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A case study of early American trade with India the voyage of the Reaper 1809-1810.

Glenn Stine Gordinier

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A CASE STUDY OF EARLY AMERICAN TRADE WITH INDIA

THE VOYAGE OF THE REAPER 1809-1810

by

Glenn Stine Gordinier

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This thesis is accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

May 7, 1981
(Date)

Professor in Charge

Chairman of Department
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ABSTRACT

A CASE STUDY OF EARLY AMERICAN TRADE WITH INDIA
THE VOYAGE OF THE REAPER 1809-1810

by Glenn S. Cordinier

During the years immediately following the Peace of Paris, the American maritime industries suffered financial stagnation due to the loss of traditional British intercourse. Throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century, American entrepreneurs located and developed new markets throughout the world. One of the most valuable of these new markets was India. Although trade with British East India has been largely ignored, it was no less valuable a market than that of China.

Many of the wealthiest American merchant houses profitted from the Indian trade throughout the early national period—in spite of the fluctuations in trade that were brought about by the conflict between Great Britain and France. Jefferson's embargo virtually halted this trade, but it was renewed vigorously shortly thereafter.

In June of 1809 Captain Isaac Hinckley set out in the new brig REAPER on a passage that would take him to Calcutta. His records from that voyage are exceptionally detailed and enable the researcher to delineate the characteristics of trade with India.

Hinckley and Andrew Cabot, his shipowner, are typ-
ical of the venturers who traded with eastern ports. Cabot was a skilled and astute merchant who mastered the complexities of the Calcutta trade. His captain, like most other East Indian masters, was a mariner of accomplishment. The REAPER was one of the finest vessels of her day and serves as a unique example of American ship design and construction.

The REAPER's voyage to Calcutta was typical for that period. Hinckley's journal shows that such a voyage included long weeks of loneliness, periodic struggles with the elements, and the ever present threat of harassment from English or French men-of-war. The times were such, however, that a successful voyage could net tens of thousands of dollars for prudent investors. Understanding the highly complex Indian market was essential to the success of such a venture. Due to years of previous experience and good fortune, both Isaac Hinckley and Andrew Cabot profitted from the voyage of the REAPER.

Both of these men, as well as their competitors struggled through the difficult years during the War of 1812. Conditions which affected the Indian market changed drastically following the war. Cabot died only months after the fighting ended, and Hinckley lived just two years longer. By that time the Indian market was only a shadow of its former self and Hinckley, as well as others abandoned it in search of other investments.
CHAPTER I

THE UNITED STATES TRADE WITH INDIA PRIOR TO 1809

At the close of the American Revolution, the new nation's maritime industries were on the brink of radical change. Since the thirteen states were no longer colonies of the British Empire, they did not have to operate under the hindrances of the Navigation Acts. At the same time, however, the United States no longer enjoyed the protection of those same acts, or of the great navy which enforced them. The result was a severe loss of markets for the Americans. Most important, trade to the West Indies was forbidden to vessels from the United States. The dumping of imported goods on American shores by British vessels further depressed business conditions. Realizing that the best way to alleviate the situation was to seek new markets, American entrepreneurs sent vessels to the Far East. In February of 1784 Philadelphian Robert Morris and others dispatched the ship EMPRESS OF CHINA to Canton. Upon arrival in Canton, the American agent gathered a cargo for shipment to the United States. The return of this ship created a flurry of activity which sent numerous vessels to the Orient.

Only a month after the EMPRESS OF CHINA departed,
another vessel put to sea. The UNITED STATES sailed east to "explore the advantages of Oriental commerce." Following layovers at Madeira and Sumatra, the UNITED STATES arrived in Pondicherry, French India. After a small amount of trading, the ship returned to Philadelphia via the West Indies. Despite scurvy, lack of water, and an uncooperative governor at Barbados, the return of the UNITED STATES established India as a viable market.²

Smaller ports like Providence, Newburyport, and especially Salem dispatched vessels in competition with Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. American vessels, particularly those from New England, were found in ports throughout the world. Small ships and brigs were sailing to Sumatra, Russia, the Sandwich Islands, and Ile de France (Mauritius).

The voyages to these ports were often complicated and long. The lack of goods that were saleable in the Far East forced American traders to search for products to sell or for specie with which to buy. For example, the pioneering fur trader COLUMBIA went from Boston to the northwest coast of America for sea otter skins before proceeding to China with a desirable cargo. Other vessels struggled through long months or years before a voyage might be completed. The travels of George Charles Cabot in 1804 exemplify the

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²Bhagat, 6.
traveling that was necessary in Far Eastern enterprise. In a letter written by Cabot, supercargo for Stephen Higginson and J. and T. H. Perkins, he described the transaction that he had recently concluded. Upon departing from India, he sailed east to Siam. He then traveled on to Pontania (in Borneo), Mallacca, Penang, Sumatra, and the Celebes Islands in search of profitable cargoes to carry. In that effort he stopped on more than twenty different occasions as he traveled back and forth between these small countries. During these ramblings, he had traded in tin, pepper, piece goods, "elephant teeth," agala wood, and opium. Of all the goods, opium had proven to be the most profitable cargo. Cabot explained that, lacking further instruction, he planned to pick up another cargo of opium in India and return to the East. By returning there before any other trader, he felt certain that he could make a handsome profit for his financial backers. 3

The independence exhibited by Cabot was not uncommon. Due to the poor communications and rapid changes in the international situation, the captains and supercargoes of vessels from the United States were often given a free hand by their backers at home. Thus, American seamen who traded with the Far East became known for their independence, aggressiveness, and self sufficiency.

Of all the eastern markets to which these men sailed during the early national period, India was destined to become one of the richest. Following the Peace of Paris in 1783, American vessels had been barred from British East India by the Navigation Acts. It was not long, however, before the British officials in India allowed American vessels to trade in their ports. They were concerned about the competition from the other colonial powers in India. The French and the Dutch were trading with the newcomers, and it would have been foolish for the British in India to continue their restrictive policies. Thus, in 1784 the Indian authorities tacitly approved the arrival and departure of American vessels. This trade was not officially acknowledged by the American and British governments until ten years later with the signing of the Jay Treaty.

The treaty officially permitted the Americans to trade with British East India, but denied their right to carry Indian goods directly to Europe or from one Indian port to another. Fortunately, these new restraints were not strictly enforced and trade went on much as it had before Jay's Treaty.

Despite these fluctuations in Indian trade restrictions, some of the wealthiest entrepreneurs in the United States invested heavily in the Indian market. Elias Hasket Derby, the prince of Salem's merchant community, sent

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4 Bhagat, 27.
numerous ships to India. In 1788 alone he dispatched nine of his best vessels to India and invested as much as ninety percent of his assets in East Indian ventures. It was due to his immersion in Indian trade that Derby became the first millionaire in the United States.\(^5\)

William Gray, who was the largest shipowner in the country, with holdings worth three million dollars, also sent a number of vessels to trade with India. The Browns of Providence, as well as the Lowells, Jacksons, Cabots, and Higginsons of Massachusetts, all owed their vast fortunes to the weavers of Bengal and the shrewd business sense which brought Indian goods to the western world.

The wealth of the Indian trade can be measured by more than the men who plied it. In fact, early America's trade with India compares favorably with the famous China trade. For instance, during the period between 1784 and 1818, American vessels carried more goods home from India than they did from Canton.\(^6\) From the turn-of-the-century through 1808 an average of twenty-nine vessels each year traded with Canton while it was common for thirty to fifty ships to visit India annually during those same years.\(^7\)

All of these vessels, whether they traveled to China

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\(^5\) Bhagat, 14-15.

\(^6\) Bhagat, 138.

\(^7\) F. R. Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (Boston, 1930), 210; Bhagat, 72.
or India, were of the finest quality. They were built to survive the 25,000 miles at sea against crashing head seas, gale-force winds, monsoons, and hidden shoals.

There were other dangers which threatened the East Indian traders. Throughout the eastern waters there was the possibility of attack by pirates. The American ships ALERT and ESSEX had both been taken by pirates along the coast of Arabia with the loss of almost all aboard.⁸ Farther east there was just as much treachery. Pirate proas lurked along narrow inter-island passages or near busy ports, ready to surround and overwhelm any vessel unfortunate enough to lose headway and become vulnerable to attack. Chinese and Malaysian pirates were particularly feared for their bloodthirsty assaults. Captain William Sturgis's renowned defense of the ATAHUALPA against sixteen pirate junks in Macao roads was typical of the spirited actions that a Yankee crew might need to execute.⁹ That particular vessel suffered more than her share of treachery, as she was also attacked on two other occasions while gathering pelts from the able Indians of the northwest coast of America.¹⁰

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⁸ W. A. Fairburn, Merchant Sail (Center Lovell, 1945-55), 533.
⁹ Samuel E. Morison, The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1869 (Boston, 1941), 69.
If one survived the threat of attack by pirates and Indians, he then might fall victim to more civilized warriors. Throughout the first three decades following the end of the Revolution, American vessels were under threat of seizure by France or England. These two great powers were in a constant state of warfare during that period. It was this warfare which spawned the growth of the American merchant marine and then proceeded to nearly destroy it. As neutrals, American merchants were not encumbered by government regulations, high insurance rates, or the necessity of convoys; consequently, they were able to transport goods at rates which were much lower than the French or English. As the fortunes of war fluctuated, neutral American vessels were alternately harassed or welcomed by one or the other of the belligerents.

The stress that constant warfare put upon the navies and merchant marines of France and England led to their relaxing restrictions on other nations who were trading with them and their colonies. Especially after 1793 the Americans found themselves capable of reaping enormous profits when transporting goods for the belligerents.

Following the signing of the Jay Treaty, Anglo-American relations continued to improve. Considering that ten years had passed since the American Revolution, the common bonds of a shared heritage, family ties, and the burgeoning commerce between England and the United States
served to draw the two countries together. In fact, Great Britain and the United States were each other's best customers. The British West Indies, for example, received ninety percent of their flour, two-thirds of their grain, and one-half of their salted meat and fish from the United States. On the other hand, America imported two-and-one-half times the amount of goods from Britain than it did from any other nation. That figure represented approximately one-third of Britain's exports. At the same time the English were purchasing nearly one-half of America's exported goods.\textsuperscript{11}

As England battled France, the American merchants prospered; however, with the Peace of Amiens in 1802 the activity in the American ports declined drastically. The demand for American carriers disappeared when the merchant fleets of France and England were no longer preoccupied with war-related movements. The overseas trade, including that with India, suffered a great deal. The exports from Philadelphia to India dropped nearly one-third from 1801 to 1802 and by 1803 those exports had fallen off an additional one-third. Imports were affected in a similar manner.\textsuperscript{12} The slump in trade was short lived because hostilities recommenced in 1803.


\textsuperscript{12}Bhagat, 42.
With France and England at war again the American merchants hoped to continue business as usual. Before the peace of Amiens, there had been numerous stoppages of neutral vessels and many seizures; nonetheless, American merchants had been making their fortunes. In many cases the British and French had looked the other way as American vessels ignored restrictions that had been placed against them. The belligerents had relied on American shippers to keep their commercial routes operative. With that reliance in mind there had existed an attitude of acquiescence in both London and Paris. Unfortunately for the Americans, the situation changed following the outbreak of hostilities in 1803. Military victories by Napoleon and the resultant rise to power of the hardline Pittites in Britain caused both belligerents to harden their positions on neutral trade.  

This change of policy was reflected in many actions against the American merchant marine. American vessels that traded with Europe or the West Indies suffered the most. Throughout the next several years, impressments, seizures, and the condemnation of neutral traders escalated. The military standoff between the armies of Napoleon and the navy of George III caused both nations to adopt a policy of economic warfare. As a result, American ships were caught in the impossible position of being threatened with

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13 Perkins, The First Rapprochment, 175.
condemnation by either side if they traded with the enemy. Most of the confrontations took place with vessels that traveled the West Indian or European trade routes.

Fortunately, India was far from the battlegrounds of Western Europe, and American East Indiamen were relatively free from these difficulties.

The repercussions from the harassment of other American vessels, however, would eventually affect even the wealthiest of the merchant princes. As the tension between France and Great Britain mounted, continued pressure was applied to neutral vessels. The American merchant marine was being placed in an untenable position due to harassment from the belligerents' men-of-war.

The situation for the Americans continued to worsen. As 1807 drew to a close, neutral vessels by the hundreds were seized and condemned by the British, the French, and their respective allies. James Monroe estimated that two out of every nine American traders were being captured and carried off to Admiralty Courts. In spite of these enormous losses most American merchants were willing to continue their neutral operations. Inflated war time profits easily balanced the loss. George Cabot, the Essex Junto spokesman, expressed the sentiments of many merchants when he announced that if only one out of every three

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14 Bradford Perkins, Prologue to War, England and the United States, 1805-1812
American vessels reached home safely the owners would make a handsome profit on the lot.\(^{15}\)

The opinions of George Cabot notwithstanding, President Jefferson held that the belligerents were interfering with American commerce and that the only way to alleviate the tension was to cease all foreign commerce. Therefore, on December 22, 1807 he declared a total trade embargo. One of the primary motives for this action was coercion. The administration hoped that it would be possible to force Britain and France to abandon their offensive mandates by denying them the neutral bottoms in which to ship their goods. Unfortunately for the Americans, the Europeans proved to be totally involved in their struggle for dominance. The minor inconvenience caused by the American terrapin strategy was not sufficient to coerce either party into making concessions.

The embargo came as a great surprise to the American shippers, and the immediate response of many of them was to try and avoid its restrictions. As soon as the new law was proclaimed, many shipowners attempted to send their vessels to sea before the local revenue cutters could completely close the harbors.\(^{16}\) Although some merchants accepted the embargo as the best course of action, many more felt the

\(^{15}\)Morison, 191.

law to be unacceptable and continued to attempt evasion. The methods of evasion were sometimes within and sometimes without the law.

Legally, merchants could dispatch vessels for goods that had been purchased before the embargo. Dozens of vessels put to sea on these recovery missions. In Boston alone, fourteen "Permission" vessels cleared for foreign ports. This figure represents nearly one half of the foreign clearances for the year 1808.\(^{17}\) In many cases once the vessels left they remained overseas for as long as possible while trading from one foreign port to another.

Another "legal" technique that captains used to avoid the embargo stemmed from the licit coastwise trade. Suddenly there was a rash of mishaps at sea which caused a number of coastal carriers to seek refuge in foreign ports. For instance, one unfortunate coasting captain, bound from Chesapeake Bay with flour that had been worth $5 a barrel, was forced to seek refuge in Antigua. There the flour sold for $40 per barrel.\(^{18}\)

The restrictions of trade caused extensive financial hardship throughout the maritime community. The creditors of maritime entrepreneurs called in their debts, which in

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turn caused the latter to demand that their clients settle their accounts. Merchants, sailors, tradesmen, and even farmers were affected as the commercial chain collapsed.

The East Indian trade was, to all intents and purposes, brought to a halt by the embargo. The ship MAGDALEN of New York was the only American vessel to reach Calcutta throughout the whole period of interdiction.\(^{19}\) As a result, imports from British East India dropped off drastically. During the boom year of 1807-1808, Indian goods worth $4,219,725 had entered the United States. During the 1808-1809 period, that figure dwindled to just $683,929.\(^{20}\)

The Indian merchants were not the only importers to suffer from the embargo. The value of the nation's total foreign trade in 1807 was $108,000,000; in 1808 the total was only $22,000,000.\(^{21}\) In the smaller ports the situation became desperate as bankruptcies and soup kitchens became facts of life.\(^{22}\) In some of the larger towns like Boston the situation was not as desperate, but the diminutive

\(^{19}\) Bhagat, 45.

\(^{20}\) Bhagat, 46.

\(^{21}\) Bhagat, 46.

\(^{22}\) Benjamin W. Labaree, Patriots and Partisans, the Merchants of Newburyport 1764-1815 (Cambridge, 1962), 154.
ports like Plymouth, Newburyport, and Salem never recovered their former prosperity.\textsuperscript{23}

One reason that Boston suffered less than Salem was the thriving coasting trade that moved in and out of Boston throughout the embargo. In fact, there was such a boom in coasting that Boston actually had more vessels arriving and departing during the embargo than during the boom year of 1807. The primary cause for this burgeoning coastal traffic was the smuggling of American produce out of the country. Many of the smuggled goods were carried to the small ports of Maine, and it is no coincidence that those villages saw nearly ten times as many vessels arrive and depart during the embargo than during the previous year.\textsuperscript{24} Hundreds of other sailing craft ran further east to Passamaquoddy Bay, which was located on the Canadian border. With countless inlets and backwaters it was an ideal place to exchange contraband.\textsuperscript{25}

Similar activities were being carried out at the other end of the coast. The center for smuggling in southern waters was Amelia Island. Located just across the river from St. Mary's, Georgia, this piece of Spanish

\textsuperscript{23} Morison, 191.

\textsuperscript{24} John D. Forbes, "Boston Smuggling American Neptune X (April, 1950), 149.

\textsuperscript{25} Higham, 192.
Florida was used for illegal trade throughout the fourteen months of the embargo. 26

The smuggling was in response to the economic collapse caused by the embargo. Another response to Jefferson's restrictions was the revitalization of the Federalist Party. Under the leadership of the Essex Junto, the party called for town meetings throughout New England. As a result, local and state governments petitioned the Republicans in Washington to repeal the act. The northeastern maritime communities felt that they were bearing an unfair burden in the stand against France and England. The Republican strongholds in the south and west, on the other hand, were much less affected by the loss of trade. The Indian merchants were one of the groups that felt discriminated against. The actions of the French and English had never really affected their trade. Why then was their traffic also interdicted? The only explanation seemed to be that Jefferson hoped that the embargo would destroy the financial stability of his political enemies in New England.

This reasoning helped the strength of the Federalist party to grow until, eventually, Timothy Pickering called for a convention of New England states. Such a gathering would be unconstitutional and would challenge the existence of the Union itself. With sectionalism threatening to bring

26 Albion, 101.
down the Federal government, Jefferson's counselors advised that the embargo be lifted.

By the end of January in 1809 the political situation had deteriorated even further. Jefferson refused to accept the failure of the embargo to coerce the belligerents, and without his leadership Congress could not move for repeal. Finally, after weeks of highly charged debate, the legislature acknowledged that they would rather submit to France and England than to continue the debilitating interdiction of trade. Both houses of Congress voted to repeal the embargo and replace it with a Non-Intercourse Bill which only forbade trade with the two belligerents. On March 3, 1809 on his last day in office, Jefferson reluctantly signed the Non-Intercourse Bill into law.

Several months before the embargo was repealed the more astute merchants had made preparations to reestablish their former business activities overseas. For example, P. T. Jackson, who was a successful East Indian trader, contacted his native agent in India in December of 1808. On December eighth Jackson had written to Ramdullol Dey in Calcutta with instructions to purchase goods in preparation for the vessels that would be arriving in a few months. 27 Another Indian merchant who had planned for the embargo's repeal was Andrew Cabot. He had arranged to have

a brand new vessel prepared for his impending eastern venture. The new vessel, a brig named the REAPER, had been built during 1808 in Medford, Massachusetts, by Thatcher Magoun.  

Intercourse with British-held East India was still forbidden by the new law, but Cabot and the other East Indian merchants were nonetheless able to reestablish their trade routes beyond the Cape of Good Hope. A short-lived Anglo-American agreement in the summer of 1809 and subsequent changes in the enforcement of non-intercourse enabled American vessels like the REAPER to trade with India. The following chapters will examine in detail the REAPER, the men who owned her, and her venture to the east.

28 Porter, 664.
CHAPTER II

OWNER AND MASTER: ANDREW CABOT AND ISAAC HINCKLEY

In the previous chapter Andrew Cabot's preparation for the end of the embargo was discussed. Like many East Indian traders, he had both the presence of mind and the necessary capital available to begin overseas commerce at short notice. By analyzing his background, the reader may gain insight into the prototype of the Yankee entrepreneur in East Indian trade.

Andrew Cabot was born on November 22, 1781. He was the son of the wealthy Beverly merchant, Andrew Cabot.\(^1\) The elder Cabot, along with two of his brothers, had been the owner of a large number of successful privateers during the Revolution. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the monies gained in privateering had been invested in neutral shipping and had grown into a fortune. There are few family names which are more closely linked with early American commerce than that of Cabot. The family grew to be one of the most influential families in the nation. Young Andrew's uncle George, for instance, was a member of the powerful Essex Junto.\(^2\)

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\(^2\) Briggs, 107.
Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there was a very close connection between the merchant families and their businesses, because the family unit could offer the two primary components of any business enterprise: capital and manpower. The Cabots, like other merchant families of New England, extended their kin-business connections through sibling exchange marriages or the marriage of cousins. The development of these extended families allowed the merchant class of the day to further their influence in both the business and political realms.

Although Andrew Cabot never married, he did conduct much of his business with the members of his extended family. Among them were James and Patrick T. Jackson of Newburyport. Both men were brothers-in-law to Cabot and were active business associates of his. In addition, Joseph and Henry Lee, who were cousins of Andrew, dealt with him on numerous occasions. Cabot served as supercargo for them aboard the DROMO in 1806. Several years later

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4 Hall, 110.


6 Porter, 91.
Henry Lee acted in the same capacity for Cabot.\textsuperscript{7} There were many other occasions throughout Cabot's life when he did business with his kinsmen.

Just as Andrew Cabot's kin-business relations were exemplary of the New England merchant class, so was his education and training. Some young men learned how to become merchants by attending Harvard or working in a countinghouse. Others, like Cabot, went to sea for their education.\textsuperscript{8} According to a letter written by Henry Lee in 1806, Cabot had been "... six times in and out of the Bay (of) Bengal, and once to China ..."\textsuperscript{9} Considering that Cabot was twenty-six years old when that letter was written, it appears that his first venture to the Far East took place when he was no more than seventeen years of age.

Cabot traveled between Boston and eastern ports almost continuously from the turn of the nineteenth century until Jefferson's embargo. A history of the Cabot family related that Andrew was in Boston in 1803.\textsuperscript{10} In July of 1804 he arrived in Calcutta from Madras. His cousin Samuel Cabot, four years his junior, was traveling with him.\textsuperscript{11} It is likely that Andrew was acting as mentor for the younger man.

\textsuperscript{7}Porter, 717.
\textsuperscript{8}Porter, 7.
\textsuperscript{9}Porter, 781.
\textsuperscript{10}Briggs, 169.
\textsuperscript{11}Porter, 604.
While in Calcutta, Cabot made some investments with Patrick Tracy Jackson. Because of their business ventures, the return of the Cabots and Jackson to the United States was long and circuitous. Their activities serve as an example of the complexities of eastern trade. Cabot, his cousin Samuel, and P. T. Jackson departed Calcutta early in October of 1804 aboard the RIO for America. Upon arriving at Cape Town, they decided that it was more advantageous to sell the bulk of their cargo, ship the remainder home, and travel separately. The remaining cargo, sugar valued at $5,997.12, was shipped to the United States aboard the SILENUS on February 24, 1805.

Shortly thereafter the Cabots left Jackson after arranging to share the power of attorney. Cabot sailed to the Ile de France with 12,000 Spanish milled dollars and a letter of credit against some of their funds back in Cape Town. He hoped to use the money to purchase a ship in which goods could be transported. Apparently, his search was in vain for he sailed for the United States aboard the ship ILLINOIS late in September of 1805. It is assumed that Samuel accompanied him throughout this period.

Meanwhile, Jackson purchased a Dutch ship of 529 tons, rechristened her the ELIZA, and sent her to America with mixed cargo. This cargo included coffee, pepper, sugar, cotton, wine, brandy, tamerinds, and ginger. Jackson himself remained at the Cape of Good Hope due to the
British capture of the Cape, an ensuing embargo, and bad weather. He continued to do business there until he eventually departed for the Prince of Wales Island (Penang). Arriving there in the late spring of 1806, he sold wine that he had picked up in Cape Town and purchased pepper, saltpetre, and nutmegs. Being uncertain how much capital Cabot had invested with his letter of credit, Jackson felt compelled to return to Cape Town. Some months later he learned that his partner had returned to the United States. At that point he departed for Boston, arriving there on March 17, 1807, almost three years after he had left.\footnote{Porter, 610-620.}

Jackson returned nearly a year and a half after Cabot, largely because Jackson was uncertain whether his partner had, at any time, drawn funds against the letter of credit. Cabot certainly attempted to communicate with Jackson while they were separated. It seems that Jackson suffered from the vagaries of the trade and simply never received any communiques that Cabot sent. Consequently, by the time Jackson returned to America Cabot had already sailed in the DROMO on another voyage to India.

Previous to his departure in the DROMO, Cabot had been involved in a brief partnership with his cousin, Charles George Cabot, who was the son of the powerful Federalist George Cabot and was an experienced and capable
East Indian merchant. Nonetheless, the partnership was short-lived, as on March 10, 1806 Cabot sailed in the DROMO as supercargo for his cousins Henry and Joseph Lee.\textsuperscript{13} He then returned to Boston in the same vessel in late April of the following year, only one month after P. T. Jackson had arrived from his sojourn in Cape Town.\textsuperscript{14}

In spite of these difficulties Jackson remained a close associate of Cabot's. In June of 1807 the two men were involved with Henry Lee in another business venture. The details of this enterprise are unclear, but it is likely that they were selling some of the goods that Cabot had recently purchased in Calcutta.\textsuperscript{15}

Throughout this period Andrew Cabot established himself as a capable and trustworthy business associate. This is evidenced by a letter that Henry Lee wrote when seeking insurance for the DROMO in 1806. He was pleased to report that Cabot was an "excellent navigator," who could take lunar observations and who owned a chronometer.\textsuperscript{16} Lee's comments speak very well of Cabot. Only the most accomplished navigators were capable of working out their longitude by figuring complex lunar observations. Cabot's ability to do this was certainly worth mention. The fact

\textsuperscript{13}Porter, 781.  
\textsuperscript{14}Porter, 808.  
\textsuperscript{15}Porter, 621.  
\textsuperscript{16}Porter, 781.
that he carried a chronometer, another tool used for determining longitude, was further indication of his professionalism. Many navigators relied on dead reckoning and used only the compass, deep sea lead, and log to figure their location. In fact, as late as 1823 Bryant and Sturgis refused to purchase chronometers for their captains; if they wanted such frivolous instruments, they would have to buy them themselves.  

While preparing for the voyage of the DROMO, the Lees made it known that they were "... so much at home in the trade . . ." that they would "... not hesitate to warrant that the cargo would be purchased in better terms than any other at the same time."  

Since Andrew Cabot was the supercargo for the upcoming voyage, they were actually espousing his talents as business agent. The Lees were confident that Cabot would actually be the most capable agent in Bengal during the coming season.

Cabot returned in the DROMO in the spring of 1807 and was still in the United States when the embargo was put into effect eight months later. As previously stated, the embargo brought trade with India to a halt. Nevertheless, Andrew Cabot, like many of the well established merchants, did not allow that interdiction to destroy his

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18 Porter, 778.
financial stability. While smaller operators were collapsing, the more resourceful traders maintained their contacts overseas and adjusted to the temporary restrictions. For instance, Cabot was part owner of seventy-three bales of cotton that arrived in London aboard the ship BRUTUS. Cabot's partner in this venture was P. T. Jackson, who wrote to London with instructions that the profits from the cotton should be deposited in London to their credit. By March of 1808, when that letter was written, many American entrepreneurs had already failed. The fact that Cabot and Jackson did not require the remittance for the cotton to be sent home shows their financial condition to have been stable.\(^{19}\)

While cut off from their primary market in East India, Cabot and Jackson shifted their focus by sending a cargo of rum to Philadelphia in March of 1808.\(^{20}\) Such activities were prosaic indeed compared to the heady East Indian trade, but they served to keep investments active and gaining in value.

During this period many merchants used coastal vessels to smuggle goods in and out of the country. The United States District and Circuit Courts Final Records for the period of the embargo indicated that Andrew Cabot

\(^{19}\) Porter, 629.

