











## TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

O F

## T H E I S L A N D.

## C H A P. VII.

## S E C T. I.

**J**AMAICA is divided into three counties, Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. The county of Middlesex contains about 1305235 acres, and has eight parishes, and fourteen towns and hamlets; viz.

Parishes.	Towns.	Hamlets.
St. Catharine,	St. Jago de la Vega,	Passage Fort.
St. Dorothy,	Old Harbour,	Market.
St. John,		
St. Thomas in the Vale.		
Clarendon,		{ Cross,
		{ Chapel.
Vere,		Carlisle Bay.
St. Mary,	Scots Hall Negro Town,	{ Rio Nuevo,
		{ Port Maria,
		{ Saltgut.
St. Anne,	St. Anne,	{ Laughlands,
		{ Runaway Bay.

I shall begin with an account of St. Catharine; which, having been the first-inhabited by the English, is entitled to precedence, more especially as it contains the antient metropolis of St. Jago de la Vega, or, as it is commonly called, Spanish Town, the original name being chiefly used in acts of assembly, proclamations, and other public documents. It is situated in about 18° 1' North latitude,

titude, and in  $76^{\circ} 45'$  longitude, West from London. It stands about ten miles Westward of Port Royal; eleven from Kingston, by the way of Passage Fort; and about eighteen by the road of Halfway-Tree, in St. Andrew's. It is said by some authors to have been founded by Christopher Columbus, whose family took the ducal title of la Vega from it. Other accounts, with more appearance of probability, assert, that it was built by Diego, the son of Christopher, about the year 1520. The accounts given us of its magnitude and opulence are strongly suspected of exaggeration. Some writers inform us, that it contained above two thousand houses, sixteen churches and chapels, and one abbey, before the invasion under Penn and Venables; and that the English soldiers exercised their prowess against these edifices with so furious a zeal, as to leave only two churches and about five hundred houses undemolished [a]. Other authors, with more appearance of credibility, relate, that it contained one thousand seven hundred houses, two churches, two chapels, and one abbey: but even this account allows pretty largely for the Spanish or white inhabitants; who, according to the most certain information of the English officers who went over with the army, and afterwards settled here, did not exceed fifteen hundred: so that, if these writers are to be believed, the houses out-numbered the inhabitants. The English army established their head-quarters here; and, as they had occasion for most of the houses that were habitable, we must suppose that they only pulled down those of an inferior class, together with the religious edifices, which, as far as their ruins and tradition can afford evidence, consisted of an abbey and two churches, the one called the Red, and the other the White Cross. There is reason to believe, that, after the seat of government was transferred to Port Royal, the town of St. Jago became thinned of inhabitants, who

[a] This is Hickeringell's account. He was the earliest writer on the affairs of this island, and himself in the army at the time of the conquest under Venables; but it is possible, that he might have estimated the number of houses by conjecture only, or been misinformed. According to the best testimonies, the whole English army, at the time of their entering the town, did not consist of more than about nine thousand, including a regiment of marines. Allowing therefore ten to each house, when they were in quarters (which, considering the smallness of these edifices, may be reckoned full sufficient), the number they spared from destruction may be supposed about nine hundred, for the accommodation of the officers and men.

gradually



gradually left it, either to reside at the new metropolis, or to spread themselves in the country: in consequence of which, a great many of the Spanish houses were suffered to decay; and others were pulled down, to enlarge areas; while some were converted into warehouses and stables; so that at present it does not contain more than between four and five hundred inhabited by white persons; but, when those inhabited by free Negroes, Mulattoes, and slaves, are taken into account, the whole number may be estimated at about twelve hundred. The present church was erected where the Spanish Red Cross Church formerly stood, at the Eastern end of the town; the White Cross stood at the Northern extremity, at a small distance from the river, on a very agreeable spot, which is now occupied with a handsome modern-built house. On digging the foundation for this house, several large pieces of wrought stone were turned up. They appeared to be of the white lime-stone, or species of shell-marble, so common in the neighbouring hills, and to have been the lintels of doors or windows belonging to the old church [b]. The abbey was situated on the South side of the parade, where the guard-room and chapel now stand, and extended back to the governor's house. The bases of two columns, which once supported a large arch-way leading into the abbey, were visible but a few years ago: they stood near the South end of the public offices, were about eight feet square, composed of brick-work, cemented with so fine a mortar, that in removing them the bricks were all shivered in pieces. I have seen in this town a great many large stone-mouldings, for the bases and other parts of columns; which, as well as the sculptures dug out of the ruins of Sevilla Nueva, in St. Anne's, appeared to have been executed by no mean artists.

1/ The Spanish ecclesiastics (however blameable in other respects) must be allowed some merit in having cultivated the elegances of architecture in these remote parts of the world. 1/ Some of their public

[b] In blocks of this stone, or marble, I have seen very perfect shells of the Jamaica muscle and peſtina. In some parts of the country, where it overspreads the surface, and has suffered a torrefaction from the accidental firing of the woods in dry weather, it appears pitted all over; and the little cavities, only divided from each other by sharp points, these have been occasioned by violent showers falling upon the rock when its face was softened by fire. A gentleman's house built of this material, being unfortunately burnt, the walls continued standing till a season of heavy rain came on; when they fairly dissolved into a subtrate of lime.

structures at St. Domingo, the Havannah, La Vera Cruz, Carthage, Panama, &c. would make a noble figure even in European cities. The fanatic rage, or heedless indifference, of the English who first settled in Jamaica, occasioned the ruin of the Spanish buildings dedicated to religious uses here; so that posterity can only form an opinion of their magnificence from such fragments as here and there are to be found in a neglected state, as being of too large dimensions to be employed in any building of modern style. In the situation of the town, the Spanish founder shewed a good deal of judgement, but not much regularity in the disposition of the streets; yet it is better laid out than most of those in England. That a West-India town should be irregularly planned is, indeed, almost inexcusable, not only on account of health, which ought to be principally regarded, but because it is formed as it were at once. Those in England had not the same advantage; they grew for the most part from two or three solitary cottages, planted by the side of some road, or at the intersection of cross-roads, which having been traversed at first without any exactness, the same meandering lines continued after the sides of these highways were built upon and converted into streets; which name is derived with more propriety from the word *strait*, or narrow, than from *straight* or not crooked, when it is applied to the towns of England. St. Jago stands on a rocky slope, gradually ascending from the river Cobre to an extensive plain, called the Town Savannah; so that the rain-water, which sometimes falls heavily, especially in the seasons, passes away with a free current into the river; by which means the town is guarded from many inconveniencies. From Port Royal harbour it is distant about six miles N. W.; and, the land having an easy fall from it to the water-side, without any intervening morafs, it receives the sea-breeze with little diminution of force or purity. Towards the North it is about two miles from the hills, which sink so much in that direction, in compliance with the course of the river, as to give a fine opening from the extensive vale of Sixteen-mile-walk, and admit the land-wind. The town is about a mile in length, and somewhat more than a quarter in breadth, lying longitudinally North and South; and contains about twenty streets and lanes, a square, a church, a chapel, and other public buildings,

ings, which I shall particularly speak of. The church is situated in the South-East quarter of the town, near the entrance coming from Passage Fort. It is an elegant building of brick, in form of a cross, consisting of four ailes, of which the main aisle measures one hundred and twenty-nine feet in length, and twenty-nine in breadth. As it is without a tower, the congregation is summoned by a small bell hung in a wooden frame, which is erected in the church-yard; the pulpit, pews, and wainscotting, are of cedar and mahogany; and the ailes for the most part paved with marble. The altar-piece is handsome, and adorned with carved work; and the decalogue in gilt letters: fronting it, at the West end of the main aisle, is a gallery supported on columns, and furnished with an exceeding fine organ, which cost 440*l.* sterling, and was set up in the year 1755. The organist has a salary of 120*l.* *per annum* currency, paid by the parishioners, and receives other emoluments, his assistance being generally required at the funeral obsequies even of the free Negroes and Mulattoes buried in this parish. The ceiling is neatly coved, and graced with two magnificent chandeliers of gilt brass; and the walls are hung with several monuments of marble, plain, but well-executed. The governor's pew is distinguished from the rest by being raised higher, and crowned with a canopy. The two chandeliers were the gift of private persons; and part of the communion plate, I have been told, was plundered from a Roman catholic church some years ago, at the attack of Port Louis, in Hispaniola: it has more of grandeur than elegance in its fashion. The building was erected in two years, at the parochial expence, on the foundation of the former one, which was irreparably damaged by the hurricane of August, 1712. About the year 1762 it received a thorough repair, and at present yields to none in the island for a becoming neatness. The provision made for the rector consists of a very convenient dwelling-house in the town; sixty acres of rich pasture-land, within a small distance of it, the donation of Mr. Edward Morgan in 1674; and upwards of five hundred acres in the neighbourhood, patented in the same year "for the use of the parish of St. Catharine, towards the maintenance of the minister:" but this latter parcel has not as yet been appropriated to the original design; the

*Builded by the King*

*Form*

the different incumbents having been either unwilling or unable, by reason of the expence, to disturb the possession of those persons who have occupied it; though it will scarcely admit of a doubt, but that it was meant as a glebe to be annexed to the rectory *in perpetuum*, there being no other assigned to the purpose. The present rector is Doctor Lindsay; the stipend is 300*l.* currency *per annum*: but the whole profit of the living has been estimated double that sum at least; for, as the duty is great, the occasional fees are considerable.

The chapel stands on the South side of the square, near the governor's house. It is built much in the style of the common-halls belonging to the inns of court in London: the walls are crowned with battlements; and on the centre of the roof is a cupola and clock. It was founded just after the earthquake of 1692, in a religious panic, during the administration of Sir William Beeston. How long it remained consecrated to pious uses is uncertain; but the founder, as if conscious that a wicked race of people would succeed, who, forgetful of that calamity, might incline to profane it, caused an inscription, cut in marble, to be fixed up on one end of the building; which denounces a most terrible imprecation against any person or persons who should dare to put it to any other use than that for which it was originally intended. Notwithstanding this, it was afterwards converted into an arsenal of small-arms, chiefly for the free Negroes and Mulattoes. In the year 1760, it contained two thousand six hundred and seventy-two stand of firelocks, and three hundred and three brace of pistols: it generally has a stand of about three thousand; for keeping of which in good order, the assembly pay an annual salary to an armourer. Adjoining to this structure is the guard-house; where a party of regulars are every day on duty to attend the governor. The governor's, or, as it is more usually called, the king's house occupies the whole West side of the square. The plan of this pile was designed and approved of under the administration of lieutenant-governor Moore; but the building was not completed till the arrival of his excellency governor Lyttelton in 1762. It was erected, at the sole charge of the island, under the inspection of Mr. Craskell, then engineer of Jamaica, and designed for the usual place of residence  
of

of the commander in chief. The expence of building and furnishing it amounted to near 30,000*l.* currency; and it is now thought to be the noblest and best edifice of the kind, either in North-America, or any of the British colonies in the West-Indies. The first floor is raised about four feet above the ground; the second is an Attic story; the length of the façade is about two hundred feet; and of the whole range, including the yard and offices, about two hundred and sixty. The cornices, key-stones, pediments, copings, and quoins, are of a beautiful free-stone, dug out of the Hope river course, in St. Andrew's parish. The entrance is by a lofty portico, projecting from the middle of the front about fifteen feet, supported by twelve columns of Portland-stone, of the Ionic order. The pediment which rises above the Attic story is superb, and very properly ornamented with the imperial arms of Great-Britain, in carved work well-executed. The pavement of the portico is of white marble, the ascent to which is by a flight of steps of the same material. This portico gives an air of grandeur to the whole building, and very happily breaks the length of the front. Two principal entrances lead through it into the body of the house; the one opens into a lobby, or ante-chamber; the other, into the great saloon, or hall of audience, which is well-proportioned, the dimensions being about seventy-three by thirty feet, and the height about thirty-two: from the ceiling, which is coved, hang two brass gilt lustres. A screen, of seven large Doric pillars, divides the saloon from an upper and lower gallery of communication, which range the whole length on the West side; and the upper one is secured with an elegant entrelas of figured iron work. The East or opposite side of the saloon is finished with Doric pilasters; upon each of which are brass girandoles double-gilt; and between each pilaster, under the windows of the Attic story, are placed, on gilt brackets, the busts of several ancient and modern philosophers and poets, large as life; which being in bronze, the darkness of their complexion naturally suggests the idea of so many Negroe Caboceros, exalted to this honourable distinction for some peculiar services rendered to the country. At the North end, over a door which opens into the lobby, is a small moveable orchestra, made to hold a band of music on festive occasions. The furniture

below consists of a great number of mahogany chairs and settees, sufficient to accommodate a large company; this room being chiefly used for public audiences, entertainments, balls, and the hearings of chancery and ordinary. At the South end are three folding-doors, opening into a spacious apartment, in which, by the governor's permission, the council usually meet; whence it has received the name of the council-chamber. At this end it was designed to place full-length portraits of their present majesties, and likewise of the prince of Wales and his late majesty, between the pilasters; but I am informed they have not yet been obtained. Above the council-chamber is a banqueting-room, or drawing-room, of the same size, hung with paper, and neatly furnished. This room communicates with the upper gallery and a back stair-case, and enjoys a view of the saloon through some windows ranging with those of the Attic story: it is seldom used, except on public days, and is perfectly well-calculated for the purpose. These different apartments take up about one-half of the whole building. The room over the lobby, being somewhat darkened by the pediment of the portico, was converted by governor Lyttelton into a chapel, for private devotions. It is neatly fitted up, and with great propriety adapted to this use. The Northern division of the house consists of three large rooms below, communicating with each other, and with a long gallery; all of which are handsomely furnished and well-lighted: this gallery has commonly been used either for public suppers, when balls were given in the hall, or as a sheltered and retired walk in wet weather. The upper story is disposed in a suite of chambers, divided by a long narrow gallery from a range of smaller apartments or closets, intended for lodging the governor and part of his household. The two Northernmost rooms above and below are provided with a chimney, and all the necessary apparatus for a good fire; which in the rainy seasons is healthy and not disagreeable. In this new building are three stair-cases, all of which are private; a circumstance, perhaps, overlooked when the plan was drawn, and not more attended to when it came to be executed: yet there is sufficient space in the lobby for carrying up a very magnificent central one, answerable to the other parts of so capital a structure; and this no doubt will, some time or other, be added

added, as a necessary improvement to compleat it. Behind is a small square garden, laid out in dry walks, and planted with Seville orange, genip, and other fruit-trees, with some flowering shrubs intermixed; but it is not so well cultivated as to merit a further description. Adjoining to it are two little square courts, surrounded with the old buildings, which comprehend several lodging-rooms, the private secretary's office, a large servants hall, kitchen, and other convenient offices. South of the whole is a spacious area, environed with the stables, coach-house, granary, &c. and this area communicates with the parade, or great square, by a large gateway. All the apartments and offices belonging to the house are extremely commodious and airy. In short, I believe there is no one of all the colonies where the commander in chief is lodged in a manner more suitable to his convenience, and the dignity of his rank. On the opposite side of the parade, directly fronting the governor's house, is a colossal building, created likewise by the inhabitants of the island at a very great expence: it was begun about seventeen or eighteen years ago; but is not yet completed, nor probably ever will be. It puts us in mind of the gentleman's beard, described by Martial, that grew under the operation of a bungling barber; the half first-shaved called again for the razor before the other half was finished. This huge pile of brick and mortar is rudely raised into two stories. Below is an arcade of large extent, of sixteen circular arches, and one elliptical in the centre, of rustic work, upon the top of which is a lofty pediment raised upon four Doric columns. The body of the building is retired, to afford an open gallery, secured by a ballustrade, and floored with pitch pine-boards, very badly adapted to the climate, where the rain and sun are so destructive to wood-work thus exposed. The upper story is ascended by a large stair-case, which divides from the first landing into two branches, both terminating at the two ends of a spacious lobby; the South end opens into the assembly-chamber and speaker's room; the other end, into the court-house and jury-room; and the front, into the gallery. Below are ranged the several offices of the island secretary, provost-marshal, register in chancery, and clerks of the crown and court; for the use of which, as they cost somewhat annually in repairs, these officers pay to the public a certain moderate

derate rent, amounting to much less than they would pay, if they were obliged to hire houses, which formerly was the custom. The offices being thus so compactly disposed, and so contiguous to the courts of justice, a very signal convenience results to all persons having business to transact in them. The assembly-chamber, or commons-house, is about eighty feet in length by about forty. At one end of it a sort of amphitheatre is raised, with mahogany, some little elevation above the floor, and lined with seats for the members: the speaker's chair is exalted still higher. On the floor is a long table, at which the clerk sits; and thereon are regularly heaped, during the session, several manuscript folios of laws, minutes, and votes, the English statutes at large, votes of the British house of commons, with pens, ink, and paper, for the instruction and accommodation of the senators. The speaker's room is furnished with proper conveniences for the private committees appointed to meet in it. The ceiling of the commons-house is lofty and vaulted, except the part of it immediately over the seats; this is boarded and flat, in order to render the debates more distinct and audible. The court-house is well-designed, and extremely commodious for the judges, jury, barristers, and other parties that attend it. The doors of the two houses are directly fronting each other; so that, when the supreme court is held during the session of the assembly, the speaker and chief-justice are seated *vis à vis*. Thus the judges seem tacitly admonished to a just dispensation of the law and their duty; their conduct being amenable to the inquiry and impeachment of the commons in assembly. The two bodies thus circumstanced, the one met for framing, amending, or repealing, the other for enforcing, expounding, or deciding upon, the laws, afford to the spectators a striking picture of the legislative and executive departments, as moulded by our happy constitution (though here exhibited only in miniature), each harmonizing the other; ever acting and re-acting; various, yet concurrent. This building, which lines one entire side of the parade or square, had originally a cupola on the middle of the roof, which gave an appearance of lightness and variety to the view; but, having afterwards been found too cumbersome, and productive of some inconveniences, it was taken down; by which means, the front seems



too much extended, and has too heavy an aspect to please the eye. The brick columns of the arcade are much too massive and clumsy, appearing as if they were intended to sustain some enormous weight, but hitherto supporting only a slight floor, which is so leaky as not to answer the purpose of screening the offices and passengers underneath from a transient shower. The pediment in the centre, and the projection of the speaker's and jury rooms at each end, are some little relief. But, taking the whole structure together, and reflecting on the vast sums of money that have been thrown away upon it, we may justly question, whether consummate dishonesty or ignorance was the chief architect [c].

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[c] From the grand or supreme law-court which is held here (if the *cause in action* be for a sum above 300*l.* sterling), an appeal lies to the court of errors; or, if sentence of death be passed for felony, the appeal is to the governor alone, who for all such crimes, except murder and treason, can ratify or annul the judgement of the court as he pleases; but, in the two last-mentioned cases, may either respite the offender till the royal pleasure thereupon be known, or order immediate execution. The grand court is held four times a year, each session continuing three weeks. Till the year 1758, all causes of more than forty shillings throughout the island were tried in this town; when an act was passed for dividing the island into three circuits, in each of which assizes are held the like number of times in the year. From the courts that are held in Surry and Cornwall, a *venue* lies in some cases to that in Spanish Town. All informations upon actions for breach of the laws of trade and navigation, duties, customs, imports and exports, quit-rents, and escheats, are triable in the supreme court only. And, in all actions for the property in slaves or their freedom, or in ejectment, dower, partition, tines affecting lands or tenements arising in the counties of Cornwall or Surry, the judges of the supreme court may direct the issue to be tried at St. Jago de la Vega by a Middlesex jury. From the grand court the appeal goes on, as before related, to the court of errors; and, after judgement given in the court of errors, the party cast may travel with his cause before the king in council at home: he must, indeed, after the decision in the court of errors, if it affirms the sentence of the grand court, pay into the complainant's hands the amount of the action, he giving security to the defendant for re-payment of it in case the sentence should be reversed at home.

It is true, that by these appeals it has been supposed that justice is more likely to be administered; but they are nevertheless highly prejudicial with regard to the immoderate delay which necessarily ensues: for, let the evidence be ever so clear and conclusive, an action of debt upon a simple bond may be brought by the defendant (after judgement has been obtained upon it in the grand court) before the governor and council in the court of errors; where it may possibly lumber a whole year, or more, before it can be heard and decided, and before the plaintiff can receive any justice or redress; for, how desirous soever the governor himself may be to hasten judgement, it is not always in his power to do it. He may advertise the holding such a court from time to time, but to very little purpose, unless a quorum of his council are pleased also to attend and assist him; who are sometimes interested in the matter in dispute, either as principals or collaterals, and consequently so far disqualified to preside upon it as judges. I have before observed on the inconveniences which attend this appeal-court; and shall therefore only add, that it has long been the sincere wish of all the inhabitants (except the partizans of knavery and litigation)

On the North side of the parade is a small building, called the old court-house, where the supreme court was formerly held, and the

tion) to see it entirely abolished. The judges of the grand court are vested with the privilege of presiding either in the Surry or Cornwall courts, as well as that in Middlesex; whereas none of the puisne judges, who are specially appointed for either of the former, are permitted to sit in the latter. The number of actions, which in this small community are every year brought before the grand court, will appear almost incredible: yet the books of entry in the clerk of the court's office, which are an undoubted authority in this respect, shew, that there are near four thousand new ones instituted *per annum* upon an average. Hence a conception may be formed of the vast quantity of business transacted in this court, and of the emoluments derived from it to the members of the law. Among all the causes which lead to the multiplication of this evil, none are more conducive than the following: 1st, the fraudulent conduct of executors; 2dly, the transfer of property from hand to hand by exchange of papers; 3dly, the fallacious fixtures of plots by rogues or ignorant land-surveyors; 4thly, the great delay of justice by a multiplicity of appeal-courts; 5thly, expensive and dissipated habits of living: of these, the last-mentioned may be reckoned the principal. Property here is oftener rather nominal than real. A man, in possession of an estate yielding 2000*l.* *per annum*, spends as much, and lives as though he actually had a right to a clear income of that amount, notwithstanding it may be greatly encumbered. The consequence of this must be, that, if he spends the whole income at the very time when he owes at least one half of the value of his property, in a very few years he is obliged to part with both the estate and income too; especially if any of the usual casualties, such as the death of Negroes and cattle, drought, or floods, should happen to impair it. A wise planter, therefore, should never spend above one third of his income, nor value his property at a higher proportion. But how precarious forever fortunes are in this part of the world, and liable, from various and innumerable causes, to sudden changes, and however frequent such instances: yet few here take warning by the fate of others, or seem awake to their own danger, till unhappily they experience the same themselves: so that we may apply what Juvenal said of Rome in his days:

*Hic ultra vires habitas nitor; Hic aliquid plus,  
Quam satis est; interdum aliena sumitur aera.  
Cuiusmodi id vitium est: hic scevurus ambitiosam  
Insuperate.*

Sat. iii. v. 179, et sequens.

“—Here auid beyond our purse we go,  
“ For useless ornament and flaunting show:  
“ We take on truss, in silken robes to shine,  
“ Though poor, and yet ambitious to be fine.”

Drvd.

And this is literally true of us; for we are so ambitious to live up to, or rather beyond, the nominal income of our estates, that sometimes a person, whose produce amounts in gross to at least six or seven thousand pounds a year, is greatly distressed to pay his taxes, or even to raise the sum of fifty pounds.

In short, so numerous are the law-suits in the island from different causes, and the fees paid to council so large, that the gentlemen of the bar make several thousand pounds *per annum* by their practice; and, in regard to atomies, there are not so few as one hundred; some of whom, in a few years, acquire very considerable fortunes. The evil practices of some among them called for a regulation by law. Accordingly, an act of assembly, passed in 1763, ordains, that none shall be admitted to practice as solicitor or proctor in any court of law or equity in this island, without producing his admission as such in Westminster-hall; or court of chancery, king's-bench, common-pleas, or exchequer in Ireland; or unless he shall have been an articled clerk five years at least to a sworn-attorney or solicitor in Jamaica, and certified upon examination before two barristers to

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the governors kept their chancery-sittings; but, since the removal of these courts into more convenient places, it is of no further use than for every commander in chief, on his first arrival in the town, to go into and take the usual oaths; and at other times for holding elections of the parochial representatives or officers; and, during martial law, as a guard-room for the militia. Adjoining to this structure is a range of building, which fills up this side of the square, and comprehends a tavern, a lodging-house, and a barber's shop; all of which are well situated for good business in their way. These houses make an appearance that is rather disgraceful to the other environs of the square. The tavern is an old Spanish building, which, tradition says, was antiently a stable for the mules and horses belonging to the Spanish governor. The square has within it an octagonal inclosure, surrounded with a parapet-wall and rails, secured at proper distances by brick quadrangular columns, crowned with free-stone; this was intended as an ornament, but it unfortunately has too much the resemblance of a cemetery: on two of the sides are double gates for the convenience of passage from the publick offices to the governor's house. The original house of residence for our governors consisted partly of the old Spanish edifice, and partly of irregular additions made from time to time by Sir William Beeston and other English commanders in chief. The Spanish hall of audience was compleatly left till the year 1761, when it was entirely pulled down to make room for the present building: nothing of art or elegance graced the inside of this hall: it was lined throughout with boards, or rather planks, unequally hewn with an adze; none of them appearing to have undergone the embellishment of the plane; these were rudely nailed

be fitly qualified for such profession. So persons, who have been writers to the signet in Scotland for three years, may, upon producing certificate of such service, and going through one year's further clerkship in Jamaica, and being approved of upon similar examination, be admitted in like manner. And, to prevent collusive co-partnerships, all partnerships, contracted between attornies and solicitors, must be reduced to writing, duly signed, sealed, and executed, in form, and recorded in the secretary's office; and the names of all the partners indorsed on all writs, and other process and proceedings, wherein they may be concerned. And, in order to put a stop to frivolous suits, it is enacted by another law, that, if the debt and damages to be recovered upon any personal action (except for matters affecting titles or interest of land, slaves, or their freehold or inheritance) appear not to amount to forty shillings or upwards, no greater costs shall be allowed to the plaintiff than the sum of such debt or damages; but less may be awarded at discretion of the court.

to upright posts, which supported the roof. The posts were for the most part crooked, not even squared, and many of them had some remnant of their bark; but they retained for the most part their primitive solidity. The whole of the wood-work, indeed, seemed to have passed through no other hands than those of a clumsy ship-carpenter. The Spanish taste for the elegancies of architecture seems to have been restricted to their religious structures. They are, however, to be commended for providing all their American towns with a square. The square in this town is not only a decoration, but the means of rendering the governor's house, and the courts of justice, more airy, pleasant, and healthful. In the West-quarter of the town stand the gaol for the county of Middlesex, a free-school, a poor-house, and the shambles. The gaol is a square of eighty-five feet, and contains an open area within of about fifty-two: it is under the direction and management of the provost-marshal, or his deputy, who sometimes is not so careful as he ought to be in ordering the apartments to be kept clean and wholesome: on the contrary, the room appointed for the reception of felons, which runs along one side of the court, is so loaded with filth in general, as to be perfectly pestilential, not only to the miserable wretches who are there confined, but to the poor debtors, who now and then are indulged with liberty of access into the court by way of enjoying a short walk in the open air: add to this, that on the outside of the wall there is suffered a constant accumulation of putrid mud and water, sufficient to poison all the neighbouring atmosphere. In this delightful place of custody debtors and malefactors of all sorts, all sexes, and complexions, are promiscuously crowded; a circumstance highly disgraceful to the publick humanity, more especially in a country where it is thought politically expedient to maintain a distinction between Whites and Negroes. It is therefore not a little astonishing, that the debtor and the criminal should be huddled together; and that White persons, who have committed no other offence than that of insolvency, should be associated with the most bestial and profligate wretches of the Negroe race, as if it was intended to shew that incarceration, like death, is a leveler of all distinctions. The number of persons generally in confinement consists of about  
twelve

twelve Whites and one hundred Negroes. Upon enquiry in 1761, it was found that the whole allowance, given to the debtors for their sustenance, was one pickle-herring and five plantains each *per diem* (value seven-pence halfpenny), or two cakes of cassada-bread in lieu of plantains: this was barely enough to keep life and soul together. From this specimen, some judgement may be formed of the hardships which a malicious creditor may in this country inflict upon his debtor; and it is therefore not in the least surprizing, that, to avoid such company, such fire, and such a lodging, a debtor should run all hazards, and defend himself by force and arms, rather than enter into this hole of Calcutta. The laws, however, are rather more favourable here than in England: for a debtor, delivering an account upon oath of all his effects, and having nothing to maintain him, may be let to hire in open court; which is now a mere form, and a mode of his deliverance; and any creditor, dissenting and insisting on his continuance in gaol, must pay the debtor a weekly subsistence of three shillings and six-pence for so long as he remains in durance, which by some men of no feeling or principle has often been done. Attempts have been made at different times to enlarge this prison, and build a distinct place of confinement for debtors; but this beneficent purpose seems to have been defeated by a spirit of jealousy subsisting among the leading gentlemen of the island; some having indulged a principle of wantonly opposing every scheme and project offered for the advantage of this devoted town; others espousing an opinion, that the county of Middlesex alone ought to bear such burthens, in which it is pretended that the other two counties are not at all interested [d]; while those who are of the county are unwilling that the whole expence should be assessed upon them, instead of a general equal taxation; alledging that, this town being the seat of government, public offices, and the chief courts of justice to which civil and criminal matters are often removed from the other county-courts, the buildings necessary to be erected here,

[d] Since the above was written, the assembly have shewn a due humanity to the sufferings of these unfortunate persons, by purchasing a piece of land, adjoining to the South part of the gaol, of one hundred and fifty by one hundred and twenty feet, and granting 1000*l.* for inclosing and erecting proper buildings upon it. They have also enlarged the debtor's allowance from 7½*l.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* *per day.*

or sustained for the publick convenience, ought in reason to be erected and sustained at the publick charge; and undoubtedly, if the whole island is interested in what concerns the seat of government, records, and justice, which it certainly is, there is full as much reason for a general tax to rebuild or repair the gaol as to rebuild or repair a house of residence for the governor. Not far from the gaol stands the free-school, built and partly endowed at the expence of Peter Beckford, esq; formerly lieutenant-governor of the island, who left by will 1000*l.* currency; which sum was borrowed by the public, and 10*l.* *per cent* interest allowed ever since for the purpose of better supporting it: augmentations have also been made by other legacies; so that the whole income at present is 190*l.* *per annum*, of which the master annually receives 140*l.* and the surplus is lodged in the hands of the treasurer, subject to such uses as the governors (consisting of the whole legislative body of the island, the judges of the supreme court, and the rector of this parish for the time being) may think fit to direct. This foundation was incorporated by an act of assembly, and designed for the instruction of a certain number of boys, the offspring of poor parents, in reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, and other mechanical and practical knowledge. It has generally from twenty-five to thirty poor boys; and, if it was well regulated, it might prove an useful seminary; such an education being sufficient to qualify the boys for a variety of profitable employments in the island: but it may be pronounced of this, as of many other charities of the like kind, that as yet it has ill-answered the intent of its founder. Near the school is the shambles or market-house, where the butchers meat slaughtered in this town is by law appointed to be sold. It is under the direction of an officer, who receives a yearly stipend as clerk of the market. His business is, first, to see that the meat exposed to sale is sound and fit for use; and, if he finds it otherwise, he is to cause it to be immediately burnt. He is likewise to prove all the scales and weights used here and in the different shops within the town; and, on discovering any fraud or deficiency, he may levy the penalty imposed by law. He has a power too of arbitration in all disputes that may happen between buyer and seller relative to weighing of meats and

other goods. There is a further power likewise vested in him of more importance than all the rest; which is, to see that no butcher exacts more for his meat than the prices settled by law; but this part of his duty has never of late years been complied with. The common prices of most kinds of meat sold here are now generally double what the law has allowed; and little notice is taken of it. The market for butchers meat begins at day-break, and is usually over by eight o'clock in the morning. The Jews have a butcher of their own, who slaughters and dissects in the Mosaic manner; the secret of which seems chiefly to consist in his choice of the fattest, finest subjects. The hospital is a small distance from the market-place. It was founded by the charitable legacies and donations of well-disposed persons, and calculated for the reception of transient poor persons; who are lodged, cloathed, fed, and properly taken care of: and a gentleman of the faculty is paid an annual salary by the public, for attending their sick, and furnishing them with suitable medicines. The barracks for the regular troops are situated in the Southern quarter of the town, on an airy, healthful spot. The front is a lofty brick-building, of two stories. Behind it is a spacious square court, surrounded with shed-rooms: they are capable of holding three hundred men; but, the accommodations designed for the officers having proved extremely improper for the purpose, the men are too much left without a due controul, most of their principal officers having lodgings provided for them at some distance in the town; so that, for want of their residence in the barracks, the privates have often committed riots, and other misdemeanors at night, in the neighbourhood. Yet there is a very commodious unoccupied space adjoining, where proper apartments might be built for the officers; in consequence of which, the discipline of these troops would be much better kept up, and a final stop put to such enormities. Their hospital stands on the East side of the town, near the river, in a very ill-judged situation; for the support of which building, and necessaries for their sick, the assembly makes every year an ample provision. Near it is the powder magazine belonging to the town; built of brick, and capable of holding fifty barrels; this is constantly guarded by a centinel. Just across the river, a small distance from

this place, is a look-out, called Beacon hill, which had formerly a staff and colours raised upon it, for the purpose of giving alarm. As there is a very extensive view from the summit, commanding the harbour of Port Royal, and the Eastern ship-channel, in the offing, this appears the most proper scite for erecting a fortress, if one should ever be thought necessary for better defending the town. At present, here is neither fort nor battery; all its defence consists in fourteen or fifteen small brass field-pieces, honey-combed with age, and committed to the care of a captain, a lieutenant, and a company of matrosses, all of the militia; who flash a little powder from this train of artillery, to announce the royal birth-day, and a few other joyous occasions [e]. Besides these, are two or three companies of regulars, and five or six of horse and foot militia, a medley of Christians, Jews, Pagans, Negroes, and Mulattoes. The Jews, who are numerous here, have a convenient burial-ground walled in, at some distance out of the town; and a synagogue in the Eastern quarter, not far from the river: this place of worship has several well-adapted ornaments. Here they assemble, and read a portion of the Law and the Prophets every sabbath-day. They observe most of their antient feasts and fasts; and marry, circumcise, and bury, according to the custom of their fore-fathers. Some of them are good men, and do many benevolent actions to Gentiles as well as their own fraternity; but much the greater part of them (I fear) are very selfish and tricking, fraudulent in their trade, and rigid in their transactions, not only with Christians, but with one another. Of the houses erected by the Spaniards before the English conquest, upwards of fifty are still remaining, very little the worse for time or weather. We are not informed of the particular time when they were built. The town was twice taken; first, by Sir Anthony Shirley in 1592; and afterwards by colonel Jackson, about the year 1638; but history does not men-

[e] It deserves the attention of the legislature, whether their procuring a new train of field-pieces, of moderate size, and a company of skilful European matrosses, would not be of the utmost importance to the defence of the island. Whoever has read the progress made in Hindostan, by a handful of European troops, cannot but be astonished at the victories they gained against such unequal numbers, and solely by the right management of their artillery. A small body of men, with such a bulwark, may resist all the efforts of fifty times their number, who have no artillery: and it is no less serviceable in an open plain, than in defending a pass.



tion that they destroyed the houses. It is pretty certain they ought to be regarded as antient, as it is now near one hundred and twenty years since the invasion under Venables. Their duration for so long a time in defiance of earthquakes and hurricanes, some of which, since the English settled here, have been so violent as to demolish several more modern buildings, is a demonstrative proof of the Spanish sagacity, and affords an useful lesson to the English inhabitants; for although these houses are inconveniently small, yet this can be no objection to the method of structure, since it would be easy to enlarge the plan, by lengthening the front, or by building three sides of a square after the Eastern manner, which allows sufficient range for a great variety of apartments. The Spaniards had to guard against the sudden concussion of earthquakes, the impetuosity of hurricanes, the drift of the heavy periodical rains, and the heat of the sun. We find their houses excellently well contrived to answer these different purposes; with the further merit, that the materials of which they are built were cautiously prepared in such a manner as to become extremely durable. A certain number of posts of the hardest timber, generally *lignum vitae*, brazilletto, or fustick, of about eighteen feet in length, and six to eight inches diameter, being first well-seasoned and hardened in smoak, were fixed at proper distances to the depth of two or three feet in the ground; then a wall of brick, inclosing these posts, was carried up with very strong mortar to the plate, which was pinned with wooden spikes to the tops of the posts. The main rafters were small, but, being of the like hard wood, and perfectly well-seasoned, were sufficiently strong: these were likewise pinned upon each other, and at their angle of interfection at top formed a crutch, to receive the ridge-pole. The smaller rafters were of the lesser ebony trees, stript of their bark, hardened in smoak, notched at bottom, and being placed at the distance of about eighteen inches from each other, were pinned to the plate. Athwart these small rafters, a stratum of the wild cane (*arundo Indica Bambu species*), previously smoaked, was tied on by way of wattling, with straps made of the bark of the mohoe or mangrove trees. Upon these wattles, some mortar was laid, to the thickness of about four inches; and the whole covered with large

pantiles, well bedded in. The thickness of these roofs, from the outward shell or tile-covering, to the ceiling within, was about eight or ten inches. A canopy of so solid a texture was certainly well contrived to shelter the inhabitants from the disagreeable effects of a vertical sun; and accordingly it is found by experience, that these old Spanish houses are much cooler than our modern ones, covered with shingles (or slips of wood half an inch thick, formed like slates), which are not only very subject to be split in nailing, and so create leaks, but are not solid enough to exclude the sun's impression, nor lie so compact as to prevent a spray from being driven in by the wind in heavy showers, which occasions a moist and unwholesome atmosphere within doors. Besides, these shingled tenements are very hot in the day-time, and cool at night; whereas the Spanish houses preserve a more equal temperament of air by day and by night. Their materials preserve them greatly from accidents by fire; and, considering their stability, they seem to be the cheapest and best-contrived kind of buildings for this island. It is plain, therefore, that the English, in neglecting these useful models, and establishing no manufacture of tiles, but erecting lofty houses after the models in the mother-country, and importing an immense quantity of North-American shingles every year for covering new roofs, and repairing old ones, consult neither their personal security, their convenience, their health, nor the saving of a most unnecessary expence [f].

The chief error the Spaniards committed in their buildings was the placing their ground-floors too low: these were nearly on a level with the surface of the earth out of doors, or at most raised only a few inches higher. Some of their houses in the town have, indeed, acquired a raised foundation in the course of time; for, the torrents of rain having gradually washed and hollowed the streets

[f] It is remarked by Ulloa, that the walls of Caxamarca (an Indian town in Peru), and of several houses in the neighbouring vallies, although built on the very superficies of the earth without any foundation, have withstood those violent earthquakes which overthrew the more solid buildings of Lima, and other large towns, erected by the Spaniards. Experience instructed the natives, that, in parts so liable to earthquakes, it was improper to dig a foundation in order to strengthen the walls. He mentions it as a tradition, that, when the newly-conquered Indians saw the Spaniards sink foundations for their lofty buildings, they laughed, and told them, "they were digging their own graves:" intimating, that earthquakes would bury them under the ruins of their houses; a prophecy which has been most fatally verified in the sequel.

in some parts lower and lower, the successive inhabitants of these houses were obliged to add a foundation where the water had undermined the walls, and from time to time, as the earth happened to be swept away; so that the foundations of many of these ancient piles have in fact been laid long since the superstructure. Their houses had no piazzas originally: the English made these additions, in order to render them more cool and pleasant. But they have been attended with some inconvenience in another respect; for, the streets being laid out, some of thirty, and others not exceeding forty, feet in breadth, these sheds incroach so far on each side, that the midway is too narrow, and liable to obstruct carriages. The English in general have copied the ichnography of the Spanish houses with great uniformity [g]. They are, for the most part, disposed in three divisions: the centre room is a hall, communicating at each end with a bed-chamber; the back part, usually a shed, is divided in the same manner, and communicates with the front, or principal hall, by an arch, which in some houses is wainscotted with mahogany, in others covered only with plaister. They are small, and rather inconvenient for a family, especially when it consists of six or seven persons. Great alterations have, however, been made by the English inhabitants; and several of these old houses have received very considerable additions, which make them more roomy and commodious. In the piazzas many families may be said to live the greater part of their time; the shade and refreshing breeze inviting them to employ most hours there, that are not devoted to eating, drinking, and sleeping: nor can there be a more agreeable indulgence enjoyed by the master of the house, than to sit in an elbow-chair, with his feet resting against one of the piazza-columns; in this attitude he converses, smokes his pipe, or quaffs his tea, in all the luxury of indolence. Almost every dwelling-house throughout the island is detached from the kitchen and other offices; which, though different from the practice in England, is a very judicious arrangement for this climate, where the fumes and smoke of the kitchen, and the stench of other necessary offices, would be intolerable in too near a neighbourhood. But few of the inhabitants are curious in the decorations of their

[g] See Plate IV.

apartments;

apartments: the halls are seldom adorned with any thing better than a large pier-glass or two, a few prints, or maps: the greatest expence is bestowed upon the arch of the principal hall, which is generally of mahogany, and in some houses well-executed. They have for the most part fluted pilasters, supporting a regular entablature, ornamented with modillions, dentils, &c. But it is more frequent to behold all the orders of architecture confusedly jumbled together. The windows of the Spanish houses were generally made with little turned pillars, placed upright, and shutters on the inside. However convenient these might have been for the constant admission of air, they are at present almost totally exploded, and sashes more generally in use: to which are added jealousy-shutters, or Venetian blinds, which admit the air freely, and exclude the sun-shine. It is but of late, that the planters have paid much attention to elegance in their habitations: their general rule was, to build what they called a *make-shift*; so that it was not unusual to see a plantation adorned with a very expensive set of works, of brick or stone, well-executed; and the owner residing in a miserable, thatched hovel, hastily put together with wattles and plaister, damp, unwholesome, and infested with every species of vermin. But the houses in general, as well in the country-parts as the towns, have been greatly improved within these last twenty years. The furniture of some of them is extremely costly; and others constructed in so magnificent a style, and of such durable materials, as to shew that they were not intended for a mere temporary residence.

