The rest were embarked previously, but 60,000 rounds of musqt. ball cartridges fell into their hands, as well as four field pieces with baggage, maestranza, etc etc. Pardo Zela 67, Gumer 68, and about 40 officers are missing. Aldunate 69 was wounded and taken to Ica. Some say that he is dead, but there are hopes of him yet, I think.

We are making active preparations here. Our cavalry has already marched to Lurin. Our advanced posts are in Cañete and those of the enemy on this side of Chincha. The people here think that Ramirez 70 from Arequipa and the force from Cuzco are about to unite with Canterac 71 and that he will advance upon Lima immediately. But I am too well acquainted with the road, climate, and difficulties of advancing by the coast, to believe this. On the other hand, if they remain in Ica six weeks they will certainly lose one third of their force from the mal temperamento. Loriga 72, it is said, remains in Xauxa with about 700 men. Although we have lost much I cannot but anticipate speedy success and an early conclusion of the war and of Spanish dominion in this country. My political spirits never were higher than at the present.

Martinez 73 and Necochea 74 have offered their services, which have been accepted of, but they have not yet performed any duty. I suppose our army will be divided with divisions and that each will have command of one.

Our effective force is 1000 good cavalry and 4500 infantry, half recruits. I do not imagine myself the enemy, even when united, will be ena-

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66. Colonel (later General) Agustín Gamarra.

67. Juan Pardo de Zela.

68. Major Gumer, a German officer.

69. José Santiago Aldunate.

70. See note 40.

71. See note 62.

72. Brigadier Juan Loriga.

73. See note 8.

74. Eugenio Necochea.

bled to bring more than 4000 fighting men into the field of all arms. Alvarado <sup>75</sup> makes an excellent general in chief and our troops are improving daily and are very well clothed and armed.

I have 1000 men in my bat[tali]on and am complete with good officers and non-commissioned officers, having got rid of all the Spaniards excepting 25, who are well behaved subjects. I have 36 drummers, fifes and trumpeters and 26 excellent musicians de contrata. After the Rio de la Plata's, mine is the best band. They are also very well clad. The improvements in my quartel still go on. I have already finished excellent rooms for 16 officers, excepting putting on the roof. Next week I shall commence building a mess room with a very high cieling and large enough for 100 people to dine or to dance thirty couple. When you return we will give you dance.

The interesados of Cauccato <sup>76</sup> (including your agent Begg) <sup>77</sup> have petitioned the Protector for 20,000 dollars (half in paper) each, instead of their shares. Although, perhaps, no money will be got direct from the government, our prospects look well. I have no time to give you the particulars now.

It is only two minutes ago that Cochrane <sup>78</sup> told me he was going to mount his horse for Callao to dispatch a vessel for Bs. Ayres and he is waiting at my door for this. Write to my brother, for I cannot. Do not lose time in doing this.

The protector is very well and so is Dna. Rosita. They both inquire after you very often from me. Lima is pleasanter than I found it on my first arrival, but I wish more than ever to return to England. If I live one year more I shall certainly land on that happy shore. Write often and long letters. Depend upon the regularity of my correspondence, and believe, My dear Paroissien,

Yours ever sincerely,

Wm. Miller.

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*MILLER TO PAROISSIEN*

Lima, May 10 de 1822.

My dear Paroissien,

Although letters have arrived from Chile two or three times without me getting one from you, I shall continue to write you regularly agreeably to promise.

75. Rudecindo Alvarado.

76. García del Río, Paroissien, Miller, and six others had each been given shares in the estate of Fernando del Mazo at Caucato. See Humphreys, *op. cit.*, p. 100; M. F. Paz Soldán, *Historia del Perú Independiente, Primer Período, 1819-1822* (Lima, 1868), p. 224; and note 22.

77. John Begg, a British merchant. Humphreys, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 91-2, 97, 100.

78. See note 60.

Since I dispatched my last Lord Cochrane arrived and anchored in Callao under the batteries and astern of the *Prueba*. He is at loggerheads with government and God knows how all will end. He has demanded the frigate 97, but the people here are determined, it seems, not to give her up, and, by way of making use of her, three hundred infantry from the shore have been sent on board. The admiral sailed last night with the *O'Higgins*, *Valdivia* and *Montezuma*. The latter he took possession of three days ago upon her arrival from the puertos intermedios. 'Tis not known where he is gone.

A Deputy has arrived from Columbia by the name of Mosquera 80. He appears a gentlemanly and clever fellow, and has been received with great formality. Sr. Dn. Bernardo 81 presented him to the Delegado in public, and fines speeches were made upon the occasion. Yesterday the officers of Numancia gave a dinner to their countryman at which the ministers, jefes principales and some merchants were present. We spent a very pleasant day and all went off exceedingly well.

Blanco 82 has arrived from Guayaquil. I believe he is to return immediately for the *Venganza*, and two or three thousand troops that Bolivar has offered to the Protector.