\(^{20}\) Porter, 629.
was never brought into the federal courts for smuggling. The only evidence that links him with the realm of the smuggler comes from an exchange of letters that were written at the start of 1812. Cabot had written to his captain, Nathaniel Spooner, suggesting ways to avoid the Non-Intercourse Act. In response, Henry Lee, Cabot's supercargo, wrote from Calcutta concerning his plans for the return passage. Lee feared that the vessel would be seized as it approached New York from British-held Calcutta. Therefore, he suggested taking the vessel to Amelia Island and unloading the cargo there. Lee wrote,

... if we cannot be admitted on our return I suppose Amelia Island will be our destination. If so, when you send off your orders send them with a good chart of that port. I believe it is a dangerous place to enter and we have no information on the subject.

With those words it is obvious that Cabot's supercargo and his captain, Nathaniel Spooner, were unfamiliar with the approaches to that well-used center for smuggling. It is also obvious that Lee assumed Andrew Cabot would be receptive to the idea of evading the law.

The more astute merchants prepared for the lifting of the embargo months before Congress enacted that legislation. With the laying of the keel of the REAPER, Andrew

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21 United States District Court, Circuit Court, District of Massachusetts, Final Records, Federal Archives, Waltham, Massachusetts.

22 Porter, 1009.
Cabot showed himself to be a merchant who had both the capital and the foresight necessary to survive in an industry which faced threats from various sources. He was willing to invest in a new vessel that could be lost quickly or that could carry home a small fortune in a single voyage.

Cabot chose Isaac Hinckley as master of the REAPER, and by studying him it may be possible to delineate some of the attributes that were common to captains who were trading in the East Indies. This master was a man of experience and energy. Like many sea captains, Isaac Hinckley was also part owner of his vessel. Captain Hinckley held a one-eighth share of the REAPER. He did not pay for his share, however, until the year-long maiden voyage was complete.23 Apparently Hinckley was involved in the ownership of the REAPER before her preparation for going to sea. His journal from the voyage included a fine primitive watercolor of the vessel on the stocks on launching day. This painting attests to Hinckley not only being involved in the vessel’s affairs at that time, but also knowing that he would be the master of her maiden voyage.24

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23 Isaac Hinckley, Account Book, Voyage of the Brig REAPER, 1809-1810, MMS Collection, G. W. B. White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum, Owners of the Brig REAPER in a/c with Isaac Hinckley, June 12, 1810.

Isaac Hinckley was born in Marblehead on January 2, 1781. Upon the death of his father, Richard, he moved with his family to Barnstable. There is very little substantiated information concerning Hinckley's early years. According to family tradition, he married his childhood sweetheart, Hannah Sturgis of Barnstable. Supposedly he carried her books for her as they walked from Barnstable's Centre School. The story is that they always had planned to marry each other. Hannah was the daughter of William and Hannah Mills Sturgis, and her brother William was to become the celebrated captain of the ATAHUALPA and a partner in the successful shipping firm of Bryant and Sturgis.

Isaac did not have the Brahmin family connections that Andrew Cabot had. The family had been established in Massachusetts since the 1630s, and a Hinckley had been governor of the colony, but neither their wealth nor influence could compare to the Cabot's. Family tradition says that Hinckley went to sea at a young age and that he assumed his first command at the age of eighteen or nineteen. There is no substantial information to

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26 Interview with Mrs. H. M. Paine, October 18, 1979, Litchfield, Conn.
27 Lincoln, 332.
28 Paine, Interview.
support this claim, but if it is true, then his experience
certainly would have been similar to the careers of James
Howland, a shipmaster at eighteen, or Captain John Boit,
Jr., who, at the age of nineteen, departed with his crew of
twenty-two for a circumnavigation of the globe.\footnote{Morison, 74.}
His age notwithstanding, it seems likely that Hinckley "came up
through the hawsehole." That is, as a young man he ship-
ped out as a common sailor and worked his way up through
the ranks. Although it is uncertain when Isaac Hinckley
gained his first command, it is known that he was the
master of a vessel by the age of twenty-three. At that
time, in the summer of 1804, he brought the ship SUSAN to
Calcutta.\footnote{Porter, 604.}

Upon arriving in Calcutta, Hinckley found a number
of other American vessels on the River Hoogley. Among the
captains and supercargoes in Calcutta was Andrew Cabot,
who was doing business with Patrick T. Jackson. It is not
known whether this was the first encounter between Hinck-
ley and Cabot. Hinckley normally did not travel within
the tight circle of Cabot's associates, but it is possible
that they had met previously. In any case, during the
two months that both Cabot and Hinckley were in Calcutta,
they may have recognized commonalities which led to their
business relationship in 1809.
In the fall of 1804 Hinckley departed for Boston. Cabot and Jackson began their long voyage to the Cape of Good Hope at nearly the same time.\textsuperscript{31}

It is likely that Hinckley arrived in Boston in the SUSAN before the end of 1804. There is no information concerning the captain's movements following his arrival until May of 1805. On the fourteenth and fifteenth of that month he was involved in the transfer of some real estate in the city. On the fourteenth of May Hinckley and six other common property holders sold their shares of a dwelling at the corner of Atkinson and Bury Streets for the sum of $8,322.23.\textsuperscript{32} The following day Hinckley and five of the same people sold their shares of store number 23 on Long Wharf, as well as, stores number 45 and 67 and a part interest in the "Island Wharf." The selling price was $5,500.00 of which $1,100.00 went to Isaac Hinckley.\textsuperscript{33}

Isaac Hinckley's activities between the sale of his real estate holdings and his marriage in November of 1805 are unknown. He married Hannah Mills Sturgis on the twenty-seventh of the month. In his journal of 1809 he referred to

\textsuperscript{31}Porter, 604.

\textsuperscript{32}Deed, Isaac Hinckley et al to James Ivers, Suffolk County Recorder of Deeds, Book 212, pg. 77.

\textsuperscript{33}Deed, Isaac Hinckley et al to William Davis, Suffolk County Recorder of Deeds, Book 212, pg. 129.

\textsuperscript{34}Lincoln, 332.
that date as "the happiest day of all the year." Eleven months later their first child was born. Hannah gave birth to William Sturgis Hinckley on October 4, 1806 in Barnstable. Apparently, the Hinckley's had returned to their hometown and family for the delivery; their residence at that time was a home on Atkinson Street in Boston.

In July of that year Captain Hinckley had joined numerous other deep sea captains as a member of the venerable Boston Marine Society. It was not only an honor to be accepted into this society; there were also a number of benefits for the members. Upon joining the society, Hinckley was assured that in the event of his untimely death his family would be protected from destitution. According to the stated purpose of the society, the membership would "relieve one another and their families in poverty or other adverse accidents in life, which they are more particularly liable to ..." The other advantage was that one could sometimes gain information about the sailing routes and trading conditions from other society

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35 Hinckley, November 27, 1809.
36 Lincoln, 332.
37 Boston Directory, 1807.
39 Kemp, 9.
members. This information was shared informally and without regulation despite the by-laws requiring the members "to communicate their observations inwards and outwards of the variation of the needle, the soundings, courses and distances, and other remarkable things . . . for the making of navigation more safe." Unlike Salem's East India Society, which required that its members file a copy of their log upon their return from a voyage, the Boston Society rules were not as rigid. Such vital information usually was only shared with kin or business associates in the larger port of Boston. Many Yankee captains and merchants avoided aiding their competitors' business ventures.

Although the rivalry was spirited, Isaac Hinckley seems to have done well during 1806 and 1807. He was listed in the Boston Directory in 1807 as "merchant" with a business address at 65 Long Wharf. Hinckley, with a young wife and a growing family at home (Anna Gore Hinckley had been born on October 13, 1807), had decided to remain in Boston and establish himself in the merchandising field.

It is not known what effect Jefferson's embargo had on the fortunes of Isaac Hinckley. However, it is

40 Kemp, 9.
41 Boston Directory, 1807.
42 Lincoln, 332.
conceivable that his efforts as a fledgling sedentary merchant were quashed by the fourteen months of financial instability that the embargo created. If that is the case, he, as others, may have been forced to return to the sea in order to reestablish his financial security. In any case, as junior owner and master of the brig REAPER, Captain Hinckley set out once again around the Cape of Good Hope to the ports of the East.

What type of man was capable of becoming an East Indian captain? By examining two available primary sources, it is possible to obtain a rare personal glimpse of Isaac Hinckley and to gain insight into the qualities which were embodied in such men. The daily journal that Hinckley kept during his forty-nine-week-long voyage aboard the REAPER is typical of the personal account that a shipmaster might keep while at sea. The basic pattern of the journal was the same as that of a ship's log. The log, however, was the official record of the voyage and was kept by the first mate. The information that one finds in a ship's log is universal. The mate would dutifully record the vessel's course, location, and the distance traveled within the last twenty-four hours. Wind and weather conditions were also recorded, as well as additional information that the mate felt warranted immortality. Hinckley's journal included all of these items, but as most journals, it placed more emphasis on daily commentary.
The other account is the journal of Bryant P. Tilden, supercargo of the ship CANTON. He sailed with Hinckley to China on two voyages. The first venture began immediately following the War of 1812; the second began as soon as the CANTON was prepared for sea once more. It ended in 1817. Tilden's account is more typical of those that were kept by landsmen. He recorded, in great detail, only those things which caught his interest. There is no daily record as in a ship's log, but rather, a spotty narration of particular events. One day's occurrences could go on for a dozen pages, then there could be a lapse of three weeks before the next notation.

By scanning these two journals and comparing them to the log of the 1809 REAPER voyage, one is able to learn about Isaac Hinckley as shipmaster: his skill, his shortcomings, his leadership capabilities, and his seamanship. It is also possible to learn about the private man: his religious beliefs, his feelings toward his family, and the men around him.

As a starting point, it is obvious that Hinckley was a man with an eye for detail. His journal, the unofficial record of his travels, included masses of detailed information—information that only a man of prudence and assiduity would record. Listed under "Ship Chandlery" he noted 453 separate items that had been purchased in outfitting the vessel. He included everything from the brig's anchors down to the aftercabin's corkscrew. He then listed the ship's
stores and noted how they were expended. There is also a
detailed record of the dimensions of all the REAPER'S sails
and spars. Hinckley was not satisfied with noting the size
of the rig; he also rendered informative watercolor sketches
of the sails and spars. The overwhelming feeling that one
gets when viewing these notations by Hinckley is that he was
a man of uncommon attention to detail. Such an attribute was
important for a deepwater sailing captain. There were doz-
ens of small details which had to be looked after on a sail-
ing ship: the cargo had to be carefully secured, the hatches
battened and impenetrable, the standing and running rigging
in perfect repair, and the sails properly made and set. If
any one of these details was left to chance, the sea would
be certain to exact its payment for such indolence. Untold
numbers of vessels have gone missing with all hands when the
cargo shifted, or rigging parted during the fury of a gale
at sea.

It may have been Hinckley's penchant for keeping
careful account of everything in his trust which led Andrew
Cabot to choose him to serve as both master and supercargo
of the REAPER. A supercargo acted as the business agent
for a trading vessel and was responsible for all investments
made on behalf of the backers. Due to the highly complex
nature of the eastern markets most American vessels carried
a supercargo. Andrew Cabot had served in that capacity

43 Hinckley, Sketches.
several times, and his approbation of Hinckley's bearing the duel responsibilities of master and supercargo speaks well of the latter's skill and ability.

A perusal of Hinckley's journal, however, proves him to have been a man who was capable of much more than a preoccupation with minutia. It is apparent that the captain was also a man of warmth, imagination, and wit. The appealing primitive watercolor of the vessel on the stocks at the Magoun shipyard speaks of this side of Isaac Hinckley. The color and warmth of the painting itself serves as an attractive introduction to the journal. There is a touch of satire in his note at the top of the page: "An attempt to show the Brig REAPER, as she appeared on the stocks, at Medford,—but it is past my art, therefore, here I leave it—Launching Day."44

There are numerous other comments by both Hinckley and Tilden which show the captain to have been a man of humor and pluck. There is a touch of witicism in Hinckley's comments concerning the "green" hands on their fourth day at sea:

Commences, Continues & Concludes with steady breezes & pleast weather, . . . our green hands come too, but are so sick now, that they crawl on hands & knees to get below unobserv'd in the night— 45

Such a mixture of compassion and condescension can only come

44 Hinckley, Launching Day.

45 Hinckley, July 2, 1809.
from a commander who understands the utter debilitation suffered by the victims of that great malaise. Two days later the master recognized two causes for celebration. He wrote:

... in the morning moderate & pleast. Clear'd out the Guns loaded & fird to clear them---Independent day---good dinner & Some Yankees heads will ache tomorrow.---Our green hands restored to health. 46

Tilden seems to have enjoyed his captain's sense of humor and his mettle. On May 22, 1815, when he was only a few weeks at sea, Hinckley had an opportunity to exercise both of these attributes. On that day the CANTON was overhauled by a British sloop of war and the 74-gun DUNCAN which was flying the broad pennant of Admiral Bennesford. Tilden related that he and Hinckley were taken to the Admiral's cabin. As Bennesford stood shaving with his back to them, Hinckley whispered, "He thinks we may be a prize, but he will soon find himself mistaken." The Admiral welcomed them, "Good morning gentlemen, sit down and I'll have your story presently. They tell me they have been firing the big guns at you." To this Hinckley replied, "Yes Admiral, we hove to-- to spare you your shot and inform (you) of peace." While enjoying the hospitality of the British, Hinckley noticed the elegant attire of the Admiral's servants in their livery dress with jackets, long white stockings, and red and silver knee bands. He whispered to Tilden, "Very unsailor like looking gentry." 46

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46 Hinckley, July 4, 1809.
Bennesford invited the Americans to breakfast with him. He went on to explain that he had suspected the advent of peace when Hinckley's "bright sided new ship" was first seen. When asked what he thought the chances were of hostilities being revived, Hinckley commented that, "... our nimble (American) craft couldn't be caught any more than a cow can catch fleas."

The most important news that the American seafarers had was that Napoleon had escaped from Elbe and returned to the continent. Bennesford did not believe the account of Napoleon's escape that they showed him in the Boston paper, nor the one in the Dublin paper. He called the latter one "Cork news." It was only when a London newspaper was brought forth that the Admiral accepted the story as true. Shortly thereafter, the Americans were permitted to return to their vessel.

As Hinckley and Tilden returned in the CANTON'S gig they passed a boat that was departing from their ship. Hinckley hailed the young midshipman (whom he described as "a swallowtail coated fop") that was in charge of the boat, asking him if he had mustered the crew of the CANTON and scrutinized them. "Yes, a bit," was the reply. "Avast a bit then," Hinckley retorted, "none of your overhauling my crew until I get aboard, their protection papers are all snug in my desk." If Tilden's account is at all accurate, it shows Captain Hinckley was a man who, when faced with a
more heavily armed opponent, was willing at least to fire off a little hot rhetoric. 47

On another occasion self confidence and nonchalance concerning a threat to his vessel caused him a great deal of embarrassment. Upon their arrival at Macao, Hinckley and Tilden had been warned of the danger of Chinese thieves cutting the ship's anchor cable. They would do this during the night, causing the vessel to be carried down stream until it fetched up hard in the mud. Captain Hinckley took the advice lightly, saying that he had already heard about "cutting cables and other Chinese capers." Shortly thereafter, on a fog-shrouded night with only the standard anchor watch on duty, the CANTON'S cable was cut. Luckily, quick action by the crew thwarted disaster. The following day, however, as the men of the CANTON searched for their sunken anchor, a great crowd of Chinese gathered to watch the discomfort and labor of the foolish "fangquee." As Hinckley stewed over the retrieval operation Tilden smuggly recorded that he felt "amply revenged for having been laughed at by my captain." 48

An East Indian captain expected periodically to face adversity. Whether it was uncooperative river people, contrary winds, unfavorable market conditions, or British men-of-war, unpropitious situations were an expected part of

48 Tilden, 43-45.
the life. If a man could not accept such setbacks, he could not succeed as a master mariner. Isaac Hinckley's journal reflects a resiliancy that was marked by a subtle wit. It appears that this attribute aided him during difficult times. For instance, on the fifth of July, 1809, the winds were light and Hinckley wrote: "This short run is very much against the concern and what I call small fun." As always, one of the greatest causes of a sailing master's discontent was weak or contrary winds. On many occasions Hinckley expressed his frustration, but usually with a touch of fatalism. "Variable All sail sett, Brac'd the yards & shifted steerg sails & cursd the mainboom 20 times This seems hard & remarkable such light winds Sweat the Purser." After several days of light winds he wrote, "Scrub'd the (ship's) pigs Oh dear what can the matter be." There were times when he would drolly refer to the ship's business, "... Ends as began All sail drawing & all hands pawing & myself jawing with toothache." On another occasion he noted, "All hands well thank God, & duty thank myself."  

Extended periods of opposing winds caused Hinckley to record some advice for the landlubber, "tough times

49 Hinckley, June 17, 1809.
50 Hinckley, May 10, 1810.
51 Hinckley, September 18, 1809.
52 Hinckley, December 20, 1809.
these", "Hard times and small pay", Hard work ye lands-
men."  

While struggling against head winds for several
days in August of 1809 he advised, "If I had a cool fifty
I'd curse and quit this calling of no near . . . God for-
bid my swearing but this is damd hard luck."  

The follow-
ing day he wrote,

Head wind, Head Sea, Hazy weather, Headache
& Heartburn throughout the 24 hours . . .
As I have heard a sage say, I had rather hoe
Potatoes than go to sea & experience such
winds as these . . .  

Any deep sea captain had to be a capable and competent
sailing master, and Isaac Hinckley was no exception. One
of Hinckley's particular talents was his ability as a
leader of men. Because of the crowded conditions, limited
food, and extended tedium, it was not an easy task to take
men to sea for long voyages. To do so and have a satis-
fied crew was quite an accomplishment. According to
Bryant Tilden, Hinckley had not only a satisfied crew, but
"a Happy ship's company."  

There are numerous scraps of
evidence as to why Hinckley's crews were content. The
captain's sense of order laid a foundation for good re-
lations. It was always best for the crew to understand
exactly what was expected of them. Hinckley's standard

\[53\] Hinckley, October 27, 28, and 30, 1809.  
\[54\] Hinckley, August 30, 1809.  
\[55\] Hinckley, August 31, 1809.  
\[56\] Tilden, 20.
procedure for cleanliness aboard ship was recorded during his third day at sea in the REAPER.

Ordered that every man onboard, be clean dress'd & shav'd on every Sunday morning--the Forecastle & cabin to be cleaned, & the Ship clean'd generally, on every Saturday & sprinkled with Vinegar--& done, & re-peated when I think proper--

At sea July 1st 1809 Issac Hinckley

Because of this regulation the standard notation for Saturdays throughout the voyage read: "Cleaning ship fore & aft as usual Saturday." Tilden's journal bears out the fact that Hinckley followed this procedure throughout his career.

It is certain that Hinckley's vessels were not temperance ships, but he did not allow drunkeness aboard the REAPER. On July 8, 1809 Hinckley recorded: "One man Drunk, took all liquor from forw'd aft & stopd grog." Swearing was not tolerated either.

There are other indications that Hinckley was concerned about the morale of his men. There were times during the week when he would relax the normal shipboard discipline in order to buoy the men's morale. Tilden stated that following the Saturday scrubdown the captain would often have

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57 Hinckley, July 1, 1809.
58 Hinckley, March 10, 1810.
59 Tilden, 20.
60 Hinckley, July 8, 1809.
61 Tilden, 20.
the steward carry the ship's fife and drum forward to the crew and that they would dance until 8:00 p.m., which was the end of the dog watch.\textsuperscript{62}

Hinckley also took the time to aid his men in a much more meaningful way. In the manner of Nathaniel Bowditch, Hinckley taught his sailors the intricacies of navigation. Knowledge of the mysteries of navigating were a young sailor's ticket to a command; consequently, Hinckley's crewmen were grateful to him for sharing his knowledge. There is no record of him giving lessons aboard the \textit{REAPER}, but Tilden noted that at noon time on Sundays Hinckley would tutor the crew of the \textit{CANTON} on the riddles of the sextant, the azimuth, and the celestial sphere. Tilden explained that on each Sunday the master would rouse out the crew with the cry, "Twelve o'clock! Suns up . . . do you hear the news there master cook?\textsuperscript{63} The cook, of course, was the only man aboard who did not take lessons. He claimed that he had been to sea too long to learn such things.

A competent sailing master was not only concerned with his crew's welfare, but also demanded that they meet certain standards of performance. When these standards were not met, he had the authority to deal harshly with the offender.

\textsuperscript{62}Tilden, 20.

\textsuperscript{63}Tilden, 19.
This situation developed aboard the REAPER between Captain Hinckley and the ship's carpenter. On the seventh day of the passage from Boston, Hinckley wrote: "Carpenter employ'd at sundrie jobs, but he is neither carpenter or sailor & ship'd for both . . ."  

Hinckley had cause to be concerned. The additional wages that a carpenter received were substantial, and the problems that might arise on a maiden voyage might well need the services of the multi-talented and experienced seaman that could qualify as a ship's carpenter. A week later Hinckley continued the dressing down: "Our carpenter attempted to caulk the quarter-deck, & we find he cannot do anything in that way, & is a great imposition on the owners . . . Our carpenter is a shirk he is no more than a sparmaker, & I don't know how good he is at that--I am so vexed with him I could flog him."  

On another occasion he wrote: "Talked to the Carpenter which made the baby cry--a thorough lubber."  

For the next seven months the only evidence of the carpenter's shortcomings were brief notes about the tasks that Hinckley was forced to assume. Like many master mariners, Isaac Hinckley was capable of skilled work such as sparmaking and building small craft.  

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64 Hinckley, July 6, 1809.  
65 Hinckley, July 14, 1809.  
66 Hinckley, August 19, 1809.  
67 Hinckley, August 30, 1809; Tilden, 167.
April, 1810, Hinckley's patience had come to an end; he resorted to corporal punishment, the sailing master's ultimate threat. Hinckley recorded: "At 10 AM gave the carpenter a thorough flogging Alias Bambooinq, for not having his Tools in order. After repeated cautions." With this action the incident was closed. The first mate made no mention of this punishment in his daily entry into the ship's log, nor was there any further mention of the carpenter in Hinckley's journal.

It is impossible to determine exactly what triggered Hinckley's decision to beat the carpenter, but this one act of violence does not seem consistent with his patterns of behavior. It is apparent by his journal that he was both a man of religious belief and a man who loved his family faithfully. All together he recorded seventy-six separate appeals to God while at sea. The length of these prayers could vary from something as simple as: "O Heavenly Father more fair winds" up to long and complex supplications. On August 30, 1809 he wrote:

Oh ye powers that command the wind & waves, 
say that they should be reversed, I mean Slew'd 
That is turned about? for our good, & torment 
thy Hble (humble) servent no longer with head 
winds and head seas.

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68 Hinckley, April 12, 1810.
69 Log of the REAPER, Voyage to Mocha Arabia, 1809 MSS Collection, Peabody Museum.
70 Hinckley, August 24, 1809.
71 Hinckley, August 30, 1809.
More often Hinckley's prayers were for his loved ones at home. On his wedding anniversary he wrote: "May God be with and protect my belov'd wife & family." 72 He missed his family a great deal and the thought of them would often serve as an escape for him. When less than a week at sea, he recorded: "I have time here to think of the state in which I left my belovd family, but anxiety of mind in a calm supresses all pleasant thoughts . . . " 73 (Hinckley's family had recently grown once again. Elizabeth Knight Hinckley had been born on June 25, 1809, only four days before her father put to sea.) At times he even dreamed about his loved ones, "dream'd all friends well went home in my dream, which was the pleasant-est I ever had . . . " 75 Long periods of loneliness struck as deeply at East India captains as it does for those who are forced to be away for long periods today. Many people can empathize with Hinckley's lament on September 6, 1809:

... I only want society to make me as happy as a man in my situation can be; away from those I hold & esteem so dear. Oh the curse of such companions. But God has been pleased to grant me a tolerable sharr of animal spirits & good passage thus far & with his blessing I shall see my friends again in 7 or 8 month. This I pray. 76

72 Hinckley, November 27, 1809.
73 Hinckley, July 5, 1809.
74 Lincoln, 332.
75 Hinckley, July 17, 1809.
76 Hinckley, September 6, 1809.
Eight months and one day later Captain Hinckley wrote: "Almighty God accept my thanks for the kind care taken of me and my beloved family during this voyage." That prayer was recorded on June 7, 1810, the day that the REAPER dropped her anchor in Boston harbor. The venture to Mocha and Calcutta had ended and Isaac Hinckley was finally able to see the family that he had missed so much.

Andrew Cabot and Isaac Hinckley serve as examples of the type of men who guided America's growing fleet of merchantmen to the farthest parts of the globe. Cabot was a young and energetic man with skills and family connections that were well suited for the business world. Hinckley was energetic and skilled as a mariner, businessman and leader. By examining his personal side, it is also possible to obtain a glimpse of the warmth and the frailties that are common to all of mankind.

77 Hinckley, June 7, 1810.
CHAPTER III

THE REAPER: DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

The building of the REAPER was the cornerstone of Andrew Cabot's plans for reestablishing trade with the eastern markets. The quality of the vessel's design and construction was, therefore, critically important to the success of those plans. As an experienced East Indian merchant, Andrew Cabot knew what type of vessel was needed for trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and the REAPER serves as a fine example of an American vessel that was used in eastern trading. By examining her design, construction, and performance, it is possible to delineate the qualities that made an East Indian trader.

There were three elements which governed how any vessel was designed: size, speed, and cost of operation. A vessel's size was determined by its cargo capacity which was expressed in tons. During the early nineteenth century, the measurement for tonnage was determined by the Old Government Measure, a formula which took into account the vessel's length, breadth, and draught. Roughly speaking, the formula allowed forty cubic feet of cargo space per ton. The REAPER, which was documented at 284 75/95 tons, had a
cargo capacity of approximately 11,360 cubic feet.\textsuperscript{1} By way of comparison, the famed clipper ship FLYING CLOUD, was 229 feet long and measured 1,782 tons which allowed for 71,280 cubic feet of cargo space.\textsuperscript{2} A typical American sloop that traded with the West Indies during the early nineteenth century was approximately 68 feet long and 100 tons with 4,000 cubic feet of space.\textsuperscript{3}

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, there were three basic factors which determined the size of a vessel. The first was the amount of capital the prospective owner had to invest.\textsuperscript{4} In the case of the East Indian merchants the original investment was not the central question. They were wealthy enough to contract the finest shipyards and purchase the best of materials for their ships.\textsuperscript{5} The real question was how much money did they want to tie up in a single vessel. If a person or persons had $30,000 to invest in shipping, it was more likely that they would build two 300-ton vessels, than

\textsuperscript{1}National Archives Record Group Forty-One, Certificate of Registry #200, 1809, Brig REAPER.

\textsuperscript{2}Carl Cutler, \textit{Greyhounds of the Sea} (Annapolis, 1930), 415.

\textsuperscript{3}William F. Baker, \textit{A Maritime History of Bath, Maine and the Kennebec River Region} (Bath, 1973), 205.


\textsuperscript{5}Chapelle, 276.
one 600-ton ship. By so doing, there was less chance of their investment being lost in a single disaster at sea.

The size of the market that one was trading with also influenced ship tonnage. It would be a losing venture if a vessel was forced to wait months in a foreign port while her supercargo gathered enough cargo to fill her hold. Many American vessels of the early nineteenth century were small enough that they could enter a port, discharge their cargo, fill their hold with outward-bound goods, and depart while larger vessels of other countries would still be sitting at their moorings. This was particularly true in British East India, and it was a cause for concern among the British merchants there. This factor also allowed American vessels to readily carry out trade where the captains of larger vessels could not. On the other hand, there would be little gained from tying up capital in a ship that would be away for a year or more, if it could not bring home enough goods to defray expenses and generate a sizeable profit margin. An East Indiaman, whose voyage might last one or two years, had to be relatively larger than the sloops and schooners that made month long-runs to the West Indies.