It might not be foreign to the subject here to remark, that, by the general use of shingle coverings throughout the Northern and West-India colonies, and the utter neglect of planting young trees in the room of what are cut down for this manufacture, it is very certain, that they will every year grow dearer to the sugar islands, and that the price may increase, till the people of Jamaica will be forced either to employ their own growth of timber for this use, or fall upon tile-making. The builders, therefore, of new houses, or works, should consider this, and make their walls of a due thickness to sustain such an additional weight hereafter.

## S E C T. II.

THE river Cobre, which washes the foot of the town on the East, takes its source near Luidas, and about twenty-two miles North-west from the town, rising in a cave, called River-head, and supposed by many to have a subterraneous communication with Pedro's river, which is distant from it about six miles West. The Cobre likewise buries great part of its waters, and does not form any considerable stream till it has run some distance from the cave. It is afterwards joined by the Rio Magno, Rio d'Oro, and Rio Pedro, with some smaller streams; so that, on reaching the town, it is from sixty to eighty feet in breadth, and in several places very deep, but in others generally fordable, unless swelled with the heavy rains which sometimes fall in the mountains above. Its bed, where it ranges near the town, is depressed and lowly, the water being in general not discernible beyond the verge of its banks. The current here is rapid, though almost silent. It is of unspeakable service to this neighbourhood, not only in its constant supply of water, for the use of the town, but in promoting cleanliness and health; for every day throughout the year some hundred Negroes and Mulattoes of both sexes resort to it from the town, to wash their persons and linen.

It has been imagined, that the Spaniards gave it the name of the Copper river, from its passing through a vein of that metal. But it is more probable, that they christened it after a similar name of some river in Old Spain, as they are known to have done in regard to many others, and in particular the Rio Minho, in the parish of Clarendon. Besides, although its water appears to have a fine blueish tinge, especially where it runs between the two ranges of hills proceeding from Sixteen-mile-walk, which has confirmed many in their opinion of its being tinged with copper; yet this appearance is nothing more than a common deception, caused by the azure of the sky reflected from the surface of the water, and remarkable chiefly where it is deepest, the current most gentle, and consequently the surface extremely smooth, and therefore in the

fitteſt ſtate to reflect images; and to this effect the great height and vicinity of the incloſing ridges very much contribute [b]. It is ſtrange, indeed, that the experiment, tried upon it ſo long ago by Sir William Beeſton, has not corrected this popular error; for he found, that with an infuſion of galls the water acquired a deep green inclining to black [i]. But the moſt certain teſt of an intermixture of copper is made with the cauſtic *volatile alkali*, as ſpirit of *ſal ammon.* combined with quick lime-water; theſe, if the ſmalleſt particles of copper be diſſolved, would cauſe the whole to aſſume a beautiful blue colour. This experiment was tried ſome years ſince by Doctor Browne, without producing any ſuch effect. Now, as the teſt of an iron impregnation is the black or duſky colour it ſtrikes with the vegetable aſtringents, ſuch as tincture of galls, and as the *foſſile alkali* will give a greeniſh caſt, it ſeems probable that this river is impregnated with no other metal than iron, and with a copious admixture of a calcareous earth, or lime. The purgative quality of the water, when drunk immediately from the river, is very properly conjectured by Doctor Browne to proceed from the clay with which it is in general copiouſly charged; becauſe it loſes this quality when ſettled in jars and cleared of its load; which would not be the caſe if it proceeded from ſalts, or a ſolution of metals; and becauſe many other waters, of ſimilar appearance, poſſeſs the like qualities in their turbid ſtate, though known to be not impregnated with metallic ſubſtances. Agreeably to this opinion, it is found by the inhabitants of the town, who keep this water in large jars, that, after ſtanding for ſome time till the fœculencies have ſubſided, it entirely loſes the effect juſt mentioned, and becomes as clear, ſoft, and pleaſant, in its depurated ſtate, as any water in the world. In this ſtate it was tried by an hydroſtatical apparatus, and found equal in lightneſs to Briſtol Hotwell water. We may therefore ſafely conclude, that it has been very unjuſtly ſtigmatized; and that, if the Spaniards ſuppoſed it impregnated with copper, they adopted this miſtaken notion

[b] So Virgil calls the river Tyber *cœruleus*, azure, or ſky-coloured. *Æn.* viii. v. 64.—Some have conjectured, that the original name was Rio Cobra, from the Portuguese *cobra*, which ſignifies a ſnake, and might with great propriety allude to the ſerpentine courſe of this river.

[i] An infuſion of galls in water, impregnated with copper and quick lime, ſtruck an orange colour inclining to reddiſh.

through

Cause of the Spaniards calling it Rio Cobre must have been  
 their first seeing it during a flood, when any observer may  
 remember it was perfectly brown or dark copper colour.

through ignorance of the means by which its contents might be discovered. In Old Spain the water is remarkably light, pure, and wholesome: to this, and the serenity of the air, it is attributed that the Spaniards are free from the scurvy, notwithstanding their indulgence in pork, the least perspirable of all animal food. The Spaniards in America are therefore (from a national prejudice) particularly nice in the choice of their water, which forms the chief of their daily beverage. It is not improbable, what I have heard some of the oldest inhabitants of St. Jago relate, that the Spaniards formerly here used to be at the trouble of procuring water, for their common drink, from the Bridge river, six miles Westward from the town; and that all of them kept their drinking-water in large jars, so many in number as to have always one sufficiently clear for use, while others were in the course of depuration. The river Cobre, having a free current from the town to the harbour of Kingston, uninterrupted by rocks or falls, and flowing through a pretty level, open country, might undoubtedly be made navigable up to it by means of locks; but the expence of such an undertaking, and the short distance of land-carriage, are objections that may probably restrain the inhabitants from ever attempting it. The river abounds with excellent mullets, mud-fish, eels, calapever, jew-fish, craw-fish, and prawns. It has only one bridge, which crosses it in the road leading towards Sixteen-mile-walk. This bridge is flat, and composed of planks on a frame of timber-work, which rests upon two sexangular piers, and two buttresses projecting from the banks, constructed with piles, and braces interlaced with masonry. In great floods, the river has been known to rise several feet above the floor without injury, notwithstanding the vast pressure of so large a column of water. This is ascribed to the resistance of the water below or under the flooring, which enables it to sustain this weight above. In the year 1699, an arched bridge of brick was constructed some miles below the town, in order to keep open the communication by land with Kingston; but, for want of a proper foundation, it was soon swept away by a flood, and never since re-built. Attempts have lately been made to get an act passed for building one at the publick expence, and more conveniently situated; but, through

same spirit of jealousy which I have before noticed, and the disinclination of many to consider it as a matter of general benefit to the island, the scheme was laid aside [k]. So that persons, travelling by land to and from Kingston, or the Eastern division of the island, are obliged to ford or ferry over the river, and very frequently at the peril of their lives. Ridiculous as the prejudices of faction are in so small a community, yet they are capable of producing mischievous effects. Publick spirit, and a liberal way of thinking, naturally tend to the ornament and improvement of every country where they reside. The contrary, or a perverse and selfish principle, excludes every thing that is great and generous from its narrow view, and wages eternal war against the public welfare. I am sorry to say the latter rule of conduct has been too predominant in this island; but we will hope for a time when good sense and rectitude of heart shall triumph over this false and groveling policy. The streets of the town, I have remarked, are rendered inconveniently narrow by piazzas added to most of the houses; the worst effect arising from their want of due breadth is a great increase of heat during the sultry months of the year, the wind not having space enough to circulate freely through them, and disperse the confined air, which becomes very disagreeable from the reflection of so many brick walls. They are repaired with pebbles brought from the river-course, which prevents their being clogged with mud, as some other towns of the West-Indies are, and answer the end of a regular pavement, by not admitting the rain-water to stagnate. They are kept tolerably clean by a publick scavenger, paid by an annual assessment on the houses; and the filth collected from them is removed to certain places appointed on the outside of the town.

The church-yard, being situated in the windward part of the town, is very injudiciously allotted for the common burial-ground. Dry weather occasions numberless chasms in it; and the wet, which usually succeeds, insinuating through these apertures into the graves,

[k] It is true, an act was passed in 1767, and trustees named for carrying it into execution. But, as this act only empowered them to receive 5000*l.* from any persons inclined to contribute towards it by voluntary subscription, it seems to have given no other power than what might have been exercised without it.



there is reason to believe, that noxious exhalations must arise from them, which cannot fail of rendering the atmosphere unwholesome to such houses as lie in a proper direction to receive them. In the hot months, particularly June, another annoyance happens from the dust; which, by the power of the sea-breeze, generally violent at that time of the year, is blown into the houses in such abundance, as to be exceedingly troublesome, and occasion sore eyes: the particles are so subtle, that it is very common to see a dining-table, which has been perfectly clean before the cloth was laid, appear entirely covered with a fine powder upon removing it. The inhabitants, if they shut their doors and windows, are almost suffocated with heat; and, if they suffer them to continue open, they are in danger of being stifled with dust; but, necessity obliging them to the latter expedient, they swallow it copiously with their food. These annoyances might attract compassion, if they were not easily remediable: the first, by taking in a new burial-ground a little to leeward of the town; the next, by making use of water-carts, to sprinkle the streets, once or oftener in the day, during that time of the year when the dust has been found most troublesome: so fine a river gliding under the town seems, indeed, to point out this experiment to them so obviously, that it is astonishing they have hitherto neglected it. The air of the town has always been esteemed healthy. But it is on the decrease with respect to inhabitants. It appears, from the register of marriages, births, and burials, that, from 1670 to 1700, the town and parish contained above four times more white persons than at present. They have even diminished since the year 1746, as will appear by the following average-table of burials from that year to 1756:

	White Refiants.	White Paupers and Transients.	Soldiers.	Free Blacks and Mulattoes.	Total.
Average <i>per</i> <i>annum</i> of } Deaths, }	61	12 $\frac{5}{9}$	15	16 $\frac{5}{9}$	104 $\frac{5}{9}$

According to the above table, the whole number of Whites, exclusive of Jews, was probably about two thousand, or near six hundred more than the present. From the best accounts it appears, that the average of marriages, baptisms, and funerals, stands thus:

Marriages,	—	14	} <i>per annum.</i>
Baptisms,	—	80	
Funerals,	—	100	

Of the baptisms, not above one-third are Whites; the marriages include all ranks and complexions; but the soldiers, paupers, transients, and free Blacks and Casts, make up the greatest part of the burials. Hence it appears, that the marriages, and consequently the births, are in no proportion to the deaths; and the decrease of people may from this cause be very naturally accounted for. The number of the inhabitants in this parish may be thus estimated, viz.

Resident Christian Whites in the Town.	Ditto in the Country.	White Paupers and Transients.	Soldiers, including Wives and Children.	Jews.	Free Blacks and Casts.
700	308	176	240	350	900
Deaths annually, } about } 1 in 24		1 in 22	1 in 16	1 in 26	1 in 26
Inhabitants.	In Town.	In the Country.	Total in the Parish, of all Complexions.		
Christian Whites,	700	308			
Paupers and Transients,	176				
Soldiers, &c.	240				
Jews,	300	50			
Free Blacks and Casts,	800	100			
Slaves,	1960	5348			
	<hr/> 4176	<hr/> 5806	<hr/> 9982		

The registers in this parish have, like most of the others in the island, been very incorrectly kept. They are, however, tolerably perfect from 1669 to 1702, and from 1746 to the present time. The want of due regularity prevents them in general from being useful for grounding calculations of this sort. If the several rectors had been obliged to enter attested copies of their registers once a year in the secretary's office, we should have possessed very competent information upon this subject.

The Jews here are remarkably healthy and long-lived, notwithstanding their diet is frequently salt-fish, and such kind of aliment, not generally esteemed very wholesome; and that the greater number of them deal in damaged salt-butter, herrings, beef, cheese, and

and in train-oil; a congregation of stinking commodities, which is enough to poison the air of their habitations. Their shops may be scented at a great distance; and, in what is called the Jew-market in this town, a whole street of their houses reeks incessantly with these abominable odours. But these people are abstemious, and so temperate, that a drunken Jew is rarely seen. They are particularly nice in drinking the purest water, which most of them use unmixed; and others make only a very small addition of rum. They are exceedingly fond of garlic, which generally has a place in all their fauces, and is known to be a great antiseptic; and they indulge in chocolate. The more luxurious among them gormondize chiefly on fish; and no doubt but their religious fasts, of which they are very rigid observers, now and then interposing, assist in freeing them from noxious redundancies. I think they may be supposed to owe their good health and longevity, as well as their fertility, to a very sparing use of strong liquors, their early rising, their indulgence in garlic and fish, their adherence to the Mosaic Ritual in the choice of sound and wholesome animal food, their free use of sugar, chocolate, and nourishing fruits, their religious purifications, and fasts. The free Negroes and Mulattoes fare rather harder in respect of eating, and are not so averse to spirituous liquors; for both men and women are frequently intoxicated: but their way of life is more laborious; they are more abroad in the open air, which renders them hardier; and their occupations or amusements give them such constant exercise, as to keep them from suffering by repletion: besides, their diet consists chiefly of nourishing broths, in which pulse and vegetables are principal ingredients. They too are very fond of good water and chocolate; they indulge in smoking tobacco, devour large quantities of pepper such as this country produces, and seldom let a day pass without bathing, and scouring their skins. Their bodies and constitutions seem peculiarly adapted to a hot climate; yet, perhaps, they owe their health not more to this adaptation, than to their mode of living; since it is certain, that the native Whites in this island, I mean such of them as are not addicted to drunkenness, nor have any hereditary distemper, are equally healthy and long-lived.

The

The greater mortality, observable here among the soldiers and transient Europeans, must be ascribed to their importing with them the English customs of eating and drinking in excess, but chiefly the latter; and their liberal indulgence in a vile sophisticated compound of new rum, pepper, and other ingredients, brewed here by the Jew-retailers; who, as they pay a tax on their licences, and a duty on the rum they retail, have recourse to this villainous practice, in order to enhance their profit upon the miserable consumers, who are chiefly the soldiers, and meaner class of Whites. That this has been, and is still, the main cause of bad health among the troops is evident; for, when they are in quarters not locally unwholesome, and where they cannot get at it, they are known to be very healthy. If the spirit was even sold to them without this adulteration, it could not fail of producing fatal effects; for the Jews could not afford to keep it so long on hand, as to become what is called old rum, and then retail it at their usual low price. They would therefore sell it fresh from the still; in which state it is so fiery, as to be no less unfit for human potation, than burning brimstone; yet some of the soldiers have been known to drink off a bottle of it at one sitting. The officers have often attempted to check this evil, by punishing the delinquents; but a more certain method would be by prevention. The common soldiers, employed in the West-India service, or at least the recruits sent over, have frequently been the very refuse of the British army: these men cannot be broke of their sottish habits; but, since they must and will have spirituous liquor, care might be taken to provide them with such as, while it gratifies their inclination, may be the least detrimental to their health. The commanding officer (for example) in town might appropriate a certain part of their country pay, and lay in every year a stock of the best rum, free from all bad taste and smell, and permit it to be retailed by a futler to the men; taking care, that none should be issued of less than a twelvemonth's age, and limiting the price to what they now pay the Jew-retailers, which could very well be afforded, as the soldier's rum is exempted from all duty. The futler chosen for this purpose would no doubt be a man on whose sobriety and honesty they could safely depend; at least, should he be guilty of  
breach

breach of his trust, he would be liable to a regimental punishment. The terror of this would form a security for his good behaviour; the men would be much better pleased, and beyond any doubt more healthy.

The town is partly under a civil and partly military police; a kind of *divisum imperium*, which the civil power exercises by day, and the military by night. The civil government consists of a *custos*, or chief magistrate, and the inferior justices of peace and constables. The centinels here, after the day is closed, according to an antient usage, which has subsisted ever since the days of Cromwell, challenge all passengers, as in a regular garrison, and patrol the streets at certain hours, to apprehend all offenders against the peace, and prevent robberies. It is a certain proof of the more regular lives of the families here, as well as in Kingston, than heretofore, that at eleven o'clock at night it is very rare to see a light in any house, except the taverns; and even these are now very seldom infested with riots and drunken quarrels, which formerly were so common. The town was antiently a regular garrison, the ditch still remaining which was thrown up by the Spaniards towards the savannah, and terminated at a bastion flanked with a fortified building, called the Fort-house, the name of which is still preserved. The plain, of which the savannah is a part, extends, in its whole length, not less than twenty-two miles; but its breadth is unequal, being in some parts ten miles, in others five, and, towards St. Dorothy's, grows more and more contracted, till it does not exceed three. After leaving this end of it, and passing to the N. W. among the Clarendon Hills, we meet with smaller levels here and there, as the Palmeto and Lime savannahs, till we come to St. Jago savannah, where the champaign again enlarges to the extent of about ten by fifteen miles. These tracts were formerly exceeding beautiful, having only some clumps of graceful trees irregularly scattered over their face, which gave but little interruption to the prospect. I have been informed by an elderly gentleman, a native of the island, that he could remember the time when they were nearly in this state; but at present they are overspread and disfigured in most parts with the *achaia*, or American *opopanax*, a dwarf prickly tree, which it is found almost impossible to

eradicate.

eradicate. It infests the pasture-lands, and incroaches continually on the roads, to the very great annooyance of travelers, especially by night, when they cannot so well guard their faces from being scratched; so that a man, who rides among them in the dusk, is obliged to keep his whip and hands in constant employment, in order to parry the over-hanging branches. That part which bounds on the West side of the town, and called the Town savannah, consisted formerly of one thousand two hundred acres, allotted for exercise, and has a common of pasture for the use of the inhabitants; but, several persons having settled upon and occupied the skirts of it, the parishioners obtained an act for enabling them to lease out seven hundred acres, at 5 s. *per* acre, and foot-land at 6 d. *per* foot; and reserved the remaining five hundred to be kept open and clear, at the expence of the parish, and for ever to be held sacred to the purposes only of exercise and health. The space uninclosed is about two miles in circumference. Here the races are generally held every year in the month of March. For encouraging a breed of large horses, one hundred pistoles are annually granted by the assembly, by way of king's plate, to be run for by any stone-horses or mares, carrying ten stone each, of fourteen pounds to the stone. There are generally two days sport, besides either by-matches, or a subscription purse. On these occasions the concourse of people is very great; some thousands are seen assembled on the savannah; and the multitude of carriages and horses, all in motion, form a very pleasing part of the amusement. On this plain the regular troops, and sometimes the militia, are trained and reviewed. But its principal use is as a palestra, for the daily exercise of the inhabitants of the town in the morning and afternoon. In manner of living, the English here differ not much from their brethren at home, except in a greater profusion of dishes, a larger retinue of domestics, and in wearing more expensive cloaths. The climate obliging them to use the finer sort of fabrics, these are of course the most costly; and hence appears the great advantage to the mother-country of furnishing her West-India colonies with their cloathing. The superior fineness of manufacture is all clear gain to her artists; and the constant wear, by the effects of perspiration and washing, occasions an immense consumption. The thick, cheap, and du-  
rable

nable cloths, which are well-adapted to the frozen zone, will not answer here; and the atmosphere corrodes every kind of iron or steel ware very quickly. The demand therefore for numberless products of the home industry is (from a train of invariable causes) likely to continue as long as these colonies continue to exist. Here are none of the substantial inhabitants who do not keep their coach or chariot with four or six horses. The shop-keepers have their two-wheel chaises, or kiterreens [1]; and they who cannot afford a carriage, even to the poorest free Negroe, will not be without a saddle-horse or two. As this is an inland-town, it derives its chief support from the residence of the governor and publick officers; the gentlemen of the law; the assembly and council; and the conflux of people who resort hither from the country parts on business, particularly during the sittings of the supreme or grand court of law near four months in the year; and the session of the assembly, which generally lasts from the beginning of October till the Christmas holidays. At these times universal gaiety prevails; balls, concerts, and routs, alternately hold their reign. The governor, according to antient custom, gives a ball and entertainment once a year at the king's house, in honour of his majesty's birth-day. The appearance of company on this occasion is generally brilliant, the ladies vying with one another in the richness of their dresses; every one makes a point of exhibiting a new suit of finery; and this regulation is so lavishly indulged, that such a ball is seldom attended with less than three or four thousand pounds expence to the guests, which however is so far excusable, as it is laid out in British manufactures [m]. When the town is full of company, here is a very good market; at other times of the year, it is but indifferently supplied. In general, the mutton is much better, and the beef much worse, than in Kingston; the latter town being furnished with beeves from the rich pastures of Pedro's Cockpits, where the fattened cattle are inferior to none in America. The mutton consumed in Spanish Town is chiefly brought from the adjacent salt-pan pastures, and

[1] So called from the first-imported, which came from Kettering, in Northamptonshire.

[m] During one half of the year, the inhabitants enjoy all the stillness and tranquillity of a country-village; and, in the other, the scene is totally changed, and they revel in the pleasures of a town.

the pennis of Vere; it is small, but deliciously sweet, fat, and juicy. The market is likewise tolerably well-supplied with sea and river fish, black crabs, the Jamaica oyster, poultry of all sorts remarkably fine, milk, vegetables, and fruits, West-Indian and North-American. The flour comes for the most part from New-York, inferior to none in the world; and the bread is excellent. The butter is imported from Cork and North-America, which cannot be much commended: the inhabitants, reconciled to it by custom, shew no dislike to it, although it is sometimes so rancid, that repeated washings will not sweeten it. Some few in the lowlands make a sort of fresh butter, but in small quantities, and commonly inspid. The vales of Pedro are capable of supplying the town with this article, if the penn-keepers or graziers there were encouraged to manufacture it for sale. What is manufactured there for their own use is of a delicate flavour, and will keep good for several days, and even weeks. The cheapness of the imported butter, which is generally sold for sixpence sterling the pound, and the great plenty of it, together with a long continued habit of using no other, may be the reason why the inhabitants are not very solicitous about making any change; but it would doubtless be attended with a considerable saving to the island, and tend much more to health, if they were to promote and establish such a manufacture among the inland penn-keepers. It is some time before an European palate can accommodate itself to the rank stuff served up at the tables here. On the other hand, I have known many persons who, upon their first arrival in Britain from Jamaica, could not endure the taste of fresh-butter; and I have heard of a lady who, for some years after her coming over to England, used to order some firkins of the Irish butter to be brought regularly to her from Jamaica: so difficult it is to relinquish what custom, *altera natura*, has made agreeable to us.

As some readers may be desirous of knowing the market-prices of provisions in this town, I shall offer the following table, formed agreeably to the experience of some years. It must be understood, however, that here, as in other places, there can be no such thing as a standard and invariable rate for these necessary articles;

and



and that their rates must vary according to the reigning plenty or scarcity, and other predominant causes.

	Jamaica Currency.				Reduced to Sterling.				
	s.	d.	q.	to	s.	d.	q.	to	
Beef, ——— per pound,	0	6	0	0	7	2	0	4	1
Ditto, prime parts, ——— ditto,	1	3	0	1	10	2	0	10	3
Tongue, ——— each,	3	1	2	3	9	0	2	2	3
Mutton, ——— per pound,	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	8	2
Lamb, ———	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	10	3
Ditto, ——— per quarter,	4	4	2	5	7	2	3	1	1
Calf's head, ———	6	3	0	0	0	0	4	5	3
Veal, ——— per pound,	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1
Ditto, prime parts, ———	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	8	2
Pork, ———	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1
Kid, ———	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1
Turtle Calipash, ——— per pound,	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1
Ditto Calipee, ———	1	3	0	1	6	0	0	10	3
Fish large, ——— ditto,	0	6	0	0	7	2	0	4	1
Ditto smaller, per string of four, five, or upwards,	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1
Ducks tame, ——— per couple,	3	1	2	3	9	0	2	2	3
Ditto wild, ——— ditto,	5	0	0	6	3	0	3	6	3
Teal, ——— ditto,	5	0	0	6	3	0	3	6	3
Capons, ——— ditto,	6	3	0	10	0	0	4	5	3
Hens, ——— ditto,	3	9	0	5	0	0	2	8	1
Geese fat, ——— each,	7	6	0	0	0	0	5	4	1
Turkies fat, according to size, ——— ditto,	8	9	0	18	0	0	6	3	0
Chickens, ——— ditto,	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1
Pigeons, ——— per pair,	1	10	2	2	6	0	1	4	0
Eggs, ——— six to twelve, variable,	0	7	2	0	0	0	5	1	0
A roasting-pig, ———	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	3
A hog, ——— about	23	9	0	0	0	0	16	11	3
Rabbits fat, ——— each,	4	4	2	0	0	0	3	1	1
Salt-fish, ——— per pound, about	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Shads, ——— per barrel, about	20	0	0	0	0	0	14	3	1
Flour, ——— per cwt.	17	6	0	22	6	0	12	6	0
Ditto, superfine, ——— per ditto,	30	0	0	35	0	0	21	5	1
Biscuit, ——— per ditto,	30	0	0	32	6	0	21	5	1
Salt, ——— per bushel,	1	10	2	0	0	0	1	4	0
Wax-candles, ——— per pound,	3	9	0	0	0	0	2	8	1
Spermaceti ditto, ——— ditto,	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	9	2
Plantanes, ——— per dozen, about,	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	10	3
Corn Maize, ——— per bushel,	5	0	0	5	7	2	3	6	3
Ditto, in the ears, ——— per three dozen,	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1

Oysters are sold in small baskets, and variable in price; as are likewise many of the articles above-mentioned; on which account, I have given their average lowest and highest rates of several years. The variation of price is caused by the occasional plenty or scarcity

incident to them. The vast abundance of fish caught here, and its not being a provision that can be kept sweet for any long time, are the causes of its cheapness at most of the sea-ports. Fish and turtle are often sold at less prices than are expressed in the table; and they furnish a considerable part of subsistence to the people inhabiting those places. The prices in Spanish Town are in general higher than in Kingston, where the market is under a better regulation, and both the demand and supply more constant and ample. The latter town is also far better accommodated with vegetables of all kinds, produced in the Liguanea mountains.

By the above table, compared with the following, may be seen how much the prices of some provision have risen above what they formerly were. An act of assembly, passed in the year 1693, established the rates thus, viz.

	Jam. Currency.			Sterling.		
	s.	d.	q.	s.	d.	q.
Beef and goat, ——— ——— <i>per</i> pound,	0	4	0	0	3	0
Mutton, ——— ——— ——— ditto,	0	6	0	0	4	1
Veal, prime parts, ——— ——— ditto,	0	9	0	0	6	3
Ditto, other parts, ——— ——— ditto,	0	7	2	0	5	3
Hog, lamb, and turtle, ——— ditto,	0	7	2	0	5	3

The settlers in those days were fewer in number, yet either found means to supply a larger quantity, or be contented with smaller gains. In the year 1672, Doctor Blome writes, that horned cattle were so numerous, that, although there had been every year so many killed, yet their number seemed not much to be lessened. Hogs too he mentions were in very great plenty, as well those wild in the mountains, as tame in the plantations. We may conjecture, therefore, that the greater part of the beef and pork, then brought to market, were of the wild sort; for these animals overran the woods and savannahs, and were slaughtered by all persons who chose to go in quest of them. This probably made the settlers so very inattentive to the breeding of cattle, that in process of time, as the wild ones became diminished, and the plantations increased, they began to introduce a supply from the Spanish Main. A dependence upon these importations, and the low price which they formerly cost, still further discouraged the island-breed; and at present the sugar-estates, so vastly increased in their number, consume

sume a large proportion of what are bred here. There seems no remedy for this, but, by an act of legislature, to encourage the island-breed, and throw gradual restraints upon the importation; by which means, beef might possibly, in course of a few years, return to a more moderate price; which would be a very desirable event to the inhabitants, and even to the breeders themselves; to whom the certainty of demand, and largeness of consumption, would make amends for the diminution of price; and thus might be saved many thousand pounds now paid for foreign salted beef, which is neither so wholesome, nutritious, nor pleasing to the white servants, soldiers, and others, as fresh meat. The high price of fowls, and the other small articles, is to be lowered by the introduction of more settlers, by encouraging a traffic in such articles, and particularly enlarging the annual plant of corn, the scarcity of which is the sole cause why eggs are in general so cheap, and poultry so dear; for, when corn is scarce, fowls will devour more of it in value than they yield at the market. The greater abundance there is provided of these foods, the more money will be saved to the island in various ways; and it would consequently grow more populous and thriving, and better able to maintain families; a matter of the utmost concern to all who wish to see it flourish; marriages, the best source of well-peopling it, and from which some men pretend they are at present deterred, from the expensiveness of housekeeping, would be greatly promoted; nor would many useful persons emigrate from the colony, if they could live in it at as cheap a rate in general as in Europe. To live otherwise in an island, so fertile and so capable of affording not only the comforts, but the luxuries of sustenance, in the greatest profusion, is a reproach to industry and policy; but to administer fit and practicable remedies will redound equally to the honour of legislature, and to the public welfare. Spanish Town covers a large extent of ground, many of the houses having great areas, and several lots being vacant or unbuilt. These circumstances render it the more healthy and pleasant; and a variety of trees in constant verdure, being scattered among the buildings, more especially in the skirts, it has the rural appearance of a village. The town seems, however, to be rather on the decline, not having yet

yet recovered the blow which it received during the administration of governor Kn——s; who, in order to carry a favourite point against the country, and in furtherance of this design to gain a majority in the two other branches of the legislature, very artfully cajoled into his interest several opulent merchants and principal inhabitants of Kingston, by hinting to them a plan of removing the seat of government, the courts of justice, and public records, to their town. The lucrative consequences of this project were described in such captivating terms, that they joined heart and hand with him to effect it; and at length, after a violent struggle which threw the whole country into commotions, they succeeded by gaining a corrupt majority in the house of assembly, garbled by very iniquitous and illegal practices. The deprivation of these main supports, and the uncertainty of property in a town liable to such mutations at the arbitrary will of a governor, reduced its inhabitants to the utmost distress: some quitted it; and many persons were deterred from purchasing land, or occupying houses in it; while all those, who subsisted in its neighbourhood by supplying the market were agitated with the dread of inevitable ruin. Upon a full discussion of this matter before the board of trade, and a just representation submitted to the king in council, the scheme appeared so wicked and injurious to private rights, as well as public welfare, that the projector of it was recalled, and express instructions given his successor to summon a new and legitimate assembly of representatives: which being complied with, they passed a law, reinstating the seat of government, offices of record, &c. in Spanish Town, and establishing them there immutably: and this law was afterwards confirmed by the crown.

But the town has not yet recovered its former population and opulence. The proprietors of houses and lands in and near it are scarcely yet free from apprehensions of another removal; and their terrors have since been awakened, more than once, by attempts from the Kingston quarter to repeat the blow, by pursuing the former mode of acquiring an undue majority in the house of assembly, for the purpose of repealing that law. Hence has arisen a confirmed party in that branch of legislature; and the great struggle at every election is, to regulate the balance of power in the new house.

house. Each side, through a secret jealousy, is too apt, by an uniform system of opposition, to reject various measures of public utility, which are greatly wanted, for the improvement and general benefit of the island. It is much to be regretted, that such animosities should still prevail; and more so, that cause should be given for keeping them alive. An artful and malevolent governor alone could wish to foment the spirit of discord, with a view of turning it to his own advantage, by siding with the stronger party, and thus acquiring a set of advocates ready to promote or vindicate his rapacious and unjust proceedings. A wise and good governor will think he best serves the king and his subjects by steadily discouraging every attempt towards re-kindling this destructive flame.

The situation of this town, so central with respect to the whole island, renders it extremely convenient for holding the chief courts of justice; and to this end it is still further adapted, as being undisturbed by the noise and tumult usual in places of great trade. The records are safer here; because, upon the invasion of an enemy, it is too distant from the sea-coast to be first attacked, and there would be ample time for removing them into Sixteen-mile-walk; or, still further, to the inmost recesses and fortresses of the island, for their secure preservation. Thus, although the town might be afterwards taken and plundered, the records would be safe; nor could an enemy follow them expeditiously, if they may be supposed an object worth acquiring; the road leading to Sixteen-mile-walk being full of places proper for ambuscading, or easily rendered impassable by felling of trees, and throwing down some of those huge rocky masses which overhang it. The town serves besides as a grand store-house, or magazine, for supplying great part of the county of Middlesex with articles of cloathing, husbandry, salt-provision, and other necessaries, most of which are brought from Kingston, which therefore is very much benefited by this extension of its inland commerce; an advantage it would not, in all likelihood, enjoy without the assistance of Spanish Town; for, in this case, not only the consumption of such articles must be greatly diminished, but many of the planters would probably rather import what they wanted, or establish a new mart at Passage Fort, as being far more convenient for their business than Kingston. Considered

also as a garrison, it will appear to form a great additional strength to the midland-part of the island, and has so proved in several internal disturbances that have occurred from Negroe mal-contentments; particularly in 1761, when the detachments of horse-militia and regular troops, ordered from hence, to quell a dangerous insurrection, which had broke out in St. Mary's parish, arrived there so expeditiously, as to give almost immediate protection to the inhabitants. A colony of such extent would unquestionably become much securer, if more towns were formed in convenient parts of it. Instead therefore of labouring to ruin a town so antient and beneficial, the men of sense and fortune in the island should rather endeavour, by suitable encouragements and provisions, to found new ones in those uncultivated districts where congregations of people are much wanted, to add more links to the chain of communication, which ought to pervade every part of so fruitful and delightful a country.

The contest about removing the seat of government, before-mentioned, became the cause of setting up a printing-house in this town; for, before that æra, the votes of assembly were printed at Kingston. But the partizans of Spanish Town formed an association to support a new press in their town. From this issues a weekly paper of intelligence, compiled mostly from the London and North-American prints; but it is chiefly convenient to the inhabitants as a vehicle for advertisements of different sorts. Some occasional pamphlets have likewise received their birth from it; and a new edition of the laws was lately preparing. The votes of assembly and the annual bills are printed here; the journals of the council are printed in Kingston, where two presses are established, and two weekly papers. Thus each of these branches of legislature having its separate press, I need not remark, that, when political differences arise, an extraordinary employment is given to these machines, by appeals to the public, and the arguments on either side *pro* and *con*: but it is doubtful, whether these disputations, carried on as they generally are with great vehemence and acrimony, do not tend more to exasperate than to conciliate. The press of Spanish Town was devoted to a far better use, when the association of gentlemen before-mentioned made it subservient to the interests of morality, and  
the

the improvement of the island, by publishing a weekly essay under the title of *The Planter*, which was supported for a considerable time in a lively, entertaining manner. In a garden belonging to Mrs. T——s, in this town, are two trees called baobab, or the great-cotton, described by Adanson, in his account of Guiney, from whence the seeds were brought and planted here. Some call this likewise the capot tree; of which species Bosman relates, that he has seen some capable, with their spreading boughs, of shading twenty thousand men, if ranged close; and so tall, that a musquet shot could hardly reach the top. At Axim, there is said to be one which ten men could not grasp; and, in Prince's island, another, the trunk of which could not be surrounded by four and twenty men, their arms at full stretch: not that the body itself is so enormous; but the sprouts adhere in such a manner as to seem to form one uniform trunk. The wood is light and porous, scarcely fit for any other use than making canoes. The tree bears a species of cotton, used in Guiney by the European factors for stuffing beds, instead of feathers. These in Spanish Town are as yet of only a moderate bulk; but, if they should spread in time into the diameter reported by these authors, they will require much more room than has been allotted to them. The bark and leaves are said to possess some virtues in the cure of fevers. And they deserve to be propagated; but the best scite would be the rich bank of some river.

Passage-<sup>Fort</sup>, formerly called *The Passage*, from its being the place of embarkation for Port-Royal, is situated on the West side of the harbour, about three quarters of a mile from the mouth of the Cobre, and six from Spanish Town. It was once defended by a small fort, of ten or twelve guns, which has long since been demolished. It is at present a small village, consisting of about fifteen houses, chiefly inhabited by wharfingers, warehouse-keepers, and the masters of wherries and hackney-chaises, which constantly ply here with passengers to and from the towns. These wherries generally put off from Passage Fort from six to seven o'clock in the morning, before the sea-breeze sets in, and are favoured with a gentle land-wind. On their return, they go directly before the breeze, which sometimes blows up the harbour with great violence.

They are accommodated with tilts or awnings, and navigated entirely by Negroes. This is a barquadier for Spanish Town, and most of the plantations in St. Catharine, St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. John. The merchant-ships which load from hence usually lye off the hospital of Greenwich, where they receive their cargo out of large boats, or lighters, there not being depth of water sufficient for vessels of burthen to come nearer the wharfs. The situation is low, and subject to inundations from the harbour in storms. This place is famous in the annals of Jamaica for the landing of colonel Jackson in 1638, and of Venables in 1655. The first-built town was wholly destroyed by the great earthquake of 1692, and never thoroughly rebuilt; nor is it probable that it will ever grow again into a town. The want of sufficient depth of water, perhaps, first induced Mr. Henderson, an enterprising and spirited gentleman, to form a new and more convenient shipping-place on the North-East side of Salt-pond hill, under cover of the Twelve-apostle battery; this he has effected at a very large expence, and with much judgement. The depth of water admits ships of burthen very near to the wharf, and already there appears the dawning of a new town; which, by attracting the most considerable part of the business, seems to forebode the speedy decline of Passage Fort. This new barquadier is called at present by the name of Port-Henderson; and, besides its use for shipping off sugars, and other produce, with the utmost dispatch; it has opened a ready communication on that side of the harbour with the squadron and Port-Royal Town; which cannot fail of proving extremely convenient, more particularly in time of war. At the back of Salt-pond hill is a remarkable cave. The adit leading into it is narrow and low; but the cave itself is from twenty-five to thirty feet diameter, and of good height. The floor of it is strewd with human bones; and there runs a tradition among the Negroes, that a white person many years ago collected a vast pile and consumed it to ashes: a large quantity still remains; and, from the conformation of the skulls, they are thought to have been Indian. Some have imagined that the Indians made use of these recesses as a sort of catacombs, or ossuaries, for their dead. The ancient Mexicans laid their dead bodies without burial on the surface



face of the earth, and environed them with stones or bricks. These rocky chasms and cavities, frequent in many parts of Jamaica, naturally offered as convenient and durable sepulchres. But this conjecture, though ingenious, is not supported by any proof, that the Indians of this island were governed by the same custom. There are better grounds for supposing, that they interred their dead; and that the bones, found in these places, are no other than the reliicks of the last remnant of that unfortunate people, who perished here beneath the insupportable tyranny of their conquerors, as I shall hereafter take occasion to relate.

Spanish Town is defended on the South by a range of hill, called Healthshire, corruptly Hellshire, about nine miles in length, and six in breadth; which space contains about thirty-four thousand acres, for the most part so rocky and barren, as not to be worth inhabiting. Its chief produce is lime; which is made here in large quantities, and sent by water to Kingston. The air on these hills is extremely healthy: the rocks are concealed from view by innumerable aromatic herbs, shrubs, and trees, possessed of great medicinal virtues, though hitherto explored only by a few curious persons. This whole district is filled with the larger species of mock-bird, whose lively notes serve to cheer its dreary vales. The curatoc and aloes grow here very luxuriantly; and some experiments have been made, by a gentleman who lived here, with the silk-grass and grape-vines, which were found to thrive extremely well. The soil is also productive of potatoes, yams, and other West-India roots, and all the melon tribe, in great perfection. There is an exceeding good fishery on the coast; but the want of water-springs, there being only one, that I have heard of, in the whole tract, and the few articles of profit to be gained from such a soil, will probably be the means of its remaining for the most part in a state of nature. The ridge of high land, part of this tract, which faces Port-Royal harbour, is called Salt-pond Hill, from a large piece of salt-water on the South West side of it, covering near seven hundred acres. This was formerly a salt-work; which, with two more in the parish of St. David, was conducted by a captain Joseph Noye, who made from them in one year ten thousand bushels, and affirmed, that he could have made as many tons, if there had been

a vent for so much at the market. But the great manufactory of salt at Tortuga caused this article to fall so cheap, that it has for many years past been discontinued in Jamaica. This salt-pond is about four feet in depth, and most plentifully stocked with good fish; which are a more profitable article of traffic to the present owner, who sends them daily for sale to Spanish Town, little more than six miles distant.

The parishioners of St. Catharine, St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. Dorothy, formerly exercised a sort of right in common of making salt here, for the use of their families: but, during the government of Sir Thomas Lynch, they agreed with Sir Thomas Modiford, who had patented the circumjacent lands, that he should deliver them annually at the rate of half a bushel of salt *per* head, including Blacks and Whites, only not to exceed five thousand bushels in the whole; for which they were to pay 1*s.* *per* bushel. This agreement was confirmed by an act of assembly, but has been for many years disused.

About four miles North and North-west from the town is another range of hills; over which is scattered a great number of polinks, or places applied entirely to the cultivation of garden-stuff, fruits, and such sort of provision, for the town-market. The range, distinguished by the name of the Red Hills, from their reddish soil, is thought to produce the several West-India fruits, of a better flavour than almost any other part of the island. Many of the town-inhabitants have little settlements here, with good houses, to which they occasionally retire. No part of the world can enjoy a more agreeable or healthy air. The Spaniards formerly esteemed it a Montpellier; and numbers used to pass over from Cuba, in order to reside here for the re-establishment of their health. From many parts of these hills the prospect is rich and extensive, commanding a view of the town, the pastures adjacent, the harbour and shipping at Port Royal, and of the vessels coming in or going out. These hills are destitute of springs; but the inhabitants easily supply that want by preserving rain-water in cisterns or jars, which they find extremely pure and salubrious.