Our army here amounts to about 4,600 effective infantry and 1000 good cavalry. They are in very tolerable order and excellently well clothed. 'Tis supposed that in a fortnight we shall march to the sierra. In short, it is high time we did, for there is little hard cash in the country we at present occupy and I fear that in paper will lose by degrees its credit, although so far it has passed extremely well.

Relative to our Caucato estate the news cannot be more unfavorable. Paragos [?] has joined the enemy and taken, of course, all he could with him. In fact nothing can we expect to realize from this property. Unless govt. give us something else in lieu we shall not participate of their generosity. Forster got about 10,000 dollars clear for his houses and Sanchez has sold his for the same 83. I would at present gladly take a similar amount for my share. Y shall let you know all that passes, and what steps are taken with the concern.

I gave you the particulars of Tristan's defeat in my last. Roulet 84 is at Chinchá with 80 cavalry and has an advance in Chunchanga. The enemy sometimes advance to Pisco. Quiros 85 and most of his party have fallen prisoners. 'Tis supposed they have shot the former. As he was a gallant and intrepid man his loss is much to be regretted.

Miss Sta. Da. Rosita is very well and often enquires and still oftener

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79. The *Prueba*.

80. Joaquín Mosquera, who negotiated a treaty of alliance between Colombia and Peru.

81. Bernardo Monteagudo.

82. Manuel Blanco Encalada.

83. Captain Robert Forster and José Santiago Sánchez. For their "houses" see Paz Soldán, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

84. Lt. Colonel Pierre Raulet.

85. Cayetano Quiros.

thinks about you. I could have told you so before your departure from this, but I thought it best to no saber nada del asunto.

I cannot think of any thing else at present, so good bye and God bless you.

W. Miller.

16

*MILLER TO PAROISSIEN*

Lima. 29 Novbre, 1823.

My dear Paroissien,

Yesterday I received your letter of the 5 of March, some parts of which I have decyphered with infinite difficulty. Although I feel that I am getting a worse and worse correspondent, in consequence of increasing avocations, occasional illness, and when in Lima, much less time, I will not suffer the present occasion to pass, without giving you the news of the day. But before I do this, as you appear so ill informed, I will copy what I wrote some time ago to England <sup>86</sup> — so here begins.

You are already informed that Gral Alvarado <sup>87</sup> sailed with 4000 troops for puertos intermedios, the finest men and best equipped I have seen in South America. Had they been tolerably directed they must inevitably have brought the war to a speedy and glorious termination. But, although a good man and gentlemanly sort [of] a fellow, Alvarado is hardly capable of commanding a dozen men. He rises at noon, seldom crosses a horse, and was perhaps not personally known by a hundred soldiers of his Army. His ignorance of tactics can only be equalled by his want of nerve, and supineness. He had no plan, consulted every body, and altered his mind every half hour. The general en second, Pinto <sup>88</sup>, would hardly ride five leagues without taking some quackery to enable him to bear fatigue. Hence the desasterous end of the Exercito Libertador del Sur.

Instead of landing at Quilca and marching at once upon Arequipa, or at Tarrapaca to advance upon Potosi, Oruro, or La Paz, he disembarked at Arica, of all places the most unhealthy, and against which he had been previously warned.

The idea of a rapid movement, or of falling in with the Enemy too soon, did not seem to hit his taste, for which reason he avoided Quilca and Yquique. At Arica he lost a month in unaccountable inactivity. Within 26 leagues of abundant supplies, he appeared to be affraid to risk a foraging party. The royalist General, Valdez <sup>89</sup>, advanced with 800 men from Zama to Tacna. He

<sup>86</sup>. The early part of this letter was obviously written in late May or early June.

<sup>87</sup>. See note 75.

<sup>88</sup>. Francisco Antonio Pinto.

<sup>89</sup>. Jerónimo Valdés.

lost his way in the night, and after a march of 14 leagues, found himself in sight of 2500 of our troops, commanded by Correa and Martínez 90. There they, the Enemies, remained 20 hours unmolested, and were allowed to retreat by a most difficult road, across a dreary desert, to Tarrata, without the smallest annoyance. Had they been attacked their total destruction were inevitable. The moral effect of such blow would have made the rest of the Campaign mere holyday work. Just such another blunder was afterwards committed at Locumba, where some hundreds of the Enemy ought to have been made prisoners with still greater ease. Instead of which, Canterac 91 and Valdez were permitted to form a junction at Tarata, where, and at Moquegua, Alvarado was nearly annihilated. 800 who escaped, and got on board at Ylo, would have been taken, had the Enemy shown ordinary activity in following up their successes. The still increasing patriotismo of the inhabitants was ill repaid by the excesses committed by the soldiery, which is to be attributed to the want of tact and decision in the Commander in Chief. The peasantry bringing their produce to market were pillaged until they could not venture to come again. Owners of muies, who brought their droves voluntarily, were robbed of the very horses they rode, and returned on foot. During the action it is said [that] Alvarado kept himself half a league in the rear, and that he was not the last on board.