The tonnage of the vessel also needed to match the

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6 Baker, 205.


- 52 -
amount of goods purchased. In 1804 P. T. Jackson found himself in an awkward position in Calcutta when his vessel could not carry all of the goods that he had acquired. In August of that year he loaded the ship PEMBROKE and dispatched her for home. He was then forced to remain behind while negotiating with other captains (including Isaac Hinckley) concerning freight rates for the remainder of his cargo. In late November Jackson finally loaded the last of his goods aboard the RIO and departed Calcutta in company with Andrew Cabot. (This was the beginning of the Cabots' and Jackson's extended travels as described in the previous chapter.) Jackson had certainly learned his lesson concerning the amount of goods to purchase. He wrote, "I have at least gained this experience that it is not for the Interest of either Owners or SUPERCARGOES to get more stock than the vessel they will carry home . . . ." 8

Another factor which determined the tonnage of a vessel was the physical size of the ports to which it traveled. 9 Because of this, it was to the owners advantage to dispatch vessels that were both maneuverable and of relatively shallow draught. The REAPER was registered as drawing thirteen and one-half feet of water, but this figure can be misleading. When certifying a vessel, the


9 Baker, 205.
tonnage formula would take half of a vessel's width and use that figure as the draught. The REAPER's true draught may have been closer to twelve feet and was typical of the depth of hold for American brigs. The depth of the REAPER and other American vessels was much less than that of the lumbering, European East Indian ships which registered at something between 600 and 1,400 tons.

The second essential element in the design of a sailing vessel was speed. American vessels required a turn of speed because of the possibility of ship-to-ship confrontations. Vessels of war, revenue cutters, and privateers sought out confrontation—it was their purpose. Slavers, smugglers, and the common merchantmen attempted to avoid it. Consequently, it was necessary for many of the vessels built during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to have some capability for speed. This does not mean that the famous clipper ships of half a century later could be compared to the fast sailers of Isaac Hinckley's day. The difference in length and breadth alone make any such comparisons groundless. One can only compare the speeds of vessels that were built during the same era, with similar technologies and materials, if the comparison is to have any meaning.

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10 Baker, 152.
11 Hutchins, 213.
Speed was a quality that had to be built into a ship. When there was no need for speed, a vessel could be built without the fine hull and tall rig that produced a fast sailer. The British East Indian Company, for instance, had a monopoly on the market and no enemy to threaten it. Hence, their ships were bluff bowed and full built with maximum space for cargo. The space for cargo is one of the primary differences between a fast vessel and a slower one of similar size. In order to make a vessel move faster, it was necessary to make the hull slice its way through the waves.

To accomplish this the designer would cut back the bluff bow, leaving a sharper entrance. He would also narrow the lines of the ship aft to create less disturbance as the vessel moved along. The only drawback to the slimming of hull lines was the corresponding loss of cargo space. A finely lined vessel could sacrifice as much as one-third of its tonnage in this adaptation for speed. The resulting loss in revenue had to be weighed against profits. A smuggler or slaver needed speed to survive, and their cargoes brought such inflated returns that loss of capacity was unimportant to them. The typical merchantman during the Napoleonic era, however, was forced to find a balance between cargo capacity and speed.

The design of the REAPER reflected this need for both speed and capacity. Her hull was stoutly built with
a straight stem and a relatively full run aft. Her masts and spars were lofty, and with her twenty sails properly set, she was still able to sail at a good speed.

Carrying a great press of sail influenced the final element which had to be considered when designing a vessel—the cost of operation. The loftier a vessel's rig was, the more men it took to control the extra gear. The wages of the extra crewmen would detract from the profit margins of the owners. The wealthy East Indian traders, however, could easily absorb the cost of the additional manpower, and the REAPER with a total compliment of fifteen was amply manned.

Other operating costs included the purchasing of gear and its maintenance. The larger a vessel and the more complex its rig, the more expensive it was to outfit. The smaller operators that ran to the West Indies would use sloops or schooners. The simple rig and small hull would require less upkeep than the ships and brigs that sailed to eastern markets. It was the length of the voyage itself that compelled the East Indian merchants to purchase the highest quality rigging and sails. While a coastal trader might run into a harbor for refuge when heavy weather threatened, the REAPER and her competitors had to ride out

12 Baker, 203.

gales while relying on the quality of materials to forestall disaster. The East Indian merchants made every effort to insure the success of their investments by using the best of everything: personnel, materials, and design of hull and rig.

What type of rig was best suited for the East Indian trade? There can be no single answer to this question. No doubt one could have caused a sharp debate on Boston's Long Wharf on any given day in 1809 with that query. By investigating this question, it is possible to determine the benefits and the drawbacks to the rig of the REAPER and her contemporaries. When the REAPER was built, there were three basic types of deepwater sailing vessels: the square topsail schooner, the brig, and the full-rigged ship. Other types existed, but they were merely variations of these basic three.

The square topsail schooner was characterized by having two masts, both of which were primarily rigged with fore-and-aft sails. That is, sails that follow the fore-and-aft line of the vessel. In addition, the vessel carried one or two square sails near the top of at least one mast. This made the vessel very maneuverable due to the versatility of the rig. Most importantly, the dominating fore-and-aft sails allowed the vessel to sail within nearly forty-five degrees of the wind. This was a particular advantage when a topsail schooner was being pursued.
If a square rigged vessel was in chase, the schooner would simply head up wind. With the square rigger being forced to angle about seventy degrees off the wind, the schooner would evade capture. This was one of the primary reasons that smugglers, slavers, privateers, and revenue cutters often used square topsail rigs.

The few square sails also gave these schooners additional speed when running down wind. That is why the square topsail schooner was the only fore-and-aft rig that was regularly used for deepwater sailing. By making this rig exceptionally lofty the topsail schooner became a vessel that was a fast sailer in all conditions but heavy seas or strong following winds. Under any other conditions, it was difficult to outrace a topsail schooner.

The brig also had two masts, and its sails set across the fore-and-aft line of the vessel, or "square" to the ship. The primary advantage to the brig rig was that it would sail particularly well down wind. This made it suited for long transoceanic passages in which the captain would find a following wind and hold one course for thousands of miles. Since there were only two masts, the size of the rig and hull were limited. The limitations were beneficial since they kept crew costs down and the tonnage suited the size of the eastern ports and markets.

The other rig that was commonly used in eastern trade was the full-rigged ship. The ship was essentially
like the brig except that it had three masts. The additional mast allowed for increased motive power. The result was an increase in tonnage. Ships, therefore, were the largest of the three rigs with crew costs, outfitting expenses, and tariffs increasing proportionally. The additional cargo that a ship could carry home countered the additional expense. The brig and the ship were the two most popular rigs in the East Indian trade, and the rig of a vessel was dependent upon the preference of the owner and captain.

The design of the hull varied in relationship to the vessel's rig. The topsail schooners usually had smaller, lighter built hulls than the square-rigged designs. Due to the extreme deadrise, the outline of a topsail schooner's hull was V shaped. This form allowed the vessel to sail close to the wind and cut through the water. When compared to the basic U shaped hull of the larger vessels, it is obvious that the topsail schooner sacrificed cargo capacity in order to gain speed.

The entrance of the topsail schooner was also sharp. The concave look of the bow of the clipper ships of forty years later duplicated the entrance of these schooners. Once again the narrow shape to this area of the hull helped the topsail schooner slice through the seas, rather than to buffet its way through them like the bluff-bowed British Indiaman. A slim, long run aft helped these schooners to
sail rapidly. This gradual narrowing of the hull toward the stern caused a minimal disturbance of the water; thus there was less drag to slow the vessel.

The hulls of the brigs and ships of the early nineteenth century were heavier than the square topsail schooners. These larger vessels were built to carry large amounts of cargo over a long course. The hull, therefore, was sturdily constructed. It had additional heavier frames; thicker planking; and stronger posts, beams, and knees. The lines of these vessels appeared to be "heavier" than those of the schooners. That is, the outline of the hull in a brig or ship tended to be more of a U shape, like a canal barge. These slower, more capacious vessels sported broader bows which hammered their way through the seas. The run was also full in these freighters. By extending the width of the vessel further aft, cargo capacity was increased again. The resulting abrupt turn in toward the rudder post created disturbances which slowed the vessel even further. In addition, ships and brigs were of deeper draught than the topsail schooner. Once again this allowed them to carry more cargo, but limited their access to some harbors.

The topsail schooner was generally a cheaper vessel to build. There were less spars, sails, rigging; and the hull had much less timber in it. They were built to gain quick profits for the owners. Since they were often in illicit
trades, they were not necessarily expected to survive for many years. The ships and brigs, in contrast, represented a long term investment and would often last twenty years or more. In particular the East Indiamen, as evidenced by the REAPER, were well constructed and made of the highest quality of materials.

One of the primary reasons the REAPER was so well found was the expertise and imagination of the man who built her. Thatcher Magoun was only thirty-two years old when he laid the keel for the REAPER, but he already had a reputation as one of the finest builders in the Boston area. He was born in 1775 in Pembroke, Massachusetts, which was a shipbuilding center. He served his apprenticeship as a ship's carpenter under Enos Briggs at Salem, and it is likely that Magoun worked on the building of the famous frigate ESSEX. Magoun exhibited a talent for designing vessels and spent much of his time in the mould loft where he sharpened his skills as a designer. He then worked for two years in the Barker shipyard at Charlestown. In 1802 he chose a site on the Mystic river in Medford, Massachusetts, and went into business for himself as a master ship carpenter. In 1803 he launched his first vessel, the Brig MOUNT ETNA.\footnote{Charles Brooks, \textit{History of the Town of Medford} (Boston, Revised 1886), 360-361.} She became the first in a fleet of eighty-four vessels that Magoun built between 1803 and
1836.\textsuperscript{15} It was not long before Magoun's reputation was established and his name became synonymous with first class sailing vessels. Authorities on American shipping have always considered him one of American's finest designers and builders. Hutchins noted that Magoun was of "national fame" and was among those who were "foremost in the industry,"\textsuperscript{16}

He also recorded that Magoun built "high class ships" and was one of the few private yards in the country that became successful enough to construct large sheds under which ships were built.\textsuperscript{17} Morison's comments state the case for Magoun's talents succinctly. He simply said that Magoun's reputation among American shipbuilders was "... second to none ... [and] Medford-built came to mean the best,"\textsuperscript{18}

Although Magoun was responsible for the construction of the REAPER, it is likely that Cabot or Hinckley, like most owners and captains of East Indiamen, kept close watch on their shipwright's efforts.\textsuperscript{19} They had good reason to be concerned about the progress of their new vessel. It is

\textsuperscript{15}Brooks, 370.
\textsuperscript{16}Hutchins, 105.
\textsuperscript{17}Hutchins, 108.
\textsuperscript{18}Samuel E. Morison, The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860 (Boston, 1941), 103.
\textsuperscript{19}Hutchins, 214.
likely that the bare hull cost approximately $18,000, which was quite expensive for a sailing vessel of that day. This figure represents nearly seventy-five percent of the total cost of the vessel and her outfit. This, again, reflects the additional expense that went into the REAPER's construction.

The lumber for the hull most likely came from Malden or Woburn, or one of the other nearby towns. The iron-ware was produced right in Medford at Lapham's Ship's Iron Works. The owner was George B. Lapham who was a long time friend of Magoun. Lapham had opened his business in 1802 and acted as Magoun's principal source of iron fastenings and ship's gear for over twenty years. Most of the iron that went into a wooden vessel was in the form of bolts and spikes that held the timbers together. When the REAPER was built, Lapham charged six cents a pound for such items.

It is possible to estimate the cost of the REAPER's iron by comparing her tonnage with the Magoun-built brig JONES.

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20 Porter, 657; Brooks, 361.
22 Brooks, 361.
24 Lapham, 18.
for which Magoun's accounts are extant. The JONES was built in 1818 and was registered as being two hundred and sixty-two tons.\(^{25}\) Lapham's bill for the JONES' iron was ten cents per pound.\(^{26}\) By computing the figures to accommodate the differences in tonnage and the cost of ironware, Lapham's bill for the REAPER would have been almost exactly $1,137.00.

During the early nineteenth century, it was common practice for the master carpenter's contract to include only the cost of the timber, fastenings, and labor that were required to produce the bare hull without masts, sails, or rigging.\(^{27}\) With Magoun charging only twenty-five dollars per ton, it seems that this was the case with the REAPER. Hinckley's illustration of the brig on launching day confirms this. The only spar in place is the bowsprit, and it is not even properly secured.\(^{28}\) It is uncertain whether the REAPER had all of her copper sheathing in place. The primitive quality of Hinckley's watercolor makes it difficult to determine this. Most likely, however, Cabot purchased the sheathing and Magoun's men applied it prior to sending the brig down the ways.

\(^{25}\)Account of Ships, Brig Jones 1819, Magoun Collection I, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

\(^{26}\)Lapham, 20.

\(^{27}\)Hutchins, 126.

\(^{28}\)Hinckley, Launching Day.
By comparing Hinckley's watercolor and the REAPER's certificate of registry, it is possible to determine the new brig's appearance on launching day. Her stem was vertical and her entrance was short and full, resulting in a bluff, bouyant bow that was common for deep sea freighters. There was a slight amount of sheer and the spar deck was flush. The run may have been longer and finer than customary, but it is difficult to determine whether that was the case or whether Hinckley's limited artistic ability gives a false impression. She was registered as having a square stern and no galleries, nor was there any ornamentation at the bow since the REAPER had no figurehead. The basic shape of the REAPER, therefore, was typical of American East Indiamen. American shipbuilders during the early nineteenth century were not known for innovation in ship design. It is probable that Magoun based her form on earlier designs of his that had proven to be successful. The only unique class of vessels that private American builders created was the fast, sharp design that came out of the Chesapeake Bay. These lines were generally adapted to the topsail schooners that were discussed earlier. A number of these vessels sailed to the eastern markets and probably could outsail the REAPER.

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29 Hinckley, Launching Day; National Archives, Certificate of Registry, Brig REAPER.
30 Chapelle, 275-276.
Magoun, however, was not contracted to build a light, fast sailer. Cabot and Hinckley wanted a well found brig which combined a relative turn of speed with good cargo capacity; the REAPER embodies these qualities. Her size was also exemplary of the East Indiamen that sailed from America during the early national period. Few of them were of more than 400 tons and the REAPER at 284 tons was typical of the many brigs that were in the trade. 31

With her deep, full hull the REAPER had to depend on a lofty rig in order to gain any reputation as a fast sailer. Many of the deepwater freighters were heavily sparred, an attribute which was particularly important during the tempestuous Napoleonic era. 32 It is not known who rigged the REAPER; it may have been Isaac Hinckley himself. It is doubtful that whoever rigged her followed any standard rigging and masting rules. The dimensions of a vessel's rig usually depend on the preference of the individuals who sailed her. As a result, there were often differences between the size and set of the rigs of similar vessels in the same trade. 33

In order to evaluate the size of the REAPER's rig it is best to compare her to vessels of similar dimensions.

31 Hutchins, 211.
32 Hutchins, 211.
There are records available from only two such vessels, both of which sailed twenty-five years after the REAPER. Fortunately, the only change in the rigging standards was a slow, but steady increase in the size of the rigs.\textsuperscript{34} It is possible, therefore, to make an accurate assessment of the REAPER by considering these vessels. The first was the DILIGENTE, a slaving brig, which was captured by the British in 1839. As a slaver she needed to be fleet; thus, her rig is an example of a fast vessel of the REAPER's size.\textsuperscript{35} The other brig, which was built in 1832, was the PALOS of 277 tons. Her design came to be known as a "kettle bottom."\textsuperscript{36} PALOS and others of her design were built along the lines of the REAPER except that the hull below the waterline was bulbous. She serves as an example of a burdensome vessel for which speed was not of primary importance.

The following chart illustrates the whole length of the spars of the three vessels:\textsuperscript{37}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34}Robert Kipping, A Rudimentary Treatise on Masting, Mastmaking and Rigging of Ships (London, 1921), 53; Fincham, 178.
\item \textsuperscript{35}Howard I. Chapelle, The Baltimore Clipper, It's Origin and Development (Salem, 1930), 137
\item \textsuperscript{36}Howard I. Chapelle, The National Watercraft Collection (Camden, 1976), 65-66.
\item \textsuperscript{37}Hinckley, Dimensions of the Brig REAPER's Spars; Chapelle, Baltimore Clipper, 137; Chapelle, National Watercraft Collection, 66.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Spars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spars</th>
<th>REAPER</th>
<th>DILIGENTE</th>
<th>PALOS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Mast</td>
<td>60'6&quot;</td>
<td>60'</td>
<td>62'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Top Mast</td>
<td>39'</td>
<td>34'5&quot;</td>
<td>33'6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Topgallant Mast</td>
<td>18'</td>
<td>18'6&quot;</td>
<td>19'6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Royal Mast</td>
<td>12'</td>
<td>11'</td>
<td>12'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Skysail Mast</td>
<td>6'6&quot;</td>
<td>6'6&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore Mast</td>
<td>54'6&quot;</td>
<td>58'5&quot;</td>
<td>58'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore Top Mast</td>
<td>39'</td>
<td>35'5&quot;</td>
<td>33'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore Topgallant Mast</td>
<td>18'</td>
<td>18'6&quot;</td>
<td>19'6&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore Royal Mast</td>
<td>12'</td>
<td>10'</td>
<td>12'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore Skysail Mast</td>
<td>6'6&quot;</td>
<td>6'6&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By adding up the aggregate length of each vessel's masts, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the loftiness of the three rigs. The whole length used here far exceeds the actual height of the vessels masts; yet, for the purpose of this comparison the actual heights are inconsequential. Discounting the skysail masts which were rarely used, the aggregate length of all the RFAPFR's masts was two hundred and fifty-three feet, that is, three feet six inches more than the PALOS and six feet nine inches more than the lofty DILIGENTE. The differences are so slight as to be meaningless; a half dozen small factors such as stowage of cargo or sail trim could negate them.

It is also interesting to compare the length of the vessels' yards. By so doing, it is possible to gain a better insight in the sail area that each vessel carried.

The length of the yards were as follows:

38Hinckley, "Dimensions"; Chapelle, Baltimore Clipper, 137; Chapelle, National Watercraft Collection, 68.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yards</th>
<th>REAPER</th>
<th>DILIGENTE</th>
<th>PALOS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Course Yard</td>
<td>45'</td>
<td>57'</td>
<td>46'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Topsail Yard</td>
<td>35'</td>
<td>42'6''</td>
<td>36'6''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Topgallant Yard</td>
<td>23'</td>
<td>25'</td>
<td>24'6''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Royal Yard</td>
<td>16'</td>
<td>14'7''</td>
<td>17'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore Course Yard</td>
<td>45'</td>
<td>57'</td>
<td>46'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore Topsail Yard</td>
<td>35'</td>
<td>42'6''</td>
<td>36'6''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore Topgallant Yard</td>
<td>23'</td>
<td>25'</td>
<td>24'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore Royal Yard</td>
<td>16'</td>
<td>14'7''</td>
<td>16'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the aggregate length of the three vessels' yards are compared, the REAPER does not fare as well. The total length of her yards was two hundred and thirty-eight feet. The PALOS's total length was two hundred and forty-seven feet. This difference, also, is inconsequential. The slaver, however, had a much broader spread of canvas. The aggregate length of the DILIGENTE's yards was two hundred and seventy-eight feet. The additional canvas that those yards carried certainly would have aided in her escape from a pursuing naval vessel.

The significance of these figures lies in the REAPER's spars having been comparable to the other two vessels. It is particularly impressive when considering that the PALOS and DILIGENTE were built approximately a quarter of a century later. By then, technical advances like chain halliard spans and yard ties allowed ships' rigs to be loftier. The spars of the PALOS and the REAPER were nearly the same. The DILIGENTE carried a larger spread of canvas; given her function, that is to be expected. The fact that the REAPER compared so favorably with these vessels of a
later period means that she was a heavily sparred vessel for her day. As he prepared the REAPER for sea, Isaac Hinckley must have been anxious to discover how well his new brig would perform.

With her sound hull and lofty rig, the REAPER had the potential to become an able and successful vessel. There is some evidence that such was the case. When Thatcher Magoun signed the Master Carpenter's Certificate, he acknowledged that the new vessel was his creation and was sound enough for going to sea.\textsuperscript{39} That alone is an indication that the REAPER was a well found vessel. In addition, the fact that Andrew Cabot, an experienced and capable East Indian merchant, owned the new brig speaks well for the REAPER's potential. She received the best of insurance ratings, "A-1", and was referred to by the underwriters as being "in all respects a thoroughly good ship."\textsuperscript{40} There was also a note in the Boston newspaper which reflected the quality of the newly built East Indiaman. In the Boston Patriot's shipping memoranda section, the departure of the REAPER on her maiden voyage was mentioned. With so many arrivals and departures the marine notes were always as short and concise as possible. They usually listed only a vessel's departure, captain, and intended destinations.

\textsuperscript{39}National Archives, Certificate of Registry, Brig REAPER.

\textsuperscript{40}Lloyd's Register of Shipping (London, 1811), Supplement "R" 53; Baker, 203.
Consequently, the comment on July 1, 1809 was unusual, "went to sea on Wednesday, the beautiful new brig REAPER, Captain Hinckley, for Mocha."\(^41\)

Captain Hinckley also had some observations concerning the new vessel as she made her way into the broad Atlantic. On his first day in open water Hinckley remarked in his journal, "... the Brig sails 9 & 10 knots nearly on a wind, but our Rigging being new it stretched very much, so that I dare not carry sail ..."\(^42\) Apparently, the new vessel could sail quite well; nine or ten knots was a very respectable speed for a ninety-three-foot vessel of the early nineteenth century. The following day Hinckley noted, "Brig sails 9, 10 & 11 knots with more ease & perfectly dry, than any vessel I ever saild in ..."\(^43\)

The REAPER's performance during her first days at sea was impressive. A long ocean voyage was a different matter, and the new brig would certainly be tested on her passages between America, Arabia, and India. By looking at the journal, it is apparent that a few problems arose.

Hinckley continued to be plagued by the slack rigging that he had mentioned on the thirtieth of June. Two days later he wrote, "... our rigging is dangerously slack,  

\(^{41}\)"Shipping Memoranda," Boston Patriot, July 1, 1809.  
\(^{42}\)Hinckley, June 30, 1809.  
\(^{43}\)Hinckley, July 1, 1809.
we wish for a time to sett it up."

On the following day he altered his course in order to run directly down wind, thus enabling the crew to tighten up the rigging. He explained how slack the gear had become, "Employ'd setting up Rigging fore & aft, below and aloft which I find very slack, getting 10 to 12 inches of fore and aft stays-- 3 to 4 inches of shrouds & 12 to 15 inches of Backstays."

but now it is all taught and we can carry sail without fear." The problem was not solved, however, for two weeks later he wrote, "Employd setting up the rigging fore & aft . . . "

On August the fourth he noted again, "Our rigging has got slack again." This problem was a threat to the safety of the vessel and her crew. Not only was it dangerous to carry sail with the masts not properly supported, but if the vessel encountered sharp, uneven seas that caused it to pitch wildly, it could have snapped the gyrating mast off. On August ninth Hinckley adjusted the rigging once again. His patience had worn thin and he noted his displeasure with the gear, "our rigging very slack, dare not carry sail hard . . . All hands employed setting up the rigging this is the third heavy pull we have given it since leaving Boston & twice before--

44 Hinckley, July 2, 1809.
45 Hinckley, July 3, 1809.
46 Hinckley, July 17, 1809.
47 Hinckley, August 4, 1809.
Buy no rigging of Chapman . . . "\(^{48}\)"

Fortunately the rigging situation improved as the trip progressed. Hinckley tightened up on everything once more and then all seemed to stay in order. The hemp rigging that was used in deepwater vessels tended to stretch and require setting up as part of the routine maintenance. The REAPER, nevertheless, had more than her share of difficulties, and there is no doubt that Hinckley's first letter to Andrew Cabot expressed his displeasure with Mr. Chapman's rigging.

The shrouds and stays were not the only gear that gave Captain Hinckley cause for distress during the early stages of the voyage. He also had difficulty with the new suit of sails. The duck for the sails had been woven in America's only duck manufactory.\(^ {49}\) Seth Bemis had established the business shortly before the REAPER set out. It is likely that the REAPER was one of the first vessels to sail with domestically woven cotton sails. Unfortunately, the new product did not hold up any better than the rigging. When just four weeks at sea Hinckley noted with a touch of humor, "Our American Duck fails fast, the foretopsail so thin you might drive geese through backward & not disturb

\(^{48}\)Hinckley, August 9, 1809.

\(^{49}\)Hinckley, Inventory of Brig REAPER; William Bagnull, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (New York, Reprinted 1893), 324.
their feathers . . . "\(^{50}\) The next day he added, "Mending sails altho but 30 days worn--our Sails are all thin fore & aft below & aloft . . ."\(^{51}\) The material then rapidly distorted to the point that the crew had to attach the sails to the yards again. The men's labors were noted, "Wednesday August 2\(^{d}\) 1809 . . . Bent every sail anew, on-board--having Sag'd from the yards . . ."\(^{52}\)

Fortunately, after Hinckley had made some adjustments, the problem was corrected; and there were no other references to difficulties with the sails. The journal indicates that there were also a few small problems with the performance of the hull that Thatcher Magoun had created. It is likely that two of the problems were attributable to causes other than the design or construction of the vessel. For instance, there were five separate instances when Hinckley commented on the brig's tendency to pitch.\(^{53}\) The pitching apparently was worse when sailing into a head sea. The waves would make her toss her head high only to drop deeply into the oncoming trough. According to Chapelle, many heavily rigged vessels of the day tended to pitch in

\(^{50}\) Hinckley, July 28, 1809

\(^{51}\) Hinckley, July 29, 1809.

\(^{52}\) Hinckley, August 2, 1809.

\(^{53}\) Hinckley, July 28, 1809; August 25, 1809; May 30, 1809; May 31, 1809.
Like those other vessels, the REAPER lost some of her stability due to her extra sail area.

Another difficulty was noticed on her return voyage. Shortly after leaving Calcutta, Hinckley noted that the REAPER was trimmed by the head. Trimming by the head means that instead of sailing with the keel evenly balanced the REAPER sailed with the bow slightly deeper than the rest of the hull. This, of course, would cause a corresponding lift on the stern as the vessel nosed its way through the seas. There was no mention of the trim on the passage to India, but shortly after leaving Calcutta the problem was noted. The cause of the poor trim was the how the first mate had stowed the cargo. Hinckley made no mention of Mr. Spooner's error when he wrote, "Got the stream Anchor Aft to trim by the stern." After being at sea for nine weeks, the captain decided that the vessel could sail better if the bow was even lighter. On April twenty-second he ordered "the Anchor" to be moved aft "to make the ship sail faster." The particular anchor referred to in this instance was probably the 1,500-pound bower anchor. Weighing two-thirds again what the stream anchor weighed, the bower was the largest and most important anchor on the

54 Chapelle, The Baltimore Clipper, 103.
55 Hinckley, February 11, 1809.
56 Hinckley, April 22, 1809.
57 Hinckley, Inventory.
vessel. That left only one large anchor remaining on the bows of the ship, but in the middle of the ocean Hinckley would have had neither the need nor the ability to set an anchor; they were only used when near shore.

The final difficulty that Hinckley had with the REAPER was her being "crank." A crank vessel was one which tended to list easily. This made it difficult to set all the sails without the vessel threatening to roll on her beam-ends or capsize. On the eighth of August Hinckley recorded in his journal, "we have onb d 130 tons ballast besides (unintelligble) & stores but we are yet Crank & cannot carry whole sail to a nine knot breeze." There were other instances when the captain complained about the vessel's being "light," which would cause the same problem of heeling over.