The soil of St. Catharine's parish is various. The hills abound with lime-stone rock; the champaign consists chiefly of savannah

land,

land, or a rich brick mould; the pasture lands in the neighbourhood, and what lie adjacent to the river, are of the latter kind; the rainy seasons have been for many years too uncertain in this part of the country for the cultivation of the sugar-cane, to which the nature of the soil is excellently adapted: but the richness of their grass makes amends; and the owners draw considerable profit by breeding cattle and sheep, and fattening for the town-markets. Indigo once flourished in all this district. Attempts have, within these few years, been made by one or two gentlemen to revive it; but dry weather baffled their project, and convinced them of its impracticability. The well-water in these parts is in general brackish, or containing an admixture of salt; which seems to indicate the existence of salt mines here; but none have yet been discovered; and probably they lie at too great a depth to be of service if they are ever known. There are other wells of a very pure water, supplied probably by springs or subterraneous currents, which do not pass through any strata of this fossil. That salt is plentifully intermixed with the soil here in some places is evident from the licks to which cattle and sheep greedily resort. I have seen several of them in the neighbourhood of the town. These animals are known to be extremely fond of salt; and instinct directs them where to find it. They experience its good effects in correcting the deleterious quality of the crude grass, produced here, from sudden heavy rains succeeding a drowth. On these occasions, they are subject to violent diarrhœas, which are frequently mortal. The penn-keepers use no other remedy than mashed, pickled herrings, given them by way of a drench, which, if the disorder has not continued too long, performs a certain cure. There is no doubt but the salt, and not the substance of the fish, is the remedy to which their cure is to be ascribed; and this is further confirmed by the common observation, that sheep, pastured on the salinas, or lands contiguous to the sea, are not afflicted with the rot; and that the cattle, watered from a brackish well, are much less apt to be scoured with the crude grass than others.

The air of the flat country comprehended within this parish is esteemed in general very healthy, except after the fall of the autumnal rains; when the water, stagnating for some time on the low grounds,

grounds, is thought with good reason to be productive of aguish complaints, intermittent and remittent fevers; from all which, the adjacent hills offer a certain asylum to such of the inhabitants whose circumstances admit of their removal.

The following comparative table may give some idea of the modern state of this parish:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Quantity of Sugar in one Year.	
			Sugar-plantations.	Hogsheads.   Other Settlements.
1734,	5502	8002		
1740,	6203	8581		
1745,	6599	8043		
1761,	7016		5	350   95
1768,	7308	10402		

### S E C T. III.

#### St. DOROTHY, in the Precinct of St. CATHARINE.

THIS parish is bounded on the East by St. Catharine; West, by Clarendon; North, by St. John; and South, by Old Harbour and the sea.

The town of Old Harbour contains about thirty houses, inhabited chiefly by wharfmasters and factors; this being the principal barquadier for this parish, St. John, a part of St. Thomas in the Vale, and a part of Clarendon. It had formerly a small fort, or rather battery, which has not been thought of consequence enough to support in repair; for the harbour, or bay, lying only about seven leagues West from Port Royal, and about ten miles from Spanish Town, notice might be dispatched to either of those places in a very short time upon any alarm; and as the same breeze, which would serve to carry a ship of war from Port Royal to their assistance, would prevent an enemy's vessel from getting out of the bay, no privateer will dare to venture so far in as to give the town any annoyance: besides, the entrance into the bay is fortified with so many cays and shoals, as to make the navigation very hazardous to strangers; and even those best-acquainted with it require  
day-light

day-light and a favourable land-wind to carry them out. The inner or East harbour is an inlet, or *cul de sac*, turning near six miles within land, and so sheltered on all sides, that ships have rode here with perfect safety in the most furious hurricanes. On this account, the Spaniards moored their galleons here during the stormy season; but the channel leading to it is now so choaked with mud, that loaded ships cannot get in or out; for which reason, the merchant-vessels, which come to take in cargoes at this port, lie further out in the bay, where vessels of almost any burthen may have sufficient depth of water and a fine anchoring-ground.

In the offing of the bay is a very good fishery, chiefly for snappers, which form a principal part of subsistence for the inhabitants at Old Harbour. At certain times of the year there is also great plenty of turtle caught upon the coast. A company of soldiers is quartered here in barracks, built at the expence of the parish. As this place contains nothing further of note, I shall pass on to the market, which is distant about two miles inland, and is so called from the Negroe market, held here regularly every Sunday forenoon, for poultry, corn, eggs, and other small articles of provision. It is an insignificant hamlet of about twelve houses, consisting of taverns and shops, and distant about one mile from the parochial church, a small building, close by which is the rector's house, situated on a rocky eminence, which commands an agreeable prospect of the sea and adjacent country. From the piazza of this house the eye takes in a view of great part of St. Catharine and Linguarea, and the sea from St. Thomas in the East to Portland Point in the West. But the flat part of St. Catharine, St. Dorothy, and Clarendon, appears to be in a manner a continued wood, from the multitude of opopanax trees which are suffered to grow in the hedge-rows and middle of the pastures; and this detracts greatly from the beauty of the landscape. The stipend annexed to this rectory is 200*l.* *per annum*; and, the parish not being very populous, the whole income of the living is probably under 400*l.*

The only river in this parish is the Black or Bridge river, which takes its rise in a small morass about seven miles from the harbour. The excellence of its water has already been mentioned. It crosses the great Western road which leads from Spanish Town to the  
toward

leeward parts of the island, over a sunken bridge of large timber-work and stones. It is here but a small stream; but it widens on approaching the harbour, and becomes deep enough to admit the ships long-boats which come here for water. Near the mouth of it are caught exceeding fine jew-fish and calipever, for the Spanish Town market. The soil adjacent to it is extremely rich; and large tracts are capable of being watered by channels drawn from the river, and cultivated with the sugar-cane; but hitherto no such advantage has been made of either. The soil of this parish in general resembles that of St. Catharine, and lies under the like misfortune of uncertain seasons; for which reason, it has never made any considerable figure as a sugar-parish.

The hilly parts of it towards the North abound in pimento-trees; which shews their soil well-adapted to this production, though it is not extensively attended to here, for want of inhabitants. The air of the coast is but indifferent: the interior parts are esteemed more healthy; and particularly the hills, where it is perfectly clear and temperate.

In the mountains near St. John's is an exceedingly fine chalybeate-spring, which has performed many surprising cures in dropical habits; and in cases where, by lingering and ill-managed intermitents, the patient was too relaxed and emaciated, the blood impoverished, and the tone of the stomach much impaired. Some have been known to recover from a dropfy by the use of it, after being several times tapped. The estate in which it rises having been, a few years ago, sold by Mr. Harris, the former proprietor, the purchaser, either through ignorance, or for some other reason, caused a bank to be dug down, at the foot of which it had used to be taken up. It now lies covered by a load of soil and rubbish several feet in depth; so that the public are at present unhappily deprived of this providential remedy. It is much to be lamented, that the many excellent mineral and medicinal waters in this island, distributed here by the benevolent Father of mankind, on purpose as it were to administer an easy relief under some of the most excruciating ailments, should have fallen so little under the public care, that, excepting the bath in St. Thomas, I do not know of one that has been thought worthy of the legislative attention.

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The astroites, or star-stones and brontie, hedge-hog and celini stones, are found in great abundance on the coast. The first-mentioned, as well as the coral rocks, which extend from Salt-pond hill to Old Harbour, near the shore, when calcined, make an excellent lime for building.

It seems now to be the established opinion, founded upon anatomical observations, that the black complexion of Negroes proceeds entirely from a *reticulum nigrum*, or dark-coloured net-work, spread immediately beneath the cuticle of their bodies. It is likewise presumed, upon reasonable grounds, that the different casts of complexion, observable among the different species of men, derive their various tints principally, if not entirely, from the colour of their *reticula*. The offspring of two Negroe-parents, if born with a white or light-coloured *reticulum*, is called an Albinoe. A male child of this species was born, a few years since, at a polinck, in the hills between St. Catharine and this parish, and is probably still living. The complexion of it was a dead, dull white, resembling that of a corpse; its hair, or rather wool, a light-flaxen colour, strong, coarse, and curling, like that of a Negroe; the features were truly of the Negroe cast; the nostrils wide, and lips thick and prominent; the eyes were a light-grey, large and full, and, when brought into a strong light, were in a continual, rolling motion, which gave the child the foolish look of an idiot. If he should attain to manhood, and beget children, the attention of the curious will be excited to remark the colour of his progeny. A nation of these Albinoes are said to inhabit somewhere in the central parts of Africa; who are weak and of low stature, and do not mix with the Blacks. They are called Dondos, or Mokiffis, by the natives; and are said to have scarcely any sight, except by moon or owl-light, and to be at continual war with the Blacks, who attack them in the day-time, when their sight is at the worst; and they take their revenge in the night, when it is best. They are likewise said to be educated in the science of priestcraft, or witchcraft, and to fill the chief offices at Loango in all religious affairs and superstitious ceremonies. Some of the Negroes in Guiney are of opinion, that, although they have their males and females, like the rest of mankind, they are incapable of procreating, if not of

coition. But this wants proof. Several of the same species are affirmed to have been seen in other parts of Africa, in Borneo, in India, and New Guiney.

I shall conclude the account of this parish with a table, as before :

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Annual Produce of Sugar.		
			Sugar-plantations.	Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	2298	5341			
1740,	2515	5468			
1745,	2423	4540			
1758,	3229	4232			
1761,	3210				
1763,	3075	3899			
1766,	3713	4236			
1768,	3665	4661	12	700	56

Taking the lists of 1768 and 1740 into comparison, the decrease of cattle appears to be 807, although no new sugar-plantations were formed within that time. And this falling-off, I am afraid, must be referred chiefly to the introduction of foreign cattle, for supplying the markets and squadron: this proved a discouragement to many penn-keepers in the parish, and occasioned their deserting it; so that several pennis, which formerly were capital breeding-pennis, are at present in waste.

#### S E C T. IV.

#### St. J O H N.

This parish has for its boundaries, on the North, St. Anne; on the South, St. Dorothy; on the East, St. Thomas in the Vale; and on the West, Clarendon. The whole of this parish is occupied with hills, mountains, and vallies. It is watered with four rivers, of which the Rio Montando, or Mountain river, is the principal; and with the several springs and ramifications which contribute to form them. The soil in general is fertile, even on the highest ridges. It abounds with fine timber; and the vales



vales are particularly prolific; of these the Vale of Luidas, distant about twenty-one miles N. W. from Spanish Town, is the best-fenced. Before sugar-works were formed here, it contained only breeding-penns, whose pastures were so rich, that the cattle were remarkably fat, and their flesh of an exquisite flavour. These penn-keepers used to supply the market of Spanish Town with veal, which Sir Hans Sloane, I think, extols very highly. The climate of this parish is cool and temperate. Exceeding good butter has been made here by one or two families; and I have seen most kinds of European garden stuff, produced in the Vale of Luidas, in as great perfection as any that is brought to Covent-garden-market. The cherry, apple, quince, and peach tree, thrive and bear fruit in this vale; a sure indication of the cool temperature of the climate, and that the surrounding mountains would be found on experiment to produce them in still higher perfection. The air of this parish is consequently very healthful, and has proved entirely agreeable to European constitutions. But it is far from being well-inhabited, the roads leading from it requiring a great deal of improvement. After crossing the Red Hills, we enter a tolerably cultivated vale at Lloyd's estate, interspersed with a few well-built houses, which, for want of the residence of their proprietors, are hastening very fast to decay. From this vale we ascend Cudjve Hill; from part of which there is a South-east prospect over the Red Hills to Kingston, and Westward to Old Harbour and Goat Island, with a near view of such plantations as lie immediately below. Some miles further inland is Bolt's Hill, which rises still higher; the sides of it are finely clothed with sugar-canes; and from the summit the Southern hills appear depressed, and the eye takes in a boundless prospect over the sea, beyond Port-Royal. About the distance of two miles further North are the barracks, which are built of stone, and command a narrow pass of communication between the North and South sides of the island. This post is capable of being made exceedingly strong; and even now a garrison of fifty men might hold it against five hundred: but hitherto (as I am informed) no detachment has been cantoned in it. The barracks are no sooner passed, than we discover, at the distance of four or five miles along a vifo between two continued chains of hills,

at the foot of which runs a broken gully, called Juan de Bolas (or John of the Vale), the delightful valley of Luidas, before-spoken-of, encircled with the lofty mounds of four parishes, St. John, Clarendon, St. Anne, and St. Thomas in the Vale. Some of these highlands near Juan de Bolas are said to have rich veins of the precious ores; but no expence is sufficient to explore the profound regions in which they lie concealed. The late Sir S——n Cl——ke (who was descended from an ancient family in Warwickshire, and bore some of the highest offices in this island), amongst other branches of science, attained to considerable knowledge in metallurgy; and, had his success been at all proportioned to his skill, might have bestowed his application to a very profitable end: but, unhappily, after an immense expence and trouble in searching for the hidden treasure, he found (too late) that his favourite pursuit had only contributed to the reduction of his fortune. The church, if not lately repaired, is in a ruinous, dilapidated state. The rector, however, has a good house and some glebe land. His stipend is 200*l.* and the annual value of the living supposed not to exceed 320*l. per annum.*

## State of the Parish:

	Annual Produce.			
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Hogheads.   Other Settlements.
1734,	5242	2561		
1740,	5875	2837		
1745,	5728	2250		
1761,	5888			
1768,	5455	2726	21	2200   50

The decrease of Negroes shews that this parish is not getting forwards. Let me here remark (once for all) on the great utility of comparing the present and past state of the parishes together. It is the true test by which the legislature may judge of the state of the whole island, and where the symptoms of a decline are manifest; as in the example of this parish, which is blest with every natural advantage of a good air, a fruitful soil, and regular seasons. It may justly be suspected, that a retrogradation under these very favourable circumstances can happen no otherwise than from some defect in the policy of internal government; perhaps nothing so much

much as a want of good roads, and the impoverished condition of those who have failed in their settlements, principally from this cause. But, whatever the cause may have been, it is the duty of a patriotic legislature, when convinced of the fact, to search for the source of evil by the most probable rules of enquiry; and, when they have discovered it, to apply the best remedies in their power.

## S E C T. V.

## St. THOMAS in the VALE.

THIS parish is bounded towards the North by St. Anne, and St. Mary; towards the South, by St. Catharine; on the East, by St. Andrew; and on the West, by St. John. It is watered by the Cobre; the D'Oro; the Rio Magno, formed by the conflux of the Tilboa and Indian rivers; and by several small rivulets which fall into them. The greater part of this parish is comprized within the vale called Sixteen-mile-walk. This vale is about eleven miles in length by eight in width, and contains between fifty and sixty thousand square acres. It is situated Southerly, beneath the main ridge or chain of high mountains which traverse the island from East to West. It is also inclosed on all other sides with a circumvallation of high hills and mountains. It is neither flat nor swampy, but diversified throughout with gentle risings and slopes. The soil is fertile, for the most part a red coarse earth mixed with clay, or a dark mould upon a whitish marle. It is full of springs and rivulets, which unite with the larger streams; and these, meeting together near the chasm or opening betwixt the mountains on the South side of the vale, augment that noble river the Cobre, which continues its course irregularly between rocky mountains and precipices, alternately a cascade or smooth water, as it happens to be more or less impeded, exhibiting for some miles a very romantic scene till it reaches the plain below. At that part of the vale where it first shapes its course towards Spanish Town, it enters between two yawning rocky hills, which ap-  
pear

pear as if they had been rifted on purpose to give it a passage. The vale is almost daily throughout the year overcast with a thick fog, which begins to rise slowly on the approach of evening, grows denser as the night advances, becomes gradually diffused into all the contiguous vales or inlets among the surrounding mountains, is heaviest about the dawn of day, and remains settled until the sun has warmed and agitated the air; then it rises higher, expanding in the atmosphere; and between the hours of eight and nine in the forenoon it begins to flow away in two principal streams, the one Westward among the mountains on that side, the other Southward, following the course of the river. Early in the morning it is extremely thick; and, if viewed at this time from the summit of the mountains, it affords the most lively representation possible of a large lake, or little sea: the several vales and collateral inlets appear to be arms, harbours, bays, and creeks; the elevated spots, dispersed through it, and covered with trees, buildings, or canopies, resemble small islands, which here and there uplift their diminutive heads above water, combining into view the most picturesque and delightful variety. This fog has been remarked as a singular phenomenon almost from the first settlement of the island. I shall not pretend definitively to explain the physical causes of it; the subject has puzzled much abler heads: but as every one has a right to offer his conjectures; so I may be allowed to submit mine, without affecting to controul the opinions of others.

The great abundance of rain that falls on the encircling mountains, their prodigious surface and sudden steep rise from the vale on all sides, may probably occasion a vast quantity of water to descend incessantly, through subterraneous chasms, into so low a situation, as it were into a huge sink. The soil of the vale, which in general (as has been observed) is a clay, may possibly obstruct the free emergency of this water to the surface, except in particular places, where, the stratum being thinner, the resistance is less; or where gravel, sand, or mould of a loose texture, predominate. Accordingly, we observe it copiously watered with several springs and rivulets, which have their source among the adjacent high lands. But although these currents do not burst forth in all parts, yet the smaller globules of water may gradually be rarefied and evaporate,  
 assisted

assisted by the native warmth of the marble below, and the action of the solar heat above; which enable those globules to penetrate the surface in form of vapour. In a vale encompassed with such prodigious mounds, the solar rays must strike with considerable impression, and supply the earth to a certain depth with a large stock of heat, which doth not wholly leave it for many hours after sun-set. The ingenious Dr. Hales remarks, that so great a heat as the sun occasions, at two feet depth under the earth's surface, must needs have strong influence in raising the moisture at that and greater depths; whereby a continual reek must always be ascending, during a hot season, by night as well as by day; for the heat at two feet depth is nearly the same night and day. The impulse of the sun-beams giving the moisture in the earth a brisk undulating motion, these aqueous particles, when separated and rarefied by heat, ascend into the atmosphere. In the day-time, the rarefaction of these particles is so great, that they pass from the earth imperceptibly: after sun-set, the cool air, rushing downwards from the mountains, condenses, and renders them visible. In this state the fog rests brooding over the vale, for want of heat to raise it higher, or of wind to dispel it; for the land-wind does not usually blow here with an impetuosity sufficient to drive it over these lofty barriers that hem in the vale: but it is observed, that strong Norths in the winter-months force it vehemently through the opening of the Southern chain, through which the Cobre flows, and disperse it for several miles, even to Spanish Town, and sometimes beyond it; but, whenever this happens, no fog is to be seen in that quarter of the vale bordering on the Northern range of mountains from which the wind then sets. Another singularity is, that, on the approach of a rainy day, this fog does not appear the antecedent evening; the reason of which may be, that such evenings being always close and sultry, it is probable the rarefaction continues as well by night as by day. and, the usual condensation not taking place, the particles are not rendered obvious to the sight, although perhaps the reek at such times is rather more copious than at others. So in the low lands, on the evening preceding rain, the atmosphere feels unusually close and moist, the thermometer does not sink after sun-set, no perceptible vapours are  
noticed,

noticed, and no dew appears on the grass. The unaltered station of the thermometer is alone an evident proof, that the heat of the atmosphere is not diminished, and consequently, that the vapours remain uncondensed.

Fogs are generally supposed detrimental to health; but the fog of Sixteen-mile-walk by no means deserves this imputation. The inhabitants do not scruple to expose themselves to it freely; nor is it known to produce any effects injurious to them. The principal cause of its inoffensive quality may be, that it is not mixed with any sulphureous or noxious exhalations; at least, it is without any sensible smell; which would most certainly not be the case, if it was much impregnated with any such effluvia. Its good effects consist in the copious dew which it sheds upon the trees and herbage, and which supports them in the driest weather in a flourishing state. Those long drowths therefore, which sometimes happen in this island, so fatal to the estates in general, affect the plantations in this vale but very little; the fog supplying, in a great measure, the want of rains, or at least so far as to save the canes from perishing in the manner they do in other parts of the island.

The North-west part of this vale is called The Maggoti, a tract of savannah lying near the foot of *Monte Diablo*. The name of this savannah gave rise to a story, that, whenever it rains here, the drops which fall upon any person's cloaths become maggots in half an hour. This wonderful metamorphosis, reported probably at first by way of joke to some credulous inquirer, has with all its absurdity been swallowed, and retailed by several authors, copying one from the other, and gravely recorded by them among the *notabilia* of this island. These maggots, however, never existed, except in the brains of the inventor. The name, perhaps, was of Spanish extraction, compounded of *Maga* (an enchantress), and *Oteo* (watching on a high place); alluding probably to the pinnacle of *Monte Diablo*, over which the thunder-clouds so frequently break, as, together with its horrid aspect, to make it seem a proper residence for a witch, under patronage of the Devil, to whom the mountain was dedicated. The road leading from Sixteen-mile-walk to St. Anne crosses this mountain, traversing the face of it, which is so steep, that few travelers venture to descend

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scend on horse-back. Some tradition, perhaps, remained concerning the origin of the Magotti, when a small house of refreshment was kept on the highest part of the road, many years ago, known by the sign of Mother Red-cap; which name that part still retains.

The cavern at River-head in the North-West part of the vale extends near a quarter of a mile under a mountain, or perhaps more, it being impossible to explore the whole length, on account of the river Cobre, which occupies the inmost part of it, and, running for a considerable way, suddenly shoots through a hole in the rock on one side, and continues its current under ground for a considerable distance from the cave. That this river draws its origin from some large stream in the mountains, far beyond the cave, seems evident, by its rising or falling in exact proportion as the rains are heavy or otherwise in the mountains. After very heavy rains, the river is so swelled, that, unable to vent itself at the hole, the superfluous water disembogues through the mouth of the cavern. An ingenious man attempted, a few years since, by fixing a flood-gate across the hole, to force the current of the river into a regular channel by the mouth of the cavern, and conduct it from thence to turn water-mills on the neighbouring estates. The undertaking had all the appearance of being practicable, but was laid aside after the death of the projector. Near the foot of the Northern ridge, at no great distance from the road which leads over *Monte Diablo*, is a cocoa-nut tree of very singular growth. About thirty feet or more above the base, it divides into two distinct stems, which, continuing their ascent for several feet, at an angle thus V, and at pretty equal elevation above the main stem or body of the tree, are crowned with tops of beautiful foliage, and nearly of the same magnitude; but whether both are productive of fruit or not I could not learn. As no other of the like figure has been observed in the island, it may be regarded as a *lusus naturæ*, of a very unusual kind. The pass which admits a communication between Spanish Town and this vale ought not here to be unmentioned. After traveling about three miles from the town on a pretty level road, we come to a sugar-plantation, formerly called by the Spaniards *Los Angeles*, and now *The Angels*. Just beyond this begins the entrance of the pass. From hence to

the opening into Sixteen-mile-walk, for the space of four miles and a half, is a continuation of precipice on both sides, divided only by the river, except a small elbow at the end of four miles, where a few acres of level ground at the foot of these ridges has admitted of a little fugar-work. The road cut into the side of the mountain falls by an easy descent to the bridge, and crossing the river is conducted along the remainder of the way not many feet above the surface of the water: it is therefore subject to be broken away in many places by the violence of floods; but this inconvenience is submitted to from the impracticability there appeared of carrying it higher through such immense masses of rock as form impediments the whole way. For a considerable length, the road is walled up; and, as it is so liable to damage, not only from inundations of the river, but the falling of large trees, rocks, and earth, from the impending crags and precipices under which it runs, the expence of repairing it is very great, and requires a standing body of workmen, who are employed the whole year to keep it in order. The height of the mountains on each side overshadowing it morning and afternoon, the passage is extremely cool and agreeable; every turn of the road presenting the eye with new appearances of the river, the rocks, and woods; whilst the water, sometimes roaring and foaming in its current, where it is confined to a narrow and rugged channel; at other times gliding smoothly and silently along, delights the traveler with an alternate variety. At the end of four miles, the mountain called Gibraltar opens to view a vast solid wall of rock of prodigious height, whose surface, apparently perpendicular, is nevertheless clothed with trees and shrubs from the base to the summit; the tops of one row terminating where the roots of the next row begin, so as almost to seem growing one upon the other. After heavy rains a cataract spouts from the pinnacle of this stupendous mass, rendering it still more awful and romantic. The defile continues not far beyond this majestic object, though not widening till we enter at once the extensive and beautiful vale of Sixteen-mile-walk. The air of this vale was suspected formerly of producing the West-India colic or belly-ach; but, as that disorder does not seem at present to be particularly attached to the spot, some other cause must have made



it endemial: perhaps the inhabitants at this time are less addicted to drinking new rum, and therefore less afflicted with it. The air of this parish is in general reputed healthy; and the habitations throughout the vale being for the most part built on rising ground, they are not subject to damp. This tract was among the first settled with sugar-plantations, and what it produces now of this commodity is of an excellent quality; but the land is thought to be much worn. The truth is, that some of the plantations here were formed upon a gritty, red, and naturally sterile soil, which, for want of regular manure, and having lost by degrees its superficial coat of vegetable mould, became less and less productive, till the proprietors threw them up as unfit for the sugar-cane. But others, who have pursued a better husbandry, still reap advantage from it in reasonably good crops. The air of the mountains is perfectly fine and healthful. Upon one of them, near the confines of St. Catharine's, is the governor's polinck or provision ground, which has a small but neat villa upon it, and was purchased by the assembly, as an occasional retreat, during the hot months, for the commander in chief. The soil of these mountains is fertile; and they are chiefly appropriated to supply the estates in the vale with the different kinds of vegetable provision, and lime and timber for repairing their works. This parish contained,

	Annual produce.				
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
In 1734,	7568	4441			
1740,	8475	4813			
1745,	8239	4797			
1761,	9057				
1768,	8382	5782	41	3500	37

It appears from hence to have made little or no progress since the year 1740; and the increased number of cattle, amounting to 969, are probably the stock brought upon those runs, which, after being in canes, have been converted into pasture.

## S E C T. VI.

## C L A R E N D O N

IS one of the largest, healthiest, and best-settled parishes in the whole island. It is bounded on the East by the parishes of St. Dorothy and St. John; on the West, by St. Elizabeth; on the North, by St. Anne; and on the South, by Vere, and a part of Old Harbour Bay. It is watered with no less than fifteen rivers, besides innumerable rivulets and springs. The names of these rivers are,

Green River,	Ballard's,	Rock, and
Thomas,	Pindar's,	Craal;
Tick,	Juan de Bolas,	

whose several streams fall into the Minho. There are likewise,

The Cave,	Milk,
Pedro,	Baldwin's, and
Croft's,	Bower's.

The capital of these is the Minho, which takes its source about twenty-six miles, in a direct line, from the sea on the South side, but with its various meanders makes a course of fifty and upwards. I do not know if the short river should be added to the list. It lies exactly on the boundary which divides this parish from St. Anne. It is a large body of water, which appears in a hollow, or dell; and, after running with great violence a little way, suddenly disappears, probably to give birth to another river below; but its subterraneous direction has not as yet been discovered. The Cave, Pedro, and Croft's rivers, are also remarkable for hiding themselves under ground, after a course of some miles above. The river Minho was probably so called after one of the same name in Portugal; for it is to be observed, that the first settlers from Europe were a mixture of Spanish and Portuguese. It is from this reason that we find in the island mountains and rivers named in both these languages. But the name was applied with great propriety to this river, as there are many circumstances to induce a belief, that the Spaniards opened and worked a gold mine somewhere near its banks.

banks. Of this I shall hereafter speak more particularly under the head of mines, as I am willing to bring the whole on that head into one view, and shall therefore add nothing further upon it for the present. It may be imagined, that a district, watered so plentifully as this is, must be well calculated for settlements: but it was not much cultivated in the time of the Spaniards; they possessed a few cacao-walks near the Minho, but chiefly resorted hither to hunt the wild hogs, which were always very numerous in it, and are not yet extirpated. The water in general of all the rivers and springs is tolerably pure and wholesome, except when disturbed by land-floods. The lower part of the parish towards the bay consists chiefly of savannah land for about six miles in length, here and there interspersed with rocky hills of no great height. The hills rise gradually in height the further we advance into the heart of the parish; yet here are few or none so steep or barren, as not to be fit for culture of some sort or other. The vales between the hills and mountains are in general spacious, watered by some river, and enriched with fine cane-land. The conveniency of having water-mills, and the firmness of the roads in general, has encouraged the inhabitants to carry their sugar-plantations much farther inland than in any other district of the island; and there are some at no less distance than twenty-two miles from the barkadier. These estates form their carriage into two stages, fixing the termination of the first at about midway, where they have convenient pastures and store-houses, for refreshment of their cattle, and lodgement of their goods. The soil within the mountains is inferior to none, either for the production of canes or provisions; and the woods are full of excellent timber. The rivers abound with the mullet, so much admired for its delicious flavour. In short, the inhabitants have all the means of plenty in their hands from these sources, and the regularity of their seasons; and of course they are, at least the greater part, opulent and flourishing. The back-parts of the parish, bordering on St. Anne and St. Elizabeth, are the worst-peopled: yet here is a great field of encouragement to invite settlers; for the remotest estates hitherto formed are known to produce sugars of the best quality. The soil of the high lands is in general either rocky, intermixed with a black shell-mould, or

a fine vegetable dark mould on a clay. The lower grounds are chiefly clay, intermixed here and there with rich veins of vegetable mould, or the brick mould; the latter mostly abounds near the banks of the rivers, consisting of the sediment they have deposited, or of the finer particles washed down from the hills. The plantation called Carvers is one of the most celebrated for its fertility: it is a small dale, surrounded with rocky hills, and so rich, that it produces almost invariably three hundred hogheads of sugar *per annum*, with so little labour to the Negroes employed upon it, that they multiply sufficiently to keep up their stock, without having recourse to African recruits. Near Juan de Bolas river, about sixteen miles from the coast, the road continues towards St. Ann's, passing by easy traverses up the side of a steep mountain, on the summit of which we enter a savannah, or plain, of about four miles in length, called Old Woman's Savannah, from an elderly Spanish lady, who took up her abode here after the island was surrendered to the English, and resided here many years in a hut. This savannah is watered with several fine springs; and the soil, though apparently not fertile, produces very good sugar. The air is so pure and delightful, that many small settlements have been formed here; and the inhabitants attain, for the most part, to a good old age. The late Mr. James Dawkins made choice of this spot for founding an academy for the instruction of boys, natives of the island; and, had he lived, the project would no doubt have been brought to maturity: but of this plan I shall hereafter give a further detail. The hamlet, or village of the Cross, is situated about six miles from Old Harbour Bay, on the great roads leading, one to leeward, the other to Old Woman's Savannah. It consists of about ten houses, near the parish-church, which is an handsome brick-building, of four ailes. Hard-by, likewise, stands the skeleton of the parsonage-house, which at present is converted into a cooper's shop; a metamorphosis that is not at all wonderful; for the inhabitants of this hamlet, being mostly Jews and Mulattoes, afford no very agreeable neighbourhood to a Protestant divine. The lowlands of this parish were the first settled; but the inhabitants in process of time having found the climate of the mouldains more cool, the seasons more regular, and the soil more fertile,

fertile, removed to them, and have carried their improvements to very great perfection. The rector's stipend is 250*l.*; but the being an extensive and populous parish, the living is reputed worth 600*l. per annum* at least, and includes about twelve Negroe slaves, who are appropriated to the use of the rector for the time being. The chapel is distant about twelve miles further inland, a small but neat building, and furnished with a good organ. Divine service, for the convenience of the parishioners, is alternately performed here, and at the Cross Church: the quarter-session is generally held at the Chapel; and the election of representatives at the Cross. The hamlet of the Chapel consists of only seven or eight scattered houses. Here are the parish-barracks; in which a company of regulars is quartered, and a small market is held occasionally by the Negroes of the neighbourhood.

About three miles from the Cross, the Western road passes the channel of Rio Minho, which hereabouts changes its name to Dry River, because it is sometimes quite dry, and at other times very broad and rapid. Westward from this passage, the road continues nearly the same distance, till it approaches Lime Savannah, where a branch diverges from it Northwards to the Chapel; but the main road continues on to St. Jago Savannah. In the middle of this open space is a gentle rising, which commands a distant view of the whole; and here is very properly situated a starting-chair, for seeing the races, which are sometimes held, for the Vere subscription-purse. Upon this savannah, which is well-stocked with cattle of all kinds, are several large ponds, besides many small springs and rivulets, which never lose their water, except in times of most unusual and long-continued drowth. The road which branches off to the Chapel, after leaving the flat country, ascends among rocky hills, till it reaches Tick Savannah. A great part of this road is truly romantic; and the whole, from top to bottom, for the extent of two miles, is hung on either side with the deep gloom of lofty trees, ever verdant, and rising in wild gradation out of stupendous rocks and chasms. The savannah receives its name from the river Tick, which runs through part of the vale just below it. On the top of the savannah is a large piece of water, of considerable depth, the resort of various wild-fowl. Not far from hence is the seat of

Mr. F——n,

Mr. F——n, formerly chief-justice of the island; a native, and one whose talents are so extraordinary, that it is almost impossible for the most impartial pen to do justice to them. In this island alone, he has attained, by observation, reading, conversation, and the natural *acumen* of his genius, a more comprehensive and accurate knowledge of places, persons, and things, in Great-Britain, Europe, and even throughout the known world, than most other gentlemen, who have had opportunities of being personally acquainted with them, or of obtaining the most intelligent accounts of them. Though he never trod any other earth but this little spot Jamaica, yet he is intelligent in the manners, arts, sciences, and people (so far as have been hitherto discovered), of the whole terrestrial globe. Nature, it is true, endued him with a retentive memory, and faculties uncommonly sagacious; but still it is signally to his merit, that he has improved every advantage which she gave him; no one has studied more, nor better understands what he has studied, than this gentleman, whom with the strictest propriety, and without the least particle of adulation, I may aver to be worthy of being esteemed among the first ornaments of this country.

His house is delightfully placed upon a small rising, in the centre of a little vale: at no great distance from it are two craggy rocks, which peep over the summits of two hills, and resemble the ruins of antique castles. Immediately below it lies a little garden, filled with orange, cacao, and other trees, for use and pleasure. Beyond this are several hills, clumps of tufted wood, and natural avenues into the adjacent country.

At about one hundred paces distance from this mansion is another of more modern and elegant construction. It consists of one very large and spacious room, upwards of fifty feet in length, about twenty wide, and twelve high. This is entered by a door-way at the North end, under a portico of about twelve or fifteen feet square, supported by columns of the Tuscan order; and at the South end is a gallery, out of which the eye, over-looking a small garden, is carried along an avenue between two gently-rising woods, that have a solemn, silent grandeur. Adjoining to the principal room are smaller apartments, one of which is a library furnished with a collection of the best authors. The old habitation, though

though less elevated, nevertheless commands a richer and more extensive prospect, comprehending the finest part of Clarendon, and of the neighbouring parishes. The beauties of nature that are displayed here are innumerable. In one place is seen a long, wavy surface, adorned with the lively verdure of canes, interspersed with wind-mills and other buildings. In another are beheld several charming lawns of pasture-land, dotted with cattle and sheep, and watered with rivulets. In a third are Negroe villages, where (far from poverty and discontent) peace and plenty hold their reign; a crested ridge of fertile hills, which separates this parish from those contiguous on the North and East, distantly terminates the landscape.

The produce of this parish is shipped for the most part at Old Harbour Bay; on which there are two principal barquadiers, the one at Old Harbour Town, the other at Bower's River.

In a rocky hill, on the Northern side of Old Woman's Savannah, is a cavern which runs a great depth under the earth. Upon examination, a few years since, it was found to contain a great many human bones, which were probably either Indians, or the relics of some of the wild or rebellious Negroes, who formerly infested this part of the country, and made it their place of concealment. Near this savannah is likewise a chalybeate-spring, which has performed some cures, but is not much attended to. The hills adjacent to it furnish evident proofs of their abounding with copper ore, which one day or other may possibly excite a stricter investigation. The hard, shining pyrites are frequently found in these mountains; and magnetic stones have been picked up on this savannah, which seem to indicate the presence of iron ore. Many of the springs in this, as well as in St. Anne's and some other parishes, are remarkable for their incrusting and petrefactive qualities; forming in some places a layer or thin crust; in others, penetrating into wood, and other substances, without altering their shape. I have seen pieces of hard wood metamorphosed, by their process, into stone, so as to answer the purpose of hones for sharpening knives. In most of the gullies bordering upon the coast, are large quantities of agate, chiefly of the flesh-coloured, blood-coloured, and yellow kinds. But there are

others more variegated. These natural productions are so little enquired after here, that, I believe, they are even unknown to many: yet the pains of collecting those most in esteem might be rewarded by the profit of vending them to Great-Britain. The most valuable species are the white-veined, the flesh-coloured, the red, the pale-yellow, the dark-brown with black veins, and the greenish-brown variegated. A few, which an ingenious gentleman of this island brought with him to London, were greatly admired. Ship-loads might be procured here at no other charge than that of gathering them; and by breaking a few, the best sort might be easily discovered. The temperature of the air in this extensive parish is various. In the lowlands it is for the most part warm and dry; and, among the mountains, cool, healthy, and invigorating. Some of the low grounds adjoining the rich banks of the Minho are unwholesome, and were so reputed by the Spaniards; for, in times of drowth, this river, about ten miles distance from the coast, begins first to bury its waters, leaving the channel dry for a considerable length; then rises again; and so continues sinking and emerging alternately until it disembogues. The mud and weeds, thus left to ferment and turn putrid with the heat of the sun, are supposed with good reason to breed very noxious exhalations; and the known unhealthiness of one or two estates, which border upon this part of it, cannot otherwise be accounted for. The white inhabitants, or rather the proprietors of these estates, might probably be relieved from this annoyance, by removing the dwelling houses to some convenient eminence; for it can never be consistent with health to sleep in a putrid atmosphere. The flourishing state of this parish may be conceived from the following table:

	Annual Produce.				
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	10769	11027			
1740,	11575	12299			
1745,	12775	11969			
1761,	13772				
1768,	15517	14276	70	8000	180

By which it appears that, in the number of Negroes and cattle, it is much improved; and, by the great quantity of produce, that it is  
in



in a flourishing state. The large extent of it hitherto unpeopled will also suggest this obvious remark, that it requires many more settlers, to bring it to a more ample state of culture, and render it still more beneficial. Its advantages in point of water are observable from the number of its water-mills, there being no fewer than fifty. Besides sugar, ginger, and cacao, the article of coffee is largely cultivated here; and the annual crops of corn are so great, that none of the parishes are better stocked with hogs and poultry. Its low lands also abound with horses, cattle, and sheep.

## S E C T. VII.

VERE, in the Precinct of CLARENDON.

THIS parish, with Clarendon, forms one precinct. It is bounded East and North by Clarendon; West, by St. Elizabeth; and South, by the sea. The town of Carlisle, so called in honour of the earl of that name, formerly governor of the island, was intended near the mouth of Rio Minho; but it is at present only an inconsiderable hamlet, of ten or twelve houses. This place is remarkable for having been the scene of action between the French and English in the year 1694, when Monsieur DuCasse, the governor of Hispaniola, with a squadron of three men of war, and twenty-three transports, having on board 1500 men, invaded the island; and, after some ineffectual attempts at Port Morant, Cow Bay, and Bluefields, where he met with a repulse, anchored in Carlisle Bay on the 18th of June. The governor, Sir William Beeston, who had carefully watched their motions, and conjectured their intention of making a descent on this part of the coast, immediately ordered thither two troops of horse, the St. Catharine regiment, and part of the Clarendon and St. Elizabeth regiments of foot-militia. On the 19th in the morning, the French landed between fourteen and fifteen hundred men, who proceeded to the attack of a breast-work, which had been hastily thrown up, near the shore. This was gallantly defended for a considerable time by two hundred of the militia; who, finding at length that they could not maintain

the post, repass'd the river Minho, after killing several of the enemy, and the loss of some of their own officers. In the mean time the militia, dispatched by the governor, having arriv'd, advanced against the French; and, notwithstanding the fatigue of their long march from Spanish Town, they charged the enemy with such fury, as oblig'd them to retreat. The two following days a few slight skirmishes happen'd; and on the 22d, the French attack'd a brick house, then occup'd by a Mr. Hubbard, which was bravely defend'd by twenty-five men, who kill'd and wound'd several of the French, among whom were some officers of distinction. The French retir'd for a while, threatening to renew the assault; and, in the mean time, a detachment from the English troops, of fifty pick'd men, was thrown into the house, and an ambuscade prepar'd with the rest. But the enemy, intimidat'd with their loss of men and officers, seeing no probability of being able to effect any further advance into the country, suddenly retreated to the shore, re-embark'd with the utmost expedition on board their ships, and on the 24th, their whole fleet got under sail for Hispaniola. The whole loss sustain'd by the French in this short time, by their different engagements and sickness, amount'd to near seven hundred men. On the part of the English, one hundred were kill'd and wound'd. Captain Elliot, who had been a prisoner at Petit-Guava, and made his escape from thence in a small canoe, brought the first intelligence to Sir William Beeston of the intended invasion; for which he was afterwards recompens'd by king William III. with a gold chain and medal, of one hundred pounds value, and five hundred pounds in money.

The government of Jamaica immediately set about framing several acts for better guarding the coasts; and, among others, one for enabling the inhabitants of Vere to erect a fortification for their defence; in consequence of which, Carlisle Fort was built the following year. This fortress, for want of repair, has been undermin'd by the sea, and for many years in a ruinous condition, the guns being all dismount'd, and some of them buried in the sand: nor will it probably be restor'd to a proper state for defence till after some future invasion; the general rule of œconomy, pursu'd in this island, having been to let the preparations for defence always follow,

follow, instead of preceding, the attack. The parish-church stands at the distance of about two miles and a half from the fort. It is extremely well-finished on the inside, has an organ, and a tower. Its structure is low, and, being surrounded with large cotton-trees, it cannot well be seen till on a close approach. There is a decent rectory near it, with about seven acres of glebe, besides twelve acres more, in another part of the parish, of very fine land. The stipend granted by law is 200*l.* and the whole value of the living about 350*l. per annum.* About half a mile from the church, on the opposite side of the river Minho, is the free-school, founded about the year 1741, with sundry private benefactions, and calculated for instructing the poor children of the parish in reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin, Greek, and the mathematics, under the management of trustees appointed by an act of assembly. This parish is watered with five rivers, the Minho, Milk River, Baldwin's, Hilliard's, and Salt River; two of which, the Milk and Salt Rivers, are navigable by boats for a considerable way up. Baldwin's and Hilliard's are only small branches which fall into the Milk River, which, as well as the Minho, discharge themselves into the sea. Long Bay, and the mouth of Milk River, are only anchoring-places for sloops: the principal shipping-places are at Carlisle Bay, and near the mouth of Salt River; which latter has its source about a mile from an inlet on the West side of Old Harbour Bay, under the foot of a rocky hill; the saltness of its water, from whence it takes its name, seems to indicate, that it passes through a large bed of that fossil. The entrance into the bay of Old Harbour from Cape Boncato, or Cabarito, on the East, to the Pitch of Portland, West, is about twelve miles and a half in the width, and the bay about twelve in depth. It is defended by six small cays, or little sandy islands, which are low, and covered with shrubs. The base of these islands seems to be composed of coral rock; over which the sea has accumulated heaps of sand and broken shells. The reefs, extending from them very far into the bay, render the channels very dangerous to strangers. But the anchoring-grounds are very good in the interior parts, and capacious enough for five hundred sail of ships. The largest of these cays is called Pigeon Island, from the flocks of pigeons, chiefly the bald-pate, which used to frequent

frequent it formerly. On the West part of the bay are, West Harbour, Peake Bay, and Salt River; which are all of them commodious for shipping, and well-covered, either by the Ridge of Portland, or small cayes; so that the water, where the ships lye to receive their loading, is generally smooth, and unaffected either by the wind or sea.