I can freely forgive him for having previously contrived to send me to break my head against the rocks of Quilca 92, and can smile at the disappointment he may feel at my not being so disposed of; but I cannot so easily forget his having sacrificed my brave Batallion, which gained a name, and drew from the royalist generals expressions of unqualified admiration. Poor La Rosa, Tarramona, and Esobar 93, with 7 subalterns, were killed. Dominguez 94, Echavaria, with eight subalterns, were wounded and taken prisoners. Prieto 95 concealed himself for a month in a Chacara and at last got on board a French Frigate bound to Callao. He was also wounded and is now Mayor of the Regiment.

Having always expressed my opinion when ever called upon to do so more freely than was agreeable, it became impossible for Alvarado and me to act together. I embarked for Lima with a Passport, but my departure having created a buzz in the Army and especially amongst my own officers and men, the general thought it necessary to invite me upon my own terms by Blanco 96 and other messengers to come on shore again 97. It was my wish to proceed to Tarrapaca with two companies, which, united with the force already there, would have enabled me to act offensively towards Potosi. This would not only have produced a diversion but formed a point d'appui, and a

90. Cirilo Correa and Enrique Martínez.

91. See note 62.

92. December, 1822. Cf. Miller, *Memoirs*, ii, 25.

93. Colonel Pedro de la Rosa, Major Manuel Taramona, and Lieutenat [?] Escobar.

94. Pedro José Domínguez.

95. José María Prieto.

96. See note 82.

97. Cf. Miller, *Memoirs*, ii, 16.

safe retreat for the main Army, in case of reverses. Whereas he only contrived to detach me with my light company only to the northward. I scampered about in a wild sort of way between Quilca, Victor and Palpa. It was a perfect Harlequinade, because although the Enemy had eight times my number, he fancied that I had two Batallions. My situations sometimes bordered on the romantic. My movements had the effect of causing Canterac to detach, from Puno, Caratala 98, with their strongest Batallion of Infantry and a Squadron of Cavalry. 600 were stationed in Parinacocha, 300 in Yca, and some scattered detachments. Caratala lost 600 of his men from death and desertion. I was at last seized by the Cholera of morbus and terciana, was carried from Acary in a litter, and hoisted on board at the port of Lomas, more dead than alive. Had it not been for this sickness, I would have steered for Tarrapaca instead of Callao.

Perhaps I ought to observe a profound silence upon the expedition, which has just sailed for Puertos intermedios 99, because circumstances have occurred which make it unavoidable to speak more of myself than I feel inclined to do. You know very well that I have been very much over-rated in these countries, and that a run of luck has contributed to countenance and spread the illusion. Public opinion ran so strong in my favour that Government could not avoid promoting me when they promoted three or four others for Revolutionary services. Hence my last step 100. From the moment General Sta. Cruz 101, was appointed to his present command, I discerned in a thousand different ways, in spite of [a] conciliating exterior, that the spirit of jealousy had found its way into his mind. It became evident to me that he was desirous I should be left behind, least I should, as formerly, obtain more than my due share of credit if successful, or, if otherwise, less than my due share of blame. My Regiment was embarked and a day or two before the last transport sailed, I first received *official* orders. As they had managed to separate me from my first Batallion, which had sailed two days before, I declined to go at all, to the secret joy of Sta. Cruz and Gamarra, 102 and to the no small offence of the President 103 and Secretary of War 104. Since then the last two have taken very little notice of me, and I of them. Nor are we likely to become more intimate, unless they have occasion for my services, because I shall be the last to make the most trifling advance towards the shadow of an accomodation. Here I am, then, a perfect idler, but some Chilena friends made the interval more than pleasant.

The Expedition consists of 5300, all Peruvians, viz: Casadores del Exto., Peruvian Legion, N<sup>o</sup> 1, N<sup>o</sup> 2, N<sup>o</sup> 3, N<sup>o</sup> 4, N<sup>o</sup> 6 Infantry, Regiment of Usares of the Legion, two squadrons of Lanzers, with some Artillery. The comman-

98. José Carratalá.

99. May, 1823.

100. Miller became a Brigadier-General in April, 1823.

101. Andrés Santa Cruz.

102. Agustín Gamarra.

103. José de la Riva Agüero.

104. General Ramón Herrera.

ding officers are: Alegre, Prieto, Elespiru, Garcan, Pardo Zela, Castro, Marquez de Sn. Miguel, Brandsen, Placencia, Gamarra Chief of the Staff, and Aparicio Sr. Ayudante Gral. 105 The whole was fitted out by Sarratea, Lynch, Riglas, Castilla, Robertson and Begg by contract 106. The embarkation of the troops was extremely creditable to Sta. Cruz, who has, upon this occasion, closely [clearly?] shewn himself to be possessed of activity and energy. The secrecy and rapidity with which it has been despatched is also highly praiseworthy. Our Countryman, Robertson 107, is intitled to no ordinary share of admiration, for the great talent he has displayed as is also Riva-Aguero for having suffered himself, upon this occasion, to be guided by such able advisers.