These problems were to be expected in a brand-new vessel. Every ship had her own peculiarities which the captain had to learn. It is obvious by Hinckley's remarks that he was actually pleased and surprised by the performance of his new brig. The optimistic comments that he had made during the first few days at sea proved to be well founded. As previously noted the REAPER was capable of doing ten or eleven knots, and it is significant that she was also capable of good speed when sailing close to

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58 Hinckley, August 8, 1809.
59 Hinckley, October 20, 1809; November 1, 1809.
the wind. A square-rigged vessel was designed to sail fastest with the wind just abaft the beam. This allowed the wind to fill all of the sails and efficiently push the vessel through the water. On the other hand, while tacking, the square sails were not nearly as effective. Hinckley, however, recorded that the REAPER sailed at nine knots while close-hauled. This speaks well of the vessel's speed since sailing close-hauled, which is working as close to the wind as possible, was probably the worst point at which a brig could be sailed. Speed is relative, however, and it should be noted that the extreme topsail schooners of the period could sail at speeds of up to thirteen knots with a favoring breeze.

The REAPER had another quality that was usually reserved for the lightly built topsail schooners. She was also capable of sailing well when there was very little wind. This attribute was particularly important for a vessel that might be involved in a chase. The smugglers and privateers that used the topsail schooners often outraced their opponents when winds were light and variable. With their light hulls and lofty rigs they could ghost along and out-distance their heavier adversaries. Apparently, Hinckley's brig was capable of similar feats. On July tenth he wrote, "Six days, & Small sport I call this for a fair wind,

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60 Hinckley, August 10, 1809.

61 Chapelle, National Watercraft Collection, 31
Six days & [the wind] so light we can scarcely tell where it is half the time--but I never saw a vessel move with so little wind before." 62 She also was able to move easily through heavy seas [waves]. Hinckley noted ten days later, "Head Sea & this is the easiest vessel in a sea I ever saw." 63

There is no doubt that Cabot's new East Indiaman proved to be both a well-designed and well-built vessel. According to Hinckley she was a fast sailer, dry, sea-worthy, and capable of sailing close to or off of the wind. At the same time she could ghost along with the slightest breeze, and yet her decks remained dry and safe in heavy weather or head seas. In short, the REAPER embodies all of the attributes of a "throughly good ship."

How did the REAPER's speed compare to other vessels that she contacted? This is an important question for two reasons. For one, there were many variables that could affect a vessel's sailing records, and the best way to judge a vessel's ability to sail quickly is to compare her to the vessels she encountered at sea. 64 The other reason is that during that unsettled era the REAPER's very survival could have depended on whether she could outrace an approaching pirate, privateer, or man-of-war.

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62 Hinckley, July 10, 1809.
63 Hinckley, July 20, 1809.
64 Chapelle, National Watercraft Collection, 32.
While at sea the REAPER sighted twenty other sailing vessels. Twelve of these vessels were going in another direction and only appeared as sails passing by. The other eight sightings were vessels that were traveling in the same direction. Whenever this situation arose, Hinckley recorded it. No doubt he realized that these were opportunities to test his vessel's ability. She outsailed seven of the eight vessels that were on a similar course. For instance, the REAPER departed Calcutta in company with the Bark MARY of Salem. (A bark is a like a full-rigged ship except that her aftermost mast is rigged with fore-and-aft sails.) Hinckley wrote in his journal, "The barque MARY, Capt. Olear of & for Salem in C°. Soon lost sight of the MARY, we outsail her much..."  

While sailing down the Bay of Bengal, Hinckley met contrary winds. As a result he met the MARY a month later. On the second of March at 7 a.m. a sail was sighted on the starboard bow. The winds were light and the REAPER was gliding along at only two or three knots. The following day Hinckley recorded, "5.30 [a.m.] saw the above Sail bearing West At 12 Merd Spoke Barque MARY Capt. Olear who sailed in C° with us. We outsail him, but he has had better winds..." The winds continued to be light throughout the next few days and the REAPER

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65 Hinckley, February 7, 1810.
66 Hinckley, March 2, 1810.
67 Hinckley, March 3, 1810.
steadily left the MARY behind. The journal reads, "March 4th 1310 ... Barque in sight far astern, March 5 1810 ... Lost sight of the Barque."\textsuperscript{68}

Hinckley probably felt best about his vessel's performance on the twenty-second of August, 1809. On that day he sighted another brig. He noted, "At 9 AM saw a Brig bearing East steer\textsuperscript{9}, S\textsuperscript{e} & E\textsuperscript{d} At 12 Noon she bears NE by N we outsail her much."\textsuperscript{69} The following day he again wrote, "At 4 PM Lost sight of the Brig astearn that was ahead suppose we outsail her 3 knots p\textsuperscript{r} Hour."\textsuperscript{70} The REAPER had been sailing at eight knots throughout the day so she was capable of good sailing in heavy winds as well as light.

Unfortunately, Hinckley's East Indiaman did not travel in company with a square topsail schooner. Although he sighted a number of them, there was never an opportunity to test the REAPER's sailing qualities against one of these speedsters. He did, however, have an opportunity to race one of the swift men-of-war. On February twentieth Hinckley scrawled on the margin of his journal, "Frigate in chase."\textsuperscript{71} A sail had been sighted the previous morning and by late in the day on the twentieth its intentions were

\textsuperscript{68} Hinckley, March 4, 1810; March 5, 1810.
\textsuperscript{69} Hinckley, August 22, 1809.
\textsuperscript{70} Hinckley, August 23, 1809.
\textsuperscript{71} Hinckley, February 20, 1810.
obvious. Hinckley's journal reads, "At 8 PM discovered the [sail] which we saw in ye morining to be in chase of us, hauld up WSS At 10, after receiving several shot, hove too, & was boarded from the British Frigate CLORINDE treated not very politey, but permitted to proceed He thought we were a Frenchman ..." When the frigate was first sighted and when she doubtless altered course to give chase, the RTAPER logged barely better than one knot due to light winds. The following day as Hinckley tried to head up wind, in a futile attempt to avoid the overhauling CLORINDE, he still could do only slightly over three knots. The details of the chase are unknown, but the CLORINDE eventually brought the RFAPER under her guns. Luckily the papers were in order and she was allowed to continue without incident.

Like many other Fast Indiamen of her day, the REAPER was designed to combine speed and carrying capacity. Consequently, when the British man-of-war gave chase the REAPER was overhauled. Under other winds and conditions Hinckley may have avoided the British frigate, but in most cases he and any other freighter would have been out sailed by a frigate or privateer. The armament that was mentioned in the previous chapter was taken along for such circumstances. Of course, it would have been hopeless to fight a thirty-eight gun man-of-war, but a pirate or privateer

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72 Hinckley, February 20, 1810.
would often avoid confrontations with heavily armed and determined merchantmen.

The next chapter will examine the types of supplies and equipment that an East Indiaman would take along in order to face thousands of miles of open sea, as well as, the threat of attack.
CHAPTER IV
OUTFITTING THE REAPER

After the REAPER was launched and rigged, it was necessary to furnish her with the equipment and supplies needed for a long ocean passage. Isaac Hinckley listed all of the gear and stores that were taken aboard the REAPER (Appendix B-H). By studying this list categorically, it is possible to delineate the size and type of outfit that an early American East Indiaman would have needed for a voyage of trade.

The first items listed were the brig's four anchors. The largest of these was designated as the "best bower." The weight of this anchor was determined by a simple formula: for a vessel of 200 tons, a 1,000-pound anchor was needed; for every additional 100 tons of the vessel, the anchor weight was increased by 500 pounds.\textsuperscript{1} The REAPER, with a registry approaching 300 tons, required a 1,500 pound best bower. The other anchor stored on the bow was the "small bower." It was not designated as "small" because it weighed only 1,400 pounds, but rather because it was stowed on the port side of the bow. The best bower was

\textsuperscript{1}C. Tomlinson, \textit{Cyclopedia of Useful Arts} (New York, 1854), 47.
always on the starboard bow, even if it weighed the same as the small bower. One or both of these anchors would be used in an open roadstead, depending on conditions.

The other two anchors were smaller and were intended for specific purposes. The stream anchor weighed 900 pounds—nearly twice as large as was common for a vessel the size of the REAPER. It was designed to be used when the vessel was anchored in a river; there, the constant flow of water made the brig ride easily to its anchor. It is uncertain why the REAPER'S stream anchor was so heavy. One explanation might be that Cabot and Hinckley knew that the new brig would eventually trade on the River Hooghly; a river with a tidal bore so strong that it actually roared like the sound of distant thunder.

The final anchor, the "kedge," was used to haul the vessel off underwater shoals. Weighing only 300 pounds, it could be rowed away from the mother ship and dropped some distance away. By hauling in on the anchor cable, the vessel would be pulled toward the anchor and off the bottom. The size and lengths of the various anchor cables were also noted in the inventory (Appendix B).

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3 Kemp, 838.
4 C. R. Hammersley, A Naval Encyclopedia (Philadelphia, 1881), 87.
5 Tomlinson, 46.
The REAPER was also outfitted with "one caboose complete." The caboose was a small deckhouse which was lashed on deck to enclose the oalley. As the bailiwick of the cook, it served as his personal work space and haven. There were numerous cases on other ships where the whole structure was torn from its temporary foundation and carried crashing against the bulwarks by a large boarding sea.

The caboose was not the only extraneous item that took up deck space. Like most of her sisters, the REAPER carried her long boat on the spar deck. The smaller yawl boat was probably suspended from the stern on davits. The capstan and ratchet windlass were also on the deck. There was no mention of these machines, but Hinckley included six "Capstern Bars" and one dozen (windlass) handspikes in the inventory. In addition, he drew a diagram of the windlass in the journal of the voyage. When a vessel of the REAPER'S size had both a windlass and a capstan, the latter was usually located amidships to aid in the loading of cargo.

Listed under "Ship Chandlery," Hinckley noted most of the other equipment that was needed. Much of the gear was used in the daily operation of the vessel. For instance, he listed four different types of compasses. The

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steering compass was located just in front of the ship's wheel and was used by the helmsman to give him the proper direction. The azimuth compass was equipped with vertical veins and was used to take bearings or to determine variation. There were also two wood (box?) compasses, probably for use in the ship's two boats, as well as one hanging compass. This one was suspended above Hinckley's bunk so that he could tell the ship's direction even while he was in bed.

Navigation was also aided by the half-hour sand glasses used to keep time aboard ship, and by the fourteen-second glasses used when tossing the log to gauge the vessel's speed. The log reel and the log line were listed, but strangely, the log chip itself was omitted.

The final navigational tools that Hinckley noted were the sounding leads and their lines. The thirteen pound deep-sea lead and the two seven pounders were used to determine not only the depth of the water, but also the type of bottom. A small hollow in the base of the leads could be filled with tallow or butter. When the lead struck bottom, the mud or sand would stick to it. If the lead came up without anything in the tallow, then the officer in charge would assume that the bottom was rocky.

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The sextant (or its forerunner, the quadrant) was used to determine latitude and longitude. Hinckley, like most captains and supercargoes, must have had his own because it does not appear in the inventory. Although he never mentioned a chronometer, it is obvious that he had one of them. He could not have calculated his daily longitude if he had not possessed one of these delicate timepieces.

He also supplied his own telescope for observing landfalls or other ships, but he did not bring along a speaking trumpet. Two of these trumpets were listed in the inventory and were used when "speaking" another vessel at sea. Speaking a vessel was the only way to make your progress known to the people back home. The standard hail would inform the other captain of your ship's name, where it was from, where it was bound, and how many days out. If time permitted, other information about supposed latitude and longitude could also be given.\(^9\)

There is no doubt that Hinckley used the REAPER'S oversized ensign during these occasions. The ship's colors were an impressive twenty-four feet long by twelve feet deep. It is likely that these colors, with their fifteen stars and stripes, were the same ones that appeared in Hinckley's launching day painting. For less auspicious occasions the REAPER had a smaller ensign.

\(^9\) Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York, reprinted 1964), 16.
There were several additional items listed in the "Ship Chandlery" section of the journal. Included among them were the thirty assorted brooms, mops, and scrub brushes necessary to keep the bright new brig in the best condition.

Many other items were included that would supply the creature comforts needed by the officers and crew of the REAPER. For instance, there were four shallow, wooden buckets called "kids" in which the seamen took their meals.\(^\text{10}\) As on other vessels, each watch probably had two kids which they maintained for their own use. To supply the men with their daily beverage, two coffee mills were entered on the list. One may have been for the use of the aftercabin while the other for the forecastle.

Under the section titled "Cabin Store," was a variety of accoutrements for use by the afterguard. There was little comparison between the oaken kids from which the seamen ate, and the dozens of plates, dishes, and bowls that Captain Hinckley and his officers had at their disposal. The captain's table had all of the amenities befitting his position. There were wine glasses, decanters, a soup tureen, table cloth, and even brass candlesticks.

These finer accessories notwithstanding, the captain was still responsible for the mundane day-to-day chores on the REAPER. Maintenance of a sailing vessel was crucial to

\(^{10}\text{deKerchove, 421.}\)
the safety of those aboard; consequently, the crew was kept continually busy working on the upkeep and improvement of the vessel's condition. The paint supplies that Hinckley noted were important for this effort. There was white lead, a basic ingredient in many marine paints; ground verdigris which, with its high copper content, made a good bottom paint; and ground yellow (probably yellow ochre) which, according to the launching day painting, adorned the moldings, planksheer, rails, and stern windows of the REAPER. These pigments could be mixed with the "Boild Oil" (boiled linseed oil) and spirits of turpentine (which was not listed) to make high quality marine paints. There was also lampblack, which was added to produce black paint.11

Spare spars were also entered in the inventory. With a voyage of better than twenty thousand miles ahead, Hinckley was certain that the REAPER would be struck by numerous raging gales. The spare timbers could replace every existing spar onboard except the lower masts (Appendix D). It was common practice to stow the extra spars by securing them to the masts, or in some out-of-the-way spot on deck.

Of course, it was necessary to carry the extra cordage that would be needed to hold any replacement yards or masts in place. Hinckley noted the inclusion of large amounts of extra line in the inventory. There were over 2,000

fathoms of spare rigging stored below decks. The size of this line varied from three-inch hemp shrouds down to "two yarn spun yarn" that a man could break with one sharp pull.

Hinckley also recorded the sails that were on board when the voyage began. Altogether there were twenty-one of them, including one extra foretopsail. It was necessary to carry an extra foretopsail as it was the most often used square sail on board. It was made of the heaviest duck, and was often carried in bad weather when most of the sails had long since been furled. At the other end of the spectrum were the REAPER's "kites." These were small, light sails, including the six steering (studding) sails and the two royals. (Hinckley's crew also produced two skysails from the extra duck that was part of the outfit (Appendix I). Hinckley's sketches show two other sails above the skysails--the "Disturber" and the "Fan", but they were only a figment of his imagination since there was never any mention of their construction or use. These sails are interesting to contemplate, however, as they were to be very small; the hoist of both together would have been only seven feet.

As noted in the previous chapter, Hinckley's vessel hove to and was boarded when the British frigate CLORINDE overhauled it. It would have been suicidal to attempt exchanging shots with the frigate; but like most East
Indiamen, the REAPER was sufficiently armed to fight off the attacks of pirates or a small privateer. The REAPER was equipped with four cannons that fired four-pound shot, as well as four muskets, four pistols, and all of the necessary accoutrements to fire them (Appendix E).

The carpenters's tools comprised an assortment of items from axes, adzes, and hatchets to a jointer, chalk line, and calipers (Appendix C). The inventory included a barrel of Stockholm tar, which was used to tar down the standing rigging and protect it from the weather. The barrel of pitch was made from pine pitch and was used to pay (seal) the deck seams. One of the most unusual entries in the inventory was for three pairs of handcuffs, which could be used on uncooperative crewmen. Nevertheless, Hinckley and the first mate never mentioned using them during the voyage.

The ship's provisions were entered as well, and Hinckley noted the quantity of each. He loaded the vessel with 3,052 gallons of drinking water in eighteen casks and eight hogsheads. The distance from Boston to Mocha was better than 13,000 miles and it would take several months to make the passage. When he was bound around the Cape of Good Hope, Hinckley considered it necessary to carry approximately 3,000 gallons of water. Generally speaking, this would have allowed each man a gallon of
water daily on a six month cruise.\textsuperscript{12} However, to allow for a large water reserve for emergency use Hinckley limited the daily water ration to only two-and-a-half quarts per man.\textsuperscript{13} This water was used only for drinking and cooking. If any fresh water was used for washing clothing, it was water that had been collected during rain squalls.

Another staple was the 4,000 pounds of "Bread." This actually referred to ship's biscuit or hard-tack, a rock hard biscuit that was designed to survive long periods of storage without deteriorating. The ration of biscuits for the voyage was eight-tenths of a pound per man each day. The amount of victuals that Hinckley allowed his men was slightly less than the pound of meat and biscuit and the gallon of beer than the tars of the royal navy were rationed during that period.\textsuperscript{14}

To prevent spoilage the meats and fish were salted. The salt pork, salt beef, and salt cod were the other constants in the weekly stores. Twenty-two barrels of salt beef, ten barrels of salt pork, and four hundred pounds of salt cod were loaded for the passage to Mocha.

\textsuperscript{12} Isaac Hinckley, Memoranda of Beef, Pork, Bread, and Water, onboard January 30, 1810. (Appendix H).

\textsuperscript{13} Isaac Hinckley, Mess Bill for Brig REAPER, (Appendix E).

These few items were combined with potatoes, beans, and small amounts of flour, vinegar, molasses, and oil to make up the diet of the REAPER's crew. A periodic ration of rum was a welcome addition to this monotonous fare.

There were numerous other stores aboard the REAPER but they would not find their way to the forecastle. Some of these delicacies were hams, white and brown sugar, bohea tea, and chocolate. There was also a wide range of alcoholic beverages from which the captain's steward could choose: wine, porter, port wine, "cyder", brandy, rum or gin. Captain Hinckley's table was also graced with fresh food. The inventory of stores showed the ship's company to include fifteen pigs, one sow, three dozen fowl, one goat, and one kid. The fowl no doubt included chickens, so that fresh eggs could be obtained for the captain's table. Forty bushels of feed corn was recorded, and Hinckley estimated that it would not be sufficient to feed the livestock. It is assumed that he had to purchase more feed.

Considering Hinckley's attention to detail, there is little wonder that he prepared a weekly mess bill which determined the type and quantity of food the crew would be served each day. The mess bill (Appendix E) shows that Hinckley planned three basic diets for the crew. On three days of the week they would eat meals made from salt beef, hardtack, and beans. On two other days, the diet would
consist of salt pork, hardtack, and beans. The fare during the two remaining days included salt fish, hardtack, and potatoes. The amount of imagination and care exhibited by the ship's cook when preparing meals from these basic ingredients could have an enormous influence on the morale of the crew throughout the voyage. There was room for some creative cooking with the use of small quantities of flour, vinegar, molasses, pepper, and salt. For instance, Captain Hinckley allowed for a third of a pound of flour per forecastle hand each Sunday. The use of flour allowed the cook a degree of freedom in preparing a special dish for the crew. Most often it would be used to make a favorite Sunday treat called plum duff. This was a shipboard rendition of plum pudding, which was a mixture of flour, slush (left over grease from cooking salt meat), and raisins kneaded into a ball and then boiled for several hours. The success of the recipe depended on the amount of raisins and molasses used to dress up an otherwise pasty and tasteless pudding.

The only other special treat that Captain Hinckley allowed his crew was a thrice-weekly ration of grog. Grog was a mixture of water and rum that was served to crews aboard naval vessels and merchantmen alike during Hinckley's

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day. According to the mess bill, the crew of the REAPER was called to receive their tot of rum on Sunday (most likely at 12 o'clock noon), on Wednesday, and on Saturday evening. The quantity of rum in each man's tot was just under four ounces.

With the inclusion of the rum, the REAPER was completely outfitted, and nearly ready for sea. The only missing item was her cargo. The ship's log noted the stowage of the principal outward-bound cargo that the REAPER carried, thirty-two boxes and eleven kegs containing 80,000 Spanish milled dollars.¹⁶ Like many other vessels that sailed to India at the close of the embargo, the REAPER carried specie.¹⁷ Except for a small amount of lumber stowed around the specie the REAPER set out for the east traveling in ballast. Isaac Hinckley had taken possession of the $80,000 which had been invested by eighteen different men, including Andrew Cabot.¹⁸ This money represented the investors' efforts to reestablish connections with the eastern markets. The following chapter will chronologically examine the progress of the REAPER and Hinckley's actions on the investors' behalf.

¹⁷G. Bhagat, Americans In India (New York, 1970), 46.
CHAPTER V

THE REAPER'S VOYAGE

On June 29, 1809 Isaac Hinckley made the first notations in his new journal. Brief notes concerning such things as the hour he made sail and the weather conditions were followed by: "I take my departure . . . Bound for Mocha in Arabia . . . May God send the good Ship to her desired Ports in Safety." The voyage had begun, and the REAPER was bound beyond the Cape of Good Hope for a year-long voyage of trade. Upon arriving in Arabia, Hinckley found that a profitable cargo of coffee was unobtainable; consequently, he acted independently and continued on to Calcutta. This chapter will follow the progress of the REAPER and note the outstanding events of the voyage. By so doing, it will be possible to delineate the characteristics of a voyage to the East Indies in an American merchantman of the early nineteenth century.

Nathaniel Spooner, first mate, also noted the departure of the REAPER in his official log. He wrote, "At 8 AM weighd (anchor) with a light air from the South at 10 the Pilot left us, . . . at Merd I begin my Sea Acct.

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of time."² With the words "I begin my Sea Acct . . ." the mate acknowledged that the voyage was beginning and that all further days records would commence at twelve noon (meridian). In contrast to this, when the vessel was in port, records were kept in the "civil account." The calendar day in the civil account began at midnight; thus, the time frame for the two accounts was different by twelve hours. Hinckley also followed this pattern of keeping time. When he noted on Friday, June 30 at 8 A.M. that he sounded on George's Bank and found thirty fathoms beneath his hull, he actually did that at 8 A.M. on the morning of Saturday, July 1st according to the calendars ashore.

Earlier chapters noted the progress of the REAPER during the first days at sea. Hinckley was pleased with his new command, but was plagued by slack rigging and an incompetent crew. Nothing unusual happened during the first few weeks at sea, but Hinckley noted that he did "busy myself about the Ship, which being new, requires much judgement & calculation, . . ."³

The first occurrence of note was on the twenty-second of July. Hinckley's journal reads,

At 1 PM saw a sail on the Lee Bow stand9 Westward, supposing she was bound to America Kept

³Hinckley, July 5, 1809.

- 97-
away & sett all sail fore & aft below & aloft at 3 PM Luff'd too & gave him a shott from the Lee Bow - he immediately took in sail . . .

Hinckley had chased and overhauled the LADY KENMAIRE, a British trader. After ordering the other captain aboard the REAPER, Hinckley found that the Englishman had been afraid that the REAPER was a frigate or a privateer. She was so lofty and sailed so fast that the other captain had been certain that he was going to be seized and taken prisoner. After the masters exchanged news, the two vessels parted with the LADY KENMAIRE carrying letters to both Andrew Cabot and Hannah Hinckley.

The letter to Cabot was typical of those that a supercargo or captain would send whenever the opportunity arose. Hinckley gave Cabot "a particular acco of my passage thus far, a particular too of the Brig, as of the Officers & Crew." 4

Throughout July and August Hinckley noted periodic problems with the rigging and sails, but there were few events worthy of mention. The few notable occurrences were his shooting at a Man Of War bird with his "rifle gun," the crossing of the equator on August the third and the painting of his cabin on the sixteenth of August. (It was fifteen days before the paint dried and Hinckley could return to his berth).

Early in September, while approaching the south

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4Hinckley, July 22, 1809.
African coast, a gale carried away the REAPER'S main top-gallant mast. Both Hinckley and Spooner noted that the wreckage was cleared and sent down on deck.\(^5\) The vessel made her best day's run thus far in spite of the difficulties. Hinckley logged her as having run two hundred and nine miles. The winds continued strong through the following day and night, and the captain remained on deck continuously--this time the REAPER had logged two hundred and twenty-four miles.

Later that day Hinckley made his first landfall at Cape Agullas, east of the Cape of Good Hope. He sketched the outline of the headlands as they appeared from the deck of the REAPER (Appendix J-L). The sketches could be very valuable to other mariners who might sail the same waters at some future date. Hinckley continued to note the outline of the coast and his course as he traveled up the eastern shore of Africa. It is not known whether he ever shared this information with other sea captains belonging to the Boston Marine Society, but his observations would certainly have helped others make safe passages along the coast.

Two days after sighting Cape Agullas, the REAPER ran into the heaviest weather of the voyage. Hinckley took in sail as the storm rose and eventually furled the mainsail, trysail, staysails, jib, and foretopsail. The

\(^{5}\) Hinckley, September 1, 1809; Log, September 1, 1809.
jib traveller had been carried away due to "bad iron" and the brig staggered on under shortened sail.  

Over the next few weeks the only incidents that differed from the normal routine were the illness of three men, the accidental jibing of the trysail, and the maternal talents of the ship's goat. Hinckley wrote, "Mrs Goat comfortabley dilivered of three Kids one of which was Still born . . ."  

On September 13, 1809 with two men sick, the brig was hit by a sudden and powerful gale. The vessel survived under triple reefed topsails and foresail. Hinckley wrote,

Scarcely Crew enough to take care of the Ship . . . If the gale had come on with more violence we should have gone to Davy Jones Locker--The Weakest crew I ever Saw.  

A few weeks later, as September drew to a close, she crossed the equator heading north in the Indian Ocean and covered two hundred and thirty miles in one day. During that crossing Hinckley noted the appearance of large amounts of sperm whales; one of which they hit with "Sticks, wood, lumps, Sea Coal, &c." When they fired three cannon balls at him the whale finally "cut Capers."

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6 Hinckley, September 4, 1809.
7 Hinckley, September 10, 1809.
8 Hinckley, September 13, 1809.
9 Hinckley, September 25, 1809.
10 Hinckley, October 2, 1809.
The whales were sighted while the vessel was making her way north along the dangerous eastern shore of Africa. The crew had been constructing false cannons for some time, and on the last day in September Hinckley was able to write, "shipd the Wooden Guns; we Now Shew 20 Guns & look as Rakeish as a Half wet Swab." Any Arabian pirates surely would have thought twice before attacking such a formidable looking enemy.

There was another reason for the captain to be cautious while he sailed along the shore. As the REAPER approached Cape Aden, Hinckley found that his navigational directory was in error. On the fifth of October he wrote, "My charts are not good." Again, on the following day he noted,

Supposd we saw Burnt Island SE by E but as my charts are old, & I suppose incorrect, I cannot be sure that it is not Mette Island . . . My Directory not good I must take my chance with my own Judgement--(Appendix L).