The Promontory of Portland is about ten miles in length, and about two in breadth. The whole of it is extremely rocky, and contains only one small spring. Nature has, in some degree, compensated for this deficiency, by supplying in the shadier parts a great number of little basons, or reservoirs, formed in the cavities of rocks, and replenished with rain-water; which prove of great service to run-away Negroes harbouring in the woods. It has only four or five small settlements upon it; and these are chiefly supported by the sale of brasiletto, and some other valuable trees, that are found here in abundance. During the last war, a French privateer made a descent at Carlisle Bay, surprized two gentlemen of the parish, and carried them off to sea. After having detained them for some time, the crew at length put them ashore at Portland Point, with no other sustenance than two or three biscuits and a bottle of brandy. From this Point there is no road across to the main land; so that they were obliged to keep along shore, for fear of losing themselves in the woods: but the fatigue of clambering over rocks, added to the heat and thirst, was so extreme, that only one of them survived this toilsome march, and returned to his family and friends; the other dropped by the way, and perished before any assistance could be given him. Such are too often the barbarous exploits of these licensed rovers; which serve to aggravate the miseries of war, by committing acts of inhumanity, from which no advantage can result, either to themselves, or the state that employs them! The range of hill which forms this promontory is divided, by a small morass near the head of Salt River, from another range, called the Brasiletto Mountain, which extends Northerly into Clarendon. These ridges, confining the parish on the South-east, intercept the regular current of the sea-breeze, and contribute to render the settlements Westward of them very hot.

The

The land on both sides the Minho in this parish was once famous for the number of indigo works settled upon it; all of which are now extinct. It is chiefly cultivated in canes: the almost-level tract, which continues from the sea to the mountains of Clarendon, about sixteen miles in length, by about fourteen in width in the broadest part (exclusive of the sugar-works), is chiefly employed in cattle and sheep pastures. The Western quarter of the parish includes a range of high land called Carpenter's Mountains; on the Eastern side of which are some few settlements, but the greater part remains uninhabited: across one of the highest pitches, named May-day Hill, runs the Leeward road, by which, after passing several miles of wood, we come to a good tavern, built here for the accommodation of travelers; this being the principal communication on the South side between the windward and leeward parishes. The air of these mountains is exceedingly cool and healthy; and their soil in general very fertile; which may be judged from the stately trees that grace each side of the road. In some part of these mountains (I do not vouch for the truth of the story) is said to be a perpendicular chasm, the diameter of whose mouth is only a few feet, and the depth of it unfathomable. The following singular phenomenon is reported of it: that, alternately in the space of every twenty-four hours, it emits and inhales a strong body of air or vapour; and that if, at the time of the indraught, a small bird, or other light body, should be thrown within the vortex, it would be irresistibly drawn in, and never more make its appearance above ground. On the South of these mountains, the old road to Leeward passes near the coast from this parish to Black River in St. Elizabeth; but it has been seldom used since the track was formed across May-day Hill, which is a much safer and better way.

The low lands of Vere are, for the most part, hot and parched; but the air is reckoned not unwholesome, except near the morasses, which border on Peake Bay and West Harbour. Vere has long been famous for producing the finest mutton, turkeys and other poultry, in the island; and with these it trafficks largely in the towns. It produces vast annual crops of Guiney corn, and pulse of various kinds, which form the chief part of subsistence for the  
Negroes,

Negroes, and small flock belonging to it. Near the Milk River is a hot salt-spring, the waters of which, some writers have not scrupled to affirm, will coagulate the white of an egg: but this is extremely fabulous. The spring, upon examination, was found very pellucid, but felt only milk-warm, and contained several little striped fish of a species similar to what are observed in Salt River; which is an incontestable proof, that the water is never in a state of ebullition. The principles of this water have not as yet been ascertained by any analysis; but it is pretty evident, that the predominant salt is marine. It has proved very efficacious in cleaning and healing foul ulcers, and removing cachectic swellings of the legs and feet, externally applied.

This island contains the three different kinds of heights, distinguished in Ireland by the words, *Knock*, signifying an insulated hill, or one unconnected with any range; *Slieve*, a craggy mountain, gradually ascending, and continued in several ridges; and *Beinn*, a pinnacle, or mountain of the first magnitude, rising in the midst of a chain of high lands, and ending in a sharp, abrupt precipice. Of the first species, which some authors have compared to eggs set in salt, is the Round Hill in this parish, formerly called by the Spaniards *Pan de Botillo*, about nine miles West from Carlisle, and two North from the sea. One of the like kind, resembling a sugar-loaf in its shape, stands near the shore in St. David's. There are likewise several in Clarendon, and other parishes.

Off the coast there is a good fishery; and some marine animals, extremely curious and remarkable, have been hauled ashore here by the Negroes in their seines. Among the rest, a few years ago, a *Sierra Marina*, or sea-unicorn, was caught entangled in a net at the mouth of Swift River, and required six stout Negroes to drag it out of the water. It measured, from the point of the sword to the tip of the tail, upwards of fourteen feet, and weighed near fourteen hundred pounds. Seventeen eggs, about the size of a man's fist, were taken out of the belly; and, soon after it was brought upon the land, it disgorged six young ones, of two feet length each, one of which, being put into the sea, swam immediately away. From the liver were extracted about twelve gallons

of

of oil; and much more might have been obtained. The flesh was cut up into large pieces, and afforded a delicious repast to the Negroes that were employed in the capture.

The lower district of this parish, called Witherwood, took its name from its having been formerly overspread with wood and withes when the English first settled upon it, and which grew so thick, that it was impossible to walk among them without a cut-lafs to clear the way. This is the part, which, on account of its rich soil, was afterwards filled with indigo and sugar-works, the opulence of whose owners is spoken of by several writers; and though it has been called in question by some, yet it is very certain, that more carriages of pleasure were at one time kept here, than in all the rest of the island, Spanish Town only excepted. It is, indeed, almost incredible to think what vast fortunes were made here by cultivation of this single commodity. When the act of parliament was passed with an intent to recover this branch of trade, the very art of making it was lost; few or no persons were then living in this part who were able to give instructions, and still fewer left to receive and follow them if any could have been given. The modern settlers had converted their lands into pasture, or the raising of cotton and corn; and could not be persuaded to give up a little certainty for a much greater probable advantage, where the instability of state-maxims threatened such a risque to the experimentors. The new law, which was merely temporary, instead of imposing a heavy tax, as the former law had done, allowed a small debenture in favour of every pound weight of indigo, the growth and manufacture of the British islands imported into England; yet it availed here but very little. None in this parish attempted to revive the culture of it. Three or four took it up in other parts of the island; and probably, if the law had been renewed after its expiration, with some additional bounty, it might have encouraged many more to try the effects of it.

For cattle and stock of all sorts, particularly horses and sheep, no parish in the island excels this, either in number or quality. The soil, except Main Savannah, which is a gravelly tract, and rather sterile in dry years, is of a fine brick-mould, and, were it not for the want of regular showers, it would be one of the most

productive spots in the West-Indies. From the summits and sides of the hills, which almost surround and overlook it, the appearance of it is inexpressibly delightful, and resembling much some of the richest plains of England. The Round Hill before-noticed adds greatly to the elegance of the prospect; and it is enlivened every where with herds, flocks, sugar-mills, and other pleasing objects.

State of this Parish:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Annual Produce of Sugar.		
			Sugar-works.	Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	3582	7194			
1740,	5370	8580			
1745,	5423	8870			
1761,	5063				
1768,	5940	7462	19	2100	131

This parish appears to be on the decline in the article of cattle, of which it contains fourteen hundred less than in the year 1745; which has been owing to the laying waste some capital breeding pens, and the conversion of others into sugar-plantations.

S E C T. VIII.

St. M A R Y.

THIS parish is bounded on the East by St. George; West, by St. Anne; South, by St. Thomas in the Vale, and part of St. Andrew; and North, by that frith of the sea which separates Cuba from this island. It is watered with twenty-four rivers, besides smaller streams; the principal of which are the Sambre, the Nuevo, Bagnal's Waters, and Port Maria, Easternmost and Westernmost. Nearly the whole of this parish is composed of hill, mountain, dale, and valley. The coast differs greatly from that of the South side, being for the most part iron-bound, or protected against the fury of the North winds and surges of the sea with a wall of rocks. The soil too is different, being in general a stiff clay on the higher grounds, and a considerable depth of rich, black, vegetable mould in the lower. The soil is universally fertile; the hills and mountains



tains clothed with noble woods, full of the finest and largest timber-trees; and every spot adapted to cultivation of almost every kind, except that the summits of some are thought too bleak and chilly for the sugar-cane: this is therefore chiefly confined to the vallies, and warmer slopes of the hills. The water is equal to any in the world for purity and wholesomeness; and the air is in general extremely healthful, and agreeable to European constitutions. About Orange River, and some other parts of this parish, the quarry-stones lie in layers, and are dug out in regular squares, of pretty even thickness, so as to answer the mason's purpose with very little trouble. They are of a light-brown, and yield to the acid. The chief ports are Anotto Bay, Port Maria, Auracabessa, Saltgut, and Rio Nuevo; which are good anchoring-places, though no security to ships in time of a hurricane, as they are all exposed to the North.

Port Maria is famous for having given, as it is supposed, an asylum to Columbus, when his ship was near foundering with a leak; and somewhere hereabouts authors have placed the town of Melilla, the first which the Spaniards founded. Rio Nuevo is likewise remarkable for the decisive victory gained there by general D'Oyley over the Spaniards; which confirmed the English in possession of this island. The weather in this parish is extremely wet during great part of the year, and so cold, that few if any of the houses are unfurnished with a chimney. Its chief productions are sugar and rum, a little indigo, coffee, tobacco, and corn. The land in general from its richness bears too luxuriant a cane: I have seen some here of enormous size and length; but such are unfit for making sugar, and are only ground for the still-house. The great plenty of water and provisions are extremely favourable to the breeding of hogs, of which there is great abundance; but sheep and poultry do not thrive here so well, owing to the barrenness of the pasturage, and moisture of the atmosphere. This parish having been frequently disturbed with insurrections of the Negro slaves belonging to it, has four barracks, at two of which there is usually a small cantonment of soldiers.

Fort Haldane, at Port Maria, stands on an eminence commanding the entrance of the harbour, and is capable of making a good

defence. The barracks are large enough to receive sixty men. The quarters here have not proved healthy to the troops; but the reason, as I have been informed, is, that the men were fed too constantly on salt provisions, which sometimes were of bad quality.

Auracabessa has a battery, and barracks likewise for sixty men. The other barracks are, one on the West side of Anotto Bay, at a place called Jack's Bay; and one at Bagnals, near the Decoy.

The hamlets at Rio Nuevo, Port-Maria, and Saltgut, have from eight to twelve houses each, inhabited principally by wharfingers, store and shop-keepers. One of the greatest curiosities in this parish is the Decoy, the seat of Sir Charles Price, bart. It is situated on part of the range of mountains which border on St. Thomas in the Vale. The house is of wood, but well finished, and has in front a very fine piece of water, which in winter is commonly stocked with wild-duck and teal. Behind it is a very elegant garden disposed in walks, which are shaded with the cocoa-nut, cabbage, and sand-box trees. The flower and kitchen-garden are filled with the most beautiful and useful variety which Europe, or this climate, produces. It is decorated, besides, with some pretty buildings; of which the principal is an octagonal saloon, richly ornamented on the inside with lustres, and mirrors empaneled. At the termination of another walk is a grand triumphal arch, from which the prospect extends over the fine cultivated vale of Bagnals quite to the Northside Sea. Clumps of graceful cabbage-trees are dispersed in different parts, to enliven the scene; and thousands of plantane and other fruit-trees occupy a vast tract, that environs this agreeable retreat, not many years ago a gloomy wilderness.

The late Sir Charles [n] was extremely attached to this place, and spent much of his time here, making it the abode of cheerfulness

[n] This gentleman was a native of Jamaica, and endued with uncommon natural talents, which were improved by education, and polished by travel in the early part of his life. On his return to this island, his opulent fortune only served to make his abilities more conspicuous, and more useful to the community. These eventually gave him the lead in public affairs. With an honest loyalty to his sovereign, which none could surpass, he possessed a truly patriotic attachment for his country; and, though ever ready to assist and facilitate administration, while conducted on the great principle of public good, he was always the steady, persevering, and intrepid opponent to illegal and pernicious measures of governors. If it were at all necessary to produce testimonials

fulness and hospitality: to these, the delightful air breathed here, and the amiable qualities of the owner of this paradise, mutually contributed. This, which I may justly call the temple of social enjoyments, was constantly open to the reception of worthy men, whether of the island, or strangers: and few gentlemen of rank, whether of the army or navy, on service here, quitted the island without having passed some of their time at the Decoy. Among these was the unfortunate Mr. B—sc—n, a young officer in the squadron, of the most promising abilities, and liberal accomplishments; who, being on a visit in the year 1769, went early one morning to bathe in the canal, and perished before assistance could be given him. This sad accident was inexpressibly afflicting to Sir Charles, and left so strong an impression upon his mind, that, before his own decease, he gave particular directions to inter his body close by his friend Mr. B—sc—n. The mountain on which the Decoy is situated is a great height above the level of the sea, by some supposed at least half a mile perpendicular. Upon digging into a marle pit here, was discovered a vast quantity of petrifications, resembling the large conchites or cockles, or rather perhaps the escallop kind, the edges being denticulated, but the outside without any visible remains of furrows, if they ever had any. I examined several, but could not perceive the smallest vestige of a testaceous covering. They were perfectly solid masses, hard as stone, and composed of very minute particles cemented together. It would be difficult to prove, that mere inert matter should spontaneously assume these regular forms, and apt imitations of marine

in justification of this character, I might refer to the very honourable marks of approbation which were so deservedly conferred upon him, both by the crown, and the different assemblies in which he presided, for so many years, as speaker, with an integrity, candour, and dignity, that were almost unexampled. In private life, his complacency of manners, accomplished knowledge of books and men, and delicacy of humour, rendered him the polite, instructive, and entertaining companion: here he shone the inflexible lover of truth, the firm friend, and the generous patron. His mind was amply stored with the treasures of liberal erudition. But theology seemed his favourite science; and the Great Author of nature, the chief object of his study. Though qualified in all respects to have made a respectable figure on a more extensive theatre, he preferred a residence in this island; which as he enriched and embellished by the diffusion of his income, and taste for improvements, so he benefited by an incessant attention to his welfare. Jamaica lost one of its best friends, when he breathed his last, which happened in June, 1772, after he had attained to a good old age. I shall only add, that few men in any country have attracted more general veneration while living, or more general regret when dead.

shells. But it is almost as difficult to discover, by what means they were brought into a situation at that height above the sea, and at such a distance from it. Nature is said to have done nothing in vain; but an original creation of such whimsical resemblances could answer no wise purpose. This globe carries every presumptive evidence of having undergone very extraordinary changes, and particularly by earthquakes; and, as we cannot tell by what imperceptible passages the water of the ocean may permeate even below the base of islands; so we cannot positively deny, but it may force its way to a very considerable elevation, in consequence of violent eruptions, which attend these commotions of the earth; carrying with it shells and sand, and perhaps leaving masses of salt deposited as it recedes, which may afterwards impregnate rivers, as we find in some parts of the South side of Jamaica. Doctor Brookes speaks rationally on this subject: "We cannot," says he, "determine  
 " whether there has ever been an universal earthquake or not,  
 " which has changed the primitive form of our world. However,  
 " this is certain, that a great many substances, which seem to have  
 " been proper only to the sea, are now found in the bowels of the  
 " earth; and which have perhaps been petrified by degrees, by the  
 " insinuation of water, salts, and exceeding small crystalline or  
 " stony particles, proper to fill up their pores, without alteration  
 " of their shape. To this all the productions which some have  
 " looked upon as *lusus naturæ*, or sports of nature, are evidently  
 " owing. Besides the bones of crocodiles, the skeletons of sea-  
 " horses, the entire bodies of petrified fish, there are almost every  
 " where found sea-shells of all kinds, and all sorts of the parts of  
 " sea-animals, converted into stone; some very wonderful, with  
 " regard to their situation; and others, with regard to the oddness  
 " of their shapes." The petrifications found at the Decoy seem to come nearest in similitude to Sir Hans Sloane's *Pecten Jamacensis striis levibus*, Vol. II. fol. 256. N° I. which is frequent on the shores of the island.

As the settlement of this parish was not entered upon heartily until about the year 1736, it may still be deemed in its infancy, and will no doubt invite new planters by degrees, as its wood-land comes to be cleared; for at present not one-fourth of it is brought  
 into

into cultivation. In the South-east angle of it is a Negroe town, called Scot's Hall, inhabited by a party of the Maroons, who came in upon terms.

On the road passing from Guy's Hill to the Decoy is a quarry of black marble, with white veins. The rock appears considerably above the level of the road in large masses. It has never yet been worked, as it would probably answer little other purpose in this country, except for making lime, or slabs for dining-apartments. The distance from the sea renders the carriage difficult and too expensive at present; but in time perhaps, when the roads are more improved, and this part of the island more populous, it may answer for exportation, either to Europe or North-America.

The State of St. Mary :

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual Produce.	
				Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	2938	2182			
1740,	4484	2972			
1745,	5631	3304			
1761,	9318				
1768,	12159	7996	49	5500	56


This parish is evidently improving fast. And we may venture to foretell, that the North side, though labouring under the misfortune of being the last-settled, will in time become the most populous, as it is naturally the healthiest division of the island. The soil, by reason of its exceeding richness, does not make immediate good returns in sugar; but the proportion of rum is far greater than on the South side; and the excellence of the land assures a permanent, and perhaps inexhaustible, fertility.

S E C T. IX.

St. A N N E.

THE parish of St. Anne is bounded on the East by St. Mary; on the West, by St. James; South, by Clarendon and St. Thomas in the Vale; and North, by the sea. It is watered with twelve rivers,

rivers, the principal of which are Rio Rueno, St. Anne's Great-River, Roaring and White Rivers. Its ports are St. Anne's Bay, Dry Harbour [o], Rio Bueno, Ocho Rios, and Runaway Bay. At the former of these was the town of Sevilla Nueva. The bay of St. Anne is defended by a reef of rocks, which stretches almost across its entrance, leaving only one small channel for the ships to go in or out. This barrier so effectually breaks the surge of the sea, that the basin in which the ships lie at anchor is at all times perfectly smooth: it is likewise sheltered by two points of land, projecting on each side the bay like the horns of a crescent. The drift of the waves being towards the Westward, they form a current over the breakers which are lowest on that side of the bay. This current sweeps through the harbour with a direction towards the ship-channel, which is on the Eastern side; whence it happens, that, when the sea-breeze blows, which gives the water this direction, the vessels at anchor here ride with their sterns to the wind.

The harbour is deep, inasmuch that the largest ships that load here with sugars, lay their broad-side close to the wharf, which is not many feet in length. It is defended by a battery of twelve embrasures; and at a small distance are the barracks, elegantly built, in which a company of regulars are stationed. The town of St. Anne consists of about thirty or forty houses, straggling along the beach, and chiefly inhabited by shop-keepers. On the West side of the bay is the parish-church, a very handsome building. The harbour has somewhat the appearance of the letter E capital, placed horizontally thus , the coast projecting into the centre of it, and making a semi-circular sweep on each side. Sevilla Nueva was built upon an easy eminence, rising from this centre. The situation is extremely delightful. By the projection of the land, it commands a very fine and extensive view of the country for many miles to the East and West, bounded by distant moun-

[o] This place has lately commenced a trading port, and some houses are erected at it as the *exordia* of a future town. This will probably succeed, in consequence of a road now forming from it to Cave River, in Clarendon, the distance twenty miles, about fourteen of which extend over a woody, uncultivated district. The road, when completed, will doubtless contribute to the speedy settlement of this tract of country, and has the peculiar merit of opening a communication through these almost unoccupied parts, without crossing one river.

tain, and having the bay, buildings, shipping, and sea in front. From hence, as well as other elevated spots on the North side, some of the high lands in Cuba, called the Copper Mountains, are frequently discerned at one hundred miles distance in the months of October and November, and during some of the succeeding months. They appear of an azure cast to the eye, like the Blue Mountains; and the sight of them is esteemed a certain prognostic of approaching North winds, which usually set in about that time of the year. Several rivulets fall into this bay; and close adjoining to the spot where Seville once stood is a fine quarry of white free-stone, which is soft when first dug up, but hardens after exposure to the air. A place could not have been more happily selected than this by the Spaniards for building a town. Here was plenty of excellent materials for architecture, abundance of good water, a fertile soil in the neighbourhood, the woods filled with the greatest variety of large and valuable timber-trees, the sea and rivers stored with innumerable fish, a safe and spacious port, and the distance not remote from their island of Cuba. With all these advantages of situation and a fine air they abandoned it, because the Southside ports were more convenient for the galleons and other transient vessels passing between St. Domingo and Cartagena; and their traffic was chiefly confined to the supplying these visitors with provisions, and a few other necessaries.

It is not to be doubted, but that under the genius of Peter Martir, who was abbot of the collegiate church founded here, the public buildings would have risen with an elegance unusual in the new world. Several fragments of carved work in stone, such as mouldings, festoons, cherubs, &c. are still to be seen here, that would be thought no mean ornaments in an European church. The ruins of two edifices, one said to have been a castle, the other dedicated to religious use (probably the collegiate church), are still remaining; the walls of which are several feet in thickness, and compacted with an exceedingly hard cement. It is the property of the lime made from the shell-marble, so common in this island, to contract with age all the closeness and solidity of stone; and I have seen some plaster taken from an old Spanish tank, or cistern, which could scarcely be broken with an hammer. The battery which de-

fends the port is constructed with materials taken from these venerable fabrics, and stands in the place of an ecclesiastical sanctuary. The possession of this city fell to the share of captain Hemming, an officer in the Oliverian army sent hither; and his posterity still enjoy it.

The castle and church, being almost half a mile asunder, may give us some idea of the intended extent and grandeur of this place; but, the old walls before-mentioned being every day diminished, for the sake of the materials which are used in repairing the buildings on the estate, it is probable that in a few years more there will be scarcely any vestige left of this celebrated city. But the ground about the church being supposed consecrated, is still preserved as a burial place. As for the ruins of the castle, they are not only leveled to, but considerably sunk below, the present surface of the earth. In the year 1764 were dug up two pilasters of about seven feet length, of no particular order, but somewhat resembling the Ionic. They appeared to have belonged to the portal, or vestibule, of some large building, as there were also several concave stones proper for an arched roof. Upon these pilasters were some rude carvings in *alto relievo*. Four or five coarse images were likewise found; one of which resembled a sphynx; another, an alligator; and the rest were creatures of the mason's fancy. The mansion-house on this estate stands on the summit of a rising lawn, nearly equidistant from the sea and the mountains; a situation which makes it both healthy and agreeable. Before the front of it is a battery of eighteen small guns *en barbette*; which is intended as a protection to the estate, and to the harbour itself in war-time against privateers. The garden on the East side of the house is prettily laid out; and decorated with a stone-temple, elegantly designed in the modern taste.

The Spanish habitations have long ago been demolished, and the ground whereon they stood converted into cane-fields; but, in turning up the soil for planting, the old rubbish continually makes its appearance, and contributes to render it less fertile. The ruins were more perfect in Sir Hans Sloan's time, who visited them in 1688, and has left us the following account:

“The



“ The church was not finished. It was twenty paces broad, and thirty long. There were two rows of pillars within; and over the place where the altar was intended were some carvings under the ends of the arches. The houses and foundations stand for several miles along (these were probably the houses of detached settlements, not of the streets). Captain Heming said, he sometimes found pavements under his canes three feet covered with earth, several wells, and burial-stones finely cut. There are the beginnings of a great house called a monastery; but I suppose the house was designed for the governor. There were two coats of arms lay by, not set up; a ducal one; and that of a count; belonging I suppose to the family of Columbus, proprietors of the island. There had been raised a tower, part brick, part hewn stone, as also several battlements on it; and other lower buildings unfinished. At the church lie several arched stones, to complete it; which had never been put up, but are lodged among the canes. The rows of pillars within were for the most part unornamented. It was thought, that in the time of the Spaniards the Europeans had been cut off by the Indians; and so the church left uncompleted. When the English took the island, the ruins of this city were so overgrown with wood, that they were all turned black. Nay, I saw a mammee, or bastard mammee-tree, growing within the walls of the tower, so high as that it must have been a very large gun to kill a bird on the top of it; and the trunks of many of the trees, when felled from this place, to make room for the sugar-canes, were sixty feet or more in length. A great many wells are on this ground. The West gate of the church was of very fine work, and stands entire. It is seven feet wide, and as high to the spring of the arch. Over the door, in the centre, is our Saviour's head, with a crown of thorns, between two angels; on the right side, a small round figure of some saint, with a knife struck into his head; and on the left, a madona, her arm tied in three places after the Spanish fashion. Over the gate, and beneath a coat of arms, was this inscription :

PETRVS. MARTIR. AB. ANGLERIA. ITALVS. CIVIS. MEDIOLANEN.  
 PROTHON. APOS. HVJVS. INSVLE. ABBAS. SENATVS. INDICI.  
 CONSILIARIVS. LIGNEAM. PRIVS. ÆDEM. HANC. BIS. IGNE.  
 CONSVMP TAM. LATERICIO. ET. QVADRATO. LAPIDE. PRIMVS.  
 A. FVNDAMENTIS. EXTRVXIT [p].

These words are entire, except *Mediolanensis*, which I have supplied (says Sir Hans), because this Peter Martir, a famous man, wrote himself "of Milan." He was author of the Decads, Epistles, and some other books; which gave him great reputation in the world."

There is at this time in St. Domingo, as I am credibly informed, a Spanish lady, of an old family, who takes her title from this place, by the title of Countess de Sevilla Nueva, in Jamaica.

The hamlets at Laughlands and Runaway Bay are too insignificant to merit description. At the former a chapel of ease was erected some years ago; but it is at present in a ruinous condition, and is only used for holding elections for the parish-representatives. Between this and the Bay is Richmond, belonging to Mr. P——k. This estate is graced with a very elegant mansion, consisting of two stories. It is surrounded with a spacious piazza, supported by columns of the Ionic order; at the four angles are pavilions, with Venetian windows corresponding to each other. The only fault belonging to this house is in point of situation; for it stands upon a dead flat; but, being considerably raised from the foundation, it is dry and healthy. Adjoining is a pleasant lawn, or paddock, fenced with Chinese railing, skirted with a gravel-walk, and ornamented with rows of cocoa-trees. The great road to St. James runs parallel to the North front, at the distance of about two hundred yards: the passage from hence to the house leads through a pair of handsome gates along a spacious gravel-walk. Immediately across the road, and opposite to the same front, is a large pleasure-garden, neatly laid out in walks, and stocked with a variety of flowers and flowering-shrubs; of which the chief are, the English, Spanish, and Arabian jasmynes; balsams, Indian arrow, capsicums, sun-flowers, French marigolds, jalap or four o'clock, coffee-bushes,

[p] In English: "Peter Martir, of Anghiera, an Italian, citizen of Milan, chief missionary, and abbot of this island, member of the council of the Indies, first raised from its foundation, with brick and squared stone, this edifice, which formerly was built of wood, and twice destroyed by fire."

South-sea rose, Barbadoes pride, Jerufalem thorn, pomegranate, passion flower, physic nut, and many others. In the centre is a fountain; and in another part a large labyrinth, inclosed principally with the wild olive, and furnished with commodious seats. The town of St. Anne carries on some trade, chiefly for mules and cattle, with the Cuba Spaniards, who run over in one night's time in very small vessels, and not seldom in open boats. This pedling intercourse has been productive of a very signal mischief, which has chiefly affected this parish. The Negroes here, either perceiving the facility of this passage, or (which is most probable) inveigled by the flattering assurances of these strolling Spanish traders, who for the greater part are a thievish race, have taken every opportunity to desert in canoes, and withdraw to Cuba, in hopes of obtaining their freedom: so that several hundreds have, within a few years past, decamped from this and other parts of the North side, to the great loss of the planters. These Spaniards, upon many occasions, have lain under suspicion of not merely inveigling the Blacks with fair speeches, but even taking them away by force. This, indeed, has been a very old practice of theirs, and, for want of an authoritative check, is now become so habitual, that they use as little ceremony in supplying themselves from Jamaica by these means, as the Portugueze and Hollanders formerly used towards the natives of Guiney. In the year 1719, the then governor of Jamaica sent the captain of a frigate to the alcaldes, or chief officers of Trinidado, a town in Cuba, demanding restitution of several Negroes, piratically taken from the island. But the officers returned for answer, "that, as to those and other fugitives, " they were there as the other subjects of their lord the king, and, " being brought voluntarily to their holy church, had received " the water of baptism." The conclusion follows of course; that, being thus adopted into the Roman Catholic faith, in virtue of the mere ceremonial of their baptism, though without the least knowledge of their new religion, or the grounds or nature of their faith, they could not return, to mingle again with heretics, without peril to their immortal souls. Such is the pretext by which these rogues, under the cobweb veil of their religion, detain the property of British subjects. It will not be disputed, but that the industry

industry and labour of so many useful hands, transferred by this fraudulent mode of conveyance to a foreign state, are more than a loss to their owners; they are a loss to the whole British community. The governors of Jamaica have not been wanting to lend every assistance in their power towards recovery of these fugitives, or rather stolen goods, by sending requisitorial letters to the Spanish commanders; but with so little effect, that some British frigates, which since the late peace were sent with these dispatches to the Havannah and other Spanish ports, were shot at from their forts, and ordered to depart without coming to an anchor. Our flag was insulted, but no redress given. Expostulations on this head have been made, as I have heard, to as little purpose in Europe. The alcaldes here, like those of America, are equally bigots when the cant of religious sophistry is required to sanctify base actions.

A Negroe, flying from our colony to Cuba, or kidnapped thither, becomes the property of the Spanish crown, that is, of a Spanish alcalde. The stupid, illiterate wretch is presently admitted into the bosom of holy mother-church, and straight becomes a *bueno catholico*, and a Spanish subject. He continues, however, in a state of servitude, and earns a weekly sum for his master, who must pay a certain proportion of it into the royal coffers, or give him up to labour on the fortifications, until the confederate gang of Negroes there can make up a purse for him. He then goes before another of these officers, and intimates that he has wherewithal to purchase his freedom. The owner is summoned; and, the sum being fixed at a certain moderate rate, his master is obliged to take the money, and grant a manumission. By this easy method, these deserters soon acquire their freedom, and with very little pains are able, by cultivating tobacco, breeding poultry and hogs, making chip-hats, segars, and other trifling articles, to earn a comfortable livelihood among such a set of haughty and indolent beings, who scorn to fully their noble hands with vulgar occupations. Such being the encouragements held out to our Negroes, and the passage so easily made, it is only astonishing that the defection is not greater. It may be urged, that our Negroes, having once tasted the sweets of so easy a life, and fraught with the most pernicious superstitions [7], would be useless, if not dangerous, if they

[7] For example, "that it is meritorious to kill heretics."

were restored again to the island. This I seriously believe, but it is no argument to justify the detainers of them; for, surely, if they had principle enough to do what the laws of nations, of justice, and common honesty, require, they would either re-deliver the persons of these Negroes, or a pecuniary indemnification; they themselves not bestowing a *gratis* freedom to these poor people, but selling it to them for a valuable consideration, exacted in money, a part of which booty their illustrious sovereign (or I am misinformed) disdains not to participate. What are we to think of a society of men, who are capable of committing such pious frauds under the mask of pretended righteousness! The very same pretence might be brought by a highwayman, or pick-pocket, to justify their malefactions. It is flagrant robbery, a breach of good faith between the two nations, and ought to be answered with reprisals to make good the damages sustained by the plundered parties. The sovereign of Great-Britain holds an interest in all the Negroes possessed by his colony-subjects; for his revenue is very greatly benefited and supported by the produce of their personal labour. The nation at large holds an interest in them by the number of manufacturers set to work; by the shipping and mariners; by the articles necessary to cloathe, feed, and employ these labourers; and by their general consumption of British merchandizes. Hence, in every respect, this grievance seems to rise into a national concern, and to deserve a powerful national interposition, that such acts of perfidy and injustice may cease for the future. That some judgement may be formed of the height of insolence to which the Spaniards have carried their pretensions, I must not omit to mention that, so recently as the year 1768, the assembly of the island addressed his majesty; setting forth, that numbers of their slaves were actually detained and employed in the service of the Catholic king, or his subjects; and that, application having been made to the governor of St. Jago in Cuba for the delivery of some of those slaves, he declared, “that although he knew many Negroes were at that  
“place, who had made their elopement from Jamaica, yet he  
“would not deliver them up; having received orders from the  
“court of Spain, injoining, that all Negroes coming thither from  
“the British islands, in what manner soever, should be employed

“ in his Catholic majesty’s service, until further instructions should be given concerning them.”

There needs no stronger proof to shew, that this thievish practice, so repugnant to the good faith that ought to subsist between two nations in amity, so destructive of the British commerce, so inconsistent with the rules of honesty, that, if it occurred between two private individuals, the offender would justly be deemed a felon; there needs, I say, no fuller evidence, that this dishonourable policy is countenanced, avowed, and defended, by the Spanish government. It is plain, that his Catholic majesty’s instructions are directly leveled against all the British colonies: no mention is made of any other; and probably none other are included in them. We may likewise observe the latitude of the words: “ coming in what manner soever;” under the implication of which are certainly meant, not only those who voluntarily desert or run away, but all others who are either trepanned, or violently brought away, by his own Spanish subjects: and these Negroes are to be employed immediately in the king’s service. Whence it is plain, that every Spaniard must esteem this as an encouragement to him; nay, he must think he performs his duty to his sovereign, as a zealous subject ought to do, in taking all opportunities, that happen within his power, to inveigle and steal away Negroes from the British planters, for the benefit of his monarch’s service. Unhappily, Jamaica lies more convenient in its situation, than any other, for favouring these depredations. One would think, that so peremptory an avowal of what is apparently unjustifiable in itself would be sufficient to alarm a British ministry, and lead them at least to reflect, that the emigration of all the Negroes from Jamaica to Cuba is at least *possible*; more especially, as the Spaniards boldly assert their intentions to get possession of them by all possible ways and means; and that, after they have seduced, or stolen away, these Negroes, or only the major part of them, they will have much less difficulty in gaining possession of the island itself; which is an object that, we have just apprehension for believing, they have all along held in view. If, indeed, they should be successful enough in dispeopling it of the Negroes, we need not hesitate to let them take the land into the bargain. I have heard the number of them purloined from

the

the island, or that have eloped and been detained in a few years past, computed at eight hundred; the value of which, that is, the actual loss to their owners, at the lowest calculation, cannot be rated at less than 40,000 *l.* Jamaica money. Had they taken a loaded ship from us of half that value, the whole body of merchants would have rung the alarm, and the clamours of the nation would have speedily reached the cabinet at Madrid. Why the injury done to our planters has been less held in estimation, why no redress has been obtained for them, for their past losses, nor security against the future, notwithstanding this affair has been strenuously represented, I am unable to discover. Our British courts of justice, adopting the principle of Gronovius, inform us, that a Negroe, coming from one of our own colonies into Great-Britain, in what manner soever, becomes instantly discharged from the service of his owner. Perhaps a Spanish Gronovius has been found, to assert the propriety of this kidnapping by the like rule of, “*Servus peregrinus, simul atque terram Hispanicam tetigerit, eodem momento liber fiat;*” under this reserve, however, that he is free only *quoad* his British owner, but not so *quoad* the king of Jerusalem [r].

But, to have done with a subject on which perhaps I may be thought to have said too much, I return to the parish of St. Anne. From White River to Rio Bueno, its Eastern and Western boundaries, there is a continued pretty level ground, for about twenty-four miles in length, along the coast, extending in breadth in few places more than one mile to the foot of the hills, which rise gra-

[r] It is probable, that the ecclesiastics derive some pecuniary benefit from this practice, as it conforms to some of the Romish doctrines; agreeably to the true spirit of which, that canon was enjoined by the pope to the bishop of Worcester, in the year 1497, viz. “that a man should be permitted to retain the property of another person, by what method soever he had seized or acquired it, provided he gave a certain portion thereof to the pope’s commissaries, or substitutes.” Irenæus was the first who broached this infamous tenet, in his argument to justify the Israelites for having robbed the Egyptians of their plate and jewels. The stale pretext of the Spaniards, founded on their zeal in the cause of holy mother-church, and the tenor of the royal cedula, seem to correspond exactly with the same abominable principle, and encourage the Negroes of our islands to rob their masters, and desert to them; who maintain, that, if a share of the plunder be but given to their church, the conversion from paganism to their faith is sufficient of itself to extenuate all preceding crimes. Such positions are suitable only to a community of thieves, or to the deluded votaries of such a religion. They may apply to themselves and their disciples, with great propriety, the words of a French gentleman, mentioned by Lord Orrery: *Pour vous dire la vérité, nous sommes tous des bon catholiques; mais pour la religion, nous n’en avons point.* “To say the truth, we are all good catholics; but, as for religion, we have none.”

dually to very high mountains. This tract between the hills and the coast is, for the most part, a shallow *stratum* of mould upon a white, hot marle. Here are the sugar-plantations, which with good management bear moderate crops; but the canes in general are short-jointed, and, this part of the parish being subject to drowths (the high lands behind drawing off the rain), are often stunted in their growth; for the soil in which they are planted is naturally so dry and warm, as to require plentiful and frequent irrigations. Most of the rivers here take their source so high, that their water might easily be dispersed in channels through the cane-pieces. Some of the proprietors, I am informed, have lately had this in contemplation; and it would doubtless answer perfectly well. The hills contain but very few sugar-works. The mould here is extremely superficial; and underneath lies a deep vein of a white marle, or hard chalk. The pimento loves this kind of soil; and vast woods of it overspread the hills to a great distance from the coast. Behind this range of hills and mountains the land is diversified with open, level savannahs, environed by rocky eminences, or with little cock-pits. The soil of the latter is cultivated successfully with Guiney grass. The savannahs are covered with fern, and applied to no use. There are three principal mountain-roads which enter this parish from the South side. The road by *Monte Diablo*, in Sixteen-mile-walk, leads into it on the South-East part, and is a mere avenue cut through the woods, there not being more than four or five settlements on the whole road. About five miles from *Monte Diablo* is the Rio Hoja, which, running about a mile and half from its first spring, discharges itself into a large lake of immense depth. Some have assigned this as the source of the Cobre; which is not improbable, as the river-head and this body of water lie in exact meridian, North and South. The next road penetrates the centre of the parish, by way of Old Woman's Savannah, in Clarendon, through the settlements of Pedro, of which I have before given an account; and their number scattered on each side renders this by far the pleasantest way. After leaving these settlements about two miles, we come to a stupendous hill of solid rock, perfectly bare, and unadorned with either plants or herbage. From this stupendous mass, to the nearest set-



tlement on the North side of the parish, is about two miles further. The third road enters the West quarter of the parish, by way of Clarendon. After running about five miles before it reaches any settlement, it branches into two forks; one of which passes on to Runaway Bay; the other, to Dry Harbour. From the entrance, by Clarendon, to the range of hills near the coast of St. Anne, is about twelve miles; the road is enlivened with a very few human habitations, and those scattered. This tract, from its being so little inhabited, was called Siberia: yet it is not in other respects deserving that appellation; for it is full of excellent timber, and furnishes a vast quantity of mahogany every year, the visitors of this part being chiefly cutters. The district of the parish, intersected by these three avenues, comprehends near one hundred and eighty thousand acres, as yet unsettled. In so vast a space there must needs be a very great variety of soil, and numberless spots of very fine cultivable land. But, exclusive of a few fern savannahs, the whole of it is in its primitive forest, full of large cedar, mahogany, and other valuable timber-trees. The soil, over which the roads pass, is in general a reddish fat clay, intermixed with mould, or a black-shell mould; and, so far as settlements are formed, it is experienced to be exceedingly fertile, being refreshed with constant dews and frequent showers. The rain does not descend here in such violent streams as in the low country, but for the most part in a fine spray or drizzle; and the air is, during the whole year, cool, temperate, and perfectly healthful. Here then appears a desirable field for introducing new colonies of industrious people; as a leading measure to which, some new roads are required, to penetrate through this desert tract, and open a communication with the parts already settled. The air of the coast is hot, and in general tolerably healthful.

Near Ocho Rios, or, as it is now more commonly called, Che-reiras Bay, in this parish, the road from St. Mary passes through Walter's plantation to the Westward, up a steep hill. This road, having been gullied very much about eleven years ago, by a heavy fall of rain in October, the skeleton of an Indian was laid bare to view, about five feet below the surface. The soil here is a white coarse marle, which certainly did not possess the corrosive qualities

of lime in its composition; for the bones were perfectly sound and firm. The skull appeared preternaturally compressed at top, which made the *fontanelle* very low. There was some appearance of a cut on the occipital bone, as if made with a sharp weapon. By the size of the bones, they were conjectured to have belonged to a man of large stature. At the head and feet lay two unglazed earthen pots, shaped somewhat like a canoe, and well wrought; one of them was broken in taking it out; but the other was preserved entire, and found to contain a small quantity of black earth, resembling soot. The body had probably been interred not less than two hundred years.