I cannot conceal the mortification I feel at my exclusion from a Theatre upon which I should in a manner find myself at home, and where it happens that I have the weapon of popular feeling to an extent that Sta. Cruz neither has, nor [is] likely to have at first. Nevertheless, I would sooner end my military career, poor as I am, than submit to that which ought not to be tolerated from one who passed over from the royalists two years ago, and but a few months ago my junior; or from another, upon whom I sat in a Court martial, which found him guilty of cowardice 108. I have entered thus at length into particulars to enable you to account for my remaining in Lima, whilst the army Libertador and above all my own Regiment is in the field.

Here ends the first part of my story. I have rummaged up the rough of a subsequent letter 109. You shall have that also, for I find it saves time and provides for deficiency of memory.

Sta. Cruz marched from Moquegua on the 23 July for the bridge of the Incas over the Desaguadero, and Gamarra at the same time from Tacna for Oruro, each with a division of an equal force, that is about 2,500 effective men.

Neither having an Enemy of equal numbers to contend with, success attended the progress of each, or to use the words of Sta. Cruz: all his steps were preceded by fortune. The Indian and Creol population were alike unanimously in favour of La Patria, and abundance of supplies of every kind were easily and rappidly raised. Cusco was open, undefended, in front and Salta in the rear as a safe retreat, in the event of misfortune or to draw a considerable royalist force to a great distance from the Army of Sucre 110 and Lima. Olañeta 111 had scarcely 2000 men, of whom numbers passed over, and many more made known their intentions to do so if an opportunity offe-

105. Buenaventura Alegre, José María Prieto, Juan Bautista Eléspuru, Eugenio Garzón, Juan Pardo de Zela, José Félix Castro, Marqués de San Miguel, Federico Brandsen, Antonio Placencia, Agustín Gamarra, and Manuel Martínez de Aparicio.

106. "Respectable English and foreign houses in Lima". Robert Proctor, *Narrative of a Journey across the Cordillera of the Andes, and of a Residence in Lima...* (London, 1825), p. 130.

107. John Parish Robertson. See Humphreys, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

108. Gamarra.

109. Probably written in October.

110. Antonio José de Sucre.

111. Pedro Antonio Olañeta.

red. Gamarra requested permission to follow up Olañeta, in order to favour further desertion, but Sta. Cruz prohibited his moving from Oruro, which had been previously abandoned with 20 pieces of Canon and a great quantity of other military stores. It is a pity that Gamarra lost time in waiting for orders to move onwards, and asking, as he did, for reinforcement of a Bataillon, instead of dashing forwards —500 men boldly led would have entered Potosi and totally dispersed Olañeta's division. This is the more remarkable as I never heard that he was so punctilious about orders when he thought it necessary to retreat. For this I do not think the blame which the Gamarra party throw solely upon Sta. Cruz to be perfectly fair.

On the 20th of August Valdez advanced from Puno, with 1500 men, towards the Bridge of the Desaguadero, Sta. Cruz, with equal numbers, sallied from his position and obtained some advantages at Zepita 112. Brandsen's Usars entirely decided the affair. Major (now Lt. Col.) Soulanges 113 performed prodigies. My first Batallion also most particularly distinguished itself. The rest of our Infantry, excepting the Casadores, behaved badly. According to the official report we lost 27 killed and 70 odd wounded and some missing the Enemy, killed, wounded and prisoners, nearly 400.

On the Viceking 114 joining Valdez and Caratala, who had marched from Arequipa with 800 men, Sta. Cruz fell back on his former position. The royalists, 4000 strong, marched along the right bank of the Desaguadero, crossed it at Calacoto, in which operation 200 were drowned, and united with Olañete a few leagues south of Oruro in sight of the united divisions of Sta. Cruz and Gamarra, who, previous to the junction of the royalists forces, did no more than offer Battle. Upon La Serna, Valdez, etc. advancing, Sta Cruz retired without firing a Musquet and in such confusion that it is said he lost 1200 men in the first 17 leagues. The whole army was in dispersion, and such was the system of plunder that hardly an officer saved a single article of his baggage. Had the royalist dragoons followed, scarcely a man would have escaped. When a General is unfortunate every voice is against him. So it is with Santa Cruz. He is censured for not having obstructed the passage of the Desaguadero, for not having fought before and after the junction of the royalists, which he could have done with advantage, and for not having retreated in time.