On Saturday, October 7, 1809 the REAPER arrived in her "desired port" (Appendix L). The captain noted, "at 10 AM Came to Anchor in Back Bay with the Small Bower in 4 Fath^S water--Thus ends Sea Accot." Upon going ashore, Hinckley was unimpressed by the town of Aden, commenting,

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11 Hinckley, September 30, 1809.
12 Hinckley, October 6, 1809.
13 Hinckley, October 7, 1809.
This is the worst place I ever was in--
Nothing to eat drink or smoukit-- . . .
I thought some years since, Muskat, the
last place that was made in the world,
but surely Aden was made after it--14'

The lack of civilities would prove to be the least
of Hinckley's problems. It quickly became apparent that
the likelihood of obtaining a cargo of coffee was very
slim. At that time the area surrounding Aden and Mocha
was being fought for by various religious factions among
the Arab population. The struggle between these groups
disrupted the coffee trade for several years after the
voyage of the REAPER. Hinckley wrote that the war be-
tween the "Arabs and the Woaboes had caused a scarcity of
coffee." The REAPER's captain tried to contact the local
banian, but he had departed with some Englishmen to visit
the DOWLER (governor).15

Hinckley's efforts at Aden serve as an example of
the steps that an East Indian captain or supercargo might
take when faced with an uncertain market and a lack of in-
formation. Hinckley waited two days until the banian,
Deurage, returned. Deurage, however, could offer him
little in the way of encouragement. Hinckley learned that
it would take from four to six months to procure a cargo
of coffee and that it would cost an exorbitant $70.00 to
$75.00 per 305 pound bale. Feeling that he needed more

14 Hinckley, October 8, 1809.
15 Hinckley, October 8, 1809.
information before deciding whether to proceed on to Mocha, he wrote to the captain of the American vessel that had just sailed for that port (Appendix K). Hinckley sent two copies of the letter to the captain, one by an express rider and the other by the British ship MARIAN. Ten days later the response was received aboard the REAPER. Captain Henry Harrison, of the ship PENNSYLVANIA PACKET, informed Hinckley that the market at Mocha was worse than at Aden and that he planned to depart for Calcutta as soon as possible (Appendix L). Upon receipt of Harrison's letter, Hinckley decided to put to sea as soon as possible. His next port of call would be Calcutta.

While the REAPER was anchored at Aden, Mr. Spooner kept a short civil account in the ship's log. It is interesting to note the activities onboard while Hinckley was preoccupied with the ship's business. One of the mate's concerns was the brig's anchor. As the vessel swung on its cable with the tide, it would have been easy to foul the cable around the anchor; therefore, Mr. Spooner sighted (checked) the anchor several times to ensure that all was well. In the mean time the crew was kept busy maintaining the vessel and preparing her for sea. The bends, or wales, of the REAPER were painted with black paint. From the ninth through the thirteenth of

16 Log, October 8, 1809.

17 Log, October 8, 1809.
October, Spooner had the crew tighten up all of the shrouds, both awlow, and aloft. Following that task, the hands were kept busy rattling down, that is, repairing and replacing the ratlines that the men stepped on when climbing the shrouds. The decks were caulked again while in port, just as they had been when the REAPER was at sea.

The vessel was also moved several times, and Spooner noted the hauling up and letting go of the two bower anchors. One of the final operations carried out before the REAPER departed was the taking on of more fresh water and ballast. By the nineteenth of October the mate had taken on 1,052 gallons of water which replenished their supply to its original amount. Apparently, the crew of the REAPER had exceeded their allotted water ration and had consumed approximately seven-tenths of a gallon of water per man daily. The 1,052 gallons taken on at Aden cost Captain Hinckley $22.00; other stores and the $9.00 paid to the express rider to Mocha brought the total for disbursements to $43.00.

With the ballast stowed below and the long boat hauled up, the REAPER was prepared for sea. On October 20, 1809, Hinckley left Aden behind. Not obtaining a

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18 Log, October 8-19th, 1809.

19 Log, October 19, 1809.

cargo at Aden was a great disappointment to Hinckley. He expressed his frustration and resignation to his fate in a long note which he wrote on the day of departure (Appendix N). He dreaded the upcoming passage, but buying the coffee would have been "madness in the extreme." At the meridian he recommenced his sea account with a prayer for a safe passage and divine protection for his family. He concluded with, "God protect the Innocents."

When the REAPER reached open water, Hinckley headed up the Gulf of Arabia. He was force to tack against the easterly winds that were so dominant during the fall of the year. The next twenty days were marked by frustration as he worked his way to windward against the light airs. Many times Hinckley did not even record the vessel's course, but simply wrote "various" or "beating along shore." For instance, on the seventh of November he wrote in disgust, "Beating--Beating--Beating--Beating--Beating--Beating--Beating." Memories of the fate of other Americans who were cast up on the nearby shore most likely prompted him to write, "Beating to windward along the inhospitable shores of Arabia, where christians are little belov'd Lord have mercy on us." Even the livestock fared poorly, as was evidenced by his writing on November 9, "Beating along the Arabian Shore One pig died in

21 Hinckley, October 21. 1809.
22 Hinckley, November 5, 1809.
despair." Finally, Hinckley found some wind and began to make headway. On the eighteenth of November the crew had to furl the royal sails for the first time in twenty-nine days. After tacking ship sixty-eight times and only gaining four hundred and eighty miles in thirty days, Hinckley was finally able to turn south and to use the northeast monsoon to his advantage.\textsuperscript{23} During that period, Hinckley kept close track of the variations in wind direction and wrote detailed sailing instructions for that part of the coast. He noted the change of wind direction each day, inaccuracies in his charts, and the latitude of several villages along the shore.\textsuperscript{24}

The REAPER continued to sail without incident for the next ten days. At that time the Diego Rayz Islands were sighted. Spooner noted in the log that the islands were not mentioned in any books on navigation and were only shown on a few charts. (They most likely were Peros Banhos which were the northwestern most group of the Chagos Archipelago.) Both he and Hinckley described the islands as being low and sandy with coconut trees and other flora. Hinckley stated that if it had been calm he would have hove to and traded with the natives, procuring bananas, yams, turtle, and other delicacies. He described the islands in great detail and drew a sketch of them in

\textsuperscript{23}Hinckley, November 20, 1809.

\textsuperscript{24}Hinckley, Journal Addendum, November 20, 1809.
the journal (Appendix 0).

Life aboard the REAPER settled down to its normal routine once again until December 4, 1809 when a water spout passed near the brig. In preparation Hinckley, "Clear'd a Gun to fire a Shot . . ." When a vessel was threatened by a water spout, a cannon would be fired in hopes that the concussion would collapse the approaching cyclone.

As the vessel continued toward Calcutta the weather remained pleasant with periodic squalls. On the fifteenth of December Achen Head, on the northwest tip of Sumatra, was sighted. Hinckley had taken the REAPER all the way across the Bay of Bengal instead of turning north along the coast of India. This was to take advantage of the westerlies and the northeast monsoon that blows just north of them. It is uncertain whether Hinckley referred to a sailing guide or whether he depended on knowledge gained on previous voyages. In any case, he followed the preferred sailing routes as described in later sailing directories. 25 After sighting Achen Head, Hinckley turned northwest to pass the Nicobar Islands on the starboard beam, and carefully worked his way up Bengal Bay.

On the twenty-second of December while heading

toward Calcutta, the REAPER happened across another vessel. The other captain probably assumed the REAPER was a French privateer and stood away. Hinckley, however, overhauled him and fired several shots ("Some close on the Ship") forcing him to heave to and communicate. At eleven o'clock P.M. Hinckley spoke and boarded the ship CLARA from Chittegong bound for Bencoolen. After exchanging news and leaving letters onboard for Andrew Cabot (Appendix M) and Mrs. Hinckley, Hinckley returned to the REAPER and stood away for India.

As they made their way toward the mouth of the Hooghly, the crew bent the anchors to their cables and generally prepared the vessel for entering port. On the twenty-ninth of December Hinckley had the crew set their newly-made skysails; he called them "Sky scrapers." A day later they met the Calcutta pilot who would take the brig up the treacherous river. At 9:30 A.M. on December thirtieth (as per sea account) they were boarded by Pilot William Bartlett. After beating up the Sagor Roads, Bartlett left them to take another vessel to sea; he was replaced by Mr. Thomas Sheppard.26 At twelve noon on January 1, 1810 Captain Hinckley ended his sea account for the passage to Calcutta; the REAPER had been seventy-one days from Aden and one hundred and eighty-four days from Boston. The pilot now was in command of the vessel, and

26 Hinckley, December 31, 1809.
it was his responsibility to move her up the river safely. Hinckley's comments for the first day of the year are of interest. They reflect his standard way of bringing in the new year and illustrate some of the activities aboard a vessel which has just arrived in port. On New Year's day, 1810 Hinckley wrote:

I wish a happy New Year to all mankind.

This day, month, & year begins, continues, & ends with Pleas—
weather Employed beating up river &c Boarded from the Lord Melville Indiaman informed of a Defeat of the Austrian Army by the French, Boarded by the Kegeree Post Boat Landed my letters & list of Seamen.

The passage up the eighty-one miles of river to Calcutta was difficult and dangerous. Spooner's log included the daily progress of the REAPER. On the first of January light winds kept the brig from making more than ten miles of progress. The following day the REAPER made her way past Culpee (Kalpe) to the anchorage at Diamond Harbor, which was thirty-two miles further upstream. 27 It is likely that there was a small celebration that evening for it was the birthday of both Captain Hinckley and Pilot Sheppard. 28

The next morning, while moving up river under sail, the REAPER was caught "in stays," that is, lost headway

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28 Hinckley, January 2, 1810.
due to an unsuccessful tack. She ran aground and was "hove all aback." This was a very dangerous situation with the wind blowing the sails back against the mast and with the possibility of the swift current capsizing the vessel. The strong tide in the Hooghly has been mentioned previously, and other large vessels had capsized in similar situations.29 Luckily, the kedge anchor was used effectively and the crew managed to haul the REAPER off the mud four hours later. It was only possible to make five miles of progress during the rest of the day.

On the fourth of January the pilot succeeded in sailing the REAPER nineteen miles further up the river to Myapores. There, the gunpowder was unloaded for storage in the magazine. At 9:00 A.M. the following day, Pilot Sheppard got the REAPER underway once again and brought her to anchor abreast of Calcutta at 2:00 P.M.30

Upon arriving at Calcutta the Harbor Master discharged the pilot, and the REAPER was brought to anchor in the stream.31 It is assumed that Captain Hinckley carried out his business in the typical manner of Americans in Calcutta. If so, according to the commercial reports of the British East India Company, he would have spent his first day in the city making the necessary contacts to

30Log, January 4-5, 1810.
31Log, January 5 1810.
begin purchasing goods. His first stop would have been at the Police Office to deliver the ship's register and then on to the Customs House to deliver the ship's manifest. He also would have moved into a small house in which he would conduct business activities during his stay in Calcutta. It is certain that Hinckley used such an establishment because of the reference to house rental in the journal. The rent for twenty-three days was 350 0 0 sicca rupees, or approximately $175.00.

Another of Hinckley's jobs was to exchange the money that he had brought for sicca rupees, the currency of the Calcutta market. Before exchanging the $80,000.00, he deducted the standard percent that the owners would charge for carrying the specie to India. The rate of exchange on the remaining $71,200.00 was 209/4 rupees per $100.00. Thus, the captain had 148,986 sicca rupees on hand to invest in native goods. There is no doubt that Hinckley carried out this exchange process with minimal difficulty. There was always a great demand for silver in Calcutta, and Americans had always been well treated.


because they often brought silver Spanish milled dollars.  

Hinckley's movements while in Calcutta are uncertain, but it is possible to outline his activities during the month he gathered his goods. According to British East Indian Company observers, most Americans spent their second day in Calcutta setting up packing screws below decks on their vessels. These large screws were used to press the baled goods into the hold as tightly as possible. The Americans would also work with their banians on the second day to establish the price of sugar.  

The banian was the native business agent who acted as the go-between for the foreign merchants. Their role in this highly complex Indian market was indispensable. The production and marketing system in India included eight different functionaries who were involved in moving the textiles from the country weavers to the holds of the vessels. This system existed because of the extreme poverty of the weavers. In order to produce cloth they required a cash advance which allowed them to buy the raw materials and the food they needed while they worked. The only way to insure that the weavers delivered their product to their creditors was to organize a complex chain of command.

The men who kept in contact with the weavers were

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36 Bhagat, 65.

37 Porter, 57,
the pycars. They in turn dealt with the gomastahs who acted as overseers in each village. It was the gomastahs that the banians contacted when they searched the district for goods to purchase. There were others involved in the transportation of the goods: peons, the armed servants who helped move the goods; hiscarars, the messengers who did the footwork for the banians; and sircars, native secretaries who recorded all of the transactions.  

It was the banian who kept track of this complex organization and carried out many other functions as the merchants business representative. He signed customs house bonds, guaranteed payment for goods, maintained the many contacts on down to the weavers, and negotiated for the purchase of goods from other merchants. The Calcutta banian's payment for his efforts amounted to $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent of all sales, purchases, or shipments. This fee could rise to 5 percent if the banian supplied an advance for the purchase of goods. American merchants usually dealt with these native agents because their commission was approximately half that of the Europeans.  

Hinckley never identified his banian, but it is likely that he hired Ramlochun or Lucknaut Benorjea. This is probable because Hinckley shipped cargo to America for them aboard the REAPER. Hinckley remitted the $1667.04

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37 Porter, 57.

38 Porter, 57-58.
that the Benorjeas earned through the sale of their piece goods when the ship GANGES departed for Calcutta in November of 1810.\(^{39}\) It was also natural for Ramlochun Benorjea to act as banian for the REAPER'S cargo because he had served well as the agent for Andrew Cabot and Henry and Joseph Lee on several previous occasions.\(^{40}\)

It is assumed, therefore, that Hinckley spent much of his time in the company of Benorjea. He probably worked with his banian during the day and slept onshore each evening after socializing with other westerners. The banians had very poor reputations as social companions.\(^{41}\) Considering Hinckley's provincial opinion of many foreigners, it is not expected that their relationship involved anything more than business.

The success of Hinckley's and Benorjea's efforts to gather a cargo are reflected in the daily notes that Nathaniel Spooner made in the REAPER'S log. These notes are a valuable source of information regarding the shipboard activities in Calcutta, including the speed with which a cargo could be loaded. Consequently, they will be cited verbatim, with annotations to explain the daily activities.

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\(^{39}\) Hinckley, Account Book, Voucher--Sales on a/c Ramlochun Benorjea.

\(^{40}\) Porter, 807, 824, 835.

\(^{41}\) Porter, 59.
John Roderigo to the hospital—in Jib Booms and unbent the sails—down Royals and T. Gallant yards—landed the specie.

Once the vessel was properly moored, the mate set about down rigging, with the lighter sails and spars coming down first. John Roderigo had been sick for a great deal of the voyage. Hinckley and Spooner had both noted his illness while the REAPER was at sea—sometimes for a week at a time. There was never any indication what the illness was.

Sunday January 7th—Employed eleven Lascars to get out the Ballast—unbent all the Sails—discharged 4 Boat Loads Ballast sent the boats to the shipyard—People had liberty to go on shore in the Afternoon.

In the mean time Hinckley had been purchasing fresh food for the crew of his vessel. Hinckley's men enjoyed "Barked Green," butter, eggs, rice, and oranges during their stay in Calcutta. In addition, the crew was given half a day's liberty for the first time in over five months. The combination of food and liberty ashore must have lifted their spirits considerably.

Monday January 8th—Discharged four Boat Loads, Ballast & one of lumber—Blacked the Yards &c got the water casks on decks.

In order to load the brig with Indian goods, it was necessary to lighten her by discharging some of the ballast. This job went on for several days.

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42 Hinckley, Account Book, Account of Provisions for Brig REAPER while at Calcutta.
Tuesday January 9th--Landed 4 (?) Pipes (a large cask of varying capacity) Bread--
& five of Ballast rec’d 100 Bamboos Mats filled all the Water Casks &c sent two
rough spars to Harvey's Yard--

The bamboo and mats were to be used for dunnage to fill in around the cargo as it was placed in the hold. According to Hinckley's accounts, "100 Bamboos" cost eight sicca rupees, while the 100 mats and the coolies who delivered them cost approximately three sicca rupees. The mats were most likely woven of coir or some other coarse, flexible material.

Wednesday January 10th--Recievd on Board 211 Bags Sugar discharged thr. Boat Loads Ballast --reciev’d 40 Bundles Gunny Bags--Daniel Chandler unable to do Duty--employed 3 coolies in this Afternoon on the Ballast.

As the ballast was still being discharged, sugar, the first of Hinckley's purchases, was taken on board. The sugar, which acted as ballast, was probably from Benares; it was the first of many products that Hinckley procurred which were typical of the Bengalee market.44

Thursday January 11th--Recieved on Bd 100 Mats-269 Bags Sugar--8 Boxes Rum--employed 17 Lascars and discharged 3 Boat Loads Ballast--filled & stowed 7 casks water below, 7 hands employed stowing sugar.

Friday January 12th--Discharged one boat load being the last of the ballast. Careened the ship out to the copper and painted the bottom

43 Hinckley, Account Book, Disbursements Brig REAPER at Calcutta.
44 Bhagat, 64.
rec'd 59 Bales marked R 20 Bundles guny Bags--sent 70 Bamboos on shore--rec'd 100 Mats.

Careening the REAPER amounted to hauling her down on one side in order to expose more of the hull on the other side. By so doing, repairs on the hull could be completed. The bales marked "R" were the property of the eighteen joint adventurers who put up the $80,000.00. The "R" probably stood for the REAPER, and all goods so marked were invoiced to the care of Andrew Cabot who represented the other seventeen men.

Saturday January 13th--Rec'd 81 Bales goods--275 Bags Ginger and 40 Bundles Gunny Bags--All hands employed in receiving and storing the cargo filling water &c got out the Jibb boom & Spritsail Yard.

Most of the REAPER'S spars were in place once again. All that needed to be done to complete her rig was to send the highest yards aloft and bend on the sails.

Sunday January 14th--Employed at stowing cargo &c Bent topsails & foresail people ashore in the afternoon.

Monday January 15th--Employed Bending the Sails scraping the sides &c Cross'd T Gallt & Royal Yds rec'd 37 Bales Goods 3 coils Coir Rope.

Tuesday January 16th--Received 14 Bags Horn Tips 20 Bundles Gunny Bags 4 Bolts canvas & 58 Bales--40 Boxes Indigo--Mr Horton the 2d officer taken sick & went on shore.

Wednesday January 17th--Rec'd 117 Bales Piece Goods 7 Boxes Gum 20 Bundles Gunny 8 Bags Horn Tips 100 mats & 7 Pipes Bread.

Thursday January 18th--Receiv'd 13 Bales Piece Goods & 250 Bags Ginger Pay'd the Bends rec'd 20 coils Coir Rope.
The process of maintenance was ongoing, and the crew would continue to pay seams, scrape and paint worn spots, and maintain the rigging throughout the voyage.

Friday January 19th—Rec'd on bd 89 Bales & 2 Boxes Piece Goods employed stowing the hold & Mr. Horton came on board.

Saturday January 20th—All Hands employed stowing cargo--scrapping & Blacking the sides &c &c painted the small boat.

Sunday January 21st—Coiled the cables & stowed the water abaft, cleared out between decks &c People on shore in the afternoon.

Throughout the loading of the REAPER, Isaac Hinckley kept an account of the expenses that were incurred each day. These expenses varied somewhat, but on any given day he may have noted the costs for the following: mats for dunnage, dinghy hire, cooly hire, and wages for the lascars and their Serang (foreman).

Monday January 22nd—Rec'd 24 Bales Goods—set up the fore & tops'l Rigging del'd 1 Bbl Rosin to Ships Sircar.

Tuesday January 23rd—Rec'd 32 Bales Goods—one box Gun 46 Boxes Turmeric 199 Bags Ginger & 40 Bundles Gunny Bags del'd to Ships Sircar 1 Bbl Pitch & one of Tar employed stowing Cargo & setting up topmast rigging.

It is uncertain why the sircar wanted the barrels of pitch and tar. In any case Hinckley charged the secretary ten sicca rupees for each one. 45

Wednesday January 24th—Rec'd 93 Bales & 2 Boxes Piece Goods & 24 Pieces Canvas--

45 Hinckley, Account Book, Sale of Sundries.
John Roderigo returned from the Hospital employed stowing fitting waist cloths etc.

Thursday January 25th--Received 96 Bales & 150 Mats Employed stowing cargo &c Mr. Horton 2d Officer taken sick & went on shore.

Friday January 26th--Rec'd 80 Bundles Gunny three Bales Piece goods, three Bales twine 173 Bags Ginger & 198 Pepper--Employed stowing cargo &c.

Saturday January 27th--Rec'd 450 Bags Pepper & 80 Bundles Gunny discharged 10 Lascars.

Sunday January 28th--Employed at Sundries, rec'd the Stock & stores on Board got the Boats from the Shipyard Mr Horton came on board.

This was the first Sunday since reaching port that the crew was not given liberty during the afternoon. It may have been due to Hinckley's desire to depart as soon as possible. The vessel was almost loaded and Hinckley may have wished to hurry the process.

Monday January 29th--Rec'd 100 Bags Pepper hoisted in the Long Boat & rec'd several small articles for ships use--employed at Sundries discharged all the Lascars.

Tuesday January 30th--At 8 AM Harbour Master came Bd & unmoored the Brig at 11 the Pilot John Harrison took charge and dropped us down to the Lower part of Garden Reach anchored in 7 Fathoms Water, rec'd several articles for Cabin's use--Mr Horton taken sick & went on shore--At 7 PM Capt Hinckley & Mr Cabot came on Bd sent Mr Hortons Things.

The unfortunate second mate, like Captain Hinckley, may have been suffering from dysentary. He literally missed the boat. As the REAPER began its passage down the river, Horton and his baggage were sent to the
hospital. It is assumed that Robert Cabot, Andrew's brother, took the responsibility for his well being.

Robert Cabot had greeted Hinckley when the REAPER had first arrived. Cabot, having come in either the GIPSY or the GULLIVER, had been in Calcutta for a number of months. When Hinckley arrived on the first of the year, Cabot was acting as supercargo for Joseph Lee Jr., Henry Lee, and P. T. Jackson. At that time, Hinckley and Cabot shared business information and socialized together. Unfortunately, Robert Cabot was overly given to the social aspects of a supercargo's life. His lack of attention to business affairs during this venture was, to a large extent, responsible for the ultimate financial collapse of the Lee brothers.

Years later Henry Lee wrote bitterly to P. T. Jackson about "how totally he (Cabot) neglected all our plans & instructions & with what wantonness he wasted the property entrusted to his care." In many cases Cabot had not bothered to follow the current price fluctuations and had paid as much as twenty-five percent higher than the real value of goods.

Robert was not the only Cabot in Calcutta during

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46 Hinckley, Journal, January 30, 1810.
47 Porter, 653.
48 Porter, 995.
49 Porter, 995-996.
Hinckley's visit. Sebastian Cabot, younger brother to Robert and Andrew, was also there. It is uncertain how or when Sebastian arrived in Calcutta, and it may be possible that he had arrived with Hinckley aboard the REAPER. It is impossible to verify this, however, as Hinckley's records offer conflicting circumstantial evidence concerning the movements of Sebastian Cabot. Hinckley did not include his name on the list of men aboard the REAPER, nor did he ever refer to him in the journal. However, this may not be particularly meaningful. Bryant Tilden, who accompanied Hinckley to China five years later, was not on the list of those aboard the CANTON, nor did his name ever appear in Hinckley's journal of the voyage. On the other hand, Hinckley did mention both Robert and Sebastian Cabot in a letter to their brother that was dated January 1, 1810. Hinckley wrote, "I understand yr Brother Robt is at Calcutta which pleased me very much. Yr Brother Sebastian is in good health, as are all on-board." The wording implies that Sebastian had been with Hinckley for some time and that only a brief mention of his health was required. Credence is given to the


theory that Cabot had arrived in the REAPER by a short note that Hinckley wrote to his owner on December 22, 1809, the same day that he spoke the CLARA somewhere in the Bay of Bengal. At the bottom of the note was the comment, "Yr Brother in good Health & Spirits."\textsuperscript{52} The questions remain—was the brother mentioned Robert or Sebastian? Was the brother on board or did word of his good health arrive by way of the CLARA. The confusion is only compounded by Spooner's remark in the log on the REAPER's last day in Calcutta, "At 7PM Capt Hinckley & Mr. Cabot came on Bd . . ." Whichever Cabot came aboard with Hinckley that evening the mate never noted his departure from the vessel. There is no further mention of Sebastian, and whether he sailed with Isaac Hinckley must remain a mystery.

The morning before Captain Hinckley and the unidentified Mr. Cabot came aboard, the REAPER had been moved from her mooring down through Garden Reach by the harbor master.\textsuperscript{53} Moving vessels to and from their moorings on the Hooghly was a complex and difficult procedure. The river, with its treacherous tidal eddies and bores (sometimes seven feet high), forced the men handling the vessels to become specialists. By so doing, both the pilots

\textsuperscript{52} Hinckley, Book of Letters, Isaac Hinckley to Andrew Cabot, December 22, 1809.

\textsuperscript{53} Log, January 30, 1810.
and harbor masters could develop the necessary skills in handling sailing vessels, both on the winding river and in the congested harbor respectively. Vessels were moored in rows facing either up or down stream depending on the time of year.\textsuperscript{54} The REAPER was in Calcutta during the northeast monsoon and, therefore, was moored facing up-stream. The harbor master had to judge the wind, current, and tide precisely in order to turn her head down stream in the swirling waters. There were no complications, however, and Pilot Harrison then took command of the brig and moved her further down river.

For the next eight days Harrison carefully sailed the REAPER toward the headlands, called Sand Heads. It was a slow process which depended on the change of the tides. As a result, the REAPER usually only traveled for about six hours each day. The rest of the time she was brought to anchor to await the dawn or the change of tide.\textsuperscript{55}

When the REAPER departed from the Sand Heads at the mouth of the Hooghly, Hinckley mailed letters to Andrew Cabot and several others. The letters were sent by way of the bark MARY and the ships CHINA PACKET, GLEANER, and SAINT CUTHBERT. Actually Hinckley hoped that he would be home before his correspondence, but he continued to write

\textsuperscript{54} Beattie, 170.

\textsuperscript{55} Log, January 30 - February 8, 1810.
at every opportunity. The letters to Cabot were about
business, but the other letters he sent were of a more
personal nature. One was to his friend Simeon Goodwin.
In the letter Hinckley requested that Goodwin insure both
Hinckley's property aboard the REAPER and his commission
for the voyage. The insurance would aid Hinckley's
family "in case of an accident." He also wrote to his
brother Richard and his brother-in-law, Captain William
Sturgis. (Apparently Hinckley had learned of Sturgis's
arrival in Canton in the fall of 1809, but he made no
mention of the pirate attack that Sturgis had repulsed in
Macao.) The purpose of writing to Richard and William was
to give basic instructions concerning the settlement of his
estate in case he did not reach home. Captain Hinckley
wanted to be certain that his family would suffer as little
as possible in the event of his death at sea.

With the letters safely aboard the other vessels and
the pilot discharged, Hinckley took the REAPER back to sea
on the eighth of February. As mentioned earlier, sickness
had forced the second mate to remain behind in Calcutta, and it was necessary to make a few promotions.
Accordingly, boatswain Lathrop Turner was advance to sec-
ond mate and Dudley Bixby became boatswain. 57  John Roderigo

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56 Hinckley, Book of Letters, Isaac Hinckley to Simeon
Goodwin, January 27, 1810.
57 Hinckley, Journal, February 10, 1810; Log, Feb-
uary 9, 1810.
did not remain in Calcutta, but he was ill once again and remained so for the greater part of the voyage.\textsuperscript{58}

Once at sea, the REAPER made her way south with steady breezes and pleasant weather. On the twentieth of February she encountered the British frigate CLORINDE. The commander of the frigate had thought the REAPER was a Frenchman. If she had been, the tars of the CLORINDE would have been especially pleased with their continued good fortune. According to Nathaniel Spooner, the CLORINDE had just recaptured the British East Indiamen WINDHAM and a few days before had captured a noted French privateer of twenty guns.\textsuperscript{59} The REAPER, of course, was not a prize. The CLORINDE went on her way in search of other Frenchman who were known to operate in the Bay of Bengal.

Meeting the CLORINDE was not pleasant for Hinckley, particularly since he was concerned about war breaking out between the United States and Great Britain.\textsuperscript{60} The occasion did, however, break the monotony of a long ocean passage. It should be remembered that when a vessel was at sea it was often possible to travel for months at a time without sighting another sail. The crew, therefore,

\textsuperscript{58}Hinckley, Journal, May 28, 1810.
\textsuperscript{59}"Shipping Memoranda," \textit{Boston Patriot}, June 9, 1810.
\textsuperscript{60}Hinckley, Book of Letters, Isaac Hinckley to Andrew Cabot, January 7, 1810.
looked forward to such occasions with relish. The greater part of any voyage, however, was spent in total solitude—in a space that extended approximately one hundred feet from one end to the other. Outside of that diminutive floating world was only a vast expanse of the sea, barren and forbidding. As the REAPER made her way toward the Cape of Good Hope, the days passed as one with little to differentiate them.