This parish contains two remarkable cascades. The lesser is formed by a branch of Rio Alto, which is supposed to re-emerge (after a subterraneous current of several miles) between Roaring River Plantation and Menzie's Bog. The hills in this part are many of them composed of a stalactite matter; by whose easy solution, the waters, oozing through the rocks, are copiously charged with it, so that they incrustate all bodies deposited in them. This river rises at a considerable elevation above the sea's level, and at a great distance from the coast, and continues its course between the hills successively broad or contracted, as they on each side approach nearer, or recede further from, one another. In one of the more extended spaces, it expands its water in a gentle descent among a very curious group of anchovy pear-trees, whose spreading roots intercept the shallow stream in a multitude of different directions. The water, thus retarded, deposits its grosser contents, which in length of time have formed various incrustations, around as many cisterns, spread in beautiful ranks, gradually rising one above another, and bearing no ill resemblance to a magnificent flight of steps in rustic work, leading up to the enchanted palace of some puissant giant of romance. A sheet of water, transparent as crystal, conforming to the bend of the steps, overspreads their surface; and, as the rays of light, or sun-shine, play between the waving branches of the trees, it descends glittering with a thousand variegated tints. The incrustation in many parts is solid enough to bear the weight of a man; in others it is so thin, that some persons, whose curiosity led them to venture too far, have suddenly found themselves plunged up to the middle in a cold reservoir.

voir. These accidents give it still more the appearance of a Fairy region. The cisterns, or reservoirs, have their sides formed by broken boughs and limbs, incrufted over, and fustained by the trunks of trees, promiscuously growing between them. The cisterns themselves are always brim-full of water, which trickles from one to the other; and, although several of them are six or seven feet deep, one may clearly discern whatever lies at the bottom. The *lamina* which envelope them are in general near half an inch in thickness. To a superficial observer their sides have the appearance of stone; but, upon breaking any of them, there appears either a bough between the two incrufting coats, or a vacant space, which a bough has once filled, and by the mouldering of which in length of time a cavity has been left.

On opening several of these incruftations, not only boughs were found, but entire leaves of a muddy-green hue. Whence it may be conjectured, that a shell, somewhat thicker than that of an egg, may be concreted by this water in less than a twelvemonth.

The incrufting matter is soluble in the vinous acid, and when dissolved acquires a deep-black colour, much similar to what the vegetable astringents strike with a chalybeate.

As the remarkable quality, resident in this water, seems not confined in its effects to any particular substance, it might be no unpleasant experiment to immerse the stuffed skin of any animal for a sufficient time in it; since it is probable, that the workmanship of nature would surpass the happiest productions of the chissel, and furnish the most animated and durable representations by this easy and unexpensive method.

After dancing over these innumerable cisterns, the pellucid element forms itself into one or two streams; which afterwards, collecting other neighbouring rivulets, compose several lesser, most beautiful, falls. But description fails in attempting to convey any competent idea of its several beauties.

The other, or great cascade, more properly a cataract, is formed by the White River, which is of considerable magnitude, and, after a course of about twelve miles among the mountains, precipitates in a fall of about three hundred feet or more, obliquely measured, with such a hoarse and thundering noise, as to be heard

at

at a great distance. Viewed from below, the Ajutage [s] appears to be a body of water, of small bulk, issuing between a tuft of wood; but, as it continues its descent, the breadth gradually increases, until it reaches the bottom, where it forms a beautiful circular basin, and then flows away in a serpentine course towards the sea. Through the whole descent it is broken and interrupted by a regular climax of steps, of a stalactic matter, incrusting over a kind of soft chalky stone, which yields easily to the chisel. So vast a discharge of water, thus wildly agitated by the steepness of the fall, dashing and foaming from step to step, with all the impetuosity and rage peculiar to this element, exhibits an awful, pleasing scene. But the grandeur of it is astonishingly heightened by the fresh supplies which it receives after the rainy-seasons. At such times, the roaring of the flood, reverberated from the adjacent rocks, trees, and hills; the tumultuous violence of the torrent, tumbling head-long with resistless fury; and the gloom of the over-hanging wood, contrasted with the soft serenity of the sky, the silvery glitter of the spray, the flight of birds skimming over the lofty summit of the mountain, and the placid surface of the basin below; form, all together, an assemblage of subjects, the most happily mingled, and beyond the power of painting to express.

“ Wide o’er the brim, with many a torrent swell’d,  
 “ And the mix’d ruin of its banks o’er-spread;  
 “ At last the rous’d-up river pours along,  
 “ Resistless! roaring! dreadful!—Down it comes  
 “ From the rude mountain, and the mossy wild,  
 “ Tumbling through rocks abrupt, and sounding far:—  
 “ Then o’er the fanned valley floating spreads,  
 “ Calm; sluggish; silent;—till again, constrain’d  
 “ Between two meeting crags, it bursts away,  
 “ Where rocks and woods o’er-hang the turbid stream.  
 “ There gathering triple force, rapid and deep,  
 “ It boils! and wheels! and foams! and thunders through!”

THOMPSON.

A beautiful intermixture of tall and stately trees rises gracefully from the margin on either side; whose bark and foliage are diversifi-

[s] See Plate V.

fied

fied with a variety of the loveliest tints. And, to complete the picture, the basin is ornamented with two elegant trees of the palm kind, which spring like stait columns out of the water, placed by the hand of nature at such even distance from the banks on each side, that art could not have done the work with more attention to propriety and exactness. The whole, indeed, has been executed by nature in a taste that surpasses either description or imitation. The late Sir Charles P——e, within whose territory it lay, would not suffer the least alterations to be made to it, although some of the steps might easily be cut so as to be rectilineal. He preferred its natural beauties; and, in order to enjoy them, formed a club of gentlemen, and built a range of apartments on a pretty lawn just fronting the cascade. Here they had an annual meeting, which continued some weeks; during which, they took the diversion of shooting the ring-tail pigeons, which in this part of the country are very numerous, and in great perfection at the proper season. If the lesser cascade is delicate and curious, this is grand and sublime. The former is contemplated with delight, and this with a pleasing and reverential wonder. The fall is said to exceed in grandeur that of Tivoli, or any other in Europe, though much inferior to that of Niagara.

The grotto in this parish, near Dry Harbour, and about fourteen miles West from St. Anne's Bay, is situated at the foot of a rocky hill, under which it runs for a considerable way, and then branches into several adits, some of which penetrate so far, that no person has yet ventured to discover their ending. The front is extremely Gothic in its appearance. It is the perpendicular face of a rock, having two arched entrances about twenty feet asunder, which look as if they had anciently been door-ways, but sunk by time or accident to within two or three feet of their lintels. In the centre of the rock, between these portals, is a natural niche, about four feet in height, and as many from the ground, which might well be supposed intended for the reception of a madona, especially as at the foot of it is a small excavation, or basin, projected a little beyond the face of the rock; which seems a very proper reservoir for holy water. Excited by the accounts I had heard of this celebrated curiosity, I made one among a party to visit it.

After

After providing ourselves with several bundles of candlewood, split in small pieces, we crept on our hands and knees under the larger of the two apertures in the front of the rock, and immediately found ourselves in a circular vestibule, of about eighteen feet diameter, and fourteen in height. The cieling (an irregular concave), as well as the sides, was covered with stalactic and sparry matter, interspersed with innumerable glistening particles, which, reflecting the light of our torches from their polished surface, exhibited the most rich and splendid appearance imaginable.

This roof seemed to be supported by several columns of the same matter, concreted by length of time; whose chaptrrels, and the angular arches above, appeared in the true Gothic taste. The pillars surrounded the vestibule; the open spaces between them led into avenues which diverged away into different parts of this subterraneous labyrinth. On one side we observed a rock, which, by the continual dripping of water upon it from the cieling, was covered with an incrustation, and bore a very striking resemblance of some venerable old hermit, sitting in profound meditation, wrapped in a flowing robe, his arms folded, and a beard descending to his waist. The head appeared bald, and the forehead wrinkled with age. Nothing was wanted to complete the figure, except the addition of features, which we immediately supplied, in the theatric manner, with a piece of charcoal. The graceful, easy folds and plaits of the drapery, and the wavy flow of the beard, were remarkably well expressed. Roubilliac, the rival of nature, could not have executed them in a more finished and masterly style. After we had sufficiently contemplated this reverend personage, we pursued our route through one of the largest adits. We found the passage every where of good height, in general from twelve to fifteen feet; but so totally excluded from day-light, that the gloom, together with the hollow sound of our trampling, and dismal echo of our voices, recalled to our minds the well-imagined description of Æneas's descent into the infernal regions. And this idea so strongly possessed us, that, in the enthusiasm of poetic delusion, we expected no less, at every turn, than to pop upon Cerberus, or some other horrid inhabitant of Pluto's dominion:

*Spelunca*

*Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque inhumanis biatu,  
Scrupæ, tuta lacu nigro, nemorumque tenebris.*

*Ibant obscuro solâ sub nocte per umbram,  
Perque domos ditis vacuas, et inania regna.  
Quale per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ  
Est iter in sylvis; ubi cælum condidit umbra  
Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.*

“ Deep, deep, the cavern lies, devoid of light,  
“ All rough with rocks, and horrible to sight.  
“ Its dreadful mouth is fenc’d with fable floods,  
“ And the brown horrors of surrounding woods.  
“ Now through the dismal gloom they pass, and tread  
“ Grim Pluto’s courts, the regions of the dead ;  
“ As puzzled travelers bewilder’d move  
“ (The moon scarce glimm’ring through the dusky grove),  
“ When Jove from mortal eyes has snatch’d the light,  
“ And wrapp’d the world in undistinguish’d night.”

PITT.

That the comparison might have appeared more just, I ought to have premised, that the grotto is surrounded with a thick wood, and that at a small distance before the entrance is a large lagoon of stagnant water. The critic perhaps may object, that we were not so entirely in the dark as Æneas is represented. But, if he pleases, he may allow the dim light of our torch to bear some similitude to the glimmering of the moon above-mentioned; and then it will seem more aptly applied. The soil beneath our feet we perceived was deep, soft, and yielding, and had a faint, cadaverous smell. Upon examination, we imagined it to be a congeries of bat’s dung, accumulating perhaps for ages past; and were further confirmed in this opinion by the multitude of these creatures, which, upon the disturbances of our torch-light, and the unusual noise of so many visitors, flitted in numerous swarms over our heads. It is probable this soil is strongly impregnated with nitre; but we had not time to search for it. After walking a considerable way, we observed many new adits branching from the sides. Our guide informed us they led several miles under ground; and that

one half of them had never been explored by any human being. Soon after, we came all on a sudden to a little precipice, of about four or five feet; and some of the party would have hurt themselves very severely, if it had not been for the soft *stratum* of bat's dung which lay below ready to receive them. Our guide, and two or three of the foremost, disappeared in an instant, having tumbled one over the other; but soon recovered from their surprize, when they found themselves unhurt. The rest, who followed at some little distance, being put on their guard, descended with somewhat less rapidity. We continued our walk without further interruption, till we hailed the day-light again, in an open area environed on all sides with steep rocks covered with trees. This area, as nearly as we could conjecture, lies about a quarter of a mile from the entrance of the grotto. We remarked several adits leading from different parts of this little court; but our guide was acquainted with one of them only, into which we walked, and came into a magnificent apartment, or rotunda, of about twenty-five feet diameter, and about eighteen to the dome, or vaulted cieling; from the centre of which descended a strait tap-root of some tree above, about the size of a cable, and pretty uniform in shape from top to bottom. This had made its way through a cleft in the rock, and penetrated downward quite into the floor of the apartment. On one side was a small chasm, opening like the door-way of a closet into a narrow passage; which our guide endeavoured to dissuade us from entering, on account of a deep well, which he informed us lay a few paces within. However, we ventured in a little way with great caution, and found his account very true. The passage grew more and more contracted, till we met with a thin, upright ledge of rock, rising like a parapet-wall, almost breast-high, which seemed to decline gradually lower as we advanced. We therefore thought it prudent to halt, and soon discovered the ledge of rock separated us from a vast cavernous hollow, or well. Having no line, we could not sound the depth of the water, nor how far it lay beneath us; but, by the fall of some stones we threw in, we judged the distance to the water about thirty or forty feet. The stones in their fall produced a most horrid, hoarse noise, as loud as hell's porter uttered from his triple jaws,



*primis in forcibus orci.* Our guide informed us it was unfathomable, and communicated with the sea. The latter is probable, as the entrance of the grotto is very near the coast. We returned across the area by the way that we came, only peeping into a few of the other avenues as we proceeded, which we found very little different. They had the like rude ceilings incrusted with stalactites, here and there interspersed with the radical fibres of trees and plants, and their walks strewed with various seeds and fruits, particularly the bread-nut in great abundance; and even some reptiles, all curiously covered over with incrustations, but still preserving their original shapes. The structure and furniture of these various cloysters and apartments, at the same time that they excite the utmost curiosity, baffle all description. In some we saw, or fancied we saw, sparkling icicles, and beautifully-variegated foliage, gemmy canopies, festoons, thrones, rostrums, busts, skulls, pillars, pilasters, basons, and a thousand other resemblances of such objects as struck our different imaginations. Most of the arches and columns seemed to be composed internally of a greyish, sonorous marble, and were extravagantly wild and curious. Some are perfect, and sustain the massy superstructure; others half formed; and some in their very infant state. Several of the apartments are cellular; others, spacious and airy, having here and there an eyelet-hole to the world above. These aerial communications are of signal service; for, although not in general large enough to admit much light, yet they introduce sufficient fresh air to expel noxious vapours, and afford a convenient respiration, except in those parts which are most reclusive. The exterior summit of the cave is a greyish rock, honey-combed all over, full of crannies, and thick-set with various species of trees, whose roots having penetrated wheresoever they could find an opening, they flourish without any visible soil, an appearance which is extremely common in this island. We were anxious to investigate further: but, upon examining our stock of torch-wood, we found scarcely sufficient left for conducting us back to the entrance, and we were obliged to use dispatch in regaining it, for fear of rambling into some one of the numerous passages opening to the right and left, where, puzzled with mazes and perplexed with errors, we might have rambled

on without the probability of ever finding our way out again: and in such a distressful event we could not reasonably have expected any human assistance. The famous Cretan labyrinth did not, I am persuaded, contain half the turns and windings which branch through every part of this infernal wilderness; and which even Theseus, with the help of his clue, would have found difficult to unravel. Whoever may have the curiosity to examine these mazes with more attention, and to discover their extent and termination, ought to furnish himself with the implements necessary for striking fire, a portable mariner's compass, a proper quantity of wax tapers, and some provision for the stomach. Thus equipped, he may pervade them without fear of being lost, if he walks with due circumspection: the impression of his feet on the soft mould, which is thick-strewed in these passages, might enable him to re-trace his own tract almost without the assistance of a compass; though to avoid the possibility of being bewildered, it will be adviseable to carry one.

These are the most remarkable curiosities as yet discovered in this parish; but it may probably contain others, the grotto not having been found out, or at least generally known, till within these few years. We are uncertain whether it was known to the Spaniards; but it is supposed that run-away Negroes were not unacquainted with so convenient a hiding-place.

Most of the houses in this parish are made defensible with loopholes; it having been the practice formerly, in war-time, for the enemy's privateers to land here, in order to plunder the inhabitants of their Negroes. Thus, in guarding against the insults of foreign enemies, they are fortified also against internal ones; the like precaution ought to have been used, in the other parts of the country, which are remote from the coast; but, either through negligence, or an imprudent contempt of danger, very few houses upon the inland settlements have been constructed in this manner.

The road which passes along the coast to St. James, is one of the best in the island, and kept in good repair.

State of the Parish.

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Annual Produce of Sugar.	Other Settlements.
				[ Hogheads. ]	
1734,	4441	2026			
1740,	5242	2342			
1745,	5231	2533			
1761,	7729				
1768,	8320	6207	22	[ 1700 ]	158

This parish has increased, as appears from the table, upwards of three thousand in Negroes, and in cattle near four thousand, from 1745 to 1768, or in twenty-three years. This is to be ascribed almost entirely to the settlements formed in Pedro's Cockpits: and a better proof cannot be required, to shew the vast benefits arising to the island from a more extensive colonization of its interior wastes; nor a stronger reason given for an immediate and vigorous encouragement of such a plan.

To recapitulate some of the preceding matters, and bring them into one view, I shall close my detail of this county with the following particulars:

County-town of MIDDLESEX.

St. JAGO de la VEGA,

where is held the supreme court of common law on the last Tuesday in February, May, August, and November.

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Annual Produce of Sugar.	Other Settlements.
				[ Hogheads. ]	
State of it } in 1768, }	66746	59512	239	[ 24050 ]	763

Rectories, and their Stipends.

	£	s.	d.
St. Catharine,	300	0	0
St. Dorothy,	200	0	0
St. John,	200	0	0
St. Thomas in the Vale,	200	0	0
Clarendon,	250	0	0
Vere,	200	0	0
St. Mary,	200	0	0
St. Anne,	200	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1750	0	0

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The parish of St. Mary alone has no church as yet built; and consequently divine service is very seldom performed here; but, when it is performed, some private house is usually lent for the occasion. In the county are seven churches, two chapels of ease, and one synagogue. The civil government of each parish, or precinct, is under the direction of a *custos rotularum*, and his associates, justices of the peace, who hold a quarter session; and subordinate to them are the several constables, clerk of the peace, surveyors and wardens of highways, coroner, collectors of the parochial taxes, &c.

## C H A P. VIII.

## S E C T. I.

## S U R R Y

Contains about 672616 acres, and has seven parishes, and ten towns and hamlets, viz.

Parishes.	Towns.	Hamlets.
Kingston,	—— Kingston, the county-town,	
Port Royal,	—— Port Royal,	
St. Andrew,	——	Half-way Tree.
St. David,	——	Yallahs.
St. Thomas in the East,	Bath, —— ——	Morant.
Portland,	—— Titchfield and Moore, Negroe-town, ——	} Manchineel.
St. George,	—— Crawford, now Charles- town, Negroe-town.	

The parish of Kingston is bounded East by the parish of Port Royal; West and North, by St. Andrew; and South, by the harbour. The town of Kingston is situated in latitude  $17^{\circ} 59\frac{1}{2}'$  North; longitude,  $76^{\circ} 34'$  West. According to some geographers, the distance and bearing from London are 4080 miles; and the difference of time from the same, five hours, six minutes, West. After the repeated desolations by earthquake and fire, which drove the inhabitants

inhabitants from Port Royal, this town was founded in the year 1693, on the North side of the harbour, which, next to Port Royal, appeared the most convenient part for trade. The plan of it was drawn by colonel Lilly, an experienced engineer; and in propriety of design it is, perhaps, not excelled by any town in the world. The plan is a parallelogram, one mile in length by half a mile in breadth, regularly traversed by streets and lanes, alternately crossing each other at right angles, except in the upper part of the town, where a large square is left. But the buildings have increased so rapidly, that it now extends beyond the outlines of the plan. It contains sixteen hundred and sixty-five houses, besides Negroe houses, and warehouses; so that the whole number of its buildings, including every fort, may be computed at between two and three thousand: the number of its white inhabitants, about five thousand; of free Negroes and Mulattoes, about twelve hundred; and of slaves, about five thousand; making, in the whole, about eleven thousand and upwards: thirty-five spacious streets; and sixteen lanes. The harbour is formed by an inlet of the sea, which, after passing Port Royal, divides into two branches; the Western, flowing to Passage Fort and the mouth of Rio Cobre, forms a small bay of shallow water; the Eastern branch runs beyond Kingston to Rock Fort, making a course this way of nine miles in length, and is two miles in width in the broadest part; facing which the town is situated. For a considerable way above and below the town, the channel is deep enough to admit ships of the greatest burthen; upwards of a thousand sail may anchor here in perfect safety, except from a hurricane; and the water is so deep at the wharfs, that vessels of two hundred ton lye along-side of them, to deliver their cargoes.

The buildings here are much superior to those of Spanish Town. The houses are mostly of brick, raised two to three stories, conveniently disposed, and in general well-furnished; their roofs are all shingled; the fronts of most of them are shaded with a piazza below, and a covered gallery above. The soil upon which the town is built is in some parts gravelly; in others, a brick mould, intermixed with gravel; and the West part, bordering on a salina, partakes of sea-sand and ooze. From the harbour to the foot of Liguanea mountains is an easy, gradual ascent, of about four miles  
and

and a half. The town, being thus situated on a dry soil, is not incommoded by the lodgement of water in the heaviest rains; and it is thoroughly ventilated by the daily sea-breeze. But, although the slope prevents any water from stagnating in the town, it is attended with one great inconvenience; for it admits an easy passage to vast torrents, which collect in the gullies at some distance towards the mountains after a heavy rain, and sometimes rush with so much impetuosity down the principal streets, as to make them almost impassable by wheel-carriages, and cause a shoal-water at the wharfs, depositing accumulations of rubbish and mud: by which means, the navigation of the harbour may, in process of time, be obstructed; for even now the channel is greatly contracted, an entire street having been built on the soil thus gained upon the harbour since the town was first laid out. Some have proposed to remedy this inconvenience by cutting a large trench East and West above the town, to intercept these floods, and conduct them into smaller cuts, on each side of it, quite to the harbour; by which method, the water, having a greater length of current, and not flowing so rapidly, might deposit its soil by the way, and thus neither annoy the streets, nor fill up the harbour. But it may be objected to this project, that, if any stagnant water, or a quantity of mud, should remain in these drains, the effluvia arising from them might affect the health of the inhabitants, and so become productive of a worse injury than what it was calculated to prevent. The remarks before-made, respecting the modern method of covering roofs in Spanish Town, are equally applicable to Kingston. The danger from fire is very manifest. It is true, that accidents of the sort have rarely occurred in this town, the kitchens being detached buildings. But it is still liable to such a calamity from malice, as well as neglect or casualty; and the fate of Port Royal, of Bridge Town in Barbadoes, and St. John's in Antigua, should serve as horrible examples. To guard against such ravages, in some degree, here are wells and pumps in every principal street, conveniently placed, and constantly kept in good order; and in the court-house are fire-engines and leathern buckets. The ready assistance of seamen from the ships, which lie very near the town, would doubtless contribute much towards preserving it in such events;

events; and the various openings formed by the streets and lanes may be likewise considered as a further safeguard against a total conflagration. A project was once in agitation for bringing a part of Hope River into the town, and forming a reservoir in some commodious place at the upper end, from which a certain number of conduits should be laid to supply the principal streets. This scheme was said to be extremely practicable, and not expensive. A want of unanimity prevented its being carried into execution. But there is no doubt it would prove of eminent benefit, in supplying the inhabitants with a wholesome water for their common use; for the well-water here is in general bad; a few only are fed by subterraneous drains from the Hope, or some other of the mountainous streams; the rest are brackish, impregnated with a muriatic salt, if not with some mineral. They increase thirst, instead of slaking it; cause a dry febrile heat, and sometimes a dysentery in habits not much accustomed to them. At the bottom of the town, near the water-side, is the market place, which is plentifully supplied with butchers meat, poultry, fish, fruits, and vegetables of all sorts. Here are found not only a great variety of American, but also of European, vegetables; such as pease, beans, cabbage, lettuce, cucumbers, French beans, artichokes, potatoes, carrots, turnips, radishes, celery, onions, &c. These are brought from the Liguanea mountains, and are all excellent in their kind. Here are likewise strawberries, not inferior to the production of our English gardens; grapes and melons in the utmost perfection; mulberries, figs, and apples, exceedingly good, but in general gathered before they are thoroughly ripe. In short, the most luxurious epicure cannot fail of meeting here with sufficient in quantity, variety, and excellence, for the gratification of his appetite the whole year round. The prices are but little different from those of Spanish Town; but, where they disagree, they are more reasonable at Kingston, the supplies being more regular, and the market better superintended by the magistracy. The beef is chiefly from the pastures of Pedro's, in St. Anne; the mutton, from the Salt-pan lands, in St. Catharine; what they draw from the pennis in St Andrew's parish being very indifferent meat. The supplying of grafs for the horses kept in this town is a very profitable article to those settlements bordering

on the harbour and the mouth of Rio Cobre, which are fit for no other production than the Scotch grafs: this is every day brought to the town by water, and fold in fmall bundles, a certain number for a ryal. Some of the grafs-planters have made upwards of 1500*l.* *per annum* by this commodity. Wood is likewife another article of profit, though not fo confiderable. Near the market-place ftands the original court-houfe, which is a mean, inconvenient building, and now difufed as a feat of judicature, being fixed in the noifeft part of the town. A building erected for a free-fchool, fituated in the upper diftrict of the town, being found more airy and commodious, is now made ufe of for holding the quarterly affize-court for this county. The parade is a large, handsome fquare; on the North-Weft fide of it are barracks of brick for the troops quartered here; a very well-defigned and convenient logement for two hundred men and their officers. The front, which contains apartments for the officers, makes a good appearance. The foldiers barrack ftands detached behind, in a fquare court walled round; in which are proper offices; and at one angle a powder magazine belonging to the town. On the South fide of the parade is the church; a large, elegant building, of four aifles, which has a fine organ, a tower and fpire, with a large clock. The tower is well-constructed, and a very great ornament to the town. The rector's ftipend, as fixed by law, is only 250*l.*; but the furplice-fees are fo large, that his income is fuppofed at leaft one thousand pounds *per annum*, Jamaica currency. The county gaol, a hofpital for tranfient fick and poor (who are fupported by an annual grant of affembly of 300*l.*), and the free-fchool, have nothing remarkable in their ftructure. The land appropriated for the gaol was a plat of two hundred feet by one hundred and fifty; but only about fixty by fifty were inclofed a few years ago. It had only one apartment for lodging debtors, evidences, and criminals; and that of no larger extent than fifteen by fourteen feet. The walls, which inclofed it on the South-Eaft and Weft, having neither windows nor gratings, fo effectually excluded the air, that this place of confinement was rendered extremely unhealthy; and the diftempers among the prifoners became a matter of ferious concern. In 1761, upon a representation of the ftate of it, the affembly made provision



vision for enlarging and rendering it more airy. The number of Whites usually shut up here is about ten; and of Negroes about one hundred. This was formerly the habitation of that ingenious and learned mathematician, Mr. Macfarlane, who built and fitted it up as an observatory; little suspecting perhaps at the time, that it would be converted into a receptacle for unfortunate persons, who are here precluded from almost every other amusement than that of star-gazing.

The streets are all wide and regular, the houses many of them extremely elegant, and kept very clean, considering these circumstances, and that the soil on which they stand is perfectly dry. It is natural to suppose, that the air is healthy; at least there appears not hitherto any local cause assignable why it should be otherwise; nevertheless, it is certain, that Kingston has been accused of being an unwholesome spot. Sir Hans Sloane, indeed, observes, that in his time, at some plantations bordering upon this bay of Liguanea, many white persons died, as he believed, by the ill air; some of these settlements lying in bottoms, or low situations, contiguous to marshes near the harbour; and, on the other hand, that plantations, seated high, were very healthy, and their inhabitants not sickly. The land Westward from the town, and confining on the harbour, is, for four or five miles, very low and flat, interspersed with lagoons, and in many places subject to be overflowed by the salt-water. The hospital of Greenwich, situated little more than a mile from the town, upon part of this low land, is remarkable for a bad air, and the mortality which always prevailed there. The effects of its unhealthy situation were, that, when a patient was sent thither with only a gentle or intermitting fever, this mild disposition was apt to be changed into either a malignant fever, a bloody flux, or some other mortal distemper. It was observed, that the yellow West-Indian fever often reigned there, attended with the most profuse evacuations of blood, by vomiting, stools, and even by every pore of the body: when no such symptoms distressed those patients whose cases had been similar, and who were permitted to remain in their ships. The recovery of patients in that hospital was observed to be very tedious and uncertain: the least indiscretion or irregularity brought on a relapse. After a flux had

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been

been stopped for some days, the eating of any sort of food which had a putrid tendency, such as even a mess of broth, would sometimes in a few hours bring on a return of the disease, accompanied with all its violent symptoms. Neither did this proceed from any source of infection in the hospital, or from its being too much crowded with patients. These things happened even when a small number of patients were lodged in the best-aired, and in the cleanest, wards. The mortality in this house was so great, and the cause of it so obvious, that there was a necessity for deserting it; no more sick were permitted to be sent thither. During the last war, it was made use of as a place of confinement for the French prisoners, and proved fatal to several hundreds of them. Even the soldiers, who were sent in good health from the garrison at Port Royal, to mount guard there, were in a few days taken ill, and many of them died; which obliged the commanding officer to relieve the guard almost daily; by which means he saved the lives of those, who, by too long a continuance on this duty, would otherwise have fallen a sacrifice. The cause of this *endemia* has been, with great appearance of reason, ascribed to the salt-marshes and swamps, the putrid fogs or exhalations, which infest this part of the country, and are naturally adapted in a hot climate to produce all these baleful effects.

The large tract of salina, lying to the Northward of the hospital, and extending from Hunt's Bay towards Water-house Savannah, is frequently overflowed by salt-water, when there happens any considerable surge in the harbour. It is also liable to be deluged by the brackish water of the Lagoon, or Ferry River. Much of this water remains afterwards stagnant, and becomes highly putrid. It is impossible not to be sensible of it in traveling over this salina to Kingston, especially at an early hour in the morning, when the stench of the ooze is often remarkably foetid; and a vapour may be observed hovering over these lagoons and swamps, of a most disagreeable smell. It may well therefore be suspected, that a Westerly land-wind, which sometimes blows between the mountains behind the Ferry, especially after a violent rain there, may impel these effluvia into the town of Kingston. I have been informed, by an experienced physician, who practised in this town, that

that a Westerly wind generally brought a bad fever among the inhabitants.

Eastward from the town, at the distance of from twelve to fifteen miles, in the parish of St. David's, are three large salt-ponds, and some lagoons. At certain times of the year, when the sea-breeze, or trade, is veering either towards the Northern points, or returning from them to the South-east, a wind blows, known here by the name of the rock-wind, and so called from its sweeping close along shore from East to West. Some persons have been of opinion, that this wind drives on the putrid effluvia collected from these ponds and lagoons, together with what may arise from the other small creeks and stagnant waters lying near the coast, and brings them into the town: but this is merely conjectural; and, considering the distance, it is not very credible. The inhabitants, it is true, resident at Yallahs, a little way leeward of these salt-ponds, are sensible of an ill smell proceeding from them, and are generally sickly. But it is doubtful whether these exhalations can be transported by the wind so far as Kingston, without being altered in their qualities by the many miles of atmosphere through which they must needs pass. To waft such effluvia unchanged to any distance requires, one would suppose, an almost calm state of the atmosphere, and the gentlest impulse of wind. But the rock-winds are always strong, and therefore must be deemed capable of dispersing exhalations, and of rendering them inoffensive at a small distance from their source. The persons who inhabit at Yallahs are within less than a mile of the two greater ponds, directly in the track of the sea-breeze, which, blowing across these stagnant waters, and through the lagoons that border on them, must of course bring a constant stream of vapours upon these people; for which reason, it is no wonder that they are sickly, since they are always involved in a pestilential atmosphere. There seem therefore, I think, no probable grounds for believing, that the air of the town is ever annoyed from the effluvia of these ponds. Others have imagined, that the Liguanea mountains, which are known to contain mines of lead and copper, emit continual steams of a noxious mineral vapour, which, whenever the land and North winds blow, are precipitated down upon Kingston, and contribute

to poison its atmosphere. But there seems to be as little foundation for this conjecture, as for that already mentioned. It does not appear, that the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of mines in England are less healthful than those of other parts. The mines of Cornwall are known to emit mineral vapours very copiously; notwithstanding which, Mr. Borlase affirms the air is extremely healthful; and that the miners in particular, who are most exposed to these vapours, generally live to a great age. The town of Potosi, in South-America, which is seated at the very foot of the mountain containing the famous mines, is remarkably populous and healthy [1]. With far more probability it may be alledged, that the intercourse, which has been carried on between this town and the Spanish ports of Carthagen and Porto Bello, has been frequently attended with fatal consequences, by introducing from that unhealthy coast the most malignant and deleterious disorders. The inclemency of the climate of Porto Bello is known to all Europe [2]: not only strangers who come thither are affected by it; but even the natives themselves suffer in various manners. It destroys the vigour of nature, and often untimely cuts the thread of life. The heat of this place is excessive, being augmented by the situation of the town, which is surrounded with high mountains, without any interval for the winds, whereby it might be refreshed. The trees on the mountains stand so thick, as to intercept the rays of the sun, and consequently hinder them from drying the earth under their branches: hence copious exhalations, which form large clouds, and fall in violent torrents of rain. This continual inclemency, added to the fatigues of the seamen in unloading the ships and carrying goods, and their immoderate drinking of spirituous liquors, must jointly destroy the best constitutions, and tend to pro-

[1] The inhabitants about Mendip-hills, in Somersetshire, which contain the famous lead-mines, enjoy good health, except such only as are employed in smelting the ore. But, according to some authors, the American mines are not so inoffensive in all parts of the continent: and many judicious persons suspect, that the unhealthiness of Kingston must be attributed to these mineral steams, whose *miasmata* impregnate the dews, which are carried down by the land-wind, and descend upon the town at night; and, in confirmation of this opinion, they assert, that the inhabitants more often contract sickness from exposure to the night-air here, than from any other cause whatever.

[2] Ulloa's Voyage to South-America.

duce or inflame those terrible disorders so common in this part of the country. The galleons and other European ships, which stay any time here, seldom leave it without burying half, or at least one third, of their men: whence this place has been termed the grave of the Spaniards; but it may, with equal propriety, be applied to those of other nations who visit it. This remark is sufficiently confirmed by the havock made among the English, when the fleet, under command of vice-admiral Hosier, lay before this port in 1726 for six months. The inclemency of the air swept away such numbers of his seamen, that he was obliged to bear away for Jamaica. This fleet was afterwards kept on service, on the coast of Carthagena and the Bastimentos chiefly, until June 1728, when it returned to Jamaica in consequence of the peace with Spain; and it was then computed, that, from the time of admiral Hosier's arrival in June 1726, it had lost two admirals, ten captains, about fifty lieutenants, and near four thousand subaltern-officers and seamen; who all fell by sickness, and not by the hands of the enemy! But, notwithstanding this general fatality of the climate of Porto Bello, and its neighbouring coast, to Europeans, a Spanish squadron, which lay here in 1730, enjoyed a good state of health. This happy singularity was attributed to the stop of the ships at Carthagena, where the crews passed the time of the endemia; by which their constitutions were better adapted to the climate. So noxious is the air of this place, that even persons born in it, if above the degree of a Mulatto, scorn to reside here; and, for the same reason, the royal edict of Spain forbids the fair held annually to exceed forty days. The principal sources of this unhealthiness, exclusive of what has been already mentioned, are, the swampiness of the ground on the East side of the harbour, and a black filthy mud, which at low-water is left bare, and sends forth an abominable stench. Such a situation must, in any part of the West-Indies, render the air malignant; and it will prove so, in a greater or less degree, in proportion as other causes more or less concur in preventing it from being either dispersed or corrected. Upon admiral Vernon's return to Jamaica from Porto Bello and Carthagena, the crews of the men of war, and land-forces, brought with them a very contagious fever. The land-forces had been reduced

duced from twelve to three thousand, more by sickness than in their engagements with the Spaniards. To add to the misfortune of those who returned, they were encamped at Greenwich; and the mortality was increased, as well by the unwholesomeness of that spot, as by the rains which fell, and to which the men were inevitably exposed. The malady was soon communicated to the town of Kingston, where it committed vast havoc. A merchant, who was here at the time, assured me, that, having dined with an intimate acquaintance one day, and left him in the evening in seeming perfect health, he was summoned the very next day to attend his friend's funeral. He accordingly went, with five others, as a bearer; and in a few days he was left the only survivor of the whole company, the other five having caught infection from the corpse, as they accompanied it to the burial-place. He imputed his escape to the precaution he took of chewing tobacco, and carrying some in his hand, which he frequently applied to his nose. It would be a sorrowful task to enumerate the many similar catastrophes which have befallen this town by the importation of malignant fevers from Porto Bello, Carthagena, the coast of Guiney, and the Havannah; not omitting the gaol-fever from England: all of which in their turns have at various periods raged with a fury that threatened to depopulate it. It may be more to the purpose (since the town, all circumstances considered, does not appear to be locally unhealthy) to suggest some means of guarding it against the invasion of these exotic diseases; so that, when they happen on board any of the ships that arrive here, the infection may be debarred from extending into the town.

It would probably be one means of preserving the lives of our seamen, if the ships, intended for Porto Bello, were dispatched at those times of the year when the endemia least prevails there. These times are the months of December, January, February, and March. But, when they are unfortunately seized with these malignant fevers, there are no remedies which promise so speedy and effectual relief as medicines of the antimonial class, and a removal as soon as possible into a better air. In the year 1769, his majesty's ship *Levant* being at Porto Bello, the crew were attacked with a malignant, petechial fever; but, out of seventy men who  
were

were taken with this disease, two only died; the rest were recovered by Dr. James's well-known powder, administered by the surgeon of that ship. From a multitude of experiments, this powder appears to be a specific remedy for all the West-India fevers of the putrid kind; and it is but doing justice to its merit, to say, that it seldom has failed of success, if given early after the first symptom of the disease has made its appearance, and in doses judiciously proportioned to the patient's strength. When a vessel arrives at Port Royal harbour with any contagious fever on board, she might be ordered to perform quarantine at the Pallisadoes. Here a convenient lazaretto, open to the sea-breeze, might be erected at an expence very trifling to the publick; for a boarded or plastered house would be not only the cheapest, but wholesomest, kind of building for this purpose. Here the patients would breathe a pure, dry, and perfectly salubrious atmosphere; and might be constantly supplied with vegetables, and all other necessaries, from the town of Kingston, by water-carriage. The ships in which the infection had raged might here be duly aired and purified for a reasonable time before they were suffered to approach the town. A precaution of this nature, so much wanted, and so easily to be put in practice, seems to deserve some attention from the legislature of the island. I think it will be allowed, that, had it been adopted some years ago, and continued under fit regulations strictly observed, many thousand useful lives might have been redeemed from an untimely fate. Besides, these calamities are not confined to Kingston alone; for, when they have raged to any considerable degree in this town, they have unavoidably circulated into other parts of the island by means of the constant resort to it of people from the various districts. The wisdom and circumspection of every trading port in Europe have pointed out the utility of such lazarettos; and, although the distemper called the plague has never yet been known in the West-Indies, yet the putrid fevers hatched in this climate have at times been nearly as pestilential and mortal; chiefly so, when they have invaded a multitude of men pent up in the close atmosphere of a ship, or the warm rooms of towns on the coast. To this effect is the remark of a sensible man who resided many years in Jamaica, cited by Dr. Lind. "He observed the poor

“ seamen in the merchant service to recover from the yellow fever, solely by having the benefit of a free and constant admission of air into a ship anchored at a distance from the shore; where they lay utterly destitute of every assistance in sickness, and even of common necessaries; having nothing but cold water to drink, and not so much as a bed to lie upon; while gentlemen newly arrived from England, by being shut up in small, close, suffocating chambers at Kingston and Port Royal, expired with the whole mass of their blood dissolved, and flowing at every pore; the stifling heat of their rooms having produced a state of universal putrefaction in the body even before death.” Such strangers, upon their arrival, are generally obliged to take up with the common lodging-houses; the owners of which, in order to make the most advantage of their business, convert every little closet and hole into a bed-chamber. The healthiest person would find it difficult to respire freely for a whole night in one of these dungeons. How improper then must they be for those who are seized with a fever, and are thus excluded from that constant refreshment of air upon which their recovery so much depends, that, without it, all medicines are ineffectual! The houses of towns in this climate cannot be too airy; and on this account the jealousy-shutters, as they are called, which freely admit the air, are very excellent contrivances; and no bed-chamber should be unfurnished with them; for by their means the smallest apartment may be constantly ventilated.

There are some other remarkables in this town, which, so far as they appear inconsistent with the general health, deserve to be noticed.

The first is, the practice of cramming so many corpses into a small church-yard in the centre of the town; instead of providing a proper cemetery at a distance, and to leeward from all the houses.

The second is, a filthy custom of using tubs, and empty butter-firkins, instead of vaults; and exonerating them of their contents every day at the wharfs; by which incessant accumulation of putrid matter, the mud in those parts is rendered still more offensive, and injurious



injurious to the health of those who inhabit the lowest, which is the hottest, quarter of the town.

The third is, a strange method of repairing their streets with the offals and nastiness raked from all the dunghills about the town; instead of gravel, or a fresh wholesome soil, of which there is great plenty in the environs.

These are so many artificial annoyances, which cannot, I think, improve the quality of the air they breathe. Natural evils, if they cannot be removed or remedied, must be acquiesced with; but for an intelligent people to take pains to poison themselves in this manner can only be imputed to a listless indolence, or a great defect of good police among them. The Mahometans can give them some instructions not to be slighted. The burial-places of the Turks are handsome and agreeable; which is owing chiefly to the many fine plants that grow in them, and which they carefully place over their dead. They act much more consistently than the Christians, when they bury their dead without their towns, and plant over them such vegetables as, by their aromatic and balsamic odours, can drive away or correct the fatal exhalations with which the atmosphere of such places is generally loaded. By this easy practice they escape many misfortunes which affect Christians from their wandering and dwelling continually among the dead. Cypress and rosemary are the plants most abundant in these grounds; and the Turks never, if they can avoid it, lay two bodies in the same grave. There can be no doubt but experience taught them the rectitude of this practice in a warm climate, subject so frequently to the visitations of the plague. The contrary practice in the colder climates (Britain for example) is certainly in some degree pernicious, as the air even here, at certain times of the year, is in a state to favour the ascent of very unwholesome vapours from such grounds, particularly in towns, where the surrounding walls confine the moisture that falls within, and prevents the greater part of it from escaping any other way than by exhalations. But our adoption of this, and some other British customs, in a hot climate, is unquestionably absurd. Why should it be thought irrational to follow rather the Turkish custom, and bury the dead at a small distance to the North-west of our towns in the West-Indies, from

which quarter the wind rarely sets, and plant the ground with the wild-sage, rosemary, and other aromatic shrubs, which grow very abundant in the low lands? If there is really a wide difference between a pure and a vitiated air, in regard to the effects they respectively produce on the health of mankind (and that there is will be readily granted), humanity should unite with good sense to remove those nuisances and erroneous customs, which have too long prevailed against the public welfare.