Instead of directing his retreat upon Puno, where Sta. Cruz would have joined Sucre, who had marched with 3000 men from Arequipa for the express purpose, he took the Moquegua road, so that the Columbians lost the advantage of adding the stragglers of the army of Peru to its own numbers. In Moquegua 1000 fugitives were collected, and there might be half as many more in detached parties upon the coast previously. Valdez reentered Puno, sending Caratala in pursuit. Raullet 115 retired from the neighbourhood of Puno and

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112. 25 August.

113. Luis Soulanges.

114. José de La Serna.

115. See note 84.



from Lampa, whilst the rest of the Columbian force re-occupied Arequipa, and the vallies between that and Quilca.

I ought to have said before that the Expedition of Sucre sailed from Callao in July. It consisted of Voltigeros (formerly Numancia) Col. Delgado, Pichincha, Col. Leal, Vencedores, Comandte. Guas, N<sup>o</sup> 2 and 4 with a few artillery men of Chile, 800 Peruvian cavallery under Raulet, and 1500 dragoons of Chile with 400 Usares de Colombia, in all 3300 men. Alvarado Gefe del Estado Mar, General Pinto commanded the Chile troops, General Lara 116 the Colombians and your humble servant the Van-guard.

It was my expectation and hope upon landing at Chala (latd. 15°, 14") to have proceeded without loss of time direct to Cusco 16 days march for an army, through a country comparatively abounding in resources. After a deal of time lost in disembarking troops in Chala and re-embarking them, the Expedition proceeded to Quilca, marching myself with a small division by land from Parinacochas by Caraveli hand Chuquicamba, rejoining the army at Siguas, 20 leags from Arequipa. I entered this city on the 30 Augt. with 180 Cavallery the enemy (600) left it as we entered. The following day Sucre arrived with the Infantry. There we remained upwards of a month, and then marched for Puno, but hearing of the defeat of Sta. Cruz two days after we set out, we made a retrograde movement. The Infantry occupied the vallies and the Cavallery remained in the City.

On the 8th of Octbr. at 8 a.m. we heard that the Enemy was approaching from Cangallo. The Cavallery, about 180 in numbers and the only troops in the City, had just time to saddle and meet him in the eastern pampa. Raulet lost there, and afterwards in the City, the most of his best men. Before we left the plaza, the bells struck up a peal to welcome the Royalists. Some fighting took place in the streets. About 100 followed us closely to Uchumayo. I saw a favourable opportunity to charge, and cut them to pieces. The Chile dragoons were in front, but I could not get them into a trot or gallop. The enemy, who was just preparing to run away, seeing the timidity of the Chilenians, made a charge and met us. The front platoon fled, and then the rear did the same. Some of the officers behaved extreemly well, but nothing could be more shamefully cowardly than that of the men, who could not divest themselves of the panic which seized them from the very first. It is true their horses were bad, and they had never been taught the use of the lance, which was the arm they had. We lost all-together upwards of 80 men the Enemy's could not have exceeded 15.

The infantry, which was some days march ahead, embarked at Quilca, where they lay at anchor 8 days. then proceeded to Pisco and finally to Supe. I, in the mean time, with the remnants of our cavallery, including 80 usars that Sta. Cruz had sent from Ylo, and a company of Infantry, proceeded by land, bringing with me a cavallada of 800 horses and 200 mules and 600 head of cattle, which I collected from the celebrated lomas of Arequipa. All these

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116. Miguel Delgado, José Leal, Pedro Guasch, Pierre Raulet, Rudecindo Alvarado, Francisco Antonio Pinto and Jacinto Lara.

I left in the vicinity of Pisco, and galloped on myself to Lima. The Enemy only made his appearance twice at Camana and Caraveli.

I shall say nothing of Canterac's occupation of Lima or retreat, <sup>117</sup> but will now commence with the affairs of the day <sup>118</sup>.

Riva-Agüero has about 3000 men in Trujillo, half of them armed —tolerably well clothed and paid— indifferent officers and worse chiefs attached to him solely in order to retain the great promotions all have received. Neither him nor Herrera (his General in Chief) <sup>119</sup> have any other sort of Partisans. Neither of them are suspected to possess talents. Their vaenity and ambition seems to have been their only guide. Nevertheless they have not forgotten, according to reports, to well fetter their nests.

The Libertador <sup>120</sup> has about 5100 Colombians and 600 Peruvians near Huaras in march to attack Riva-Agüero, who has refused all terms of accomodation, and is reported to have entered into a correspondence with the Spaniards. To prevent the escape of Riva-Agüero two vessels of war are watching the places of embarcation.

1200 Buenos Ayres troops commanded by Gral. Martinez <sup>121</sup>, a strong Batallion of Columbians, and about 300 Peruvians, garrison Callao and Lima.

Two or three Montonera parties with 200 veterans are in the neighbourhood of Yca.