On the third of March the monotony was broken again as the REAPER spoke the bark MARY. Two days later the MARY slipped below the horizon, far astern, and the REAPER was alone once more. At this stage of the voyage Isaac Hinckley noted little in his journal each day. It seems that he had grown tired of recording information, and the journal took on the appearance of the ship's log with only short references to such things as wind, weather, and position. The only occurrences of note were some gales and the flogging of the carpenter.

Throughout many of the long days, Hinckley had been struggling with variable winds which are common early in the year near the Cape of Good Hope. The first hopeful note that Hinckley wrote appeared on April 21, 1810 when he was seventy-three days out from the mouth of the Hooghly. Hinckley wrote,

At 2 Am wind veres to SSE appears to be the SE Trade, Ends with steady fresh Trade wind
Thank Heaven All sail fore & aft below &
aloft rolling down for S. Helena Cleaned Ship fore & aft Homeward bound Hurra.

The Island of St. Helena was for Hinckley, as it has been for millions of other seamen, a milestone on the long passage home. Long before Napoleon gave it worldwide notoriety, the island had meant a great deal to western sailors. Hinckley's spirited exclamation, "Homeward bound Hurra," was surely a heartfelt sentiment. His longing for home was also reflected in his note on the first day of May. No doubt he had visions of green trees, budding flowers, and his lady at home when he wrote, "Heavenly God I pray thee to guard & protect my Family . . . A Pleast time to the Girls Maying."

The REAPER made her way through the variable belt near the equator with Hinckley commenting on the frustration he felt because of the lack of progress. Eventually, he caught the northeast trades once again and sailed on toward home. It was fortunate that the trades were with him once more. Only ten days later Hinckley noted that he hoped to see another vessel as they had killed their last hog and were out of tea, coffee, sugar, and molasses. Hinckley had good cause to seek these provisions; even a "happy ship's company" would begin to complain when their coffee and molasses were cut off. Fortunately, the REAPER was approaching the Americas

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and vessels were sighted regularly throughout the coming days. On May 26 Hinckley boarded the schooner WISE, Captain Grennels, from Folly Landing, Virginia. Grennels earned Hinckley's gratitude when he gave the East India-man "Sundry small stores." Hinckley did not record how he made his needs known to Captain Grennels, but Tilden noted a similar incident when the CANTON was in the same situation six years later. In 1816 when Hinckley spoke the captain of the Topsail Schooner ARAMINTA BELL, out of Cherry Stone, Pamlico Sound, North Carolina, he announced without hesitation, "We are from China a long time at sea & whether you are from Cherry Stone or Tomb Stone we want provisions & we'll pay in tea." 62

As the REAPER moved closer to the east coast of North America, more and more vessels were sighted or spoken. By the first of June other vessels were being sighted every day. The crew, undoubtably, was getting anxious to reach port; Hinckley noted that on Sunday the third of June the only duty for the day was "shaving & cleaning ourselves." At 4:00 A.M. (by sea account) the following day the master deemed it necessary to begin sounding out the bottom. He continued to sound every four hours throughout the morning, but found no ground with one hundred fathoms of lead line. During the morning

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hours the REAPER battled through "hard gales" and the worst seas that Hinckley had ever seen.  

It is uncertain why Hinckley did not find the bottom with his lead line. Perhaps his lead drifted in the current or dropped into deep holes, for the REAPER was passing over George's Bank throughout those hours of darkness. The "rough irregular" sea that Hinckley noted was typical of conditions that have caused innumerable vessels to founder on those famous shoals.

During the graveyard watch on the fifth of June, the wind and sea moderated. Hinckley found himself north of Georges, and by the calm conditions he assumed himself to be nearing Cape Cod. He guided the REAPER toward the northwest through thirty hours of thick fog. During the waning hours of the sixth, Hinckley spoke a schooner from Newburyport and then judged himself within one hundred and fifty miles of Cape Ann.

On the afternoon of the following day, the Cape was sighted. Hinckley shaped his course for Boston Light, and at 6:00 P.M. it was in view. As the REAPER approached the outer islands of Boston Harbor, Hinckley fired his guns to summon the pilot. The pilot schooner did not appear so Hinckley sailed past Boston Light and up the channel. Eventually a pilot came aboard. As the dawn was

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63 Hinckley, June 4, 1809.
64 Hinckley, June 5; June 6, 1809.
beginning to show along the eastern horizon, the REAPER dropped her anchor off Long Wharf. By noon Isaac Hinckley departed to visit his wife. He had not seen his wife or his three children for three hundred and forty-four days. After taking the REAPER nearly thirty-three thousand miles, he was finally home again.

The only work remaining to be done was to secure the vessel, discharge the cargo, and dispose of the imported goods. The securing and unloading of the REAPER was outlined by the civil account that Mr. Spooner kept. Just as in Calcutta, the first task was to unbend the sails and down-rig the lighter spars. Throughout June eighth and ninth the crew worked at these tasks while being battered by strong winds and rain. At 4:00 P.M. on the ninth the crew was discharged. Three hours later the REAPER was moved from the stream and secured along May's Wharf.

On Monday, the eleventh the first of the cargo was discharged. Pepper, ginger, and gunny bags were the first goods unloaded. They were followed by the other goods as the week progressed. One week later the longshoremen had worked their way down to the bags of sugar. On the following day, as gunny bags, ginger, and sugar were being off-loaded, the topgallant masts were sent down to deck. By Wednesday the REAPER was becoming light enough that

65 Hinckley, June 8, 1809.
66 Log, June 9, 1809.

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she required twenty-eight tons of ballast to keep her stable. Two days later the task of unloading and securing the REAPER was complete. It had taken ten working days to carry out this last phase of the REAPER'S voyage.\textsuperscript{67}

Nathaniel Spooner had served as first mate for three hundred and sixty days. During that time he had been responsible for the command of the REAPER whenever Captain Hinckley was not on deck. In addition, Spooner had taken care of the vessel whenever the captain had been ashore, had kept account of the loading and unloading of cargo and stores, and had carefully recorded the progress of the voyage during its many stages. With typical brevity Spooner closed his official log with his entry for June 22, 1810: "Thick rainy weather--wind from North Discharged 66 bags of sugar and the remainder of the gunny bags & ginger."\textsuperscript{68}

The only process that remained was the settlement of the venture. The goods had been purchased by Isaac Hinckley and consigned to Andrew Cabot. The following chapter will analyze the accounts that Hinckley kept and examine, as closely as possible, the financial aspects of the voyage and the profit of the venturers.

\textsuperscript{67}Log, June 11-22, 1809.

\textsuperscript{68}Log, June 22, 1810.
CHAPTER VI
ACCOUNTS AND FINANCES

The account book which Isaac Hinckley kept affords the reader an opportunity to analyze certain aspects of the financial venture in which he and Andrew Cabot had engaged. The book includes a daily ledger of disbursements while the REAPER was at Aden and Calcutta, memoranda of the sea stores that were taken on board, invoices of goods purchased for shipment, vouchers for the sale of some of those goods, and selected double entry balance sheets. Unfortunately, Hinckley's records do not deal with all aspects of the financial venture, but by examining them it is possible to outline the financial activities that were the sole purpose of the REAPER's existence.

Upon arriving in Calcutta, Hinckley changed his $80,000 cargo into sicca rupees, the currency of Calcutta. He received a total of 167,400 sicca rupees ($S) for the specie. Just as the American dollar was divided into cents, and the British pound was divided into shillings and pence, the sicca rupee was divided into lesser denominations. The rupee was the sum of twelve annas ($S_a). The anna, in turn,
was the sum of sixteen pice. Whenever Hinckley recorded a transaction in Calcutta, he did so in rupees by writing the figures in three distinct rows: $\text{RS} \ 27 \ 8 \ 11$ (27 rupees, 8 annas, and 11 pice). On other occasions, when pice did not come into play, he would separate the rupees and annas with a slash: $27/8$.

Hinckley made 159 separate entries under the general heading of disbursements in Aden and Calcutta. These entries were for a broad range of items and charges including the $3.08$ (just under $.03$) paid to hire a dinghy and the $\text{RS} \ 311 \ 1 \ 9$ ($148.63$) paid to the local supplier of coir rigging. The total amount of disbursements in Calcutta and Mocha amounted to $\text{RS} \ 2,974 \ 9 \ 9$ or $1,421.50$. The first expenses were noted on the fifth of January and were mostly for hiring coolies and boats. Additional disbursements were noted each day until the REAPER departed at the end of the month.

When Hinckley first arrived, he and his banian established prices and began gathering the REAPER's cargo. This, of course, was done in competition with the other foreign merchants.

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3. Hinckley, *Disbursements, January 30*. 

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merchants in Calcutta at the time. There were eight other vessels in the vicinity of Calcutta when Hinckley was there. With that many vessels loading goods, the prices were probably somewhat inflated. In order to prevent a rush on the goods that were of interest to Hinckley, he needed to make his purchases discreetly. While he traveled to the bazaar in search of other types of cargo which were known as "gruff goods," it is likely that he dispatched his banian to gather the piece goods and indigo. The piece goods and indigo were purchased on the account of the eighteen men who had contracted with Hinckley and Cabot to have their $80,000 freighted to Calcutta for investment. The banian was responsible for gathering the goods and advising Hinckley as to prices and quality. It was Hinckley's responsibility, however, to use his backers written instructions and his own judgement when making the decisions concerning goods to purchase.

The REAPER's master/supercargo also procured various gruff goods for himself and Andrew Cabot. The first of those taken aboard was sugar. On January ten and eleven half the crew of the REAPER stowed 479 bags of sugar in the hold. The price of the sugar, and any other item that was

4 "Shipping Memoranda", Boston Patriot, June 7, 1810.
5 Porter, 1018.
6 Log of the REAPER, Voyage to Mocha Arabia, 1809, MSS Collection, Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, January 10-11, 1810.
sold by weight, was reflected in sicca rupees per maund. A maund (m₄) was a measure of weight that fluctuated somewhat but equalled approximately eighty-four pounds.⁷ A maund equalled forty seers (sᵣ), which equalled sixteen chittacks (cʰ). The situation was complicated by the weight of the sugar and many other items also being noted in British hundred weight (112 pounds), quarters (28 pounds), and pounds (Appendix P). The price for the sugar varied slightly with each lot, but was approximately Rs 6/7 per maund. The total price for 1246ᵐᵈ 37ˢʳ 12ᶜʰ of sugar was Rs 8,011 12 7. In addition to the cost for the sugar, there were ten separate charges which were paid in order to cover the cost of packing, weighing, storing, protecting, and clearing the bags of sugar. The cost for these services was Rs 217 8 8 which brought the total expenditure for 46.6 British long tons of sugar to Rs 8,229 5 3 or $3,932.76.

The sugar and other goods were first delivered to the gowdown (warehouse) that Hinckley had rented before they were transferred to the REAPER and stowed away. On many days the gruff goods belonging to Hinckley and Cabot were packed around and about the finer piece goods that were being purchased for the freighters.⁸ The owners' sugar, gunny bags, and bags of spices served as dunnage to secure and protect the piece goods and indigo.

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⁷Porter, 595.

⁸Log, January 10-29, 1810.
The piece goods, which were mostly cotton cloths of various weaves, colors, and grades, were packed in bales. The price for these bales of piece goods depended on their quality and the demand for them. The names of most of these fabrics were local Indian terms which have been lost through the years. Only a few, like chintz or seersucker, have come down to the present day. The price of these piece goods was usually given in sicca rupees per corge (score) of pieces.\textsuperscript{9} Consequently, if a bale contained one hundred pieces of mirzapore chintz and the cost was \( R^{s} 20/ \) per corge the cost would be \( R^{s} 100 \) for the bale.

There were many different types of piece goods that Hinckley purchased (Appendix Q) and they came in various sizes. The size of the cloth was measured in cubits, and, as was the case with many other Indian units of measurement, the size of the cubit could fluctuate. It was normally between 19\( \frac{1}{4} \) and 20 inches, which was slightly larger than the British 18 inch cubit.\textsuperscript{10}

The prices that supercargoes paid for goods in India varied somewhat. It is interesting to compare the prices that Isaac Hinckley paid for his purchases with the prices that other supercargoes were told to pay later in 1810. Hinckley paid \( R^{s} 86/4 \) for blue gurrahs while P. T. Jackson complained to Robert Cabot that paying \( R^{s} 80 \) to 85 was

\textsuperscript{9}Porter, 596.
\textsuperscript{10}Porter, 1017.
"high charged." Jackson felt that it would be very difficult to make a profit at that price and he instructed Cabot to pay no more than Rs 82.8. For blue mow sannahs Hinckley paid Rs 44/12 while Jackson told Cabot that Rs 44 to 46 was very high and that he should not pay more than Rs 40.\textsuperscript{11}

There were several items which Hinckley seems to have paid a premium for, while on other occasions he purchased goods at more reasonable prices. Generally speaking, however, it seems that Hinckley may have paid slightly inflated prices. There could be many reasons for this tendency, such as, variations in supply and demand or competitive bidding by other supercargoes. It is also possible that Hinckley and Andrew Cabot had decided that it was more to their advantage to make the stay in Calcutta as short as possible and simply to pay the higher prices. (The REAPER's three week stay in Calcutta was quite short.)

Whether Hinckley paid a premium for his piece goods or not, they were by far the largest single investment of the voyage. The 385 bales containing 3,935 separate pieces of cloth cost a total of Rs 125,925.7 or $60,179.45 (Appendix Q).

The price that Hinckley paid for the forty chests of indigo that he purchased for the freighters also seems to have been a little high. Indigo was purchased by weight, with the price being reflected in rupees per mound.

\textsuperscript{11}Porter, 654.
Hinckley paid R$ 142 per maund while Jackson advised George Lee and Joseph Hall not to pay any more than R$ 140 per maund. The total price for the indigo and the charges for getting it packed and shipped was R$ 23,060 9. This figure combined with the cost of the piece goods amounted to R$ 148,986 or $71,200.00, which was the total amount of money that the freighters had to invest in Indian goods.

In addition to the cloth and indigo that Hinckley purchased, there were many other goods that he procured for the owners' account which he shared with Andrew Cabot. The following is a list of the goods that Hinckley purchased for the "owners of the Brig REAPER." (Appendix P)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>PRICE PER MAUND</th>
<th>SUB TOTAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>196 Bags of Sugar</td>
<td>6/7</td>
<td>3290 3 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 Bags of Sugar</td>
<td>6/7</td>
<td>1866 6 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 Bags of Sugar</td>
<td>6/10</td>
<td>1553 5 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93 Bags of Sugar</td>
<td>6/0</td>
<td>1301 13 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>479</td>
<td></td>
<td>8011 12 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>807 Bags of Ginger</td>
<td>3/14</td>
<td>4311 11 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89 Bags of Ginger</td>
<td>3/0</td>
<td>531 12 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>896</td>
<td></td>
<td>4843 8 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 Bags of Turmerick</td>
<td>2/10</td>
<td>170 0 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Boxes of Shellack</td>
<td>13/8</td>
<td>303 4 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Boxes of Gum Copal</td>
<td>20/8</td>
<td>707 4 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>748 Bags Pepper</td>
<td>11/8</td>
<td>8670 10 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6000 Bullocks Horn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tips</td>
<td>a 1/12 p 100</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7000 Gunny Bags</td>
<td>6/8 p 100</td>
<td>455</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6000 Ditto Ditto</td>
<td>7/8 p 100</td>
<td>450</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bale 500 Goat Skins</td>
<td>19/8 p 100</td>
<td>97 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Porter, 875.
1 Bale Twine 604 Skeins
1 Bale D° 604 Skeins
1 Bale D° 605 Skeins

1813 15½ doz a/10
p doz 94 8 6

23908 8 4

Charges

Expense, attending, Packing
& Shipping the above goods

24581 5 5

The total amount that Hinckley spent on behalf of himself and Andrew Cabot was Rs 24,581 5 5 or $11,747.19. This figure is nearly $3,000 in excess of the money that they received from freighting the $80,000 to India, and the difference was obtained through several avenues. Hinckley received Rs 286 7 8 for the sale of a few goods that were aboard the REAPER. Although he never noted it previously, Hinckley had shipped 2,007 board feet of lumber in the REAPER. This lumber was sold to what appears to have been a chandler or spar maker by the name of Harvey.¹³

Hinckley also received a drawback of Rs 367 1 1, but most of the additional funds came from the shipping of goods aboard the REAPER for other persons. Hinckley was able to do this because he had some additional space in the REAPER'S hold after he loaded his merchandize and that of the

freighters. In a letter dated January 24, 1810, Hinckley explained to Cabot that he had "Taken a few tons freight at 95 Rs p Ton . . . " This merchandise belonged to Ramlochun and Lucknaut Benorjea and amounted to nine bales of assorted piece goods.

In the letter to Cabot mentioned previously, Hinckley went on to say that there were no other freighters in Calcutta who were looking to ship goods home; therefore, Hinckley was shipping twenty-five bales and one box of goods for credit against the account of Robert Cabot. The charge to Cabot was also Rs 95 per ton, and he owed the owners of the REAPER Rs 725 10 7.

Shortly after Hinckley wrote to Cabot, and just before the REAPER departed from Calcutta, another merchant contracted for space aboard the REAPER. This final shipper was George Richards, who sent 186 bales of goods weighing approximately fifty-six tons. This final addition to the REAPER's cargo was shipped for Rs 85 per ton.

It seems that Hinckley did not drive a particularly

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14 Hinckley, Account Book, Shippers.


16 Hinckley, Account Book, Shippers.

17 Hinckley, Account Book, Shippers.

18 Hinckley, Account Book, Shippers.
hard bargain when he agreed to freight other people's goods. According to K. W. Porter, the freight rates varied somewhat, but under most conditions the average shipping rate was 100 rupees per ton.\textsuperscript{19} Just as he seems to have paid a slight premium for his goods, Hinckley also seems to have sold off tonnage in the REAPER at reduced rates. However, it is difficult to evaluate Hinckley's business acumen without knowing the details of the situation in Calcutta during January of 1810.

Whatever the rate for freight was at that time, the money that Hinckley got for the freighting was combined with the resources already available. Thus, Hinckley's buying power increased from R\textsuperscript{S} 18,414 to R\textsuperscript{S} 25,271 14 4. Hinckley invested all of this money into the assorted gruff goods that he shipped home on the account of the owners of the REAPER.

The balance sheet dated January 27, 1810 for the account current between the owners of the Brig REAPER and Isaac Hinckley (Appendix R) shows the debits and credits for the investments that Hinckley made on his and Andrew Cabot's behalf. The credit side shows the total mentioned above. Hinckley proceeded to invest R\textsuperscript{S} 27,985 15 2. This reflects an over expenditure of R\textsuperscript{S} 2,714 0 10. Therefore, he obviously made some of his purchases against a note. This sort of over-extension was a common business practice

\textsuperscript{19}Porter, 871.
for Americans in Calcutta, and the debt could be settled after the voyage had ended.  

Unfortunately, Hinckley's records do not allow close analysis of the final settlement of the venture. There are no records of the sale of any of the cargo, and there are only four pages in Hinckley's account book which deal with the financial activities that took place once the REAPER had moored at May's Wharf and discharged her cargo.

The first of these references is a voucher dated June 20, 1810. It shows the return that Hinckley and Cabot received on their speculation in 500 goat skins. According to the voucher, the owners of the REAPER were paid $150 for the skins. They had spent exactly $55.00 in Calcutta to purchase the skins and to ready them for storage in the vessel. On this small investment, therefore, Hinckley and Cabot nearly tripled their investment dollar.  

Two other vouchers were included in the account book, but these were for the goods that had been shipped in the REAPER by Ramlochun and Lucknaut Benorjea. On the vouchers, Hinckley listed the various bales of piece goods that the Benorjeas had shipped, the price paid per hundred pieces, and the amounts received for each bale. He also included the various charges that were paid in the United States.

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20 Porter, 619.

21 Hinckley, Account Book, Voucher--Sales on a/c Brig REAPER.
It is possible to calculate the profit that Ramlochun Benorjea made with his seven bales of goods by determining the cost of the bales and the charges for shipping them and then subtracting their selling price from that total. The duty on goods shipped into the United States aboard an American vessel was 15 percent of the cost of the goods. Benorjea paid $165 as his duty, therefore, he must have paid $1,100 for his piece goods in India. There were $252.86 worth of charges for disposing of the goods in America. By subtracting these charges from the $1,645 received for the sale of the goods, the net value of Ramlochun's goods was $1,392.14. This means that he made a profit of $292.14 or 21.6 percent on his original investment. The voucher shows the money was forwarded to Benorjea aboard the ship GANGES in November, 1810.

Lucknaut Benorjea, however, did not do quite as well. By computing his duty, it appears that he paid $294 worth of sicca rupees in Calcutta for his two bales of piece goods. Benorjea's net sale was only $274.90 which left a net loss of $19.10. There is no way to determine why the goods sold for a loss, but such occurrences were certainly atypical for the Indian trade.

The most important piece of evidence regarding the

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22 Hinckley, Account Book, Voucher--Sales on a/c Ramlochun Benorjea.

23 Hinckley, Account Book, Voucher--Sales on a/c Lucknaut Benorjea.
success of the venture for Isaac Hinckley and Andrew Cabot is a balance sheet reflecting the current account between Isaac Hinckley and the "owners of the REAPER." This vital sheet is filled with unexplained and unidentifiable entries (Appendix S). Of the six separate lines on the debit (left) side of the sheet conclusions can only be drawn from three. Of the eight lines on the credit (right) side of the sheet only three allow for conclusive deductions.

The purpose of a balance sheet was as a statement of financial conditions on a given date. This was accomplished by showing the relation between the account's debits and credits; however, in this case, the relationship between the two sides is indistinct. In order to understand the meaning of the items on the balance sheet each one will be examined separately. Whenever it is possible, deductions will be drawn. If there is not enough information available to support a conclusive statement, a hypothesis will be put forward as to the meaning of the items.

The items on the credit side of the account (the side showing monies going to Isaac Hinckley) are as follows:

Line 1. "Cash paid to portage bill." This $2,529.62 was probably the money that went to the crews wages. Hinckley had already paid the crew, and he was being reimbursed for having done so. Unfortunately, there is no break down of each man's individual wage, but a rough estimate of wages proves that Hinckley had not paid himself from this sum.
Line 2. "Cash paid to Lovell and Peter." The sum of $35 was spent for services rendered for the upkeep of the REAPER when she came from sea. Lovell did some painting while Peter had discharged an unspecified amount of the REAPER's cargo.

Line 3. "Cash on the account current 1/8 Brig REAPER." This $2,000 is unidentified. How the one-eighth of the REAPER (Hinckley's share of the vessel) relates to the meaning of the $2,000 is also unknown.

Line 4. "1/8 Brig REAPER as she came from sea at $22,000." Isaac Hinckley sold his share of the vessel shortly after his return. This amount must represent the amount paid to Isaac Hinckley by Andrew Cabot when Hinckley sold his share of the vessel following the voyage.

Line 5. "1/8 sales of Cargo." Hinckley, who was one-eighth owner, received one-eighth of the profits from the sale of the owners' cargo. If this assumption is correct, the amount of $13,374.43 that Hinckley and Cabot spent for purchasing and loading their gruff goods in Calcutta, had returned to them $23,017.12.

It is possible to estimate the actual profit from this part of the two men's venture. To do so it is necessary to compute the various charges that were related to bringing the cargo into the United States, such as the

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24 National Archives Record Group Forty-One, Certificate of Registry #266, 1810, Brig REAPER.
insurance and the duties on the goods. The insurance rate for bringing goods home from Calcutta in the early months of 1810 was 5 percent of the value. 25 At that rate, the two ventures would have paid $587.36 for insurance. This figure may be too high, however, because it is not known whether the total value of the cargo was insured. Some merchants saved capital by under-insuring their property to keep premiums at a minimum. 26 On the other hand, other merchants would insure not only the goods, but the expected profit and the cost of the supercargo's expected commission. 27

It is possible to calculate the amount of duty that the owners of the REAPER paid on their cargo. As native citizens of the United States they were required to pay 15 percent on most of their goods except turmeric and gum copal, which were admitted duty-free as dyes. The duty on the value of the remaining goods would have been $1,650.99. By subtracting the duty as computed above and a flat 5 percent insurance premium from the cost of the goods, it is possible to estimate the net profits that Hinckley and Cabot received. With those costs taken into consideration, the net earnings from the $13,374.43 invested in Calcutta

25 Porter, 67.

26 Stuart Bruchey, Robert Oliver, Merchant of Baltimore (Baltimore, 1956), 328.

27 Porter, 614.
was $8,091.86—a profit of 60.5 percent. This figure does not, however, represent the final earnings for either Hinckley or Cabot. The next item on the balance sheet would have affected the ultimate return to both venturers.

Line 6. "My Commision as Supercargo &c." Hinckley was paid this $2,550 for his efforts as the REAPER's agent. It is impossible, however, to determine exactly how Hinckley arrived at this figure.

The standard remuneration for a supercargo in the Indian trade was 2½ percent of the outward cargo and several tons of the vessel's cargo space which was known as "Primage" or "privilege."²⁸ By reinvesting this money and using his privilege to ship the purchases home Hinckley could have made a handsome profit. Instead of doing this, Hinckley took the 11 percent that he and Cabot received as freightage for the $80,009 and invested it for both of them. This meant that Hinckley actually sacrificed his 2½ percent and privilege for one-eighth of the profits from the 11 percent freight charge. The two men, doubtlessly worked all of this out beforehand, and it is likely that the $2,550 was, in part, compensation for Hinckley's having received what amounted to less than a 1 percent commission.

When these eight separate items from the balance sheet were added together, the total amount was $12,741.87. By signing the sheet, Isaac Hinckley confirmed that on

²⁸ Porter, 82.
July 20, 1810 that he had received that amount from the account of the owners of the Brig REAPER. In order for the balance sheet to fulfill its purpose, it had to reflect the same figure on the opposite side of the sheet. There are, however, few answers concerning those credit entries.

Hinckley listed them as follows:

Line 1. "By Cash of Mr. A. Cabot--$2,000.00."
There is no explanation for this entry. It represents money going from Isaac Hinckley to Andrew Cabot, but is not explained in any other way. It is interesting that the figure exactly equals the $2,000 entered under "Cash on the account current 1/3 Brig REAPER" on the debit side of the sheet. There is no way, however, to determine if these two entries are related.

Line 2. "By sales of 500 goat skins at $30 per 100."
This $150 was the gross payment received for the skins that Hinckley and Cabot purchased in Calcutta. As one-eighth owner of the REAPER, Hinckley would have received $18.75 from the sale.

Line 3. "By cash onboard at the time of arrival on Boston."
He must have recorded this $18.64 in some missing account which was not included in the account book. The missing account points out the fact that many of the records that are needed to settle up the venture have been lost and are no longer available.

Line 4. "By 1/8 part of the Brig REAPER & outfits
totalling $23,704.64." The $2,963.08 that Hinckley recorded here indicates that the payment for his one-eighth of the REAPER had been deferred until the end of the voyage. By comparing this figure to the amount that Hinckley received when he sold that share, it is apparent that Hinckley lost $213.08 due to depreciation of the vessel during her year-long voyage.

Line 5. "By cash paid George King." Who George King was or why the owners owed him $2.75 must remain unknown.

Line 6. "By 1/8 disbursements Brig REAPER from Calcutta." This $820.11 is also difficult to identify. There is no visible connection between this figure and the disbursements that Hinckley recorded. Once again the "one-eighth" relates this amount to Isaac Hinckley, but if the $820.11 was multiplied by eight, the total would be far in excess of all of the disbursements for the voyage.