The Jewish synagogue in this town is a handsome, spacious building; and here the principal rabbi officiates. It contains a gallery, like that in Spanish Town, for the reception of their women, who do not mingle with the other sex in their public devotions. The Jews are numerous in this town, being possessed of the greatest share in the Spanish trade. They have a convenient burying-ground without the town. No public buildings having as yet been erected for the officers of the customs and the receiver-general of the island, their offices are kept in private houses, situated in different quarters of the town; which is a very great inconvenience to the trade. Every vessel that arrives is obliged to be entered at the post-office, the secretary's, the collector's, comptroller's, naval, and receiver-general's. These being all detached, and at a distance from one another, the captains of ships are forced to make the tour of the whole town when they attend these offices either to enter or clear. The East side of the parade, or square, in a line with the barracks, would be a very proper spot for erecting a range of building, to include all these offices; but such an undertaking has been thought too expensive for the town, or the county of Surry; and the other two counties are said to have opposed such a scheme, from an apprehension or jealousy that it might one day be converted into a place of residence for the commander in chief. Moderate men, however, are of a different opinion: they wish to see a building erected here, so necessary for the accommodation and dispatch of the traders; and that an exchange, or place convenient for daily meetings of the merchants, was likewise provided; especially as no other town of such extent and importance is without them. In proportion as the commercial spirit and importance are kept up among the inhabitants, they may be less inclined to leave

the walk of trade for party and political wranglings. The erecting of buildings, which are really appurtenant to trade, would encourage that spirit, and confer that importance. We may illustrate the argument, by supposing what would be the case, if no house of residence was provided for the governor, and no senate-house for the assembly. If the former dwelt in a private lodging, and the latter met to transact all their weighty affairs in a tavern, or under a large tree; such degradation would be apt to bring contempt upon the governmental powers, and lessen the reverence and estimation with which they ought to be regarded. But the strongest argument is, that, by bringing the commercial offices together into one certain spot, and assigning a certain convenient place where traders and men of business can regularly meet, to carry on their negotiations with each other, all the springs and movements of the commercial machine are kept in constant exact order, confusion and delay are avoided, every thing goes on with dispatch and facility. Trade must have a livelier current, where the clogs and impediments to its free circulation are removed; and a great annual saving made in point of time; an article upon which merchants necessarily set the highest value. In the lower part of the town is a very pretty theatre, exceedingly well contrived, and neatly finished. Dramatical performances were exhibited here during the last war; at which time there was a considerable quantity of prize money in circulation; but in time of peace, the town is not able, or not disposed, to support so costly an amusement. The taverns here are large and well supplied. In the two principal ones, called Ranelagh and Vauxhall, are long rooms for concerts, balls, and public entertainments. A new governor is generally feasted for three days successively in Spanish Town. Soon after which, he makes a kind of publick entry into Kingston; where he is again regaled by the custos, or chief magistrate of the town, and the rest of the inhabitants, who usually make a subscription-purse for the purpose. In these seasons of festivity there seems an emulation between the two towns, as if they contended which should treat him with the most splendid entertainments. The tavern called Ranelagh is a large, lofty building, commanding a fine view of the town, harbour, and shipping. Here the balls and concerts are usually exhibited;

hibited; and the company are numerous and elegant in their appearance.

The principal place for taking the air is the road leading to Rock Fort, which stands about four miles Eastward from the town; and most of the inhabitants who keep carriages exercise here morning and evening every day. This fort is situated at the extremity of the long mountain, a rocky eminence, inaccessible on this part, where it projects nearly into the harbour, leaving only a small narrow pass at the foot, where the fortress is built. It consists of two bastions, mounting twenty-one guns (twenty-four pounders), and furnished with a small powder-magazine, and other habiliments of war necessary for its defence. Upon the face of the hill is a little battery of six guns, with traversed lines that lead up to it. Outside the walls is a wet ditch, sunk lower than the surface of the water in the harbour; so that it may be occasionally filled. The fort is provided also with a draw-bridge towards the Eastern road; casemates, for lodging the men; and a house for the officers. It is too small to admit a garrison of more than seventy men: nevertheless, governor Kn—l—s was so confident of its strength, that he maintained it was capable of standing a siege against ten thousand men. It defends the access towards the town from the Eastward, and would undoubtedly prove a great security against an attack from that quarter; for the only way leading to it is narrow, and confined a considerable length in a strait direction, exposed to the whole fire of the fort, without a possibility of annoying it: nor could trenches be formed, to carry on a regular approach, as the road is all the way a shallow sand close by the water's edge. A guard of soldiers is always kept here; but the fort is said to be very unhealthy to the men and their officers. The cause of this has by some been imputed to their drinking from a brackish stream which runs near it. Others ascribe it to the extreme heat reverberated down upon them from the hill, which rises like a wall above the fort. And some have thought it proceeded from a lagoon, which lies near the mouth of Mammec River, about three miles to the Eastward. To corroborate the latter opinion, is alleged the instance, mentioned by Lind, of Whydaw-castle, on the coast of Africa; which has been rendered more unhealthy than  
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the Negroe-town in its neighbourhood by a slight circumstance unattended to at first. It is built on a small spot of ground, which the sea-breezes cannot reach without passing over a little, inconsiderable brook of water, which produces some aquatic plants always covered with a putrid slime. It is certain, from constant experience, that places adjacent to a foul shore, or stagnant waters, near the coast in the West-Indies, are invariably unhealthful. But, whatever be the cause, it deserves a minute enquiry of gentlemen of the faculty, in order to its discovery; to the end that, if it arises from some local evil, that cannot be remedied, the men might be lodged at night in convenient huts, erected for them upon the hill-side; by which means all of them, except those on immediate duty in the fort, might enjoy a purer air, especially in those hours when a depraved air is found to be most pernicious; for this is a post of so much importance to the town, that the men stationed here ought neither to be disheartened by apprehensions, nor disabled by sickness, from doing their regular duty. The assembly having lately granted 1500*l.* for erecting barracks at this fort to contain two hundred men; if the situation be properly attended to, the result will shew, whether the unhealthiness of the garrison has been owing to a pestilent quality in the air, or some other cause.

To conclude with Kingston. The militia of this town, both horse and foot, are well trained, uniformly dressed, and well armed, at their own expence. The pains they take in learning the necessary manœuvres, and the charges to which they are put in their equipment, do great honour to their public spirit, especially as most of them are independent in their circumstances. It is thought, that, upon emergency, they could muster upwards of two thousand effective Whites; and between four and five hundred effective free Blacks and Mulattoes. The companies of the latter cast are under the command of white officers, excellent in their discipline, and would probably do good service against an enemy, whenever called upon to give proof of it.

The parish contains no sugar plantations, the situation being too dry to admit of any other settlements than grass-penns. The following may serve to give some idea of the state of it:

Negroes.

		Negroes.	Cattle.	Settlements.
1734,	—	3811	483	
1740,	—	4534	607	
1745,	—	7749	828	
1761,	—	6186		
1768,	—	5779	923	8

In number of Negroes it appears to be considerably reduced; and, indeed, there seems at present but too much reason for the popular opinion, that this town has passed the zenith of its glory, having lost two such capital supports of its trade, as the Negroe-contracts with the Spaniards, and the coasting-intercourse with Spanish South-America; in which it used, a few years ago, to employ a great number of small vessels. It is likewise seldom visited by the small-craft, which used formerly to crowd hither in shoals, laden with bullion and other valuable articles. So that it has at present very little business but what concerns the home-consumption of the island; on which account, several of the merchants have, since the commencement of peace, betaken themselves to planting, as a more gainful employ than trade carried on under the present distressed circumstances. War, so fatal to some states, has ever been the best friend of this town, by augmenting the consumption and demand of merchandizes; by filling it with new accessions of people and wealth; and by laying open that profitable traffic in these seas which in time of peace is too strictly watched. From the earliest settlement of this island, its trade was ever most flourishing while war subsisted with the Spaniards; which has administered such constant opportunities of sharing in their gold and silver, as well by private commerce as by open hostility. For this reason, their proverbial saying of, "Peace with England, and war with all the rest of the world," was not ill-founded. Yet I venture to hope, that, by steadily cultivating a better correspondence with the free Indians on the Southern continent, the trade of this town is very capable of receiving a vast enlargement; which may effectually preserve it from decay, and make it less dependent on a state of war for its support.

In this town are two houses for refining sugar; but the quantity they annually consume in this manufacture I am not informed of.

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The number of vessels which enter and clear at this port is computed at four hundred, or upwards, one year with another. Whence it will appear to be still a place of very great import and export. For maintaining the harbour, several very excellent provisions have been made. Penalties are laid on any person taking materials or ballast from the spit of land, called the Pallisadoe, which forms a barrier between it and the main sea; as well as on those who may throw rubbish or ballast into the harbour. The channel is properly marked; and the pilots under good regulation. And, in order to prevent disorderly mooring of the ships, a tax is laid in the following manner:

On all vessels arriving from the Northward of the tropic of Cancer;

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Three masts, ——— ———	15	0
Brig, snow, or bilander, ———	10	0
Sloop, and schooner, ——— ———	7	6

And, on all vessels coming from between the tropics, one half the above rates; except coasting vessels, which are taxed 2*s.* 6*d.* each, payable every three months. The money arising from this impost is applied to the establishment of a water-bailiff; whose business it is, to see that all these vessels fix their moorings properly and without confusion. It seems, however, a little impolitic to throw this additional load upon the shipping that frequent this port, from which the other ports of the island are exempted; especially as a very moderate addition to their annual parish-tax might have answered the purpose. The church-wardens of this town are incorporated, for the better management of every thing relative to the parochial taxes; the markets and streets are under the regulation of the justices and vestry; the market for butchers meat is most plentifully supplied; and the fish-market, which is kept every day from eight in the morning till two in the afternoon, is superior to most in the world.

It is impossible to ascertain, with precision, either the number of the inhabitants, or the state of health, from the number of burials, because many seamen and strangers who die are confounded with the town's people.

The number of births and deaths for seven years to the year 1771 was as follows :

Born — 988.

Died — 2085.

Deaths exceed the births — 1097.

The thermometrical heat of this town is greater than that of Spanish Town, in general about three degrees upon the medium. The air is less elastic; and the water, as I have before remarked, is in general of bad quality. From what has been premised, it may be concluded, that it is not by any means so healthful. Some have gone so far as to compare it to a large hospital; and to assert, that more people die in it in one year than in all the rest of the island in three. But this is an exaggeration; and the town is of late years become much healthier than it formerly was, when the mountainous tracts nearest to it were covered with woods, which have since been pretty well cleared and laid open, and the lagoon-water more freely carried off, by cultivating the Scotch grass, and cutting drains near Salt River. The removal of those annoyances which meet a stranger's nose upon entering the town in the morning, together with the enforcing of some other salutary regulations, might probably contribute to make the air still more favourable to life; yet there are many here, whose constitutions by long habit are inured, and who attain to a good old age, notwithstanding the inconveniences pointed out; but, in general, it must be allowed, that this town is not so propitious to the health of persons newly arrived from Europe as might be wished.

## S E C T. II.

### St. A N D R E W.

THIS parish is bounded on the East by the parish of Port Royal, and part of St. David; on the West, by part of St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. Catharine; on the North, by part of St. Anne, and St. Mary; and on the South, by the harbour and parish of Kingston. It is watered with fourteen rivers; the principal of which



which are, the Wagwater, which empties itself into the sea on the North side, after a course of about thirty miles; the Hope, which crosses the East side; the Pedro, which enters St. Thomas in the Vale on the West; and the Salt, which falls into the harbour on the North-west part of Hunt's Bay. The North-west angle of the boundary-line terminates at a large cotton-tree, on the summit of a hill; from which there is a distant view, in clear weather, of the sea on the North and South sides of the island.

The Salt River rises about three miles above Hunt's Bay, and is joined by the Lagoon River, which divides this parish from St. Catharine, and whose source is about two miles further inland. Both these rivers are crossed with bridges in the way leading to Spanish Town. The Salt River Bridge has a toll-gate, granted to the proprietor; in consideration of which, he is obliged to keep them, together with about one mile of the road, in good repair, and to maintain a ferry-boat at the crossing of Rio Cobre, for the accommodation of passengers when that river is flooded. These rivers are navigated by flat-bottomed barges and canoes, which are chiefly used for transporting grafs, wood, and lime, to the town of Kingston. A large tract of lagoon lies between their streams; great part of which, having been drained by cuts, which carry off the water into the rivers, is converted into good pasture-ground; and that which is more swampy bears the Scotch grafs very luxuriantly. The road, leading from the bridge towards Kingston, is for about a mile extremely romantic: on one side is a range of steep, rocky mountain, which scarcely admits of room sufficient for carriages to pass at the foot of it; on the other side is a branch of the Salt River, fed here and there with small rivulets oozing from the bottom of the mountain. This water is exceedingly brackish; but it affords good water-cress, and plenty of fish. This prey invites the alligators; which are said to abound here, though rarely seen by any except the Negroes who navigate upon it.

The village of Half-way Tree is situated a little more than two miles North from Kingston, at the intersection of the three roads which lead to Spanish Town, to St. Mary, and St. George. This village enjoys, with a good air, the most agreeable views. Behind

are the majestic Blue Mountains, rising above one another in gradation, till they seem to touch the clouds: on each side, lively fields of canes, intermixed with elegant villas and pastures: in front, the harbours of Kingston and Port Royal, crowded with shipping, some at anchor, others plying in various directions: beyond these, the Healthshire hills in St. Catharine, gradually declining towards Old Harbour: and, lastly, the horizon closing on the beautiful azure of the ocean. A number of little grass-penns, with good houses on them, are dispersed about the neighbourhood, chiefly the property of merchants in Kingston, who occasionally retire to them from the hurry of business. But its chief ornament is a very magnificent house, erected here a few years since by Mr. Pinnock; which may vie, in the elegance of design, and excellence of workmanship, with many of the best country-seats in England. The stone used about this fabrick was brought from the Hope river-course: it is far more beautiful than the Portland, and of a closer and finer grain. The mahogany-work and ornaments within have been justly admired for their singular beauty, being, as I am informed, selected with great expence. Half-way Tree has a small, but very neat church, with a tower and organ. The emoluments of the rectory, arising principally from six hundred acres of rich glebe-land, leased advantageously to some planters, are said to be about 1400*l.* *per annum.* The stipend being only 200*l.* of this country money, it may easily be judged that the glebe is extremely valuable; and this is therefore considered as the best living in the governor's presentation. Some years ago, there was a regular weekly assembly held here; but it has since been discontinued, till lately, when it was revived, and thought inferior to none in the island. The village contains about twelve or fourteen houses. Passing on from hence to the Northward about two miles, along a road of easy ascent, we come to the foot of the Liguanea Mountains: these are the first steps leading up to that vast pile of mountains which range through the island from East to West. The foremost are of moderate height, serving as natural buttresses to sustain the interior and more massive. As we proceed, they seem to increase in magnitude and elevation, till we arrive at the highest of all, called the Blue Mountain Ridges. The soil on their South aspect

aspect is in general a red clay; but, in other parts, it is of a coarser, friable texture, and intermixed with small stones, or a sort of grit. Where they have been cleared of wood, and cultivated, their infertility has been promoted by heavy rains washing down the finer mould. From Kingston they appear of a reddish cast, interspersed with verdure here and there, and furrowed with innumerable gullies, some of which are very deep; and at this distance they resemble very much the South aspect of the Madeira island. The road ascending into these lofty regions is in general steep and irregular, incapable of admitting wheel carriages. The journey is therefore performed on horse-back. But it is not dangerous, except in one part, where the road passes along a precipice, and is formed on wooden stakes driven into the side of the mountain, and well covered with cross timbers and earth, which make a kind of geometrical bridge. But this is of no great length; and, being kept in good repair, it seems to be accompanied with more of horror than of real peril. Ascending higher, vast numbers of the larger swifts are seen skimming over the mountain-tops with great velocity; and sometimes they whiz along so near the traveler's head, uttering their shrill cries, as to startle him, if he is unprepared. The bull-finch's notes are more entertaining: they are very singular, and of a melancholy air. The beautiful forked-tail papilio flies are seen in swarms; they generally keep together, flitting in a direction with the wind; they seem ever on the wing, and sometimes venture to soar above the highest pitch of these mountains. In this part of the country there is no appearance of lime-stone. The stone observed here is brittle and crumbling, disposed in *lamina*, turns black in the fire, and will not ferment with *aqua fortis*. The lime made use of is manufactured from incrustations, which are found in sufficient abundance. The trees, for the most part, are slender and stunted; many of them are enveloped with moss, and others entirely killed by it. This covering makes them appear at a small distance as if they were frosted over; and the coldness of the air naturally causes this deception on first arriving from the glow of heat which broods over the lowlands about Kingston. The thermometer here, in general, was at sixty and sixty-five degrees in the middle of the day in July; while it rose to eighty-six and ninety.

nety in Kingston. The ground on the elevated spots feels, and yields to the tread, like a new carpet; it is coated all over with a deep moss. The parts I speak of are adjacent to Mr. Adams's house; for the Blue Mountain Ridge appeared from this place as much higher as this seemed to be above the low lands. Every evening a vapour descends from these summits towards the vales below, and probably adds some strength to the land-wind, which sets from this quarter after sun-set. In the morning the fog rises, and seems to creep in a regular train to the higher grounds; so that, for a great part of the day, it continues so thick, as to give the air a chill, even at noon, equal to what is felt here before sun-rise. Where it is more broken and dispersed, so as to admit the solar rays to pass freely, warm steams immediately begin to be exhaled; and the mossy ground feels to the hand like a hot bed. Upon arriving at the eminence, whereon Mr. Adams's house is built, a very beautiful scenery greets the view. Below are seen the richly-cultivated vale of Liguanea, the harbours of Kingston and Port Royal, and great part of St. Catharine, and St. Dorothy. On a sudden, the whole is excluded from sight by a dense cloud, interposing itself like a magnificent curtain. In a moment afterwards, the curtain breaks here and there in different parts, admitting only transient glances; but, when withdrawn entirely, a most luxuriant and extensive landscape opens, animated with the full splendor of sun-shine. In front are cane-fields of the liveliest verdure, pastures, and little villas intermixed; the towns and ports of Kingston and Port Royal; the shipping scattered in different groups; the forts, the hills of Healthshire, the rocky breakers, and cayes whitening with the surge; and, beyond these, a plain of ocean extending to the Southern hemisphere. To the Westward are seen the glistening meanders of the Cobre; the town of St Jago de la Vega; the bay of Old Harbour; and a vast champaign of fertile country, terminated by the lofty range of Carpenter's Mountains, at sixty miles distance.

These objects form all together a very pleasing combination. The pleasure which the mind receives from contemplating them is considerably heightened by the impenetrable gloom of thick vapours behind, which exhibits a noble contrast to the brilliant picture in

front. Another scene, not less magnificent, though more awful, frequently presents itself in the hot months. The clouds assembling about noon gradually thicken, grow black, and descend lower; till they appear a spacious sea, closing over and covering the inferior objects entirely from our view. Soon afterwards, the vapoury particles begin to condense and fall in rain; the lightning flashes with great vivacity, as it traverses along, in a variety of angular or serpentine directions. We hear the majestic thunder rolling at our feet, and reverberated by a thousand echoes among the hills. This tumultuous interlude continues until the vapours, grown lighter by a plentiful discharge of their contents, begin to re-ascend and disperse, climbing over the stately pinnacles of these mountains, like flocks of sheep retiring hastily to their fold.

Whenever the fog breaks or disperses about noon, the sun-beams strike here with more power than would have been imagined at so great an elevation. But the mossy covering of the ground, which is adapted to imbibe the warmth impressed upon it by every strong gleam, and the sudden variations in the sensible state of the atmosphere, by the interposition or recess of these vapours, doubtless affect a person here in like manner as the sudden transition in England from a cold, raw air into a heated, close apartment. The little pike, from whence the most agreeable view is taken, is about half a mile from Mr. Adams's house, and named Catharine Hill, in honour of governor Moore's lady, who had the curiosity to pay it a visit in the year 1760. This hill is not much less than a mile perpendicular height above the level of the sea. The walk to it from the house is not in the least incommodious on account of heat, even in the middle of the day. Who peregrinates into these regions finds every fresh ascent, however short, affording not only a new air, but a new scene of nature, in regard to its prospect, its plants, and animals. The birds, the fish, and insects, are many of them totally different from those we meet with in the lower situations: and the face of things carries so little similitude in appearance to what commonly occurs in other parts of the island, that one seems to have been transported by some magic vehicle into a foreign country. This observation holds, it is true, in a certain degree, with respect likewise to some other districts of Jamaica;

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for the East and West ends, and the North, North-east, and North-west sides, are almost as dissimilar, in the aspect of the country, the weather, the plants, birds, and insects, as if they belonged to as many differently situated islands. There are, nevertheless, several to be met with in these mountains of the same species as in other parts. The ring-tailed pigeons frequent them in great numbers: they are seen constantly on the wing, and generally darting along the fogs, which it is imagined they involve themselves in, the better to conceal their flight. There are found, besides, a small martin, the whole upper parts of whose plumage are of a glossy, golden green, the inferior parts white; swifts, whose upper plumage is black, except a ring of white encircling the neck, and the parts below entirely white; blue-finches; dark-brown thrushes; wood-peckers of various kinds; black-birds of the merops species; blue-sparrows; long and short-tailed humming-birds; blue and red-throat bull-finches; black and orange-coloured bull-finches, and brown petrels: the latter are said to be very numerous on the higher parts of the Blue Mountains, where they breed in holes made in the earth. In the rivulets are found a squalid, yellow sucking-fish, and the large common and hog-nosed fresh-water mullets. Of the quadruped reptile class, are the common grey lizard, a small tree-frog, a small galli-wasp, and rats in abundance. Of the insect tribe, here are a species of crickets, which chirp like birds on the approach of the evening-dusk; a great variety of papilios and curculios, some of the latter green and gold, others grey; a large, black and yellow-striped humble-bee; a fly of the cantharides kind; red and stinging ants; wasps; a beautiful, long forked tail butterfly, of a copperish and green hue. Of plants are observed a prodigious variety of ferns, and a still greater of mosses; black and bill-berry bushes in abundance, large and flourishing; the wild-forrel; wild garden-mint, or *mentha vulgaris*; and several aromatic herbs and shrubs. The juniper-cedar, *agnus Scythicus*, and a yellow timber-tree, called here Mulatto-wood, are likewise very common, except the first-mentioned; it had a much stronger scent, and the wood of it was of a deeper red than the kind generally met with. The wild-forrel is as common as in England; and the garden-mint grows in wide-spreading tufts along the side of the road;

road; perhaps it has been propagated from some plant, either casually dropped, or put in by design; but it is remarkable, that it grows, though in a very sterile soil, as luxuriantly as we find it in any English garden. The bill-berries are chiefly seen on the higher eminences; but they are exceedingly numerous in such spots; and the black-berries not at all different from those of England, either in size, or the mawkish sweetness of their taste. Cockroaches were not expected to be seen here: it is true, they are very scarce; and, I incline to believe, not aborigines of a region so unsuitable to their nature, from its coolness; but probably brought hither from Kingston in some of the packages of bottled liquor, or provisions, which it is usual for the parties to take with them, who visit this retreat for the sake of health or curiosity. That the state of the atmosphere is generally very cool, I think there can be no doubt, since it has been found so in the month of July; and I have been informed, that, during the other hot months, the difference between the thermometer here and at Kingston is commonly twenty to thirty degrees. The birds that were shot did not begin to smelt till after the fourth day. A North wind almost constantly blows, and sometimes with great violence, when the vapours far below are sailing along with an Easterly breeze, and the ships standing in for the harbour with that breeze right-aftern. The transition from the heated air of the low lands causes the chill to be the more sensibly felt by those who remove to this elevation; the sensation therefore is not at all wonderful. A fire is found necessary, even in July, in the evening; and some persons have hardly been able to keep themselves warm enough in bed with two blankets. The butter, which at Kingston was in a liquified state, became so firm in one night's time, that a knife, stuck into it, lifted the saucer in which some of it had been put. But the coldness of the air is chiefly distressing to the Negroes and horses; they quickly grow sluggish and miserable; the latter in particular, although stimulated by extreme thirst, have been known to refuse tasting the spring-water for several days, which was perfectly pure and transparent, but too frigid for them. Exercise is attended with no fatigue; it serves only to keep the body in a comfortable glow. The steep ascents are climbed on foot in the middle of the day, without inconve-

nience; the air braces the tone of the fibres, renders the spirits lively, and creates an immoderate appetite for food, which unfortunately is not here in such abundance as to be proportionate to the demands for it. Hence it may be supposed, that frosts are frequent on the Blue Mountain summits during the winter months, as some have positively asserted [w]. Those summits have been explored by very few persons; the air at such a height is almost too pure for human respiration. I have been informed that some Negroes died in passing over them, some years ago, before the pacification was made with the rebels in this island. These summits are bare of trees and shrubs, but well covered with a thick moss, which gives harbour to vast numbers of rats. In what manner they procure subsistence in so dreary a residence, I have not been able to learn.

I must not be silent on a phenomenon, which I do not find noticed by any writer of our natural history. I should, however, premise, that, in regard to the fact, it was communicated to me by a gentleman of such strict veracity, as not to admit a shadow of doubt. He related it as a singularity which he could not readily account for, but had been observed by many persons living near the Yallahs and Buff Bay rivers. During the months of November, December, January, and February, when little or no rain falls, several rivulets of water are observed to gush from the North side of the Ridges, which increase and swell the tide of these rivers very considerably: but they are not remarked at other times of the year, even after the heaviest rains. The prodigious mantle of thick moss which cloathes these Ridges, extending over many hundreds, if not thousands of acres, receives and imbibes the water that almost continually distils upon it from the vapours that brood over their summits. These rivulets are not seen until after the periodical North winds are set in, which usually happens in the be-

[w] According to a very accurate trigonometrical mensuration, lately taken by Dr. Alexander M'Kenzie, assisted by Mr. George Gauld, surveyor to his majesty, the results were as follow:

		Feet	Height.	Mile.			
Catharine Hill,	}	above the	{	5050	=	1	wanting 230 feet.
Blue Mountain Summit,		sea's level,		7553	=	1½	ditto 307 ditto.

consequently, the mercury in the barometer (agreeably to Dr. Halley's calculations) ought to stand on the Blue Mountain at about 22  $\frac{1}{3}$  inches.

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ginning of November; and they continue blowing till March, and sometimes later, but then grow more faint, and interrupted with the South-easters, or sea-breezes. The coldness and violence of these Northerly winds must be far greater at such an elevation than is ever felt below. The sun being at the same time in its Southern declination, the Northern slopes of the Ridges are shaded most part, if not all the day; and very little moisture can be exhaled from them. Is it not therefore probable, that the vehement pressure of these winds, directly against the Northern aspects, may squeeze the mossy covering as it were a sponge, so that the aqueous particles contained in it run into cohesion, and assemble in small rills; which, as they trickle downwards, are joined and augmented by others, till they form those larger rivulets, which have been observed to unite with the currents below, that lie in a convenient direction to receive them? May not the coldness of these Norths so harden the superficial soil of the Ridges, as to render it impervious to the humid particles lodged in the moss; though, in the warmer season of the year, it is sufficiently open to admit a free percolation to all that is not carried off by the sun's exhaling power? The sea-breeze has an oblique direction against the Ridges, and therefore, when most violent, blows upon them with much less pressure. It is moreover to be considered, that the moss is ranker and more luxuriant on the North aspects; and the vapours which over-hang them are, in general, denser and more constant than on the South sides. Whether the causes I have assigned are rational, or probable, must be left to the decision of abler philosophers. That judicious and benevolent writer, Dr. Lind, recommends strongly to the inhabitants of the low lands, in this and other hot climates, to retire to a hilly or mountainous residence at those times of the year when the heaviest rains fall. By their violence and continuance during the space of several successive days, the low lands are saturated with water; the exhalations from the earth are more copious than at other times; and, if any series of dry weather has preceded (which generally is the case), they are more noxious to health. Add to this, that the atmosphere is sultry and moist. These causes dispose the human body to be affected with agues and fevers (and, of the latter class, the putrid),

which chiefly assault persons newly arrived from a cold Northern climate. There is no country in the torrid zone better furnished than Jamaica with retreats of this kind; the hills being scattered every where very liberally near the coast, and universally healthful. The inhabitants of Spanish Town have the neighbouring Red Hills; the people of Kingston are near the Liguanea Mountains; and in every part of these tracts the air is pure, temperate, and salubrious, during the whole year. The inhabitants of these mountains not only enjoy good health, but a sure indication of it in the freshness of their complexions; and they are strangers to those deleterious distempers which sometimes ravage the towns. The barrack at Stoney Hill in this parish affords a striking proof of the goodness of this air. The company of soldiers quartered here were fresh from Europe, and luckily did not halt long enough at Kingston to contract sickness. The whole garrison continued in perfect health (and only one died, which happened, as I was informed, by a casualty) till long after their arrival, when they were removed to Kingston; where probably, not more from the change of air, than the greater facility of procuring spirituous liquors, they grew sickly, and reduced in their number. No climate can be more propitious to European constitutions than these elevated spots; but the persons who for the most part emigrate to the island have not any choice of place for their future residence, and of course they take their chance. Yet I cannot but think, that such as have weathered a seasoning in Kingston, and lived there so long as to have it in their power to chuse an occasional place of abode in a more eligible situation here, should consult their own future health, and that of others sent over to their patronage and employment, and purchase or rent a small settlement somewhere among these mountains, to serve for a retreat during the most sickly times of the year. But men educated and engaged in the bufile of commerce are too apt to despise these cautions, as speculative and chimerical. Many are predestinarians in their way of thinking, and will not step aside one inch to avoid a falling rock; and others are unwilling to lose a single hour which may be employed in the pursuit of money, too inattentive to the pursuit of health, without which their labours are, in respect to their own enjoyments, but vain and illusory. Hence  
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it happens, that we see so many passing away from the island on their last legs, to perish under the icy rigours of a Northern climate; who, by occasionally withdrawing into the more temperate coolness of the mountains in this island, might have remained in the full possession of good health; or, on their quitting it to re-visit their native land, have carried with them a plenitude of bodily vigour, as well as opulence. The turf on the Ridges is short, and intermixed with a variety of wild aromatic herbs; so that sheep, but particularly goats, might be pastured on it with great advantage to the delicacy of their flesh; and, it is probable, their milk would become in some degree medicinal in several disorders. No experiment has yet been made to adorn the naked pikes with some of the various species of firs which are so common in North-America; and from whence seeds, or young plants, might be had in great perfection, by reason of the shortness of the passage. They have great beauty as well as utility, and would doubtless thrive extremely well on these eminences. The few settlements scattered here have gardens, which produce almost every sort of European culinary vegetables: these, indeed, are cultivated with great success at the North-side of the island, and in all the interior parts. I have seen a piece of ground in one of the North side parishes sowed with cabbage-seed, immediately after the wood had been cleared; and the plants it produced were beyond all comparison much larger, firmer, and better flavoured, than any I have ever met with in England. I have seen quince-trees in a garden at Old Woman's Savannah, in Clarendon, which bore very fine, large fruit; but the apple-trees do not produce any where so well as in the Liguanea Mountains: in the lower parts of the island they shoot too much into wood, and their fruit degenerates; in these mountains, they appear to fructify best on the highest sites. The American and European peach, nectarine, and apricot, with several species of plumbs, the raspberry, strawberry, and mulberry, would hardly fail here, if planted in situations open to the sun, and sheltered from the violence of the North winds. I have tasted nectarines which were produced in the Vale of Luidas, in St. John's. They were small, but retained all the delicious flavour peculiar to that fruit. They would certainly succeed better in some part of these mountains, where the  
general

general state of air is found to approximate nearest to that of the Southern provinces of Europe.

The account I have given of these mountains is, I confess, very imperfect; no person, I believe, has hitherto visited them with the professed design of examining all their natural productions, or obtaining a regular information of the temperature of their atmosphere throughout the year, or of ascertaining their height by accurate barometrical observations. Talks of this sort are reserved for men who are at entire leisure from the avocations of business and office; and who, to the incentives of a laudable curiosity, can join all the abilities, both of genius and fortune, that are necessary to pursue its full gratification. There is good reason to believe, that a gentleman who is duly qualified to explore them would meet with ample materials to recompense his toil; and it is greatly to be wished, that they may undergo a further scrutiny. Sir Hans Sloane possessed all that discernment and knowledge requisite for a cultivation of natural history. But he was fettered by the duties of the place he enjoyed under the duke of Albemarle; and, besides, the island was, in his time, in so rude a state, that it might have been impracticable for him to have examined much of its mountainous districts, even if he could have found sufficient leisure. And hence the many inaccuracies in his work; for he was obliged to rely chiefly on the writings and informations of other men, for want of opportunity to ground his descriptions on the result of his own personal experience. Much useful information of these interior regions might perhaps be gained, if the assembly of the island were to grant an annual pension of three or four hundred pounds sterling to some person thoroughly qualified in the branches of natural study: I mean those in particular which have relation to agriculture, husbandry, food, medicine, minerals, and commerce. The advantages to be reaped from such an appointment would depend on the ability and spirit of the person chosen. In the present age, it would not be difficult to engage one competently qualified; since there never was a period in which this study employed such numbers of ingenious men in our mother-country. This patriotic ardour for promoting science in general, and in particular natural history and husbandry, has not been confined to societies only:  
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private gentlemen have exerted their single efforts in support of it, and laudably devoted part of their fortunes to this end, instead of wasting it in unprofitable dissipations. The island of Jamaica has never wanted gentlemen of distinguished taste for the fine, as well as the more useful and œconomical, arts; and, since the island is so opulent, that the charge of such an appointment would hardly be felt, what more favourable circumstances can be hoped to concur, either towards enforcing success in the undertaking, or giving the public that satisfactory knowledge of soils, climates, and productions, that, while it gratifies the *literati*, may also tend to improve and people this country? The want of a liberal education, or an attention of the whole soul to get money, as if it were the only rational object of pursuit in this world, has occasioned men in general to treat the study of natural history, and its followers, with contempt and ridicule; all are indiscriminately confounded with the despicable tribe of insect-hunters, and collectors of gimcracks. We should, however, be cautious to separate from this dross all those, whose labours conduce to the most useful purposes of life; who not only disclose to us the wonderful mechanism of the creation, and the wisdom of the Deity; but exemplify his unbounded benevolence to man, while they instruct us in the means by which our health may be preserved, our life prolonged, our agriculture improved, manufactures enlarged and multiplied, commerce and trade extended, and the public enriched. I must confess, that this useful pursuit has not been without its fautors in Jamaica. Sir Hans Sloane first laid open a new scene of American productions, not much known before to the learned in Europe. Yet, before his time, the science was cultivated in this island by Dr. Barham, whom Sir Hans frequently quotes, and whose manuscripts were never published. Some time afterwards, Dr. Patrick Brown undertook a similar work, containing many undescribed plants and animals: this work he was enabled to publish chiefly by the subscription of the gentlemen of the island. The late Dr. Anthony Robinson likewise made a collection of several hundred figures and descriptions of Jamaica plants and animals; the greater part of which are non-descripts: but he unfortunately died before it could be digested into a regular series for publication. This

work,

work, if it should ever be given to the public, will be found to correct many errors in Sloane and Brown; who, compared with him, were in various instances very superficial observers, or ill-informed. He invented a vegetable soap, superior in its properties to common soap; for which discovery, the assembly of this island granted him a reward of one hundred pounds sterling. He likewise prepared a sago from a species of the palm, so common in Jamaica, equal in its alimentary qualities to what comes from the East-Indies. Notwithstanding these voluminous collections, it is certain, there still remains a very great number of plants and minerals in this island to be described and classed. And, to compleat the whole, there is required a judicious analysis of their properties and use. I have been informed, that her majesty queen Anne, upon the representations of Sir Hans Sloane, gave out of her privy-purse 200*l.* sterling *per. annum*, to support and encourage a botanical professor in this island; but her death happened soon after, and the bounty was withdrawn.

The importance of cultivating this science, in a part of the world so abounding in materials, will not be denied, when we consider the immense sums that have been acquired in trade by the Jesuits bark, the canella, cochineal, indigo, logwood, and various other vegetable productions; whose value might still have been lost to the community, and their preparations unknown, had not some knowledge in natural history revealed them. And there is very probable ground to suppose, that there is in this island a vast variety of plants still to be examined; whose fruit, gums, barks, or roots (to say nothing of the fossile and mineral kingdoms), might be found very proper subjects for export, or for œconomical uses among the inhabitants. In order to promote such beneficial researches, it is to be wished, that those planters, who send their sons to Great-Britain for education in physic and surgery, would direct, that botany should also be attended to, and made a principal branch of their study. Botanical knowledge seems particularly requisite to their practice in a country that teems with vegetable remedies for most of the distempers incident to the climate. A total ignorance of this useful science is a most contemptible defect in the practitioners here; for what can be more reproachful than to have

it said, and with truth, that many of the Negroes are well acquainted with the healing virtues of several herbs and plants, which a regular physician tramples under foot, with no other idea of them, than that they are no part of his *materia medica*, nor any better than useless weeds? It will be no small assistance to any person who may hereafter botanize in Jamaica, that Sloane and Brown have already paved the way; but, indeed, a thorough discovery of the virtues and uses of what have been already described, seems to be more wanted at present than a further scrutiny after non-described plants. Superadded to this will be the endeavours of gentlemen of the island to introduce exotic plants and trees from the East-Indian and American continents, of such kinds as have been most celebrated for their medicinal, or some other valuable qualities. No part of the island seems better adapted for such nurseries than the Liguanea or Midland Mountains. They would require some care till their seeding time; after which, the different species might easily be propagated in other districts.

I return from this digression to close my account of St. Andrew's. The lower, or more level part of the parish, comprehended under the name of Liguanea, is the quarter most appropriated to sugar-plantations. The soil here has been chiefly formed by the fine mould washed down from the hills, and produces a good cane. In some parts, the soil is mixed with a coarse rubble, swept by heavy torrents from the gullies. This soil requires plentiful rains (without which it is apt to burn the canes), and constant manure. One of the Oliverian regiments first settled here, under the command of colonel Archbould and major Hope, who, with Sir William Beeston, possessed the best and largest share of this whole tract. Few of the sugar-plantations are remoter from the harbour than six or seven miles; the interior or hilly part being chiefly employed in the cultivation of coffee and provisions. The roads here are in general firm; the sugar of excellent quality; and the carriage to and from the town so easy, that the estates are justly esteemed very valuable. The Long Mountain, which runs obliquely from Rock Fort for about four miles inland, is for the most part composed of lime-stone. The end of it, which advances nearest to the harbour, supplies large quantities of ballast for the

ships, stones for building and for lime; which are carried by water from the foot of it. But the houses in general are of brick manufactured from the natural soil, which is a certain proof of its fertile quality.

Near Merryman's Hill, in Liguanea, a mineral water has, not long since, been discovered; which is said to contain a vitriolic acid iron, a portion of talky, argillaceous, and absorbent earths, joined to a fixed fossile alkali. Dr. Richardson, who tried some experiments upon it, acknowledges, however, that this analysis is incomplete, and requires further experiments, which cannot be made, except at the fountain head. This is commonly known at present by the name of Curtin's Spring, and probably contains a very medicinal quality; for which reason, a more perfect analysis is extremely desirable, for ascertaining all its ingredients.

State of the Parish:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-estates.	Annual Produce of Sugar.	
				Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	7631	5413			
1740,	8363	5244			
1745,	8936	5001			
1761,	9024		30	2600	122
1768,	9813	4626			

This parish is in a flourishing state, and increasing in its number of sugar-plantations, though not so rapidly as might have been expected, considering its vicinity to Kingston. This supineness may be attributed to the absence of the chief proprietors, who reside in the mother-country, and are not solicitous about forming new estates, which require some money to be advanced, and perhaps the personal superintendency of the owners. The diminution in cattle has (among other causes) proceeded from the erecting of several water-mills, which have rendered a less number necessary. The whole island, indeed, has owed much of its present improved state to the extensive introduction of these useful machines.



## S E C T. III.

## P O R T R O Y A L.

THIS parish is bounded on the East, by St. David; on the West, by the port, and St. Andrew; North, by Kingston harbour, and St. David; and South, by the ship channel, and sea. A part of Yallahs River forms the inland confine on the North; as the Bull Bay River does on the East. It is watered also by the Hope, and Mammee. The town, which is in  $17^{\circ} 57'$  North latitude, and  $76^{\circ} 37'$  longitude West from London, is situated on the point of a peninsula, or narrow neck of land, called the Palifadoe, which, projecting from the main land about eight miles and three quarters, forms a barrier to the harbour of Kingston against the sea. The foundation of it was first laid by general Brayne, in the year 1657. It was then called Cagua, or Cagway, a corruption probably of caragua, the Indian name for the coratoc, or great aloe, which overspreads the adjacent Saltpan Hill. The excellent anchorage in the road, where a thousand ships might lie secure from all winds except hurricanes, and the depth of water, inasmuch that the largest vessels used to lay their broadsides to the wharfs, and load or unload with little trouble, made it so desirable a seat for trade, that it soon became celebrated for the number of its inhabitants, the extent of its commerce, and amazing treasures of gold and silver. In the year 1672, it contained eight hundred well-built houses, most of which were rented as high as any of that time in the heart of the city of London. Twenty years after this, the number was increased to two thousand; and it had then attained the height of its splendor. The situation was extremely incommodious in many respects. It had neither earth, wood, nor water; the soil was nothing more than a loose sand, lodged at first upon a ridge of rock, and gradually extended in breadth, as well as depth, in a long series of time, by the renditions of the sea. The natural wants, however, of so large and populous a town, proved very instrumental towards forming and encouraging plantations upon the

main land. The demand for fire-wood, building-timber, bricks, flesh, corn, fruits, and other vegetable provisions, was considerable; and this was supplied by the settlers in St. Catharine and St. Andrew. The advantage of trade to an infant-colony, and the mutual dependence of the merchant and planter one upon the other, were never more conspicuous than in this example. The town was inhabited by scarcely any other than merchants, warehouse-keepers, vintners, and retailers of punch; the latter were very numerous, and well supported by the buccaneers, who dissipated here whatever they got from the Spaniards. As an instance of their profusion, it is said, that one of them has been known to squander three thousand pieces of eight, equal to 750*l.* of present currency, in less than a month. The immense riches they brought into this town, the grand treasury of all their spoil, may partly be judged by the sums which the armament, under Sir Henry Morgan only, is said to have brought in during 1669 and 1670, viz.