2000 good Chilenian troops and 500 Peruvians, being the remnants of the Army of Sta. Cruz at Arica, are dayly expected here. Perhaps Admiral Guise <sup>122</sup>, in the frigate *Protector*, may convoy them from Puertos Intermedios.

The total force of the Spaniards does not exceed 12,000. Loriga <sup>123</sup> has about 1400 in the province of Gauja.

Canterac may have 4000, supposed to be near Cusco, marching to the northward.

Valdez, with the same force, more or less, occupies the Province of Arequipa, being himself, with about half his strength, near Tacna.

Olañeta, with 1500, has marched to re-occupy La Paz, Oruro, Potosi, etc., having distroyed about a 1000 patriot soldiers, who Sta. Cruz left with Lanza <sup>124</sup> at the time he commenced his disastrous retreat.

Urdininea, <sup>125</sup> who was advancing with 500 men from Salta to cooperate with Sta. Cruz, appears to have been stopped by the dissentions which prevail in those parts.

The political state of Peru is as bad as it can well be. Torre Tagle <sup>126</sup>, although a good man, is not the fittest in the world for steering a vessel in a

117. June, 1823.

118. As of November, 1823.

119. See note 104. Riva Agüero had fled to Trujillo at the end of June.

120. Bolívar, who had arrived at Callao on 1 September.

121. Enrique Martínez.

122. Martín George Guise.

123. See note 72.

124. José Miguel Lanza.

125. José María Pérez de Urdininea.

126. José Bernardo de Tagle y Portocarrero, now nominally President of Peru.

storm. His choice [of] Ministers has not been [in] every way unobjectionable. San Donas <sup>127</sup> is minister of war, Unanue <sup>128</sup> of hacienda, Juan Echevarria <sup>129</sup>, el niño, president of the department of Lima, Colonel Valdivieso Governor of Callao <sup>130</sup>.

The capital and the country around are alike the seat of dissatisfaction. It is difficult to say which is most disliked the Government of Riva-Agüero, or that of Torre Tagle. Property is unsecure and the army very badly paid.

If the Spaniards do not agree to terms, perhaps the Libertador may concentrate his forces about Pasco and risks [sic] a general action.

Under existing circumstances he cannot reckon on Lima for resources, and it seems that we shall have the old work to do over again.

The Columbian troops, particularly the Infantry, are excellent, well disciplined, and I think eager for an action. I by no means despair of the issue of any encounter —quite the contrary.

The Spaniards have decidedly the advantage in Generals, who know how to profit of our blunders of their local knowledge, and to avail themselves of the astonishing physical powers of the Indians in performing astonishing marches, with incredible rapidity, and under severe privations. Upon an average Valdez marched 7 leagues a day, for 57 days, across sandy deserts and over a mountainous country and under every variety of climate.

The Spaniards gather strength in Public opinion, because they changed their system of warfare for one more civilized. We, on the contrary, are loosing ground from an opposite motive.

The command of the Peruvian army is likely to be given to Sta. Cruz or Lamar <sup>131</sup>. In the mean while I am acting as chief of the staff.

Before I proceed to answer your string of questions, allow me to impress upon you, that your skipping over so lightly interesting accounts of Chilean and Bs. Ayres friends, as well as political news in Europe relating to South America, and this omission is so more striking when contrasted with so many enquiries. A friend who has never been out here has some excuse, because he does not happen to be aware of our total ignorance of things familiar to him, and which would be very interesting if communicated. To make a finish, you have no such excuse, for you know exactly what suits the South American market, although you seem vastly afraid of overstocking it. Your wares are scarce and packed in such pale ink, that it is no small difficulty to make out what they are.

I have made known to government that you do not receive gazettes. Torre Tagle assures me that he will send them regularly.

Monteagudo was lately in Quito. It is said he has sailed or is about to sail for Mexico, as envoy from Colombia. I am sorry to say he is as poor

127. Juan Berindoaga, Conde de San Donas.

128. Hipólito Unanue.

129. Captain Juan Echevarria [?].

130. Francisco Valdivieso.

131. José de La Mar.

as can be. Claro (Cruz's yierno) 132 took 600 ounces out of his Boggage on his embarcation in Callao and which Claro forgot to hand over to Government. This left him almost pennyles. They begin to find out here that his talents could enable them to go on more smoothly.

Torre Tagle you will hear from by the *Blossom*. He appears to be very much pleased with his present situation, and protects his old acquaintances as formerly. The Marchioness is as amiable as ever. Da. Anita and Chépita visit as usual. The daughter of the latter promises to be a beauty.

Guido 133 is laying on his oars. The idle and illnated say that he has two or three pulperias. He is amusing himself in fitting out the Quinta, and superintending the flower garden of Magdalena and in promenading to Miraflores where Da. [ ] y Mercedita reside. Rufino 134 is as steady as time and as regular as clockwork. He is still Adyudt. del Gobierno and every fifth or sixth day he is to be seen at his post in the President's house. His wife is as amiable as ever and dances as elegantly rather inclined to be "gay". Alvarado (with Pinto) sailed from Pisco back again to Puertos Intermedios to take the command, but the destination being since altered, they are dayly expected here.