Line 7. "By warfage." This $3.62 entry is most likely in reference to the charge made against the REAPER for lying alongside May's Wharf to unload. It is possible that the figure shown here represents Hinckley's one-eighth of the wharfage expense.

Line 8. "By interest on $1,000.00 for 1 year." Apparently Cabot had lent Hinckley $1,000 for one year. The $60 entered here reflects an annual interest rate of 6 percent.

These entries total up to $5,999.56, which is far
short of the $12,741.07 that shows on the opposite side of the sheet. Hinckley, therefore, wrote in an additional entry on the credit side of the sheet.

Line 9. "By note for the balance." The difference between the debit and credit sides of the sheet was $6,742.31, and Isaac Hinckley wrote out a note to Andrew Cabot for that amount. By so doing Hinckley showed the account to be balanced. It is uncertain why Hinckley owed the $6,742.31 to Cabot. It is possible that Hinckley was responsible for selling the gruff goods that he and Cabot had purchased in India. In that case it is likely that Hinckley's buyers had purchased the goods with sixty or ninety-day notes. If so, the $6,742.31 is probably the outstanding balance from the purchases. There does not seem to be any other explanation for this particular entry in the account. The lack of further information not only makes it difficult to identify this entry, but also, to determine the eventual profits for Hinckley and Cabot.

The profits of other merchants in India varied immensely, and many factors led to these variations. In 1806 Joseph Lee, Jr., was certain of a 6 percent-per-annum gain, with a reasonable expectation of 10 percent, a chance for 12 percent, and if prices remained as high as they had been Lee could stand to make a 15 to 20 percent profit per-annum. P. T. Jackson and Henry Lee had experienced returns ranging from 10 percent to more than
20 percent. It seems that 6 percent was a conservative profit margin, but with conditions being right profits could sometimes climb to 40 to 60 percent. 

By using the sparse evidence that is available, it is possible to draw some conclusions concerning the profits gained by both Andrew Cabot and Isaac Hinckley. It is likely that Cabot as the principal owner and consignee was the moving force behind the maiden voyage of the REAPER. He was also the person who invested the most in the venture, and the one who could expect to eventually gain the most. Cabot's single largest investment was, of course, the REAPER herself. With Hinckley's payment for his one-eighth ownership having been deferred until the end of the voyage, Cabot had assumed the full responsibility of purchasing the new vessel. It is not known whether Cabot borrowed funds or paid cash for the brig, but in either case the financial commitment was substantial.

Due to the fact that Hinckley's records are incomplete, it is impossible to estimate the profit that Andrew Cabot received for his venture with the REAPER. Hinckley's book only includes three small accounts for which it has been possible to determine the profits made. Ramlochun Benorjea received just above 21 percent return for his investment in piece goods. Lucknaut Benorjea, on the

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29 Porter, 73.
30 Porter, 52.
other hand, lost money on his small venture, while Hinckley and Cabot realized a profit of 273 percent from their goat skins. With such divergent margins of profit it is impossible to determine the relative success of any of the investors in the venture. All that can be said for Andrew Cabot is that he must have considered the REAPER's first voyage a success because he sent her back to India almost immediately.

It is not possible to be any more accurate in evaluating the profit that Isaac Hinckley made from the voyage. There are only a few facts that are certain. As a starting point it seems that Hinckley did not have to invest any money whatsoever at the outset of the voyage. It appears that Hinckley's payments for his share of the REAPER were all made at the end of the voyage. His investment, therefore, was actually his expertise as shipmaster and supercargo and a year of his life. As a return for this investment, Cabot offered him one-eighth part of the REAPER, on a deferred payment, and a commission as supercargo. Apparently Hinckley waived the standard 2½ percent commission and ten-ton primage in favor of the commission and profits that went along with the partial ownership.

Earlier in this chapter the profit that Hinckley and Cabot received on their share of the venture was discussed. Hinckley had received $2,877.14 as his share of the sales of the owners' investment. He also received
$2,550 as his commission. It is impossible, however, to make any further determinations concerning Hinckley's receipts since many of the other lines on his balance sheet cannot be understood.

It can be assumed that Hinckley also profitted from his voyage in the REAPER. In any case, he officially transferred his share of the REAPER to Andrew Cabot two days before she put to sea again. When the REAPER departed for Calcutta, Hinckley remained in Hingham with his family. Whatever profits he received from his venture, they were substantial enough to allow him to remain ashore where he would build his new house.
CHAPTER VII
EPILOGUE

The previous chapters have examined American trade to India through the 1809 voyage of the REAPER. During the ensuing years, the vessel continued trading voyages to the east. By following the movements of the REAPER and her owners and relating them to America's trade with India, it is possible to trace the decline of East Indian trade.

Following the maiden voyage of the REAPER, Isaac Hinckley and Andrew Cabot went their separate ways. As was evidenced in the account book, Hinckley sold his share of the vessel and remained in Boston when she put to sea again. As of July 12, 1810 Cabot was registered as the sole owner of the REAPER.\(^1\) In as much as the preparations for a voyage were extensive, it is apparent that Cabot had planned for the REAPER's second voyage prior to her change of registration; she departed for India two days later. Cabot must have been pleased with the profits from her previous cargo. According to the dates of Hinckley's records, Cabot's accounts were not completely settled until the twentieth of

\(^1\)National Archives Record Group Forty-One, Certificate of Registry #266, 1810, Brig REAPER.
July—nearly a week after the REAPER had set sail.²

The REAPER'S new captain was Nathaniel Spooner, who had acted as first mate on her maiden voyage. Apparently, he had served well enough to gain Hinckley's recommendation for shipmaster. Whether Spooner acted as supercargo for the second voyage is not known, but it is unlikely. However, Andrew Cabot may have employed his brother Robert, who was still in Calcutta.

The REAPER arrived in Calcutta late in November of 1810. It appears that there had been a serious erosion of discipline during the passage over for, as soon as the anchor was dropped, there was trouble with the crew. The mate reported in the log that on the first day in port the crew became rebellious. The unidentified mate wrote,

The people became mutinous & noisy threw a shot (cannon ball) on the quarter deck among the officers & others. Daniel Ore and Samuel Thornton were more violent than the rest & attacked the first officer--the writer of these remarks--and in the fray struck him repeatedly.³

During the next two weeks, there were eleven separate instances of desertion from the REAPER, as well as another attack upon the mate. On only two occasions were the recalcitrants confined aboard ship for their offenses,

²Isaac Hinckley, Account Book, Voyage of the Brig REAPER, 1809-1810, MSS Collection, G. W. B. White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum, Owners of the Brig REAPER in a/c with Isaac Hinckley, June 12, 1810.

although several of the REAPER's crewmen were thrown in the "hokey" for misdeeds ashore.  It seems that Captain Spooner had allowed the situation to get out of hand long before the REAPER made her way up the River Hooghly. Such outlandish behavior was unusual for the American merchant marine during the early national period.

In spite of these difficulties the voyage was probably a success for Andrew Cabot. He, like many others, was benefitting from the passage of Macon's Bill No. 2. This legislation, which was passed on May 1, 1810, rescinded the American ban on importing goods from British or French ports. As a result, all American harbors had been opened to such importation with the proviso that whichever belligerent ceased to interrupt American commerce would be rewarded by the reinstitution of American non-intercourse with their opponent. Thus, for the first time in three and a half years, American merchants and shipowners were not forced to operate under the restrictions of their own government. Consequently, American trade with India prospered throughout 1810 and 1811. While merchants trading to Europe were suffering setbacks due to seizures, those trading to India were, once again, relatively free from harassment.

In November of 1810 Napoleon announced that he would

4 Log, December 12, 1810-February 13, 1811.

5 G. Bhagat, Americans in India (New York, 1970), 46.
withdraw his decrees concerning neutral trade if Great Britain would do likewise. Madison accepted Napoleon's word and allowed the British three months to respond to the situation. England declined reciprocation, and Madison declared Non-Intercourse with all British ports beginning in February of 1811. (Since the REAPER's voyage had begun months before the new federal regulation began, she was exempt from it.) The proclamation did not actually go into effect until March, and when it did, American vessels continued to sail to and from British East India. Shipowners were forced, however, to circumvent the patrolling American revenue cutters, thus making their ventures more difficult and expensive.

Andrew Cabot was, in fact, one of the many owners who chose to ignore the new edict and to continue active trading with Calcutta. On August 22, 1811, Cabot dispatched the REAPER on her third voyage to Calcutta. Spooner was master once again, and Henry Lee acted as supercargo. Cabot probably had given his cousin the position in an effort to help him regain his financial independence. Both Henry and his brother, Joseph Lee, Jr., had suffered a business failure earlier in the year due to overextending themselves in the Indian trade.

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7 Porter, 699.
The voyage, which was in direct violation of the Non-Intercourse Act, was a triangular venture going first to Bristol, England, and then on to Calcutta before returning to the United States. Once again Andrew Cabot remained in Boston, communicating with his supercargo by letter.

The third voyage of the REAPER, although ultimately successful, had its difficulties. Upon arriving in England, Lee found that a number of the men who had backed the voyage with Cabot had overextended themselves financially. This severely limited Lee's business efforts. Additionally, the lumber that had been shipped in the REAPER proved to be of poor quality which further reduced Lee's cash on hand. To complicate matters further, Nathaniel Spooner had lost control of his sailors as before. Lee wrote to Cabot explaining how five of the crew had deserted and were lounging about in the streets.

There is only one piece of evidence which may account for Spooner's apparent inability to keep his crew under control. In a letter written nearly two years later, Henry Lee commented on Spooner's limitations as a master. He claimed that Spooner's downfall was "his intemperance" and that because of it the captain had been "ruin'd forever." He went on to say that even without the drinking problem that

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8 Porter, 979.
9 Porter, 998.
10 Porter, 1006-1007.
Spooner "was unfit for any important charge."\textsuperscript{11} There is no way to corroborate Lee's claims; but when a sea captain found solace in a bottle, a loss in ship's discipline was nearly inevitable.

Another unfortunate development during the voyage was the death of Sebastian Cabot, who was traveling with Henry Lee. Cabot died aboard the REAPER on May 17, 1811, shortly before reaching India.\textsuperscript{12} In spite of these problems during the voyage, the REAPER eventually reached Calcutta and was loaded with a cargo that consisted mainly of piece goods. Lee remained behind to carry out additional business while Spooner brought the REAPER back to America.

Due to the strained international situation, the return passage was also rather trying. Since the REAPER had sailed after the declaration preventing the importation of British goods, she could have been seized if Spooner tried to land his cargo on American soil. Consequently, Cabot had written detailed instructions to Spooner before his departure from Boston. Cabot had hoped the federal restrictions would be lifted by the time the REAPER returned, but for caution's sake Spooner had been told,

\ldots on your arrival off the port of New York--where you will proceed on your return to the country--You will hoist as a signal a white pendant forward and an American ensign aft, standing off and on until you receive further orders . . . In

\textsuperscript{11} Porter, 1056.

\textsuperscript{12} Porter, 1049.
addition . . . you will have a piece of Blue Bunting or Blue Cloth stitched to the middle of the Fore Top Sail.\textsuperscript{13}

It was for this same passage that Henry Lee wrote to Cabot asking for information concerning the approaches to Amelia Island. Lee feared that the REAPER might be inspected and seized when she appeared off of New York.\textsuperscript{14}

These machinations exemplify the difficulty that American merchants were experiencing during the several years following Jefferson's embargo. In fact, American merchants found it increasingly difficult to carry out their business abroad as well. Seizures, high insurance rates, and costly delays were the result of the combined pressure of both the British and the French (who never relaxed their restriction, Napoleon's guarantees notwithstanding). The belligerents continued their policies of economic warfare which attributed to the downfall of numerous American merchant houses.\textsuperscript{15}

In spite of such difficulties, the REAPER set out from Calcutta on October 22, 1812. Neither Henry Lee or Nathaniel Spooner knew it at the time, but the Non-Importation Act would not be a problem for them. Four months

\textsuperscript{13}Porter, 976.

\textsuperscript{14}Porter, 1009.

before the REAPER made her way down the Hooghly, the United States had declared war against England. As a result, the danger was not that of being seized by one of the American revenue cutters, but by one of the hundreds of fighting vessels of the royal navy. In fact, once Henry Lee learned about the war, he despaired that the REAPER would ever reach her destination. He wrote to his wife about the REAPER'S seizure as if it was an established fact, "The REAPER has long since, I doubt not, been in the hands of England. She was taken in the West Indian latitudes or off our coast." Fortunately, Spooner brought the REAPER home successfully, as did all of the captains who left Calcutta during 1812.  

This venture, Cabot's third with the REAPER, was also a success; the REAPER had brought home what has been described as "a valuable cargo of piece goods et. (etc.)"  

It is possible that Andrew Cabot, like many other shipowners, decided that he could not compete with the difficult restrictions that the European war placed on his efforts to employ the REAPER. Shortly after she returned from her third voyage, Cabot sold her to foreign interests. It is doubtful that there was any problem with the performance or the condition of the brig. During the final months

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16 Porter, 1071.

17 G. L. Peabody, Marine Notes Kept in Salem, Massachusetts, 1812-1815, Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, Vol. 38 (Salem, 1901), 150.
of 1812, both P. T. Jackson and Henry Lee were still using her as an example of the finest of Indiamen. The cancellation of her American registry was noted on the back of her 1810 certificate of registration. As was the custom, there was only a short notation: "Cancelled at Boston Nov. 11, 1813, sale to a foreigner & called RANTROW."

Andrew Cabot was a private man who left very little trace of his personal life. Consequently, with the sale of his vessel he fades into the unrecorded dominions of the American past. He never married and he left no heirs. There are only two faint traces of his activities at that time: one was the Boston Directory's listing of his 1813 residence at Tremont Street and his business at 8 Kilby Street. The other was a diminutive obituary in the Columbian Centennial, September 7, 1816. It read, "In London July 2? (unintelligible), Mr. Andrew Cabot, of Boston, Aged 35." With that dispassionate notice Andrew Cabot, a man of vigor and fine business sense, faded from the Boston scene.

By the time Andrew Cabot died, the American merchant marine had suffered severe setbacks. The ravages of war and the restructuring of trade that came with the advent

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18 Porter, 735, 1069.
19 National Archives, Certificate of Registry #226, Brig REAPER.
20 V. Briggs, A History of the Cabot Family (Boston, 1939), 169; Boston Columbian Centennial, September 7, 1816.
of peace left Yankee maritime entrepreneurs struggling to maintain their solvency. One of the most important losses was that of the American trade with India. This decline was caused by a number of setbacks which destroyed the bubble of America's neutral trade. The embargo of 1807 had first disrupted trade, causing numerous small businessmen to suffer failure. Then, during the post-embargo boom, the key trading center of Ile de France was captured by the British; thus eliminating a valuable link in the American East Indian connection.\footnote{Bhagat, 102.} The War of 1812 virtually halted all contact with India. By the time peace was declared the conditions which allowed Americans to trade vigorously with India had been drastically altered.

One of the most important changes was that the British East India Company had lost its monopoly in India. As a result, other British merchants had established themselves in the Indian centers of trade before the Americans could return to reestablish themselves.\footnote{Bhagat, 102.} By that time, Great Britain had inundated the Indian markets with a variety of goods that American vessels had once carried. In addition, the Treaty of Ghent reaffirmed the restriction that the Jay Treaty had established. By 1816, with the French threat eradicated, the British could afford to carefully
enforce those restrictions.\textsuperscript{23} The final and crushing blow to the Indian trade was the new tariff structure on imported cloth that American textile pioneers had pushed through Congress.\textsuperscript{24} Although some American merchants continued in the Indian trade, the unique circumstances that had led to its meteoric rise had been reversed, and many of those who had seen their fortunes grow through the trade sought other means by which to secure their gains.

Following the war, Isaac Hinckley was one of those who shifted his focus away from the Indian Market. He eventually made several trips to China; however, in 1811 he was still deeply engaged in trading with Calcutta. Following the voyage of the REAPER, he remained on shore for twenty months: In that time period he changed his residence.

Hinckley removed his family to the small but prosperous south shore port of Hingham sometime during the last half of 1810. Throughout the remainder of that year and part of 1811, he and his family resided in the Barker home at the corner of Main and Elm Streets.\textsuperscript{25} It seems that Hinckley and his family shared the house with an adult male whose identity is unknown and who resided there for an unspecified period of time. The 1810 census showed the

\textsuperscript{23}Bhagat, 106.

\textsuperscript{24}Porter, 39.

\textsuperscript{25}B. Lincoln, History of the Town of Hingham, Massachusetts (Hingham, 1893), Vol. 2, 332.
residence to contain one male under ten years of age (William), and two males between the ages of twenty-six and forty-five (Isaac and the house quest), two females under ten (Anna and Elizabeth); and one female between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six (Hannah). 26

There is some confusion as to whether Hinckley owned the Barker house during his stay there. According to family tradition, he rented the home while his new house was being built. 27 However, tax records for the years 1810 and 1811 show that Hinckley was assessed $800 for the house which was described as "House--was Barker." The property was shown to have a small barn which had been Barker's and some land with a "chaise [carriage] house." 28

Hinckley's new home was completed in 1811 and the young, growing family relocated. In fact, the family was growing as the Hinckleys moved into their new house. Hannah and Isaac's fourth child, Thomas Davis Hinckley, was born on April 20, 1811 with the Hinckleys moving into their home during the same month. 29

Hinckley was instrumental in designing his new home;

26 U. S. Bureau of Census, Third Census (1810), Massachusetts.
27 Interview with Mrs. H. M. Paine, October 18, 1979, Litchfield, Connecticut.
28 "A Valuation of Real Estate of the Town of Hingham," May 1, 1810, Town Clerk's Office, Hingham, Massachusetts.
29 Lincoln, 332.
a blue print of the building drawn by his hand still hangs on the parlor wall. The home is still an imposing structure in the heart of the village and is located next to the "Old Ship" meeting house. The Captain's house, with a substantial barn, originally stood on a four-acre plot. There were 374 houses in Hingham when the real estate evaluation was made the following year, and only two other properties were of greater value than Captain Hinckley's home. During the next few years, Hinckley added to his holding by purchasing several dozen acres of pasture land and "peat meadow."

Early in 1812 Hinckley put out to sea again on another voyage to Calcutta. This voyage was in the full-rigged ship TARTAR whose principal owner was Isaac's brother-in-law, Captain William Sturgis. The TARTAR was built in Salem during 1811 and was registered as being 180 feet long, 29 feet of beam, and 14½ feet deep. A small watercolor by Hinckley showed her to have carried triple reefed topsails and royal sails on all three masts.

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30 Valuation of Real Estate, Hingham, 1812.
31 Deed, Isaac Hickley from Hill, C., Beal, J., Rice, C., Plymouth County Recorder of Deeds, Box 122 pgs. 190, 191, 192; Book 125, pg. 34.
32 Carl Cutler, Research File, G. W. B. White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum, TARTAR.
The TARTAR departed Boston on February 16, 1812. Three days later she suffered a severe dismasting. Due to improper loading, the vessel rolled deeply in the irregular seas and snapped off her foremast below the cap. This caused all of the spars further aloft, as well as the jib-boom and bowsprit, to come crashing down in a tangle.\textsuperscript{34} Shortly thereafter a gale set in which lasted for three days. Hinckley and his crew must have worked feverishly to clear the wreckage and to keep the ill-balanced ship from broaching to. A vessel which had lost all of its sails up forward often became unmanageable and would fall sideways into the trough of the sea and be beaten down by the waves. By the third day Hinckley had rigged the semblance of a sail on the remains of the foremast. The following day he jury-rigged the main topgallant mast on the fore and bore off for a harbor of refuge. The situation was made more difficult because the mate had, for some unknown reason, stowed the extra spars among the shifting cargo, and they were impossible to retrieve.\textsuperscript{35}

A month later the TARTAR made her way into Teneriffe where she underwent a refit and had her cargo properly secured.\textsuperscript{36} Bringing the ship safely to port under such conditions was no small feat of seamanship; even though

\textsuperscript{34}Hinckley, Journal, Ship TARTAR, February 19, 1812.

\textsuperscript{35}Hinckley, Journal, Ship TARTAR, February 19, 1812.

\textsuperscript{36}Hinckley, Journal, Ship TARTAR, March 21, 1812.
such acts were expected of a capable shipmaster. Henry Lee's reference to the exploit, however, seems to be the paradigm of understatement. In a letter to Andrew Cabot, Lee casually mentioned that "Capt. H. met with an accident & put into Teneriffe . . .".  

Once again Hinckley arrived in Calcutta and began acting as the supercargo. Lee apparently was not particularly impressed with Hinckley's business acumen and indicated as much to Cabot on two occasions. Lee went so far as to point out that Hinckley went against the advice of his banians when purchasing a lot of indigo. Lee specifically mentioned this to protect the banians from being blamed for paying too dearly for inferior goods. In any case, Lee, who was purchasing a general cargo, was not particularly concerned about competition from Hinckley. The TARTAR'S cargo to America, except for ten tons of indigo and turmeric, was rice. Once back at sea, Hinckley was astounded when the rice cargo created so much heat that the aftercabin of the ship was "literally as hot as an oven."  

The heat of the cargo was one of the few problems that Isaac Hinckley encountered on his return passage.

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37 Porter, 1032.
38 Porter, 1045.
39 Porter, 1032, 1040.
40 Hinckley, Journal, Ship TARTAR, September 26, 1812.
Having departed the Sand Heads on September 18, 1812, Hinckley made an uneventful cruise until December 30. On that date he spoke the American brig JANE ABBOTT. The news that the brig's captain relayed shattered the company of the TARTAR—the United States had been at war with Great Britain since the nineteenth of July.

It is difficult to relate the feelings of a shipmaster who finds himself, while in mid-ocean, at war with the greatest naval power in the history of the world. At the same time, Isaac Hinckley's family was over a thousand miles away in a small, vulnerable port town. Hinckley's comments from the first few days that he knew of the war clearly express his concerns, preparations, and yankee Federalist leanings:

December 30th, 1812

Spoke the Brig JANE ABBOTT leard that (we) had been at war since July 19th 1812, This is the first news I have had from America since I left & is the worst for me

. . . it had literally taken us all aback we may now expect every sail we see to be Enemies—Fortune of War Heaven guard the right and chastise the wrong.

December 31st, 1812

I wish our stock of ammunition was equal to our spirits for defending the property we have

I presume the ship will not be surrendered but too a superior Force from which heaven defend us
Got our 10 guns, our muskets, Pikes etc. in order for defence cartridges shot &c for 4 or 5 rounds

January 1, 1813

No sail in sight this 24 hours thank god & may we arrive home without seeing more canvas than we have onboard the TARTAR & as in duty bound we pray. I Hinckley

This day, month & year of ruinous vile, wicked infamous, unreasonable unthought of, foolish War bloodshed & murder declar'd by the Amer. Govt. against G. Britain, is attended here with light airs, squalls & calms, & to me the commencement of the most unhappy year of my journey thru life thus far. May heaven grant that the American Government may be as sick of their folly, as I think the American people must be of the War.

For the next three weeks the TARTAR made her way toward the coast of America, the most dangerous part of the passage. On two occasions Hinckley cleared for action when other vessels appeared to be a threat. On January 5, 11, and 13 Hinckley avoided a large vessel which he assumed to be a frigate. The following day another vessel was sighted. He wrote, "The Brig to windward appears Yankeefied He does not show so many TEETH as the TARTAR does He may be a Wolf in Sheeps cloth." Isaac Hinckley successfully brought the TARTAR safely into Boston. With the voyage ended, Captain Hinckley, like thousands of other American seamen, found himself blockaded by the royal navy for many months to come.

Although he was landlocked during 1813, Isaac

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\[41\] Hinckley, Journal, Ship TARTAR, January 5, 1812, January 11, 1812, January 13, 1812.
Hinckley carried out several maritime-related transactions. He sold his half of a wharf in Plymouth and the lot at the head of the wharf to Josiah and Samuel Russel. The Russels paid both Hinckley and his co-owner, William Davis, $850 each for the rights to the wharf. On December 23, 1813 Hinckley was also registered as the sole owner of the schooner DOVE of Hingham. The forty-three ton, two master which was captained by Howard Vinal. She had a single deck, a square stern, no galleries, and no figurehead. There is no further record as to Hinckley's use of the vessel, but whatever his activities they were dangerous times to be investing in shipping. Even small vessels were having a difficult time operating along the coast because it was so closely patrolled by the British.

In fact, as soon as the war was ended, Hinckley went to sea again; this time he captained Benjamin Rich's new ship the CANTON.

The CANTON, another Medford-built vessel, was registered at 371 tons and was 108 feet long by 27 feet wide. She had two decks, a square stern, and a billethead on the bow. The 1815 voyage in the CANTON was the first of

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43 Works Progress Administration, Ship Registers of the District of Plymouth, Massachusetts, 1789-1908 (Boston, 1939), 32.
44 Cutler, CANTON.
two that Hinckley took with Bryant P. Tilden. Their destination was Canton, China, where they purchased an assorted cargo of oriental goods.

Hinckley was fortunate because he spoke several vessels during his passage out which enabled him to send a number of letters home to Mr. Rich and Mrs. Hinckley. Hinckley's account of his encounter with the command of Admiral Bennesford was a shortened version of Tilden's, but Hinckley also mentioned that at first the CANTON had outsailed the men-of-war. Hinckley had assumed that the DUNCAN was a British East Indiaman who had not heard of the declaration of peace; consequently, he had hove to and allowed the Englishmen to overhaul him. Hinckley commented that they "were treated with every politeness" by the British.\textsuperscript{45}

Tilden's account of the voyage was much more detailed than his captain's, but Hinckley's notations serve to point out the dangers of sailing through the narrow inter-island passages of the East Indian islands. On August 12, 1815 while passing Clap's Island near the Straits of Sunda, Hinckley spied a vessel ashore and people on the beach making signals of distress. When the mate returned from the beach with a boatload of the marooned seamen, Hinckley met Captain Schultz of the British ship UNION of Calcutta.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{45}Hinckley, Journal of a Voyage of the Ship CANTON, 1815-1816, MSS Collection, G. W. B. White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum, May 22, 1815.

\textsuperscript{46}Hinckley, Journal, Ship CANTON, August 12, 1815.

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Shultz explained that they had been on the island for some time and had been passed by two other ships, one of which was his own countryman. Hinckley took the captain and a few of the stranded crew to Anjer Point. There, they could obtain another vessel to return to Clap's Island to retrieve the remainder of the ship's company. Month's later, when Tilden learned that another British East Indiaman had received the credit for rescuing Captain Shultz, he was indeed upset. Hinckley dismissed the matter, saying that it was "only fair play" and that they should "at least give the devil his due." 47

It was two weeks later when the CANTON herself ran aground in the Straits of Banca. Hinckley managed to kedge off the bottom, but was forced to cut his cable and sacrifice the anchor to avoid being swept back on the shoal. Later that day two other vessels were sighted that had been abandoned onshore. Having survived the near loss of his ship, Hinckley wrote, "thank heaven we got off as we did, our getting in the mud was occasioned by a bad leadsman," (the crewman who sounded the depth of the water) "Tho I suppose he did his best." 48

Upon arriving in Calcutta, Tilden purchased goods for the ship's principal investors. Hinckley, however, privately

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48 Hinckley, Journal Ship CANTON, August 27, 1816.
invested $13,042.00 of his own money, as well as $10,000.00 for another group of entrepreneurs. 49

The CANTON arrived in Holme's Hole on Martha's Vineyard on April 2, 1816. After immediately securing food for his exhausted crew (the rigging was ice encrusted and the sails in rags from a late season gale), Hinckley departed with Tilden for Cape Cod and the overland trip to Hingham. 50

The success of the voyage may be what encouraged Hinckley to return to Canton so quickly; just five weeks later he and Tilden were outward bound in the CANTON once again. 51 The voyage was comparatively uneventful, and Hinckley returned to Boston on March 4, 1817. 52 After only five weeks at home, Hinckley was putting to sea once more, bound to Canton by way of Lisbon, Portugal. As in the past, the CANTON was under Hinckley's command, but Mr. John Brown was acting as supercargo. 53 Hinckley carried out the same routine for shipboard life as in past voyages--right down to cleaning

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50 Tilden, 174.