On the capture of Puerto del Principe, —	50,000	pieces of eight.
Puerto Vela, — —	250,000	
Maracaibo, — —	250,000	
Panama and Cruz, —	400,000	

In all, 950,000 or *£.* 237,500 besides an immense quantity of silks, linens, gold and silver lace, plate, jewels, and other valuable commodities; which probably amounted to near as much more. By this means (as an historian has observed) money grew to be in vast plenty, and returns easy to England, into which many hundred thousand of those pieces of eight were imported. A share of these acquisitions, however, remained in circulation among the planters, who by this time brought their manufactures of sugar and indigo to great perfection. Their other commodities for export were, ginger, anotto, cacao, cotton, and pimento; fustick, mahogany, and *lignum vite*. All their goods were shipped at Port Royal; and, by an act of assembly passed in 1683, all productions of this sort, that were levied on for payment of debts, were directed to be appraised in that town by the church-wardens, upon their oaths, and then delivered to the creditor, who was obliged to accept them at the appraised value,

as so much money. This law, so favourable to the planters, was likewise highly beneficial to the mother-country, by its considering the foreign money then current here as mere merchandize, and of course leaving it free for exportation to England.

I am now about to describe the sad reverse of fortune which this town experienced; but, first, it may not be improper to mention the state of it in the beginning of the fatal year 1692. It contained at that period upwards of three thousand five hundred inhabitants, and two thousand houses; the greater number of which were of brick, several stories in height, founded close to the very brink of the water, on a loose bank of sand. The fort, which then mounted sixty pieces of ordnance, and the rest of the houses, were founded on the rocky part of the peninsula. On the 7th of June, 1692, between eleven and twelve o'clock at noon, began that terrible earthquake which, in two minutes time, produced such a scene of devastation [x]. All the principal streets, which were next to the water, sunk at once, with the people in them; and a high, rolling sea followed, closing immediately over them. Not less than sixteen hundred were thus swallowed up, or shook into an

[x] The year began with very hot, dry weather, which continued till May, when there was much blowing-weather, and a great deal of rain, till the end of the month; from which time, till the earthquake happened, it was excessively calm, hot, and dry. The 7th of June was a very hot, clear sun-shine day, scarce a cloud appearing, and not a breath of air felt. The earthquake began at forty minutes past eleven A. M. with a very small trembling. The second shake was somewhat stronger; accompanied all the while with a hollow, rumbling noise; and, immediately after this second shake, came on the third, and most violent, which continued near a minute.

When Venables took the island, the point whereon Port Royal now stands was almost insulated, being joined to the Palisadoes only by a ridge of sand, which at that time just began to appear above water. When Jackson invaded St. Jago de la Vega, which was about seventeen years antecedent, it was entirely separated by the sea. On this sandy isthmus, which the inhabitants enlarged by driving piles, wharfing, &c. the greater part of the town was built, extending above a quarter of a mile; and the weight of so many large brick-houses was justly imagined to contribute, in a great measure, to their downfall; for the ground gave way as far as the houses erected on this sandy foundation stood, and no further.

So in the great earthquake which happened in Sicily in the following year, 1693, it was observed, that in less solid ground, as chalk, sand, or loose earth, the mischief was beyond comparison greater than in rocky places. And, in Syracuse, the difference was visible in three places; that is, in the middle of the city; in the little island; and in Zaracatti, where the antient Syracuse stood; in all which places, the buildings, being on a rocky foundation, remained for the most part untouched, or only shaken, or at least not quite demolished: whereas, on the contrary, in the rest of that territory which is not rocky, a vast number of noble structures and towers lay in a heap of ruins.

heap

heap of rubbish. Some of the streets were laid several fathoms under water; and it stood as high as the upper rooms of some houses which remained. It was computed, that about two thousand Whites and Negroes perished in this town alone. The harbour had all the appearance of agitation as in a storm; and the huge waves rolled with such violence, as to snap the cables of the ships, drive some from their anchors, and overset others. Among the rest, the Swan frigate, that lay by the wharf to careen, was forced over the tops of the sunken houses, and providentially enabled some hundreds of the inhabitants to save their lives. The fort only, and about two hundred houses, escaped without damage. But a part of the neck of land, communicating from the point to the Palisadoes, about a quarter of a mile in length, was entirely submerged, with all the houses, which stood very thick upon it. The water forced its passage through the Saltpond Hill and gushed in torrents from its side, at an elevation of twenty, and in some places thirty feet above its base, and continued running for several hours afterwards. The mountains on each side the river-road, leading from Spanish Town to Sixteen-mile-walk, were thrown down in such heaps, as to obstruct the passage of the river, and for some time to prevent all communication between these two places. A great part of a rocky mountain in St. David's fell down, and buried a whole plantation lying at the foot of it. The part from which this huge fragment was detached is now a precipice of solid rock, conspicuous from its height at a great distance, and remains a dreadful monument of that day's catastrophe.

The shock was not less violent in the mountains. Some were even of opinion, that they had sunk a little; others, that the whole island had somewhat subsided; for they observed, that several wells in Liguanea did not require so long a rope, by two or three feet, as they did before the earthquake. However, it is more natural to account for this change, by supposing, that the water had risen higher; for, in all these violent commotions of the earth, it is well known, that springs are remarkably affected. At the North side, above one thousand acres of land are said to have sunk, with thirteen inhabitants. It left not a house standing at Passage Fort; only one at Liguanea; destroyed most of the planters habitations

in the country; and all in St. Jago de la Vega, except what were built by the Spaniards. During these convulsions, which continued with little intermission, though in a slighter degree, for some weeks afterwards, the most offensive stench was emitted from every fissure and opening made in the sand near the harbour; the sky became dull and reddish, which indicated a plentiful discharge of vapours from the earth; the weather grew hotter than had been observed before the shock; and such prodigious swarms of musketos infested the coasts, as to astonish the inhabitants; the beauty of the mountains was quite effaced, and, instead of their lively, youthful verdure, they appeared distorted with fragments, bald, and furrowed.

After this fatality, many of the inhabitants, who had survived the loss of Port Royal, removed to that part of Liguanea where Kingston now stands. Here they took refuge in miserable huts, which could not defend them from the rain. Thus destitute of suitable conveniences and medicines, they soon perished with malignant fevers. The air, empoisoned with noxious vapours, cooperating with the terror of these calamities, and the distresses they occasioned, brought on a general sickness, which very few escaped in any part of the island. Not less than three thousand are computed to have died; the greater part at Kingston only, where five hundred graves were dug in a month's time, and two or three buried in a grave. What rendered the scene more tragical were the numbers of dead bodies which, after perishing in the shock at Port Royal, were seen in hundreds floating from one side of the harbour to the other. Thus fell the glory of Port Royal; and with it all the publick records; which proved a heavy loss. In the following year, the assembly taking into consideration, that the fort and many of the houses were still left standing; that it was a place so excellently adapted to carry on trade, and of great strength to resist an enemy; resolved upon rebuilding it. First, however, they endeavoured to shew the deep impression which the late misfortune had made upon their minds, by appointing every 7th of June to be observed, for the future, as a day of fasting and deprecation of the divine wrath; which still continues, and ever ought, to be religiously kept here. The sand on the South side of the town

was sunk so low, that it was feared the sea would encroach too fast, and endanger the houses left standing on that side. They therefore enacted that the owners of ground formerly built upon, and whose houses had been thrown down by the earthquake, should rebuild them; or, otherwise, that the lots should be sold on a fair valuation, and the money be paid to the owners. Some provisions were likewise made for repairing the wall, or breastwork, which had been built to hinder the encroachment of the sea; and the receiver-general, secretary, and port officers, were ordered to hold their offices here, by themselves or deputies, as heretofore.

By degrees, as the popular fears subsided, the town increased in buildings and inhabitants, though far short of its former state, till the year 1703, when it was destroyed a second time. A terrible fire broke out among some of the ware-houses, which spread with such fury, as to reduce most of the houses to ashes. It was occasioned, as appears from an act passed soon after, by keeping large quantities of gun-powder, and other combustibles, in the different quarters of the town; and its devastation was imputed to the Northward shingles, with which the houses were covered. This accident produced the law, which enacts, that, as the North-American shingles had been found very dangerous, no person, inhabiting in this town, should for the future cover any house, or other building, with any shingles brought from the Northward, nor any other than what are made and produced in this island, under penalty of forfeiting 100*l.* and such house or building: a regulation so prudent, that it is amazing it has not been extended to Kingston, and other towns where it is equally necessary. This ruinous accident caused another desertion to Kingston; which thus began to thrive by the decline of her elder sister; so that, two years afterwards, it was grown so populous, that the legislature found it convenient to establish here a quarter-session, and court of common-pleas, and to enact several provisions for securing the navigation of the harbour, settling the rates of wharfage, repairing the streets, and guarding against fire. Port Royal was at this period reduced to a very low ebb, yet it was not wholly deserted. It was thought adviseable to keep it provided always with a strong garrison. It still possessed some little trade, and was the favourite

resort

resort of the seamen belonging to the men of war and privateers. But, as if Providence had decreed that it should never more revive to any thing like its former splendor, what the earthquake and conflagration had spared was nearly demolished by a violent hurricane, which happened on the 28th of August, 1722. It began at eight in the morning, and lasted fourteen hours; during which, the rain was incessant, and the storm veered all round the compass. In Kingston most of the buildings were thrown down, or much shattered. The very day preceding it was perfectly calm; but so great a swell at sea, that the waves broke over the breast-work at Port Royal, and laid all the streets under water. The fort suffered very much; several of the guns were dismounted, and some washed into the sea. The church and row of houses in the East part of the town were so battered, that there remained very little appearance of a building. In short, above half the town was laid in ruins; and the houses and plantations in all parts of the island suffered considerable damage, except in St. Jago, where the Spanish buildings stood the shock unhurt. Very few of the inhabitants lost their lives; but in the harbour it proved more fatal. Out of thirty-six merchant-ships and sloops, only ten were to be seen after the storm; and of these one half were irreparably damaged. The Falkland, Swallow, and Weymouth men of war, and the sloop Happy, lost all their masts and boats; the other part of the squadron, consisting of the Lancaster, Mermaid, and Adventure, were luckily at sea, and escaped. The naval store-house was blown down; and most of the powder in the magazines damaged. The Rio Cobre was obstructed for several miles about the Caymana's, and lost its usual channel, by the prodigious abundance of trees and rubbish which the wind and inundation had thrown into it; so that the passage from St. Jago to Kingston by land became interrupted for some time; and the assembly were obliged to pass an act for clearing it. It was computed, that four hundred persons lost their lives in the harbour, among which were two hundred Negroe slaves on board a Guiney ship, which foundered at her anchors. In 1717, the assembly, being sensible that the wall, or breast-work, on the South side of the town was of the utmost importance to prevent the sea from breaking in, established *150l. per annum* as a per-

petual fund for keeping it in repair. They had, some time before, prohibited the carrying away any stones or sand from the cays and shoals which lay in the channel, with a view to the like precaution; which was sufficiently justified in the year 1744, when another furious hurricane arose at six in the evening on the 20th of October, and continued till six the following morning. A new fort, begun at Mosquito Point, was entirely razed; many houses were blown down in the towns and other parts of the island; and all the wharfs at Port Royal, Kingston, Passage Fort, and Old Harbour, were destroyed, and most of the goods swept away. The inhabitants of Port Royal expected every moment to be swallowed up by an inundation, the streets being all laid several feet under water; but, happily, their wall withstood the shock, and saved them from utter ruin. Their dangerous situation may be imagined; for the wind, setting the whole time from the South, drove the surge full against this part of the town, and with such fury, that immense loads of stone and sand were poured over the wall. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who then had the command on this station, was fortunately at sea, with the major part of the fleet; but there were nine men of war and ninety-six merchant ships in the harbour, one hundred and four of which were stranded, wrecked, or foundered; so that only the Rippon rode it out with the loss of her masts; and a great number of mariners were drowned. Thus has this unhappy town undergone, in the space of fifty-two years, a sad succession of extraordinary disasters, by earthquake, tempest, fire, and inundation. In its present humbled condition, it has three streets, two or three lanes, and about two hundred houses. The fortification, called Fort Charles, stands on a low spot at the entrance or mouth of the harbour, and is defended by one hundred and twenty-six guns. The breast-work, or line, is also formed to guard the channel in coming in, as well as to prevent any access by the Palisadoe or land-side; so that it is now compleatly fortified. Within the fort is a small powder-magazine, and a house for the commanding officer. The barracks are capable of receiving upwards of three hundred men, exclusive of their officers; and here is a hospital for their sick. In 1734, when Sir Chaloner Ogle commanded the squadron here, a large piece of ground was taken in at the North-

East



East quarter of the town, and vested in the crown, for the service of his majesty's ships; and in 1741 the yard and wharf were greatly enlarged by an act of assembly, passed for that purpose. Here the men of war are careened and refitted; but the greater part of the naval stores are kept in proper ware-houses at Greenwich. The hospital for the seamen is a large, airy, and well-contrived building. The church is a small, but neat structure, with an organ, a tower, and cupola. The captain of the fort has of late years been appointed by the governor's warrant, upon the nomination of the ministry. His salary is only 109*l.* 10*s.* *per annum*; but the profits of this post make it far more considerable. By the revenue-law, passed in 1728, a provision is made of 547*l.* 10*s.* *per annum* for twelve matrosses and gunners, who are required to be inhabitants of the town, and continually resident in it. The holding these employments is an excuse from service as peace-officers, jury-men, or in the militia; and for this reason, the inhabitants make strong interest to obtain warrants of appointment to these merely nominal commissions, for they gladly relinquish their claim to the salary, which of course becomes a perquisite to the captain. A practice, very detrimental to trade, was formerly in use here; I mean the demand of a gratuity from the masters of vessels, importing bullion from foreign parts, for leave to pass the fort: this, with exactions of the like nature from the governors, naval officers, &c. became so grievous, that these foreigners at length declared it to be the principal reason of their abandoning all further trade at this port, and of their resort to the French at Hispaniola, where they are said to have met with a more favourable reception, and to have made up their assortments full as cheap. Rapacious acts commonly begin at the top in these distant governments, and so descend to the lowest understrappers.

It was unpleasing to see the interest of a colony thus made a sacrifice to the basest principle; and more so, that the injured people either had not, or were not able to exert, a suitable remedy. But such as a governor is, such will be the subordinate ministers within his jurisdiction. The captain of the fort takes charge of all the powder brought into the magazine pursuant to the tonnage-act, and accounts, upon oath, for its waste and expenditure, to the

council and assembly when called upon; subject, in case of neglect or refusal, to a penalty of 500*l.* The profits of this post have been computed at not less than 1000*l.* sterling *per annum.* The expence of keeping this fort, and the barracks at Port Royal, in repair, from 1743 to 1752, paid by the public of Jamaica, amounted to 27,667*l.* which is about 3074*l.* *per annum.* The powder ordinarily in the magazine is about 20,500 lb.wt. and all that it is not capable of containing is lodged at Mosquito Point, and Rock Fort.

The quantity consumed in salutes, minute-guns, rejoicing-days, and a morning and evening-watch, is, *communibus annis*, about ———— 25600lb.wt.  
 The waste, in sifting and shifting, about ———— 3000  
 —————  
 28600

which, at eighteen-pence *per* pound (the price at which it is rated on being paid in), comes to 2145*l.* a charge which might be lessened, and the saving better applied to the article of repairs.

These salutes, &c. have usually been regulated in the following manner :

	N <sup>o</sup> Guns.
On the death of the governor, admiral, or the governor's lady, ————	61
Ditto of the king's uncle or aunt, ————	44
King's birth-day, ————	27
Death of the king's brother, or sister; birth-day of any of the royal family, except the king's; on arrival or departure of a governor; on his visiting or leaving the fort; on publishing his commission; commissioners of the forts visiting, and leaving; gun-powder plot; St. George's day; and other publick holidays; ————	21
Salute of an admiral's flag, ————	15
Ditto a privy-counsellor of the island arriving, ————	14
Ditto ditto leaving the island; ————	13

An exact account of all the powder brought in every year to this fort, and the out-ports, would give a tolerably accurate detail of the tonnage of shipping employed in the trade of this island; it would

would probably be rather under than over the truth, as their registers seldom correspond with exact mensuration.

The powder, expended at Fort Augusta, on Mosquito Point, is, one year with another, about 7000 lb. wt. value 525 *l.*

In the year 1760, the quantity of powder received at Fort Charles amounted to three hundred and nine barrels, of 100 lb. wt. each, = 30,000 lb. wt. which makes the tonnage of that year, of the ships that come to Kingston harbour, thirty thousand nine hundred; and, supposing seventy tons each to be an average, the number will be four hundred and forty-one ships and smaller vessels [y].

For the service of the forts several Negroes are allotted; and by the last account there were,

At Fort Charles,	—	—	23
Fort Augusta,	—	—	13
Rock Fort,	—	—	12
Engineer for general work,	—	—	30
		—	
			Total, 78

and proper canoes, either for going with dispatches, or bringing provisions from Kingston market, &c. The inhabitants are chiefly supported by the money spent here by the garrison and the squadron; by the gains made by their wherries that ply for fare in the harbour; their turtle-fishery, which is considerable; the pilotage of ships in and out; and by their votes at the election of representatives; though it must be confessed, that, except when party-feuds run very high in the island, their profits in this last article are but trifling: however, many persons are proprietors of houses in this town, merely for the advantage of voting at these elections; in the mean time letting them rent-free, on condition only, that the tenant keeps them in tolerable repair.

Besides these douceurs, one inhabitant receives 400 *l.* a year for supplying the fort and the garrison at Mosquito Point with fresh

[y] The medium quantity received, *comparandis annis*, about 415, equal to 21,500 tons of shipping. An act has lately been passed for levying the duty in money at 15. *6d.* per ton on all vessels (foreign only excepted), and appropriating the proceeds as a general fund for repairing forts and fortifications; a measure from which, I am persuaded, the island will reap very great advantage. By the same act, the receiver-general is empowered to buy powder for supplying them.

water, brought in boats from the river Cobre; and another is paid 100*l.* annually, for giving a dinner to the committee of the legislature, who come hither to view the state of this fortress. Sometimes they have obtained a partial exemption from certain taxes; and, considering the veneration and compassion due to the town on account of its antient grandeur and present poverty, there seems to be just ground for these eleemosynary benefactions. The air of the town has been always esteemed remarkably healthful. It is open to a free ventilation; and the wind is corrected by passing in every direction over the sea-water. In the middle of the day it is generally very hot; for the heat of the air is greatly augmented by the land, which retains it like a *balneum marie*. But rain rarely falls here. The clouds from the land have a quick drift out to sea, after being blown over the Blue Mountains; and those that approach from the sea generally follow the mountainous ridges, and thus are drawn away from this quarter. The inhabitants in general live to a great age; and many convalescents repair hither from other parts of the island, to recruit their emaciated bodies with the purity of this atmosphere, and a regular course of turtle-diet, which is cooked here in the highest perfection. The civil government of the town is, like the others, under the dispensation of a *custos*, or chief magistrate, and his assistants, with other peace-officers. It has also a quarter-session of the peace, and court of common-pleas, and musters a small corps of militia. The rector's stipend is 250*l. per annum*; and, all perquisites included, does not amount to more than about 300*l.* as I am informed.

Port Royal, as a place of defence, is deservedly valued. The ships, in advancing towards the harbour, must necessarily pass, between shoals and rocks, through a difficult channel, in some parts extremely narrow; and are inevitably exposed to a severe fire, without possibility of bringing their guns to bear. A-head they have a battery of twelve guns, mostly forty-two pounders, called the Twelve Apostles, built on a point of Saltpan Hill (above the range of an enemy's shot), which would rake them the whole way, till they tacked to stand up the harbour: they are then exposed to the fire of this battery on one side, to the fire of the fort on the other,  
and

and in front to the battery of Fort Augusta. The harbour is about one mile and three quarters in breadth, but widens further-in.

The men of war anchor near the town in eight and ten fathom water. Fort Augusta stands on Mosquito Point, which is a sandy peninsula, about two miles in length, and very narrow, projecting from the North-East side of the Saltpan Hill, and forming a kind of lunette on the West side of the harbour. At the point, the ship-channel between the harbours of Port Royal and Kingston is not a quarter of a mile in breadth, and would probably become shoal-water, if it was not for the Rio Cobre, which sweeps through it to the sea. The channel has from six to eight fathom; but on each side of it are sand-banks, in passing over which, the small wherries sometimes rub their keels. This fort mounts eighty-six large guns, kept in excellent order. It contains a large magazine, a house for the commandant, barracks to contain three hundred soldiers, with all convenient offices, and casemates. It was projected to mount one hundred and sixteen guns; but it is not yet completed. The walls and bastions are built upon piles of the palmeto or thatch-pole tree, which is endued with the property of lasting in water without being liable to erosion by the worm. These were driven down through the loose sand, until they reached a firm bed. If the same precaution had been used in constructing the houses of Port Royal, it is probable that the greater part of the town would have survived the earthquake. This fort contains an hospital, besides habitations for the officers, and is looked upon to be an healthy garrison. The neck of sand which joins it to the main is not above fifty or sixty feet wide in most places, and so low, that an enemy could not carry on approaches, on account of the water rising near the surface; and it is flanked by a lagoon, or inlet of water from the harbour, of some extent; for these reasons, and because the ships, in passing up the channel towards Kingston, must come within point-blank shot of a whole line of guns, a governor of this island pronounced it impregnable both by land and sea. The fort is about two miles distant from Port Royal, and about three and a half from Kingston.

The

The broadest part of Port Royal peninsula is nearly opposite to the East quarter of Kingston: on this part is a small grass-penn, stocked with sheep and goats. The side next the harbour is intersected with several little ponds and inlets; and here is the usual careening-place for merchant-ships. This neck of land might be made very passable for horses; but the people of Port Royal prefer a water-carriage, which is more pleasant, and equally expeditious. Leaving this maritime part of the parish, I shall proceed to the other district of it, which lies on the main land. It contains about fifteen thousand acres, but very few settlements or inhabitants; for the more level part bordering on the coast is parched, for want of rain; and the rest is occupied with steep mountains. Near the road, which leads across this parish from the Eastward to Kingston, stands the antient habitation of Sir James de Castillo, a Spanish gentleman; who was knighted by king William III. for his services in negotiating a treaty, to furnish the Spanish dominions in the West-Indies with an annual number of Negroes, by the way of Jamaica[*s*]. This house was defended by several swivel-guns, ranged on posts before the front; its situation near the Bull Bay subjecting it in war-time to the danger of being attacked by the privateers, which frequently have made descents on this part of the country.

There is nothing further in the parish that merits notice, except the cascade at Mammee River. This stream takes its rise among the Blue Mountains; and, after a winding course, discharges itself between two rocky hills near Bull Bay, by a fall of about two hundred feet. The direction of the fall is altered, midway, by a vast rock, extending from the side of the adjacent precipice, which breaks the sheet of water, and causes it to be agitated with such violence, that the space below is filled with a continual mist; which, so long as the sun shines upon it, exhibits a beautiful variety of fine irides: from thence the river rushes, foaming along between rocks, till it reaches the open ground below. Under the brow of the Eastern hill, above the fall, is a very large and curious cave, filled, like all the others that I have seen in this island, with

[*s*] He was commissary-general for the Assiento; lived here many years: and acquired a considerable property, with universal esteem.

stalactic petrifications. In many parts of the mountains are found similar cavities, some of which have adits descending a very great depth into the earth. It is possible, they may have been originally formed by earthquakes; yet, to judge from the appearance of most of them, they appear coeval with the island itself. On going into one of these in the middle of the day to the depth of about forty feet, the air, or vapour, grew so hot and suffocating, that it was impossible to proceed any lower. These chasms, perhaps, have a very extensive subterraneous communication; and, whenever the external air is highly rarefied, the vapours rush upwards through the aperture in a continued stream; on the contrary, when the external air is in a different state, it probably descends with some violence into these openings: at certain times therefore, as for example in the early morning-hours, it may be practicable to go down very low into them without inconvenience or danger. In most of them are found large quantities of human bones, almost consumed by time, the teeth alone being in a tolerably perfect state. Some have conjectured, that these places were either used by the Indians as ossuaries, or else as occasional retreats, to elude the search of an enemy. The most probable account is, that the bones belonged to those poor Indian natives who fell victims to the barbarity of their Spanish conquerors; for Esquemeling, who wrote in 1666, and had seen great quantities of human bones lying in caves in the island of Hispaniola, tells us he was informed, by the inhabitants of that island, that, when the Spaniards had resolved upon the extirpation of the Indians, they made use of dogs of a peculiar breed, large, bold, and very fleet. The poor Indians having for some time been obliged to take refuge in their woods, these animals were constantly employed to hunt them out. The Spaniards by this means caught a great number of them; and were content at first to kill several, quartering their bodies, and fixing their limbs on the most conspicuous spots *in terrorem*, that the rest might take warning by their fate, and submit at discretion. But this horrid cruelty, instead of intimidating or reducing to friendly terms, only served to embitter them more against their savage invaders, and affected them with so inveterate an abhorrence of the Spaniards, that they determined to fly their fight for ever, and rather perish by

famine or their own hands, than fall into the power of so mercilefs an enemy. The greater part of them therefore retired into caves and fubterraneous privacies among the mountains; where they miferably perifhed, leaving a fad, though glorious, monument to future ages, of their having difdained to furvive the lofs of liberty and their country.

State of Port Royal Parifh:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual Produce of Sugar.   Hogfheads.	Settlements.
1734,	1548	106			
1740,	1546	158			
1745,	1685	35			
1761,	1203				
1768,	1432	170	I	60	II

We have here a glaring proof, that this parifh is declining very faft, and perhaps irreparably; fince there appear no means of putting the town into a more thriving way; and the inland part of the parifh is too rugged or fteep to admit of any confiderable fettlements, while the traft adjacent to the coaft is rather fertile, and deftitute of a good fhipping-place. The only barquadier is near the mouth of Bull River, where none but fmall veffels can lie; and the anchorage is unfafe, on account of the opennefs of the bay.

S E C T. IV.

St. DAVID, in the Precinct of St. THOMAS in the EAST.

THIS parifh is bounded on the Eaft, by St. Thomas in the Eaft, and a part of Portland; on the Weft, by Port Royal parifh, and a fmall part of St. Andrew; on the North, by St. George; and on the South, by the fea. It is watered by fix rivers, the principal of which are, Collier's, Vavafor's, and Yallah's. The latter takes its firft fource in the Blue Mountains, and, after a meandering courfe of twenty-five miles, falls into the bay of the fame name, a fmall diftance from the difcharge of the others. This parifh was formerly populous: in the year 1673 it contained eighty



eighty settlements; but the loss of regular seasons occasioned its desertion. The hamlet at Yallah's Bay consists of a few scattered houses, near the church, which is a very small building, though large enough for the parishioners; the rector's stipend 100*l.* *per annum.* The shipping-places are, Yallah's Bay, and Cow Bay. At the former, there is anchorage for large ships; but at the latter only small vessels can lie. Yallah's Bay is sheltered from the breezes and Norths by a point of land. But no shipping can lie with safety at either of these places in a strong Southerly wind; on account of the prodigious swell which sets in. Cow Bay is remarkable for having been the scene of an extraordinary action in the year 1681; when Sir Henry Morgan, the governor, having intelligence that one Everfon, a famous Dutch pirate, rid there with a sloop and a barqua longa, manned with about one hundred desperate fellows, dispatched a sloop with fifty men, besides officers, in quest of him. On the first of February the governor's armed vessel attacked the pirate, and after some resistance, in which the Dutch captain was killed, got possession of the sloop. The bark cut her cable, and escaped by outfailing her pursuer. The piratical crew, who were almost all of them English, Sir Henry sent to the governor of Carthagena, to receive punishment for all the outrages they had committed upon the Spaniards. In this he was thought by some to have gone too far; but he was willing perhaps to convince the Spaniards, by this sacrifice, that he knew how to distinguish between hostilities carried on under a lawful commission, and acts of lawless piracy; and that he was determined to keep the treaty with the Spaniards inviolate on his part. In 1694, twelve sail of the fleet, under command of Du Cassè, anchored in this bay, landed their men, and plundered and burnt all before them, for several miles; killed the cattle; drove whole flocks of sheep into houses, and then fired them. They put several of the prisoners they took to torture, murdered others in cold blood, and committed the most shocking barbarities. Some days afterwards, several of the fleet being forced out to sea by the violence of the wind, which drove their anchors home, the commanding officer of the militia in this quarter fell upon their straggling parties on shore, slew many of them, and forced the rest to take shelter on

board their ships, leaving their provisions behind. Soon after this action, they sailed away.

This coast was always much exposed to the insult of privateers, until the last war; when a small frigate was stationed at Morant to windward, which being only five leagues from Cow Bay, it would be very difficult for an enemy's vessel to escape after making a descent. This parish has three large ponds on the coast, divided from the sea only by a very narrow, sandy bank, so that the waters communicate. Two of them are situated in the South-East side, between White River and Yallah's Bay; the larger is two miles and a quarter in length, and three quarters in breadth in the widest part; a very narrow slip separates this from the next, which is about a mile in length. These were antiently pans, formed by the English who first settled in the parish, for making salt. They were probably afterwards destroyed by inundations of the sea in the great earthquake and subsequent hurricanes; and they have now a considerable depth of water in some places. The third lies about two miles West of these, and is about one mile in length, and of unequal breadth. If the parish was crowded with settlements, these basons might be converted to some advantageous scheme, either for maintaining a fishery, or opening a water-carriage from the Eastern part to Yallah's Bay; which would be extremely feasible. The lower or more level range of the parish, lying between the hills and the sea, was, by the failure of the regular seasons, in general so dry, that canes would not grow here; and the settlements, thinly scattered, consisted only of pens and sheep-pastures, until within these few years, when a gentleman who possesses a property here conceived the idea of watering it from the neighbouring river. The experiment answered much beyond his expectation: he soon covered his formerly parched land with the verdure of cane pieces, and has now, as I am informed, made a noble estate of four hundred hogsheads *per annum*; the land proving most amazingly fertile, insomuch that I have heard it asserted to have yielded him from three to four hogsheads *per acre*. This example may probably operate upon his neighbours; and, in process of time, St. David will in consequence become a populous and wealthy parish. The air is esteemed healthy in all parts of it, except the neighbourhood

of

of the Saltponds, but, if the parish should ever be thick-settled, the mangrove-trees, which confine the atmosphere on the swampy borders of these ponds, will be cut down, or probably some method fallen upon, to drain them. The glades between the hills are exceedingly fertile; and the air and water perfectly good.

State of the Parish :

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual produce of Sugar.	
				Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	1540	1165			
1740,	1628	1497			
1745,	1365	1494			
1761,	1838				
1768,	2316	1667	8	550	35

This parish is evidently on the improving hand, having increased both in number of Negroes and cattle. And it is to be hoped, the new system of watering will pervade the lower quarter as far as may be practicable, that the greater part of that tract may be brought into cultivation.

S E C T. V.

St. THOMAS in the EAST.

THIS delightful parish is bounded on the South and East by the sea; on the North, by Portland; and on the West, by St. David. It is plentifully watered by upwards of twenty rivers and smaller streams: the principal are, the Negroe, the Morant, and Plantain Garden rivers; the last-mentioned of which is navigable by small boats for a considerable way up. This river sweeps through the parish from East to West in a meandering course of about twenty miles from its source, which lies among the Blue Mountains: the other two cross it from North to South, at the distance of about half a mile from each other. Upon entering this parish from St. David's, the land rises on the coast; and the road lies along shore near a mile, passing under two precipitous mountains, composed of rocks, and *strata* of a light-coloured friable marle, intermixed with large pebbles. These cliffs are seen  
a great

a great distance from the coast, and called by seamen "The White Horses." The surf sets in here very high upon the beach, and sometimes runs up quite to the foot of the cliff; but, in general, the sea is not so boisterous as to prevent carriages from passing. On leaving the shore, the road becomes hilly for most part of the way, till we come to Morant, which is about four miles to the Eastward. The bay of Morant is a considerable shipping-place. The road in which the ships anchor is well defended from the sea by a reef of rocks: the shore is lined with stores and ware-houses at the bottom of a rising ground, on which the village stands, which consists of about thirty houses, or more, as it comprehends within its circuit the church, which is not far distant. This village is growing fast into a town, and indeed better deserves that appellation than some others in the island: the church is a handsome building; and adjoining is the parsonage, an exceedingly comfortable mansion: the stipend annexed to this living is 250*l.*; but, considering the extent of the parish, the rector's income is probably not much short of from five to six hundred pounds *per annum*. There are several circumstances which seem to favour the growth of a town here. The soil is dry, the air healthy, and the water good and in great plenty; the Eastern branch of Morant River fall into the sea on one side of the bay; and the country behind, and all around, is well-settled and fertile. The shipping are defended by a small battery, kept in good repair. About five miles further Eastward, the road brings us to Port Morant, which is one of the largest and most beautiful harbours in Jamaica. It runs up the country about two miles and a quarter; the entrance is about one mile across; but the channel dangerous to strangers, on account of two reefs in the offing, which have proved fatal to several ships. On the windward-side, the land ranges pretty high, covered with thick wood; and, being sheltered on all sides by the main-land and the reefs, it is always secure, and has a good depth of water. The entrance is defended by a small battery on the East side. The old fort was erected on the opposite side; but it was ill-constructed, and esteemed not healthy [a]. It was in the neighbourhood of this

[a] Provision has lately been made by the assembly for re-building two forts, or batteries, one on each side the entrance.

harbour that governor Stokes fettled in 1656, with his colony of Nevis planters. The governor fixed himself about two miles and a half from the head of the harbour, where the plantation, called Stokes-hall, still commemorates him. In 1671, notwithstanding the mortality which had swept off many of the first planters, there were upwards of sixty settlements in this neighbourhood; many of which formed a line along the coast Eastward from the harbour, where are only two or three at present. Point Morant, which is the Easternmost end of the island, is distant between nine and ten miles from Morant Harbour. Adjacent to the Point are near eight thousand acres of very fine land, mostly a rich, black mould upon a clay, at present in morafs, and therefore neglected; but it is capable (by draining) of being converted into rich sugar-plantations; an example of which has been shewn in the Northern quarter of it, bordering upon Plantain Garden River, where an estate, formed out of the morafs not many years since by this mode of improvement, was lately sold for 105,000*l.* and is thought to be well worth the money. The draining of this large tract would answer the further good purpose of rendering all the settlements, that lie to leeward of it, more healthy; and in process of time this may probably be accomplished.[*b*]. The road, continuing along the West side of the harbour, and running Northwards about five miles, terminates at the town of Bath, which is forty-four miles distant from Kingston, and about sixty from Spanish Town. The road from Kingston was made partly by private subscription, and partly publick grants. As it passes the whole way near the coast, and through a variety of flourishing settlements, it is cheered with a number of most agreeable prospects; and, to render it more commodious for travellers, there are mile-stones fixed all along. Since the Bath has become a place of less resort than formerly, this road has been too much neglected. Some parts of it were formed

[*b*] About ten leagues South-east from the Point, or Cape of Morant, lie the two Morant cayes, called by the French *Rozes*. The North-east caye is placed in latitude 17° 20' North; and the South-west in 17° 20'. As they are directly in the track of ships coming down to Jamaica from Europe, or the Windward Islands, great caution is used not to fall in with them in the night-time. Not long since, a Guiney-man was wrecked here. But such accidents have very rarely happened. Under the South west caye there is good anchorage from five to eighteen fathom water.

with infinite labour, being carried along the side of a lofty precipice of solid rock, which nothing but the force of gun-powder could penetrate. This pass is very tremendous in a wheel-carriage; from one side of which, the eye is terrified by the view of a river foaming several hundred feet below; but a parapet wall is built, for the security of passengers, where any danger may be apprehended.

The Bath waters have long been known, and justly celebrated for their salutary virtues. They are said to have been first discovered by colonel Stanton, formerly a planter and inhabitant of the parish, who was proprietor of the demesne in which they rise, and sold his right to the publick for a valuable consideration, paid him in pursuance of an act of assembly passed in the year 1699. The distance and trouble of coming at them prevented any experiment being made of their efficacy, till about the year 1696, when two persons, one of whom was greatly reduced by the belly-ach, the other by the venereal disease, had recourse to them for a cure: they carried proper necessaries with them; built huts; and, by the internal and external use of the hot spring, they found their health re-established in the space of only ten days. The water was soon afterwards tried in the presence of the governor, Sir William Beeston, with an infusion of galls, which in twenty-four hours gave it the tincture of Canary-wine, or old-hock; a sufficient proof that it is not impregnated with chalybeate, or at least in a very small portion.

The hot spring issues by several different rills from fissures in the side of a rocky cliff, the foot of which is washed by the Sulphur River. The spring is in such a state of ebullition, when received immediately from the rock in a glass, and applied to the lips, that it can only be sipped like tea. This has given occasion to some dealers in the marvelous to affirm, that it is hot enough to boil chickens and even turkies. I have, indeed, been assured by men of veracity, that it will coagulate the white of an egg, if placed close to the fissure, and held there for some time covered from the air: and of this I have no doubt; for it is to be remarked, that at some times it is heated to a far greater degree than at others, which depends probably on the greater or less effervescence of the water within the bowels of the mountain from whence the spring derives its source. It is naturally light, sparkles when received in the glass,

glafs, ferments flightly with acids, turns ſilver black, and ſeems copiouſly charged with volatile particles, combined with a phlogiſtic, a calcareous earth, and a portion of fixible air: it has a nauſeous taſte when drunk at the rock; but this leaves it on being ſome time kept. The face of the rock over which it flows is covered with an ochrous precipitation, impregnated with ſulphur. It is remarkably beneficial in all capillary obſtructions and diſorders of the breaſt, proceeding from weakneſs, or want of the proper glandular ſecretions; in all lentors and viſcidities, proceeding from inaction; in conſumptions, and nervous ſpaſms. It reſtores the appetite, and natural action of the bowels; invigorates the circulation; warms the juices; opens the ſkin; cleanses the urinary paſſages; ſtrengthens the nerves; and ſeldom fails to procure an eaſy ſleep at night. Externally uſed, by way of a fomentation, it has been known to heal the moſt obſtinate ulcers. In paralytic complaints it is generally ſucceſſful, and has recruited many conſtitutions that were impaired by debauch, or lingering intermittents. Numerous as its known virtues are, it ſtill requires a more thorough analyſis. Some other particulars likewiſe ought to be aſcertained, in order to make it of more general uſe. But, of the different phyſicians who have reſided here, I know of none that has been at the pains to examine it ſcientifically, or at leaſt that has favoured the public with any diſcovery of the principal purpoſes to which it is applicable in medicine, or of the methods by which it may be beſt adminiſtered, to anſwer the cure of diſeaſes; or of the ſubſtances proper to be uſed at the ſame time with it. Theſe particulars are left at preſent to the diſcretion of the patients, who drink it, for the moſt part, with very little attention to rule or meaſure; and therefore ſome of them do not reap all the advantages from the uſe of it, which, under due regulation, it might be capable of producing. The general enquiries are,

1. What is the fitteſt ſtate in which the water ſhould be drunk?
2. The quantity?
3. Time of the day?
4. Length of time proper for it to be continued?
5. Seaſon of the year in which it is moſt efficacious?

6. Regimen of life, and diet, whilst under the course?

7. What medicines preparatory to, or to cooperate with, the use of it [c]?

In general, it is drank immediately from the spring, beginning with one half-pint glafs, and increasing the number to three or more. It has been found to have the best effect taken on an empty stomach early in the morning; but some repeat the draught in the afternoon, besides taking a considerable quantity, mixed with a little rum and sugar, by way of a diluent at dinner. All fruits and other acids are cautiously abstained from, and vegetables sparingly indulged. The diet most usual consists of fish, black crabs, fowls, and the more delicate kinds of butchers meat, with puddings, and the like. At first drinking, it diffuses a thrilling glow over the whole body; and the continued use enlivens the spirits, and sometimes produces almost the same joyous effects as inebriation. On this account, some notorious toppers have quitted their claret for a while, and come hither, merely for the sake of a little variety in their practice of debauch, and to enjoy the singular felicity of getting drunk with water. The cold sulphureous spring, which rises near Blue Mountain Valley, in this parish, some miles Westward of the bath, is more gross, and abundantly impregnated with sulphur, distinguished by the foetor of its smell and inflammable sediment. It is esteemed more effectual than the other in all cutaneous disorders, obstinate obstructions in the bowels, the scurvy, and all the other dispositions of the juices that require strong lixivious dissolvents: for these reasons, in some habits, it is recommended to succeed a moderate course of the hot spring; but it is not much frequented, except by inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The mountains, between which the Sulphur River takes its course, descend on each side with so precipitous a declivity, that it was found impracticable to build a town at the spring; there is barely room to admit a bathing-house, and even this is inconveniently situated on the side opposite the spring; so that, before the water can be conveyed across in a wooden gutter, laid from the rock to the bathing-house, it loses much of its heat and volatile gas.

[c] See Falconer's treatise on the Bath-water of Somersethire; which merits the perusal of any gentleman who may incline to try experiments on that of Jamaica.