Unanue is, as usual, an exceeding good man, very highly gifted, but an indifferent Chancellor of Exchequer.

Lopez Aldano 135 goes on smoothly at the house of his father in law. His wife is at present unwell.

La Mar is here, not very busy. I suppose you know that he is married to a guayaquileña.

Arenales 136 went to Chile on Riva Agüero's accession. He has done the state great services, and is a good old gentleman.

The Necocheas 137 are gone to Chile also. I believe Mariano is not a successful merchant. His only defect, perhaps, idleness, may be the cause of it. I consider him one of the best of the porteños. Had he, Martínez 138, and many other of our friends been brought up in the British service, they would have turned out shining characters. Their little blemishes arise out of their military education, in a service were vice is suffered to obtain its full growth. Eugenio is married to Carmen Godoy.

Juan Lavalle 139 has retired, and is gone to Mendoza, they say to get married to his old flame. The Iceñas accuse him of having taken from them the means of living splendidly the rest of his days.

O'Higgins with the old lady and Rosita 140 are here living in Sn. Mar-

132. Vicente Claro, aide-de-camp and son-in law to Luis de la Cruz, General in Chief of the Army of Chile in Peru. Claro was stationed in Callao at the time of Montegudo's forced embarkation in July, 1822.

133. Tomás Guido.

134. Rufino Guido.

135. Fernando López Aldana.

136. Juan Antonio Alvarez de Arenales.

137. Mariano and Eugenio Necochea.

138. Enrique Martínez.

139. Coronel (later General) Juan Lavalle.

140. Bernardo O'Higgins, his mother, and his half-sister.

tin's town house. He is just the same honest, kind hearted, straightforward, unsuspecting character we always found him to be. He is much respected by all parties, and more than ever beloved by the English. The Chileans begin to find out his worth, and 'tis supposed he will sooner or later be invited to re-assume the government of that country, but having tasted the sweets of private life, I question if he would obey the call.

Instead of asking news of Lord Cochrane, you ought to give me some. As one of my masters in the art of war, nothing relative to his Lordship could be uninteresting to me.

Paz Castillo 141 is Governor of Guayquil. His wife, [ ] wears the breeches, and, scandal gives out, leads him a terrible life.

Blanco went to Bs. Ayres, and is expected back. Cruz is hovering about Valparaiso, with a whip in his hand.

I dined at Caucato leaving Pisco. Recknon nothing upon that estate in any way whatever 142. It is long since I gave up all hopes. I am on the point of obtaining bills upon the loan 143 in lieu of my share. I recommend these to your fatherly care, as far as you can be useful, which I am sure you will be glad of doing etc., as you have the power.

I continue under the hospitable roof of Begg 144 whilst I remain in Lima. It would be difficult to meet a better fellow.

Forster 145 is in Chile —has got his back pay— is employed as a naval commissioner —and talks about returning to England.

Raulet 146 is gone to Yca on leave of absence to look after the Estate of his wife; he has sent in his resignation, which has not yet been accepted.

Brandsen 147 is gone to Truxillo to fetch his wife.

Bruix 148 has command of the Granaderas a Cavl. Viel, Beauchef, Rondizoni, are in the Chile expedition 149. The mother of Viel, 70 years of age, is come out to see him, and is living with Louisa.

I have made a map of the country I traversed of the coast from Arica to Lima. Although not astronomically correct, it is more intelligible than any other. I shall send one to England by the *Blossom*, which you will of course get a glimpse of.

It is not surprizing you have not heard from Da. Rosita, because lately she has had nothing but trouble. Her Cañaverales have been burned, and she is inconsolable for the loss of Manango [?] who was murdered between the advanced posts of the two armies, when Canterac was here 150.

141. Juan Paz del Castillo, who had married an Ecuadoran.

142. See note 76.

143. The loan negotiated in London by Paroissien and García del Río.

144. See note 77.

145. See note 83.

146. See note 84.

147. See note 42.

148. Alejo Bruix.

149. Benjamín Viel, Jorge Beauchef, and José Rondizzoni. The reference is to the auxiliary expedition sent from Chile in October.

150. See note 117.

Pepe and Pancho are in Truxillo, but they have just resigned. Who is Chavelita that was to receive the Diamonds?

My animo, with that of almost every body, is at a lower ebb than formerly. We had, however, a gay little ball the other night at the house of Mrs. Bergman. The Palomequez, Palacios, Manuelita Cajija [?], Mrs. Lynch, the [ ], and others there all well. I do not know where Mrs. Crammond is. Illingworth <sup>151</sup> is in Guayaquil, much respected, but on the shelf. He is married to a fine rich girl.