51 Tilden, 175.

52 Tilden, 258.

53 Tilden, 259.
the forecastle every Saturday.\footnote{Isaac Hinckley, Journal of the Voyage of the Ship CANTON, 1817-1818, MSS Collection, G. W. B. White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum, Memorandum, April 10, 1817.}

During the past two years Isaac Hinckley had been home for only a total of ten weeks. The third voyage of the CANTON would have added another year to his travels. His voyages had been successful and before long he could have settled ashore with his wife and six children. (The youngest, Isaac Hinckley, had been born while his father had been in Canton during the previous voyage.)\footnote{Lincoln, 332.} It is tragic then, that Isaac Hinckley, the father, never got to know Isaac Hinckley, the son. On March 13, 1818 Isaac Hinckley, captain of the CANTON, died at sea.\footnote{Lincoln, 332.} According to the family history, he was buried on Staten Island, New York, when the vessel made its first landfall.\footnote{Paine, Interview.} There is no explanation for his death; nevertheless, the fact that the journal stopped abruptly seems to suggest that an accident aboard ship may have been the cause. His daily journal had the dates filled in several weeks in advance, but his last entry was written on January 24, 1818. There had been no mention of illness or injury. The final entry gave as always, location, distance traveled and so forth, finishing
with a typical comment, "Continues pleasethro' the night, with good breezes. Ends the same All sail spread to drive us along . . . "

In his volume on American trade with India, Goberdhan Bhagat noted the personal expense for Americans involved in the trade. He related some examples of men who sailed to the east never to return. Both the romance and the tragedy of a life that ended so abruptly may best be reflected by the inside back cover of Isaac Hinckley's journal from his voyage in the TARTAR. Scrawled there repeatedly, in all directions, sometimes three or four deep, were the words that meant so much to him, "Hingham, Mass.," "Boston," "Wm. Sturgis," "Thomas Davis Hinckley," "Anne Gore Hinckley," "Elizabeth Knight Hinckley," "Mrs. H. H. Hinckley," "Oh the days when I was young . . ."58

58 Hinckley, Journal, Ship TARTAR, Back Cover.
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APPENDIX B
MEMO & INVENTORY OF THE BRIG REAPER

Masts Spars Standing & Running Rigging complete,
with one Complete Suite of Sails, mostly of American Duck,
manufactured in North Hampton, in the State of Massachusetts
-- onboard 130 Tons Stone Ballast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Lbs.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Lbs.</th>
<th>Inches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bower Anchor</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Bower Cable</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>fs 13½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Bower Anchor</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>Small Bower ditto</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>fs 12½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stream Anchor</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>Stream Cable</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>fs 10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kedge Anchor</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Hawser</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>fs 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Boat with oars</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yawl complete</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudder Tiller &amp;c complete</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caboose complete</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SHIP CHANDLERY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th></th>
<th>Item</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Azimuth Compass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pitch Pot &amp; Ladle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass Steering D°</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Oak Plank</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood D.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Signal Lanthron</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass Hanging D°</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Horn Lanthrons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half hour Glasses</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cooks Lanthron</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14&quot; Second Glasses</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Log Reel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand Buckets</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sceines Log Line not enough</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draw Buckets</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Doz Fish Hooks ass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking Trumpet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Deep Sea Lead XIII Lbs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand Trumpet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hand Leads 7 Lb ea</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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APPENDIX B (Cont.)

SHIP CHANDLERY

2 Hand Lines
1 Deep Sea Line
1 Binnicle Lamp
1 Copper Hand pump
2 Harpoons 2 pr Grains
50 lb Sewing Twine
4 Oak Boards
6 Doz Needles assorted
1 Doz Handspikes
6 Capstern Bars
2 Purchase Handspikes
8 Doz Hanks
2 Iron Shovels
4 Tar Brushes
6 Long Boats Oars
6 Yawls Oars
1 Ensign 8 by 4 Yards
1 D° Smaller
4 Kids - 1 Cooks Axe
1 Coffee mill Iron
1 Hand Coffee mill
Pine Plank & Boards &c

1 Tea Kettle, cast
1 D° sheet Iron
1 Small Iron Pot
2 Bake Pans - 1 Logslate
1 Tureen - Log Book
1 Tinder Box & Steel
2 lb Brimstone, 1 Sieve
1 lb Wick Yarn
2 doz Stick Brooms
2 doz Burch Brooms
2 Mops 4 Scrub Brushes not enough
1 pr Steelyards 115 lb
1 Spider 1 doz knives & forks
1 Cork Screw 1 Green Cloth
1 Hand Brush & Dustpan
2 Tin Tea Cannisters
2 Ditto Pepper & Mustard
1 pr. Bellows 2 Serv° Mallets
20 Galls Sperm Oil not enough
1 Box candles
1 Flesh Fork
1 Grid Iron
&c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c

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APPENDIX C

CABIN STORES & CARPENTERS TOOLS

CABIN STORES

2 doz Soup Plates
2 doz flat Plates
2 doz pint Mugs
5 large Dishes
1 Pudding Dish
2 Tea Pots l Coffee Pot
2 Sugar Bowls
1 Straw Tumblers
1 Doz Wine Glasses
1 doz large Spoons
1 doz Tea Spoons
2 Water Pitchers
4 Tin Pans
1 Tin Tureen
1 Ladle for D°
3 Brass Lamps
2 Brass Candlesticks
1 p Snuffers Oil Safe
1 Sett measures 1 Bell
2 Tin Funnels
1 Globe, Cabin Lamp
1 Sett Carbons complete
1 p decanters

1 doz knives & forks Carvers & Steel
1 Table & cloth - Brush & Dust Pan
&c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c

CARPENTERS TOOLS

1 Broad Axe
2 Hatchets
1 Coopers Adze
3 Spike Gimlets
8 Small ditto
2 Gouges
1 Long Shave
6 Augers ass'd
12 Lb Sheet Lead
Chalk & Lines
1 pr Calipers
1 pr Pincers
1 clinch Hammer
1 claw ditto
1 pump ditto
2 Cold Chisels
50 Lb Spikes
APPENDIX C (Cont.)

CARPENTERS TOOLS (cont.)

28 lbs. Nails
2 copper pumps
2 fore Plains
1 Jointer, Spare
1 Bitstock
1 Saw Sett
1 Sett screws for Lathe
1 Bbl Tar, 2 Rozin
1 Black
2 Crows Bars
1 Adze
8 Scrapers
1 Screw driver
8 Chisels
1 Spokeshave
1 Tap
3 p Hand Cuffs
6 Files
2 Compasses
1 rule
1 Top (unintelligible)
2 Boat Hooks
1 Soundg Rod
### PAINTS
- 2 Cw^t White Lead
- \(\frac{1}{2}\) Cw^t Yellow, ground
- 4 Doz papers Lampblack
- 20 Galls Boiled Oil
- 1 Doz Brushes
- 12\(^{lb}\) Verdigris ground

### SPARE RIGGING (cont.)
- 400 Fathoms 2 Inch
- 200 " 18 Thread
- 400 " 15 "
- 300 " 12 "
- 200 " 9 "
- 2 Coils 2 Yarn S.Yarn

### SPARE CANVAS
- 7 Bolts thick Duck
- 7 Bolts thin Duck
- 60 Yards old Canvas

### WATER CASK
- 1 154 G\(^s\) 1 120
- 1 155 1 123
- 1 156 1 120
- 1 136 1 122

### SPARE SPARS
- 2 Topm^t
- 2 Lower Yards
- 2 Top s^1 Yards
- 2 Top G^1 Yards
- Steerg Sail Booms &
- Other Small Spars

### Galls on-board
- 8 Rum Hogs 960

### SPARE RIGGING
- 200 fathoms 3 Inch
- 250 " 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)
APPENDIX D (Cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAILS ONBOARD AT BOSTON</th>
<th>SAILS MAKE ONBOARD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Flying Jibb</td>
<td>1 Fore Sail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Main Jibb</td>
<td>2 Top G. Sails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Fore T. Staysail</td>
<td>2 Skysails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Fore Sail</td>
<td>1 Jib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Fore Topsail</td>
<td>1 Flying Jib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Spare Topsail</td>
<td>1 Fore Topm Staysail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Fore T. Gallt Sail</td>
<td>1 Main Topm Staysail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Fore TG. Royal</td>
<td>1 Lower Steeringsail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lower Fore Steer Sails</td>
<td>21 [Sails]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Fore Top Steer Sails</td>
<td>1 Quarter Deck awning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Fore TG Steer Sails</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 M T Staysail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Main Sail</td>
<td>ARMS &amp; C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Main Topsail</td>
<td>4 4 Pound Cannon complete with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Main TG Sail</td>
<td>Ramers ladles, Sponges, Worms,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Main TG Royal</td>
<td>Tackles, &amp;c &amp;c &amp;c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Main Topm Steering Sails</td>
<td>4 Muskets Complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Main TG Steer Sails</td>
<td>4 Pistols Complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Trysail</td>
<td>100 Lb Powder Cannon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Sails onboard at sailing

SAILS MADE ONBOARD

1 Middle Staysail

1 Top G Steaysail

ARMS & C

4 4 Pound Cannon complete with Ramers ladles, Sponges, Worms, Tackles, &c &c &c

4 Muskets Complete

4 Pistols Complete

100 Lb Powder Cannon

25 Musket Powders

Powder Horns

Priming Wiers

Match Stocks

Match Rope & Cartridge Paper &c &c &c &c
## APPENDIX E

### MESS BILL FOR BRIG REAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Beef</th>
<th>Pork</th>
<th>Bread</th>
<th>Water</th>
<th>Beans</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Fish</th>
<th>Flour</th>
<th>Potatoes</th>
<th>Rum</th>
<th>Molasses</th>
<th>Water</th>
<th>1 Gallon p 1 Week</th>
<th>1 Flask p 14 days</th>
<th>Sweet Oil</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>12 Lb</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25 qts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 Lb</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12 gills</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 Lb</td>
<td>12 gills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 Gallon p 1 Week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25 &quot;</td>
<td>2 qts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25 &quot;</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>none</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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| Total   | 36    | 16   | 56    | 175   | 4     | 3    | 16   | 3     | 32       | 36    | 1         | 1     | 1                 | 1                 |           |

The above is a mess Bill p 1 week for 10 Men. Half the above quantity is allotted the Cabin, for 5 Men - to be regulated at the discretion of Isaac Hinckley.
APPENDIX F

STORES FOR THE REAPER TO MOCHA

3000 Galls Water
4000 lb Bread
22 Bbls Beef
10 D° Pork
2½ Bbls Tongues
4 Cw Cod Fish not enough
4 Bush Beans
1½ D° Split Peas
4 Bbls Flour
3 D° Kiln dried meal
1 Cw Rice not enough
90 Galls Molasses
90 Gals Vinegar
3 Bbs Rum
20 Bush Potatoes
1 Box Sweet Oil
1 Box Essence Spruce
12 lbs Hops
20 lbs Bohea Tea not enough
8 lbs Hylon Tea
60 lb Coffee
4 lb Ground Pepper
½ Cw Cayenne
1 Box Choccolate
1 Bbl Brown Sugar
½ D° White Sugar
not enough
1 Bbl Hams - not enough
100 lb Cheese
100 lb Butter
2½ Cask Wine
2 doz Porter
2 doz Cyder
1 Bar Port Wine
4 doz Cyder
15 Galls Brandy
15 Galls Rum WI
10 D Ginn
4 D° Pickles
4 D° Mustard not enough
1 Cask Raisin
30 Galls Lamp Oil not enough
1 Box Candles
15 Pigs - 1 Sow Do
3 doz Fowls 1 Goat Kid
40 Bushels Corn not enough
APPENDIX G

LIST OF CREW

LIST OF MEN ONBOARD.

Isaac Hinckley       Master
Nath Spooner Jr.     1st officer
Sanford Horton       2nd D°.
James D. Coster      Carpenter
John Evans           Seaman
John Roderigo        Ditto
Horatio Danforth     ditto
Edw Hodge            ditto
Dudly Buxby          ditto
Lathrop Turner       ditto
Dan Chandler          ordinary
John Adams            ordinary
Leon Maltern          Cook
Moses Pettingill     Steward
APPENDIX H

MEMORANDUM OF SUPPLIES TAKEN ON BOARD AT CALCUTTA

Memorandum of Beef, Pork, Bread & Water
onboard January 30, 1810 for a passage
to Boston.

13 Barrells Beef
4 Barrells Pork
2300 lbs Bread
2950 Gall$ Water
and the usual
Small Stores for a
Passage of 6 Months
APPENDIX I

HINCKLEY'S SKETCH OF THE UPPERMOST SAILS

The 'Spars, Topg' Sails, Royals & Sky Scraper, of the same Dimensions, forward, as aft.

Main T'win.
APPENDIX J

APPEARANCES OF LAND SEEN FROM ONBOARD BRIG REAPER
FROM BOSTON TO MOCHA 1809

The first land seen after leaving Boston was on Saturday Sept 2d 1809 65 days out

Gunners Quoin  East  EbyS  Cape Agullas

NE 7 Leagues

On Thursday Sept. 21 Saw the Island St Marys, East side of Madagascar-- Nothing
remarkable, it was dist. 15 Leagues appear'd very high & mountainous--

On Saturday Sept. 23\textsuperscript{d} at 12 Meridian the land on Madagascar bears West 8 Leagues
there is nothing remarkable about this land--except it is very high & uneven, very
mountainous inland

Tuesday Oct, 3 Saw Cape Dorfui, on the East side of Africa, near the Eastern
extremity appearing as below

Bluff p\textsuperscript{t}  NW  Sand  Sand Hills  NWbyN  a Bluff Pt.
APPENDIX J (cont.)

Steer North from this land you leave a deep Bay to the NW of Dorfui & as you sail North the land is very even & of a moderate height, till in Latt 11° North where the land is very high & uneven—Cape Guardafui there is a remarkable high point of land, it is very ragged & appears to form several Steps towards the Sea, North & Easterly is Cape Guardafui which is somewhat lower, & ends with a very Bluff Point as follows

```
| Sand | Sand Hills NW | Sand | NNW |

High land
SW of this
```

This land is very high, composed of Sand Hills with a kind of Moss & ragged

```
| Highland Wd as above | Cape NW | Highland Wd as above |

On Friday Oct 6 1809 At day light saw Burnt Island call'd also white & Bird Island. Nothing Remarkable—Hauled over NW & NWbyN for the Arabian shore At 1 Am Oct 7 saw Cape Aden—Cape Aden when coming from SE appears like a high scraggy Island, very high, may be seen in clear weather 14 or 15 leagues and as you draw near to it you may see to the West of this land, which with Cape Aden forms the entrance to Back Bay the best anchoring place for the NE monsoon but I believe safe
APPENDIX J (cont.)

at anytime—In drawing up with Aden shore keep it close onboard (Say one mile off) the Entrance of the Bay appears 3 or 4 miles wide, you pass in between these two apparent Islands keeping near Aden shore—You will bring a point on Aden shore to Bear S½E & a small Rock South of the Western land to bear SW½W And anchor in 4 faths, good holding ground you will See in the Northern part of the Bay a High point which will bear EbyN in this Situation you must row E½S 5 Miles and land on a Beach from which you pass a gate & through a passage cut through rocks 60 feet high to the miserable town of Aden where at a very dear rate you may purchase a little Burfish, Fowls, greens, Eggs, &c. & water at 2½ p 100 Gallons which is brought the mile on Arabs backs in skins & they wade to your Boat 100 yards from shore—The town of Aden is situated on the east side of the Cape, and can only be seen when to the North of a large Rock which appears to you the Cape & is on top with a white wall & some guns The anchorage for the SW Monsoon is Front Bay to the North of this Rock in 4 to 7 faths the Town WSW 2 miles But the anchorage for the NE Monsoon is Back Bay as I have Said before, you may obtain a Pilot for Back Bay by sending your officer ashore, when near the island of Port, but I think it a needless expense as no danger appears to me—further information—in making Cape Aden from the South or East it has the
APPENDIX J (cont.)

appearance of a high Island very uneven maybe some 14 or 15 leagues the town of Aden is situated at the foot of the high land on the Eastsides Anchor in the SW Monsoon in Front Bay which is to the North$^d$ of a high Rock covered with fortifications the town WSW 2 Miles offshore—in the NE Monsoon anchor in Back Bay call'd by the Arabs Sheek Hamet. This Bay is formed on the East Side by Cape Aden, & on the West, at the Entrance by another High land appear$^g$ like an Island, on approaching from the S.E. you pass in between the two Head Lands, keeping 1½ Mile from the Aden shore till you bring a point on Aden shore to bear S$\frac{1}{4}$E & a small Rock or Islet to the S$^d$ of West land SW$\frac{1}{4}$W & anchor in 3 or 4 fath$^S$ In beating in or out Stand no farther West than 3 faths as the West$^d$ side of the Bay is low land & runs out shoal at anchor here the town bears about ESE. dist 5 miles to the landing on the beach & 1 mile from there to the town on a Jack ass over rocks &c at the risk of your neck Nothing to eat drink or smoak it
APPENDIX K

LETTER FROM ISAAC HINCKLEY
TO THE AMERICAN VESSEL AT MOCHA

By Express

To the Captain or Supercargo of the Ship DELEWARE or any other American at Mocha

Aden Oct 9, 1809
Onboard Brig REAPER
100 days from Boston

Dr. Sir

I have just arrivd here from America, my object is to procure a Cargo of Coffee, which is very high & scarce at this place. I wish you on rec' of this, to give me immediate information of the State of the Mocha Market; as if I cannot get a Cargo I shall proceed to Bengal. I write a duplicate by the British ship MARIAN, which ever you receive first, I wish you to answer; if at any expense, I will be happy to reimburse you, in any way you may point out. If I can give you any news or information, I shall be happy to do it - & if you think Coffee too high & wish to forer^d letters by me, I will take them with pleasure.

I am Your Hble Servant

Isaac Hinckley
LETTER FROM CAPTAIN HENRY HARRISON
TO ISAAC HINCKLEY

Rec'd the following in answer to mine to Mocha

Mocha Roads 13 Oct 1809

onboard Ship PENNSYLVANIA PACKET of & from
Philadelphia H Harrison Com'n left 29 May

Capt Hinckley

Dr' Sir

having rec'd your letter by the Ship MARIAN, I am very sorry I cannot give you more pleasant information by this, I expect to leave this place in 15 or 20 days for Calcutta. The cause for our detention is few Bags of Gums, for which we exchange a few articles we brought out with us from America -

The price of the Coffee at this place 78$ p Bale of 305 lb English, Gums much higher than at Aden. In consequence of which, we are plac'd under the necessity of proceeding to Calcutta.

PS I enclose some letters which please to forward as directed - HH

I am y'r Hble Servant

Henry Harrison

- 202 -
APPENDIX M

-LETTER FROM ISAAC HINCKLEY TO ANDREW CABOT-
Similar to that mailed aboard the Ship CLARA on December 23, 1809

Brig REAPER at Sea 1809
Lat $^{d} 15^\circ$ N long $^{d} 92^\circ$E

Mr. Andrew Cabot

Dr. Sir

I arriv'd at Aden with the Reaper in 100 days from Boston, short pleas$^t$ passage I was inform'd that a Civil War existed in the country that Coffee was scarce at $75 \text{p} \text{F Bale of } 305^{th}$ and that an American pass$^d$ up to Mocha a few days before I arr$^d$ not being satisfied with this in-
formation I thought but to write to the American at Mocha & wait the answer, as, I could caulk the Ship, & if Coffee was so scarce, I could proceed to Calcutta with less risk & in less time than from Mocha. I sent an express to Mocha, & also wrote by an English Ship. An answer to the latter follows.

-Capt. Harrisons Letter page 3-I had taken some supplies, anticipating the contents of the above, & saild next morning Oct. 20 After beat$^g$ 30 days I found myself only clear of the Gulf of Arabia. I have had a tedious passage thus far but hope soon to be in Calcutta. I wrote to you at 20 days out via West Indies, giving you a good character of the Brig & officers my crew are slim. The Brig is a charming Vessel & sails very fast. I wrote you via Mocha but think I may get
those letters before you & yesternight I spoke a ship for Bencoolen by whom I wrote nearly as above I have always a letter ready, & I beg you will rest assured I will do the best according to my power & judgement For the Int of the voyage & remain D R Sir Your Hble Servant

Isaac Hinckley
APPENDIX N
MEMORANDUM

Back Bay of Aden  Friday October 20th 1809

In consequence of my letter from Capt. Harrison, dated at Mocha 13th Oct 1809 I now think it my duty to proceed with the Brig REAPER to Calcutta; though the passage, I know must be long, hazardous, & disagreeable, yet to take Coffee here, or at Mocha would be madness in the extreme, & the voyage to Calcutta must be attended with much fatigue & little profit. -- Yet it must be prefer'd -- May God send us to our Port in Safety At 5 AM weigh'd anchor & bid adieu to this infernal place (which evidently was not made for Christians,) with a light breeze from Eastd - knowing however that according to the Nature of things, I cannot expect any thing but Head winds; as every thing is contrary to my course at this Season of the year. - Yet I am reslovd to make the best of it. - I have flattered myself that I should be in America in March; but that happy thought is banished, & my cargo of Coffee from Mocha--be left for another Voyage - At Meridian Cape Aden bears North 8 Leagues - here Civil Acco ends. - & here I again offer up my prayers, to God, for his protection in this my intended passage, against winds & currents, with a light Ship weakly Crew & bad Sails. - My prayers extend to my family, may they be protected & prosper'd if I am not- God protect the Innocents Lat 12° 30' N

- 205 -
## APPENDIX P

### INVOICE OF OWNERS' PROPERTY

**General Invoice of Owners' Property**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>NET FACTORY WEIGHT</th>
<th>PRICE PER MAUND</th>
<th>AMOUNT IN SICCA RUPEES</th>
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<td>196 Bags Sugar</td>
<td>511 4 0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 Bags Sugar</td>
<td>284 16 0</td>
<td>6/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 Bags Sugar</td>
<td>234 18 12</td>
<td>6/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83 Bags Sugar</td>
<td>126 39 0</td>
<td>6/0</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>207</strong></td>
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<td>807 Bags Ginger</td>
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<td>89 Bags Ginger</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>896</strong></td>
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<td>46 Bags Tumerick</td>
<td>64 31 0</td>
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<td>7 Boxes Shellack</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Boxes Cum Copal</td>
<td>34 20 0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>748 Bags Pepper</td>
<td>753 38 12</td>
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6000 Bullocks Horn Tips a 1/12 p 100 105
7000 Gunny Bags 6/8 p 100 455
6000 Ditto Ditto 7/8 p 100 450
1 Bale 500 Goat Skins 19/8 p 100 97 8
1 Bale Twine Skeins 604
1 Bale D° Skeins 604
1 Bale D° Skeins 605
1813 1514 doz a/10 p doz 94 86

Charges
Expense, attending, Packing & Shipping the above goods 672 13 1
Sa Rupees 24581 5 5

Calcutta January 27 1810
Errors Excepted
I Hinckley
APPENDIX Q

INVOICE OF SHIPPERS GOODS


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<th>Rs in Bale</th>
<th>Whole no. Pieces</th>
<th>Names of Goods</th>
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<td>70/</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>225</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX Q (Cont.)

382 a 390 9 100 900 Jaulapore Mamoody 39/40 by 2 97 4365 120837 14

Charges
Bales Am$tg to 120837 14
Deduct 10 pct 12083 12 7
Net Am$t 108754 1 5
Duties 2 1/2 pct 2718 13 7
Collectors Com$s 5 pct on duty 135 15 1
Over Duties 150 10
Packing, Screwing Gunnys
Wrapping cloth, Rope, Wash
Men &c 4/10 pt Bale 1780 10
Godown Rent Judger Wages
Matts, Boat hire, Marking
Lascars Present 4 as pct 302 1 6 5087 9 125925 7
Sicca Rupees

Calcutta January 27$th 1810
Errors Excepted
Isaac Hinckley
APPENDIX R

BALANCE SHEET FOR JANUARY 27, 1810

Owners of Brig REAPER in a/c with Isaac Hinckley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To amount Merchandise p Invoice</td>
<td>24581 5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Cash rec. d pr Brig REAPER</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Disbursements p a/c . . .</td>
<td>2974 9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Boston . . . $8,800</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To House rent &amp; Expenses . .</td>
<td>350 9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sold at Rs 209/4 p 100 Doll. 18414</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Sicars present . . . . . .</td>
<td>80 9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight rec d a pr Accot . . .</td>
<td>5704 5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Draw back on goods Shippd .</td>
<td>867 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Sales Sundries p Accot . .</td>
<td>286 7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicca Rupees . . . . . . .</td>
<td>27985 15 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Balance Due . . . . . .</td>
<td>2714 0 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicca Rupees . . . . . . .</td>
<td>27985 15 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Calcutta January 27 1810

Errors Excepted

Isaac Hinckley
APPENDIX S

BALANCE SHEET, OWNERS BRIG REAPER AND ISAAC HINCKLEY

Owners Brig REAPER in a/c with Isaac Hinckley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>DB</th>
<th>CR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 26, 1810</td>
<td>To Cash paid portage Bill $2,529.62</td>
<td>By Cash of Mr. A Cabot $2,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To paid Lovells Bill Painting 15.11</td>
<td>By Sales of 500 Goat Skins a 30/100 150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To paid Peter on a/c Dis- charging 20 35.11</td>
<td>By 1/8 part Brig REAPER &amp; outfits amt 23,704.64 2,963.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Cash on a/c 1/8 Brig REAPER 2,000.00</td>
<td>By Cash paid G. King 2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 1/8 Brig REAPER as she came from sea a $22,000 2,750.00</td>
<td>By 1/8 disburs'ts Brig REAPER from Calcutta 820.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 1/8 Sales of Cargo 2,877.14</td>
<td>By Wharfage 3.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To My Com' as Supercargo &amp;c 2,550.00</td>
<td>By Int. on $1,000 1 Year 60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$12,741.87</td>
<td>$5,999.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A/C on file</td>
<td>By Note for Balance 6,742.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$12,741.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Boston July 20 1810

Errors Excepted Isaac Hinckley
GLENN S. GORDINIER

Date of birth: June 13, 1947
Place of birth: Camden, New Jersey
Parents: Charles S. Gordinier and Doris W. Gordinier

Institutions Attended:

West Chester State College, West Chester, Pennsylvania
September 1965--May 1969, B.S.Ed.

Trenton State College, Trenton, New Jersey
January 1972--1975, M.Ed.

University of Connecticut, Mystic Seaport Museum
Frank C. Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies
June 1976--August 1976
Honors: Recipient, Hardin Craig Memorial Prize

Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
June 1975--May 1981, Candidate M.A.

Publications:


Publications (cont.):


"Maritime Enterprise in New Jersey: Great Egg Harbor During the Nineteenth Century", New Jersey History, Fall, 1979, Quarterly Journal of the New Jersey Historical Society.

Professional Experience:

Health and Physical Educator, Coach:
September 1969--June 1970, Clementon, New Jersey


Interpreter, Mystic Seaport Museum:
June 1979--August 1979

Assistant Supervisor for Interpretation, Coordinator of College Programs: September 1979--
Professional Experience (cont.):

As a staff member at Mystic Seaport Museum the candidate's responsibilities include:

Supervision of interpretation and demonstrations aboard historic ships and small craft

Coordinator/Lecturer for all college visitations and summer internships in museum studies

Member of the editorial boards: The Log of Mystic Seaport, Mystic Seaport Monograph Series