I have delivered in manas propias your letter to Manuelita Bello, and she promisses to send me an answer for you to morrow morning. She is very well.

As to newspapers pray send me out those containing news interesting to us in South America marked with a pen, as I have no time to look over them in any other way. What I expect from you is news, not to be found in a newspaper. Send me also interesting publications.

If O'Brian <sup>152</sup> has not left England make my kind regards.

This letter is intended for Garcia <sup>153</sup> as well as yourself. With best wishes to both of you.

I remain  
Yours most sincerely,

Wm. Miller.

17

CAPTAIN BASIL HALL TO PAROISSIEN

*Dunglass, Dunbar.*  
22nd Decr., 1823.

My dear Paroissien,

I have seldom been more pleased with anything than I was by the receipt of your letters of the 15th. I beg you to know that I keep no black book for the friends in whom I have confidence—but always suppose there is some good reason for their not answering immediately. The Gazette you send me is excellent, and I mean to put it in my book word for word. You must really, however, oblige me a bit further in the matter of Benavides: <sup>154</sup> you have heard San Martin describe his strange and mysterious interview with Benavides, after he was half shot; now, I beg you to give it to me as nearly as possible in S.M.'s words. I heard it from a brother officer whom you know, who had it from S.M., and I mean to give it as nearly as I recollect <sup>155</sup>— but

151. Captain (later Admiral) John Illingworth.

152. Lt. Colonel John O'Brien.

153. Juan García del Río.

154. Vicente Benavides.

155. See Basil Hall, *Extracts from a Journal written on the Coasts of Chile, Perú, and Mexico, in the years 1820, 1821, 1822* (3rd ed., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1824), i, 323-4.

I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that it ought to be as exact as possible, on S.M.'s account; and as *You & G.* 156 must have it in your power to give it in proper detail I expect you will let me have it as soon as you can, for I am now actually correcting my rough draught of my own adventures with Benavides 157.

You ask me to put explicit questions to you, which you promise to answer. In the first place you will see, by a letter in Garcia's 158 hands, that I have already adopted the method you propose and you may perhaps save him the trouble in some cases, as he appears from his letter to be much occupied. I have a great dislike to troubling people of business, and nothing but the great anxiety to do justice to our common friend S.M. would induce me to plague Mr. Garcia on the subject. In order to relieve him as much as I possibly could, I mentioned that if he could give me his answers in the course of a month it would save the press; but it would be *infinitely better* if I could have them *now*, as I am now setting about that part of S.M. history included in those questions, and as my information is scanty and not authentic I write with difficulty and doubt, and under the feeling that I may have to break up all my work again. If therefore, my Dear Sir, you can in any way contrive to get me replies soon, it will essentially contribute to the merit of that part of my book which refers to our great friend.

If you can furnish me with any little anecdotes characteristic of S.M. I shall be much obliged to you for them; I have got one or two, but you surely can give me some more and I will turn them to good account: the kind I want relate to his private habits, which, in my opinion throw more light on a man's real character than his public actions do. I remember one Eveg. at the Play at Lima we had some conversation about Oliver Cromwell and S.M. said he had thought of Old Noll when it was proposed to him to take the title of Protector, and that he hoped to imitate his good points —or something to that effect: you must have heard him speak at other times on that subject, and as this is a sort of thing which would engage the attention of the Public here I beg you will give me in his words exactly what you remember to have heard him say. Anything that shows an acquaintance with English History or customs will enhance him in the eyes of England, and I shall be most grateful for the smallest item on those heads. You see what you bring on yourself by offering your services! and I promise sincerely that if you and Garcia will only assist me with materials, I shall chase the foul fiend indolence 'mil leguas' off, and amongst us we shall bring S.M.'s merits before the Public —it would be a shame to lose the opportunity. *I agree quite with you* as to S.M.'s *admirable conduct* on the occasion you allude to 159 —but I cannot doubt of your agreeing with me in keeping clear of the topic: it would do S.M. no

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156. See note 153.

157. Hall *op. cit.*, i, 332-75.

158. See note 153.

159. I suspect that the reference is to the quarrel between San Martín and Cochrane.

good to be dragged into a controversy here— and it would be considered by the Public as bad taste in me to touch that branch of the subject.

You tell me to make no apologies for asking questions —I assure you I won't; but on the contrary, will ask them without mercy— and if you dont answer, hang me if I dont write to San Martin!!! I write this in great haste, merely in reply to your most valuable packet, but in the course of two or three days I shall have a list of other queries for you.

I have written frequently to London for the little sketch of S.M. but in vain; the copy you gave me I lent to Adl. Fleming 160 a great Spaniard, and he lost it: I hope to get another— send it to 27 St. James Street.

Affectionately yrs.,

B. Hall.

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160. Vice-Admiral Charles E. Fleeming.