This could not be remedied, except by using an iron pipe, to conduct the water; for a building cannot be erected on the same side as the spring, without being so remote from it, either above or below, as to be liable to equal inconvenience. This is the case with respect to a bathing-house for paupers, built by the river's side above the spring by a testamentary donation of Peter Valette, esq; which is at too great a distance. This gentleman, having observed with regret that many poor and sick white persons, who had come from time to time to Bath for the benefit of the waters, either died, or suffered greatly for want of subsistence, and the common necessaries of life, devised the sum of 10 *l. per annum*, payable during the term of ten years, from the time of his decease, towards the relief and support of such poor persons, not being indented servants, nor having any visible way of maintaining themselves, who might from time to time actually reside about the Bath-spring; directing the physician there to deliver a weekly stipend of 7 *s. 6 d.* into the hands of all such objects of charity; or otherwise to lay out the same for their use and benefit during the time of their residence, not exceeding three months each: and, in case of any overplus remaining at the end of the year, he desired that it might be expended in providing nurses to attend the poor infirm people at the spring, or in building lodging-houses and accommodations for them near it. His executors performed their trust with great propriety. They built an hospital, provided nurses, supported upwards of one hundred paupers, who had come from different parts of the island at various times for relief; and in 1771, when the ten years term assigned by the donor expired, had a balance of 96 *l.* in their hands. The assembly, upon their representation, that, without the public assistance, this necessary relief, could no longer be continued to distressed objects resorting to Bath, benevolently granted an aid of 70 *l. per ann.* and ordered the same to be paid into the hands of the physician there, to be expended, and accounted for, to the same good purposes, and under the same provisions, as Mr. Valette's annuity. This worthy man has thus laid the foundation of a very useful charity, which is likely to be permanent; since there is no doubt but the assembly will continue to support it by an annual benefaction. Acts of this kind are real mo-

numents of honour, which outlive the costliest sculpture, attract panegyric without flattery, and veneration without envy.

The patients, who desire to drink the water in the greatest perfection, take their stand upon large flat stones in the river-course, within two or three feet of the rock, and receive it immediately from the hand of the drawer. The mountain, called Carrion Crow Ridge, in which it takes its source, is one of the highest in this island, and appears from some distance below to have a sharper pike than most others. The town of Bath is seated about a mile and three quarters from the spring, on a triangular flat, washed on three sides by the Sulphur, Island, and Plantain Garden rivers; so that it is a perfect peninsula, bounded, where it joins the main land, with a range of hills, which gradually rise one above another, till they reach the Blue Mountains. The three rivers unite their streams a little beyond the town, and continue their current together till they fall into the sea. This low situation makes the town very liable to be incommoded by inundations, whenever these rivers happen to be swelled by the autumnal rains. They have often endangered some of the buildings; and seldom retire into their proper channels without committing depredation. In other respects, the distance from the spring is attended with the happiest consequences to the patients, who ride on horse-back to drink at it twice a day, and promote the efficacy of the water by joining so wholesome an exercise with it. The road which leads to the spring is of a romantic appearance, being conducted along the sides of very steep mountains the whole way, whose projections and gullies have not unaptly been compared to the folds or plaits of a man's coat. It is not in all parts of sufficient width for a wheel-carriage to pass, nor very secure even for horses, if they should be skittish; for here and there it overhangs the river at a great elevation; and these precipices have no other safeguard against such kind of accidents, than the trees which grow upon their face. Among these mountains is great abundance of iron ore. The presence, indeed, of this metallic substance is, in the opinions of some, sufficiently evidenced by the quality of the waters issuing from them; but it is not probable they will ever be explored for the sake of obtaining it.

The

The first visit paid to the Hygæian fount is generally attended with some terror; but this soon wears off; and I have known ladies, who, from a very cautious snail's pace, proceeded gradually to a quick trot, and at last to a hand-gallop, along this road, emboldened by habit, and animated by the inspiring effects of the water. To prevent getting wet with sudden showers, which frequently descend from the surrounding cloud-capped summits, little sheds are erected at short intervals, stretching across the road, under which the bobelins may take refuge. These showers are generally transient, though sometimes heavy while they last. The hill-side along the road, for the most part, consists of *strata* and large masses of a brown, brittle stone, which slides off in thin flakes, smooth, and shining. The soil above is a deep, rich mould, chiefly vegetable; and it abounds with small rills of very fine water. The extraordinary cures performed by the Bath-spring induced the legislature of the island, from motives of humanity, to take it under their sanction, and extend so noble a remedy to those poor inhabitants who might want the means of procuring subsistence and medical advice, whilst under its operation. They formed the town into a corporation by law; granted it a public seal; directed the manner of laying out and assigning the lots of ground; caused thirty Negroes to be purchased, for keeping the road leading to the spring in constant good repair, and planting vegetable provisions for the use of poor persons resorting hither; and appointed a liberal salary for a physician, to be resident in the town, and administer to the poor *gratis*. For the better accommodation of the latter, they founded an hospital in the square, divided into convenient wards and apartments. The reigning spirit of the inhabitants zealously seconded these charitable provisions. Many persons of fortune took up lots, and began to erect houses. The square was soon adorned with the hospital, a public lodging-house, and a billiard-room. It became the fashion every year for a crowd of company to assemble here from all quarters of the island. The powers of music were exerted; the card-tables were not idle; and, in short, from a dreary desert, it grew into a scene of polite and social amusements. This (alas!) was of no long continuance. The unfortunate political divisions, which afterwards prevailed during the administration of a certain

hot-headed governor, destroyed all that harmony between families which, while it subsisted, had been the principal cause of making this place an occasional retreat; where they had used to meet each other in friendship, and united their talents of pleasing. The scene became changed; party-rage succeeded; the partizans of the different factions could not endure the thought of mingling together under the same roof; and the more moderate persons grew indifferent to a place, where cheerfulness, confidence, and mutual respect, no longer held any sway. From this period began its decline. Most of the houses that were built here, from neglect and want of inhabitants, gone into decay; the half-finished frames of some, which were just beginning to rear their heads, have mouldered into dust. The billiard-room is in ruins; and, in 1768, I observed the tattered remains of a once superfine green cloth, which covered the table, all besmeared with the ordure of goats and other animals, who took their nightly repose upon it. At this time, the town was reduced to about nine or ten habitations. The hospital was converted into a barrack for a company of the regulars. Two lodging-houses still remain; but they are much in want of repair, and seem inclined to partake of the general ruin. The salutary stream, which Providence has so benevolently granted for the relief of human misery, is ungratefully (I had almost said impiously) suffered to glide away neglected and unheeded to the ocean, as if it had entirely lost its former virtues. There is nothing more reproachful to the œconomy and good-sense of the principal men in this island, than so shameful a neglect. Will it be imputed to indolence, to caprice, or inconsistency, that, after so much solemnity and parade in establishing the town; after so much apparent happiness derived from the institution; such munificent provisions for the sick poor; after advancing the plan so far towards maturity; they have devoted their whole fabric to subversion? It is much to be regretted, that a scheme attended with so large an expence, and so well calculated for the public health and entertainment, has been so unaccountably dropped; when a small annual fund, set apart for the purpose, would have supported all the buildings erected here for the general use or amusement. The hospital is built of a kind of white free-stone, of which there are several

quarries in the neighbourhood: it is of the same quality as that which abounds in the parishes of St. Anne and Westmoreland; it is very soft, and easily wrought when first dug, but grows hard after exposure for some time to the air. The soldiers, on their first arrival here, became sickly. This was imputed to the constant dampness of the walls; for which reason they were afterwards plastered; and it was thought they grew healthier; but in the year 1768 they had no less than twenty-five on the sick list; and upon enquiry it was found, that they were subsisted on salt-fish, salt-beef, and biscuit, not the best in quality; and were allowed fresh provisions only one day in the week. The salt provision was brought from Kingston, and came at a much dearer rate than fresh victuals, which the neighbourhood affords. Of biscuit, for example, not more than five or six could be bought for seven pence-halfpenny; and that quantity cannot be thought more than sufficient for a soldier's daily allowance of bread. Whereas fifty plantains were to be had at Bath for the same money; which are more than one soldier could devour in a week. Fresh pork was to be got here cheaper than the best salt-beef; fowls likewise, and fresh fish, were exceedingly reasonable. The number of ladies and gentlemen, who had resorted here for the benefit of the water, amounted in two years to only sixty-six, by many fewer than used to meet here at one time, when Bath was in its flourishing æra.

Proceeding from Bath to the Eastward, we pass along the rich banks of Plantain Garden River, through a succession of the finest sugar-plantations in the island. The soil in some parts is a black, vegetable mould, of great depth, intermixed with shells; in other parts a deep, brick mould; and, towards the river's mouth, the land on each side is extremely flat, which subjects it to be overflowed pretty regularly once a year by the river. These floods generally lay all the canes prostrate, and cover them with a rich sediment of mud. But they spring again after the water retires, and grow astonishingly luxuriant, requiring no other manure than what this river, like another Nile, so invariably deposits. Yet the sugar produced here is commonly of a good complexion, though fairest and in greatest quantity, if the season continues dry during the crop.

This

This is the tract of cane-land which suffers less than any in the whole island by a long drowth; for the water is every where so near the surface, as to support a due vegetation, when the canes in other parishes are parched and destroyed for want of rain. The rich mould of Vere alone may dispute the preference with it for depth and fertility; but, I think, the land on Plantain Garden River, being happily in a more seasonable situation, must be esteemed superior; and, in short, on a general survey of this Eastern quarter of the island, it appears rather more productive, and of better staple, than the Western end. In regard to the natural productions, it contains a great many rare plants that are peculiar to it, with some others that are also observable in the West division; and the rest are such as are common to all parts of the island. Among those of the first class is the gum-tree, or *sapium* of Dr. Brown, who, by some mistake, has described the parrot gum-tree for it, which is a species of manchineel, and bears not the least affinity to the gum-tree in its parts of fructification. It is probably a new *genus*, and hitherto undescribed. It grows to a very considerable size, and yields a large quantity of a light-green, transparent, thick resin, or gum, of little smell. This is much used by the planters of the district for burning in their boiling house-lamps. They once were found here in vast abundance; but, from the continual ravage of the inhabitants, who have cut down vast numbers every year, without the least remorse, or any caution to plant a new race; it is not improbable, that, in a little time, the old stock will become extinct; for none of this class have been discovered in any other part of the country. The wood is coarse; but it supplies tolerable staves for sugar-casks: a gentleman here got as many from one tree as made one hundred hogsheds, or upwards of three thousand staves; from whence some idea may be formed of the magnitude of these trees.

The air of the hilly part of this parish is extremely healthy. At Bath it is cool during the greater part of the year; which is owing to its being shaded by the neighbouring high lands, and watered with frequent showers. The air of the low grounds near the coast, especially where they are swampy, or not drained, is by no means to be reckoned healthy. The Negroes on the plantations which border on Plantain Garden River are subject to frequent mortalities, especially

especially if their huts are placed on the levels, which are damp, and annoyed by constant exhalations. The planters have wisely fixed their own habitations in general upon elevated spots, in order to be secure from floods, which have sometimes been so violent on the lower grounds, as to sweep away buildings, cattle, and Negroes.

State of the Parish:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Annual Produce of Sugar.	Other Settlements.
1734,	6176	5488			
1740,	6618	5256			
1745,	7282	5561			
1761,	12300				
1768,	14624	9007	66	9270	34

This parish, it is apparent, has increased very largely in its stock of Negroes and cattle; and now contains near one hundred settlements. From the goodness of the soil, the number of rivers, and plentiful supplies of rain, it has the promising appearance of becoming one of the most populous and opulent in the whole island.

S E C T. VI.

P O R T L A N D.

THIS parish is bounded on the East and North by the sea; West, by St. George, and part of St. David; and on the South and South-East, by St. Thomas. The adjustment of its boundary, as the whole was formerly included in the parish of St. Thomas, has occasioned many disputes between the two parishes, both of them laying claim to the inhabitants of Manchineel, in the South-East quarter; who, though actually within the boundary of Portland, have generally paid their taxes in the parish of St. Thomas. But the law, by which Portland was first formed into a distinct parish in the year 1723, expressly makes White River the South-East boundary; and, this limitation having been ratified by clear recitals in several subsequent laws, there appears no authentic

ground at present for controverting it. This parish comprizes a vast tract of fine land; but the settlements are scattered along the coast; and the interior parts are as yet unoccupied, except near the Rio Grande on the North side, where the most distant are not more than six miles from the sea. It is mountainous, and subject to almost continual rains, which are naturally caused by the height of the central ridges, and so prodigious an extent of thick woods; but they would undoubtedly decrease here, as they have done in the other districts, if any considerable part of this wilderness was cleared, and room given for a free passage to the wind and vapours. It contains eight or nine rivers, most of them of no great note; the principal is Rio Grande before-mentioned, which has its source about sixteen miles from the sea, and becomes very considerable by the accession of several streams which fall into it. The chief shipping-places are, Port Antonio, formerly called St. Francis; Priestman's Bay; and Manchineel Harbour. Port Antonio lies on the North-East part of the coast, in about  $18^{\circ} 11'$  North latitude. It comprehends two harbours, the Eastern and Western, divided from each other by a narrow peninsula, of about three miles and a half in length, on the point of which stands Fort George. The ship-channel leading into the Western harbour passes between this point, and Lynch's, or Navy Island, and is about one mile over. The entrance into the Eastern lies between the South-East point of Navy Island and the main land, and about three miles from shore to shore. There is also a small channel on the West side of the island; but it is extremely narrow, and obstructed with very extensive sand banks; so that the deepest part can only admit boats. It is also rendered dangerous by a reef of rocks, stretching from the North-West side of the island, between two and three leagues towards the main land. This island is three miles and a half in length, by about one and a half in width, and lies in an oblique direction South-East and North-West. Towards the sea it is inaccessible, on account of the rocks and shoals which guard it on that side; but on the side next the harbour there is very deep water close in, so that men of war coming in have swept the trees with their yards. The harbours are land-locked, and capacious enough to receive a very large fleet.

This



This part of Jamaica, lying only about thirty-six leagues from Cape Tiberon, on the West end of Hispaniola; and the difficulty considered which our men of war have sometimes encountered in turning up against the trade-wind, and currents from Port Royal, in order to weather the Eastern point of Jamaica; together with the commodious situation of Port Antonio, which opens directly into the Windward Passage; gave rise to the scheme of fortifying and adapting it as a place of rendezvous for the squadron in time of war. In the year 1728, the assembly passed an act appropriating twenty acres of land on Lynch's Island for the conveniency of erecting store-houses and wharfs for his majesty's naval stores, and careening the ships of war. In the year 1733, this work was in great forwardness; and rear-admiral Stuart, who then commanded on the station, finding the air of the island unhealthy, ordered the wood to be cut down and burnt. Unfortunately, instead of hiring Negroes to perform this laborious task, it was assigned to detachments made from the crews of the Lion, Spence, and some other ships of war; of whose incapacity for it Dr. Lind has given us the following melancholy account:

Many of these men were seized at once with a fever and delirium. This phrenzy attacked a man so suddenly, and with so much fury, that with his hatchet, if not prevented, he would have cut to pieces the persons who stood near him. Orders were issued, that, as soon as the men were thus seized, they should be bled, and immediately sent on board their respective ships. The consequence was, that all who were carried on board quickly recovered; whereas those who remained on shore either died, or underwent a dangerous fit of sickness. This calamity, and the peace which not long after happened, occasioned the project to be dropped, although the government had been put to a great expence in erecting several store-houses, and in purchasing the island in propriety. These buildings having since gone to decay, and the inhabitants in the neighbourhood made free to pull down and use such of the materials as were serviceable to them. The reasons for resuming this scheme are at present extremely strong, since the French have laboured so successfully in fortifying and compleating a very large town at Cape Nicola Mole; which lying only sixteen leagues and a half from the

Easternmost point of Cuba, they have got a key, which as effectually locks up the navigation of the Windward Passage to the East, as the Havannah, in the hands of the Spaniards, secures it to the West by the Gulph of Florida; the consequence of which must necessarily be, in any future rupture with France and Spain, that, without a very strong convoy of several men of war, not a merchant-ship will have the least chance of getting home: and I think it is evident, from all the pains and expence which the French have been at in making their establishment at the Mole, that they designed it as an effectual curb upon the Jamaica trade, and for no other purpose: because the country that environs it is rocky, barren, and unfit for plantations of any sort. It is plain, therefore, that they had not agriculture in view; and it is most probable, that, in time of war, they will always take care to keep a number of men of war and frigates at the Mole, or cruizing between it and Cape Maize, to intercept our homeward-bound trade, which of course will fall an easy prey, unless we have always so large a fleet on the station, as to be able to block up theirs, or dispute superiority of force with it. As a check therefore upon their fortrefs, it would seem absolutely necessary, that Port Antonio should be strengthened with fortifications, and the former plan revived of accommodating it for the reception, refitting, and careening, of his majesty's ships: and, in order to guard against that havock, which the employment of felling trees, and clearing ground, in the West-Indies, has never failed making among Europeans, especially if unseasoned to the climate; the legislature of Jamaica ought, in regard to the importance of this concern to their properties, either to purchase fifty Negroes, or levy that number in rotation from different estates, to be employed, under proper white overseers, to clear away all the wood upon the island, and assist in carrying on other laborious works that may be required. The raising them by levy might be made very equitable, if, at the same time, their respective owners were to be paid a certain just rate *per* day, for their maintenance and hire, out of the public funds; and the expence to the island would be very trifling.

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The hire, for example, of fifty Negroes, at 6 <i>l.</i> per head <i>per ann.</i> — — — — —	300	0	0
Their subsistence, at 7½ <i>d.</i> each <i>per day</i> , is, <i>per ann.</i> —	566	19	3
	866 19 3		
Hire of two superintendents, or overseers, at 140 <i>l.</i> each,	280		
Cloathing and medicines, at 30 <i>s.</i> each <i>per ann.</i> (I suppose the tools to be furnished by government), —	75	0	0
	1221 19 3		
Whole of one year's expence to the island is, sterling, 872 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 7½ <i>d.</i> ; currency, — — —			1221 19 3

It is not probable, if these Negroes were to be duly taken care of by the superintendents chosen for this purpose, that any of them would die within the twelvemonth, supposing them to be healthy and able when delivered; and none others should be accepted; but, for greater equity to the individuals to whom they belonged, they might be fairly valued by three or more disinterested magistrates before their going on service, and any deficiencies at the year's end made good by the public accordingly. In order to form a body of labourers, to be kept afterwards constantly employed in building fortifications or other works, several draughts might every year be made, from the gaols, of such slaves as are sold out for payment of their fees; and, in many cases, the sentence of death, or banishment, might be commuted for perpetual labour in the king's service; and a piece of land appropriated near the port for their provision-ground, that their subsistence might, for the future, be attended with no expence, either to the island, or to the crown. No time can be so convenient for conducting such a plan as the present interval of peace; and, being carried on with vigour, we should have in another war this sure asylum for the squadron, from whence it might sail forth to distress the enemy, defend our homeward-bound fleets, and give protection to our ships coming from Britain to Jamaica, or coasting round from the North to the South parts of the island.

When the duke of Portland was governor, a town was projected on Pattison's Point, bordering on the harbour, which was to be called

called Titchfield, after a manor belonging to his grace in Hampshire. One hundred acres were assigned by act of assembly for this purpose; to which were added three hundred and fifty acres for a common. A quarter-session for the peace was to be held here four times a year; the port was made a port of entry and clearance; and the receiver-general, secretary, and collector, were ordered to keep deputies here, who were allowed a salary of 70*l.* each *per annum*. This town was laid out, but not built; for, the project before-mentioned not being carried into effect, and the parish continuing but very thinly settled, there was not a sufficient encouragement to induce persons to build; nor trade, nor manufacture to give a town support; so that, at present, here are not above fifteen or twenty straggling houses about the harbour. The making this one station for the squadron would be the surest means, not only of encouraging a town here, but of multiplying settlements in the neighbourhood, by the demand there would be for hogs, poultry, plantains, and other provisions; and, in regard to trade, this port lies conveniently for opening some intercourse with the East end of Cuba, and the small Spanish vessels of St. Domingo, who might steal along shore to the Isle of Vache, and easily make this port. Some beneficial traffic might likewise be occasionally carried on with the French for their indigo, in return for our British hardwares, and a few other assortments. I am not without hopes, that the legislature of Jamaica will, in time, be roused into a serious attention to the further improvement of their country, by a few easy measures, which require only judgement in setting them on foot, and unabated perseverance in conducting them to a happy effect. No part of the island seems to claim their assiduity more, than this extensive parish of Portland; which, from all the reports of surveyors who have traversed its recesses, contains immense tracts of very rich land, finely watered, though still covered with thick woods. The most popular work they have hitherto done in it, is the road which passes through an almost uninhabited wild, from Bath to Port Antonio. It traverses a tract of near sixty thousand acres, which has not a single settlement. The former road from Titchfield to Bath through Manchineel was at least thirty-four miles in length. Upon a representation to the house of assembly,

sembly, in 1769, that a road from Titchfield through Nanny Town, and over Break-heart Hill, would be shorter by twenty-three miles; that the lands through which it must pass were very fit for the culture of provisions; and that it might not only become the means of supplying the Bath plentifully with all manner of provisions and poultry, but of settling a large tract at that time useless, and of subsisting many poor families in Portland, then in very indigent circumstances; three hundred pounds were granted towards making it. No sum was ever voted to a better design; but it required still further assistance, to render it passable for loaded mules, or carriages; and therefore has not yet produced all those advantages that the petitioners expected from it, the expence of the undertaking being rated at 1000*l*. The assembly therefore have since added 300*l*. more, the parishioners engaging to raise the remaining 400*l*. by a subscription. I am not fond of passing censures; yet I must take leave to say, that even in the security of Port Antonio, so useful a retreat for the shipping in war-time, there has appeared a very singular inattention. The fort, which was built here to command the channels of entrance, and which is extremely well-designed for that intention, is a bastion of twenty-two embrasures, inclosed to the Southward from flank to flank by barracks to receive seventy men, and an apartment for the commanding officer. It was once mounted with about twelve guns, twenty-four pounders. This fortress, at which a company of soldiers is generally garrisoned, we should suppose to deserve full as much of the public care as the Rock Fort at Kingston Harbour; but the condition of defence in which it was left during the late war may be judged of from the following state, as given in the year 1768; viz.

The guns all unfit for service, and without carriages.

No wadhooks, sponges, ladles, or rammers.

The platforms for the guns entirely decayed.

No flag; the boat unfit for service; the roof of the magazine very leaky, and no door; the surgeon's room untenable; the roof of the commanding officer's house, and barracks, wholly out of repair; the soldier's barracks without platforms; no hospital; the guard-house tumbled down; and no place of confinement, &c. &c.

To the honour of the assembly, however, let it be mentioned, that, upon seeing this miserable catalogue of dilapidations, they immediately granted some provision for putting it in a better state; and I should not have quoted the report, but for the sake of remarking the expediency there seems of having an engineer, or inspector-general of the barracks and fortifications all round the island; whose province it should be, once in every year at least, to visit them all, examine their state, take account of their ammunition, stores, and habiliments, and report them to the governor, who would regularly lay the account before the assembly.

By a method of this nature, they would be duly acquainted with the condition of those defences, which are too remote to admit of inspection from their own committee; and I think it will also be acknowledged, that their stores would be better taken care of, and less waste committed.

The road from Bath passes by Moore Town, inhabited by the Maroon Negroes; who first took up their residence on the West side of the parish, bordering on St. George, at a place called Nanny Town; which they afterwards deserted. Their present town is much better situated for giving speedy protection to the estates on each side the Rio Grande. The South-east division of the parish, adjacent to Manchineel Harbour, is well-settled, and promises to become very populous. The harbour is capacious and secure, defended by a battery of ten guns, which is not so strong a fortification as it seems to require, especially if Port Antonio should not become a station for men of war. Between these two ports is another considerable shipping-place, at Priestman's River. The whole number of settlements in this parish is between eighty and ninety; very few, in proportion to its extent. It remains for time to discover the many natural productions and curiosities which, there is reason to believe, are not sparingly distributed through so vast a space of mountains and vallies, as yet but little explored. As yet we are only informed of a hot mineral spring, which rises on the North side of the same mountainous ridge that gives birth on the opposite side to the Bath spring. It is reasonably conjectured to be only another vein proceeding from the same reservoir;

there being, as it is said, no perceptible difference in their heat, taste, and medicinal operation.

State of the Parish:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual Produce.	
				Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	640	125			
1740,	775	178			
1745,	1235	637			
1761,	2354				
1768,	2813	1651	29	1330	57

This parish is certainly much improved. The legislature passed several acts tending to invite settlers into it; and a considerable part of those who at present occupy it, or their ancestors, came hither under their sanction. I have endeavoured to point out the defects in those acts; conceiving, that, if they had been framed upon a more effectual plan, the parish might by this time have acquired double the number. It is subject to some local inconveniencies, which lay the settlers under difficulty; for which reason, the encouragements to beginning new plantations cannot be too great; for these inconveniencies will grow less, in proportion as it becomes more populous. The great tract of mountain covered with high woods occasions almost incessant rainy weather at a small distance inland from the coast; and the navigation to Kingston for supplies of necessaries, or disposal of produce, is tedious and hazardous, particularly in war-time. Their woods require, therefore, to be laid open; and a trading town is wanted. By multiplying settlements in the interior district, the first might be gradually effected; and the second would naturally attend the multiplication of settlements. The soil of the mountains, and indeed all the interior part, is extremely well-suited to indigo; and this manufacture might be revived here, and carried on with great success and advantage. But it must be the province of the legislature to pave the way for it, by giving such aids of Negroe labourers as will leave little further to be done, by the new settlers invited over, than to exercise their skill in building their works, cultivating the plant, and conducting the process to perfection. The obtaining a colony of persons, who are well acquainted with the whole art of managing the indigo, will, I imagine, be attended with no great difficulty, if

suitable encouragements are given. It is certain, that, if such a manufacture should upon trial be found to answer, there is vacant land enough in this parish to furnish much more than would satisfy the consumption of Great-Britain; and the richness of the soil affords just motives for expecting that indigo might be produced here of the finest quality.

I have omitted to mention, that this parish is without a church. The incumbent's stipend is 100*l. per annum*; but he does not reside. The service is performed in some planter's house, about once or twice in the year. It may appear extraordinary, that the legislature should, in the example of this and some other parishes, have provided a stipend for a minister, without at the same time providing a house of prayer. An act passed here, in 1681, empowers the justices and vestry of every parish, at their annual meeting in January, to lay a reasonable tax on the inhabitants, for the maintenance of the minister and poor; and for erecting convenient churches, and repairing such as are already made, and providing convenient seats in them. The erecting of churches is, therefore, only made a secondary obligation, and as such dispensed with by the junior parishes, under the plea of poverty, which will probably avail them, till a more ardent zeal in the cause of religion, than hitherto has been manifested, shall inspire the house of representatives, and lead them to enquire into the merits of this pretence.

## S E C T. VII.

St. GEORGE, in the Precinct of St. MARY.

THIS parish is bounded on the East by Portland; West, by St. Mary; North, by the sea; and South, by the parishes of St. Andrew and St. David. It is watered by about sixteen rivers and principal streams; the largest and most noted are, the *Agua Alta*, or Wag-water, which forms the Western boundary; the Buff Bay; Anotto, Spanish, and Swift. The former of these, being joined near the coast by several other streams, forms a canal, navigable by boats from Anotto Bay (into which it discharges), about two miles inland; which is a great conveniency to those settlements that border upon it. The bay is common to this parish and St.



Mary, and is their principal shipping-place: it is a good road, except in the time of year when the Norths prevail, to whose violence it is too much exposed. The face of the parish is for the most part very hilly; and the Blue Mountain Ridge, after intersecting Portland, continues its lofty battlements from East to West through St. George's, engrossing the whole of its Southern district. The inconveniencies of much wet, and a distant market, which have retarded the population of Portland, have likewise attended this parish, and perhaps in a severer degree; so that it is still to be considered in its infancy.

The lands adjacent to the coast are not settled for more than four miles from the sea, and in some parts not more than one. The district behind comprizes about sixty-five thousand acres of wilderness, whose soil and natural productions are at present unknown: this vast tract has only one road cut through it, which passes from Kingston through Liguanea, and, crossing the centre near the Negroe-town called New Crawford, terminates at the coast. The land hitherto settled in sugar-plantations turns to better account, and is less laborious, than what we meet with in Portland; but as yet no trial has been made with canes above the distance of two miles from the sea. The mountainous region behind contains, probably, a very great variety of soil; which, though too rich at first to produce sugar, would yield a large quantity of fine rum, or indigo: this latter is considered as a great impoverisher of land, and therefore very fit to prepare a rich soil for the sugar-cane. It is pretty evident, on contemplating the face of this parish, that it is not likely to make much further progress until more roads shall be formed through so extensive a wood-land; for, although many thousand acres have been patented, they were, for the greater part, forfeited, and the remainder left unsettled by the proprietors on this very account: they found it impracticable to get at their lands after they had patented, or purchased; and of course were unable to make any use of them. The first step towards further improvements here will therefore naturally commence with opening new roads of communication; which may allure the proprietors of plats on each side to begin settlements. It cannot be expected, that individuals will undertake this task, or incur so much expence, on

the distant view of profits, not to be acquired till after several years of diligent application, and many further charges. It must be executed at the public cost, as it is not likely to be ever achieved by any other means. Nor would the expence be thrown away; since every settlement, once established, makes a return by adding somewhat to the security of the island, to its trade, opulence, and revenues. In order to prove which, let us examine the advantages of this nature which the parish even now contributes. Here are about sixty settlements in all, whose quota of the poll-tax amounted to about 39*l.* for one year; which, at an equal average, comes to 6*l.* 10*s.* each. Every new settlement formed here may therefore be reasonably concluded to give the revenue an annuity of 6*l.* 10*s.* in that tax alone. If we assign this, on a moderate computation, as the one-half of the whole taxes levied, consisting of various branches, the annuity will appear 13*l.* *per annum*, without taking into account the consumption of tools, food, cloathing, and other articles; which to the meanest settler cannot be rated at less than 50*l.* *per annum*. The projecting of new settlements therefore, and encouraging them till effectuated, when considered in this view, seems a most profitable adventure for the legislature to engage in, and well deserves their most serious attention. To form roads which may be perfectly firm, easy, and commodious, is doubtless a business of much time, labour, and charge: for these very reasons (if they are admitted to be true), the less expectation should be indulged, that poor families will be able, or, if able, willing to devote their industry to road-making, instead of agriculture. But, when the public takes this work in hand, the case is very different. The more perfect it causes the road to be made, the better assured it becomes of alluring inhabitants to fix themselves on each side of it. The returns for these expenditures may be tardy; but they will be certain, and always increasing; and (what is not to be over-looked) the money, thus laid out for such laudable purposes, will remain to circulate in the island, and give employment to many of its inhabitants, without impoverishing the public.

There is nothing very remarkable in this parish (at least that has fallen within my knowledge), except a salt lake, called Alligator Pond, extending from Fig Tree to Buff River Bay, and separated from

from the sea by a narrow slip of sandy land. It is near five miles in length, and about half a mile wide in the broadest reach. There is no tradition in what manner it was formed, whether by an earthquake, or an inundation of the sea; probably both concurred. The air of this, as of all the Northside parishes, is in general healthy; and it may be remarked here, as at the West end, that the hills decline gradually towards the sea, and swell as they recede from it towards the mid region of the island. The most unwholesome state of the atmosphere in these parts occurs during the May rains; when the wind, setting from the Southern points, has to pass over an immense tract of woodland, before it reaches the settlements on the North side; but it rarely produces any other fevers than intermittents, which here are not much regarded, as they are not often attended with any dangerous consequences.

This parish is not yet provided with a church. The incumbent's stipend is 100*l. per annum*; and the living, like that of Portland, a mere sinecure.

Having no materials for a more particular account of St. George, I shall conclude with,

The state of it :

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual Produce.   Hogsteads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	1085	1485			
1740,	969	1024			
1745,	1163	1136			
1761,	2147				
1768,	2765	3421	12	1200	48

Notwithstanding the ravages committed in it by the Maroon Negroes before their reduction, it is apparent this parish has made considerable progress in the last twenty years; but, as a sugar-parish, is as yet of very small importance. The means by which it may be improved I have already touched upon, as the best that offer to my judgement; and in this light only I submit them to the discussion of abler politicians.

To recapitulate the preceding detail of this county: it has for its metropolis, Kingston, where the assizes are held in January, April, July, and October.

State

State in 1768.

Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual Produce. Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
39,542	21,465	146	15,010	314

## Rectories and Stipends.

	£	s.	d.
Kingston, — — —	250	0	0
St. Andrew, — — —	200	0	0
Port Royal, — — —	250	0	0
St. David, — — —	100	0	0
St. Thomas in the East,	250	0	0
Portland, — — —	100	0	0
St. George, — — —	100	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1250	0	0

Churches, —	5
Chapels, —	0
Synagogue, -	1

## C H A P. IX.

## C O R N W A L L

CONTAINS about 1,522,149 acres, and has five parishes, and nine towns and hamlets, viz.

Parishes.	Towns.	Hamlets.
St. Elizabeth,	{ Lacovia, Accompong, Negroe- Town, — — — }	Black River.
Westmoreland,	{ Savannah laMar, the county-town, — }	Queen's Town, <i>alias</i> } Beckford Town, <i>alias</i> the Savannah.
Hanover,	Lucea.	
St. James,	{ Montego, Furry's, Negroe Town.	
Trelawny,	Trelawny, Negroe Town,	Marthabrae.

S E C T.

## S E C T. I.

## St. E L I Z A B E T H.

THIS parish is bounded on the East by the parishes of Clarendon and Vere; on the West, by Westmoreland; on the North, by St. James and Trelawny; and on the South by the sea. It is watered by the Black, Y S, Hector's and Broad Rivers, and several small rivulets. Of these the two former are the most capital. The Y S rises, first, in the South-West angle of St. James's parish, in a very small stream; and, after a course of about two miles, hides itself under-ground, and emerges at about half a mile's distance in a large body of water, at about thirteen miles from the coast; then, after a moderately winding course of thirteen miles and a half, falls into the Black River. The Broad River rises in the Eastern quarter of the parish, about six miles from the sea; first emerging in a morass, called Cashue, through which it makes its way for about the same number of miles, till it unites with the Black River. The latter first emerges in the North division, at the distance of sixteen miles from the nearest part of the coast, and meanders about thirty-four miles before it reaches the sea, having its stream very much enlarged by the various tributes it receives during its passage; so that, in most parts, it is from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet wide. This is the noblest river in Jamaica, and is navigable by boats and barges for many miles. About mid-way, and at the Forks, where it meets with the other two rivers I have mentioned, it sweeps through a large tract of morass. The road, passing over the May-day Hills to the West end, crosses this and Y S over two handsome bridges.

This great Western road, which leads from Spanish Town, traverses St. Jago Savannah, and the bridge of Milk River, in Clarendon; not far beyond which is the estate which belonged to the late lord Ol—ph—t. Soon after leaving this, the ascent begins over May-day Hills, continuing rocky for about half a mile, till it narrows into a gloomy path between two hills, over-hung with the interwoven boughs of trees on each side, which form an agreeable shade. At the end of two or three miles further on is a small  
plantation

plantation and pimento-grove; and, beyond this, the way opens suddenly upon a pretty rising lawn, on the highest part of which stands a little villa, belonging lately to Mr. W—stn—y, who is said to be a natural son of the late duke of L—ds. This villa overlooks a diminutive vale, through which the high road passes, and extends its narrow prospect to another delightful, rising spot, of a circular form, and fringed with stately trees. A number of kids, lambs, and sheep, are pastured in the glade, or roam on the sides of the adjacent hills, which are fenced in with a wall of craggy mountains, richly cloathed with wood. In rural charms few places exceed this little spot. The road across this assemblage of high lands is extremely curious in every part, and worthy the traveler's attention. There are none in England, nor I believe in Europe, resembling it. It divides the May-day Ridges, as it were, through the middle; the breadth of which, from East to West, is upwards of fourteen miles; it is about fifty feet in width, and confined on each side by a majestic wood, that is almost impervious to the sun. The lofty trees, so close arranged, form a living wall; and, intermingling their leafy branches, afford a cooling shade during the greater part of every day throughout the year. The Tavern of Knock-patrick (belonging also to Mr. W—stn—y), the next settlement we come to, stands very commodiously, and enjoys a most excellent climate. The English beans, pease, and other culinary vegetables of Europe, grow here, in most seasons of the year, to the utmost perfection. A gentleman who supped here could not help remarking, that the victuals were literally brought smoaking-hot to table; a phenomenon seldom observed in the low lands, where the air is so much more rarefied. A species of the tarantula spider is said to be often found in this part of the country. The woods abound with paroquets, and pigeons of various sorts. The laghetto, and other useful trees, such as mahogany, cedar, pigeon-wood, &c. This tavern stands in the midst of these woods, and as yet has but a very small tract of cleared ground about it. Every appearance of the road to the Westward of it is similar to what is observed on the approach to it from the Eastward, till the hills begin to decline, and the parish of St. Elizabeth breaks upon the view. From the different parts of this declivity,

the

the prospects are finely variegated, and, from some stations, are extended not only over the champaign-country of this parish, but into great part of Westmoreland many miles: but one of the most pleasing scenes is, the spacious tract of open land, called Labour-in-vain Savannah, which appears partly of a vivid green, and partly of a russet colour. One side of it is girt about with romantic hills and woods; the other, towards the South, is washed by the sea; the middle sweep is graced with scattered clumps of trees and under-wood; which objects all together combine in exhibiting a very picturesque and beautiful appearance.

“ From this the prospect varies. Plains immense  
 “ Lie stretch’d below; interminable meads,  
 “ And vast savannahs; where the wand’ring eye,  
 “ Unfix’d, is in a verdant ocean lost.  
 “ Another Flora here, of bolder hues,  
 “ And richer sweets, beyond our garden’s pride,  
 “ Plays o’er the fields; and show’rs with sudden hand  
 “ Exub’rant spring; for oft’ the valleys shift  
 “ Their green embroider’d robe to fiery brown,  
 “ And swift to green again; as scorching suns,  
 “ Or streaming dews and torrent-rains prevail.”

One would almost incline to think, that Thompson, and his Pegasus, had made the tour of this region; so appositely has he described it.

South of Essex Valley Mountains, are distinguished the high lands, and sand hills near Pedro Bluff. These, it is true, are some additions to the prospect, but upon reflexion displease the eye, as they are in general so poor and barren, as to disdain all kinds of cultivation, and only yield in wet seasons a scanty pasturage for sheep and the younger cattle. About the foot of May-day Hills, the bread-nut trees grow luxuriantly, and afford to the bordering settlements great abundance of nourishing fodder for their flock.

The principal capes, or head-lands, on the coast are Pedro Bluff, and Luana Point; the former of which gives shelter to an anchoring-place for small vessels in Pedro Bay, lying to the Westward of it. Between this and Luana Point is Black River Mouth, defended

by several banks of sand; within them is a fine road for ships of large burthen; and near this is therefore established the chief barquadier for all the plantations and settlements in the parish [d]. The Eastern side retains its antient name of Palléta, or Parratee Bay. The Spaniards had a small village here, which was destroyed by a detachment of the army under colonel D'Oyley. This part is swampy, and principally inhabited by Mulattoes, Quaterons, and other Casts; a poor, but peaceable and industrious race, who have long been settled here, and live by fishing and breeding poultry. If it was not for the shoals at the mouth of the river, there is depth and room sufficient in it to anchor, and keep afloat, a very great fleet of capital ships. But, though it is not navigable by vessels of burthen, it is, as well as its branches, of very eminent service to the inhabitants of the adjacent country, by enabling them, at small expence and trouble, to bring their sugars, rum, and other kinds of produce, by water-carriage, down into the bay. Hector's, or One-eye River, which rises near Wallingford-plantation, in the North-West district, after a zig-zag course of about twelve miles, discharges into Black River. The Eastern branch of it enters into a very high ridge of mountainous land, extremely well-wooded, and filled with mahogany and other valuable timber, and disembogues again at three miles distance. The arch-way under which it passes is of a rude, Gothic appearance, about twenty feet in height, but rising and falling alternately within; where it is supported with pillars, the nuclei of which are of a very fine, white free-stone; and in some parts of this cavern are large *strata* of marble. The water deepening as we advance forwards under the mountain, it is not an easy matter to explore this remarkable adit for any very considerable extent; though, for a good distance from the mouth, it does not reach much above the knees. However, it may be classed among the more beautiful natural curiosities in the island, and merits a further investigation. This, with the YS (so called from the Galic word YS, which signifies crooked, or winding), and the other streams which empty themselves into the Black River, contribute chiefly

[d] Near the mouth is often caught the manatti; which has given name to some adjacent mountains.



to its importance. The road or harbour is guarded not only by the shoals, but by two batteries; the first, a publick one, of five guns, six to nine-pounders, built on a little eminence near the sea; the other, a private property, belonging to Mr. Crutcher. Exclusive of these fortresses, the variation of the sands renders the entrance difficult, and dangerous to those who are not well acquainted with it. The barracks stand at about a quarter of a mile from the bay; are capable of receiving thirty men, and generally garrisoned with a party of regulars. The church is about the same distance from the village of Black River, a handsome edifice of brick, lately re-built. The parsonage-house stood on Middle-quarter-Mountains, in a dry, elevated, and very pleasant situation, in the centre of the glebe; but, not long since, was unfortunately burnt to the ground by an accident. The rector's stipend is 200*l.* *per annum*; but he has likewise a considerable income from the labour of about twenty Negroes, which, in consequence of an act of assembly, passed in the year 1753, for disposing of sundry parcels of land belonging to the parish, were purchased with the value of the sales for the use of the rectory; and, by another act passed in 1764, all the parcels of land then undisposed of were directed to be sold, and the nett-money applied to the buying a tract of provision-ground contiguous to the old glebe, and to be annexed to it in perpetuity: so that the whole of the glebe consists of, at least, two hundred acres of fine pasture and provision-land; and the value of the living is computed to be between six and seven hundred pounds a year. By the road-side, not far from the parsonage, is a very curious object, viz. a large spreading fig-tree, whose boughs overshadow the road. It is about thirty feet in height, and out of its summit appears to grow an elegant thatch-tree, of about ten or twelve inches diameter, which has a branched top distinct from the other, and rising twelve or fifteen feet above it. The wild fig-tree is, in its infant state, only a poor, weakly, climbing plant, like the tendril of a vine, which rears itself from the ground by the friendly help of some neighbouring tree, and shoots out several delicate radicles, which entwine about the supporter, and gradually extend themselves downwards as the stem increases. This at length attains to the summit, multiplying its branches and radicles, which in pro-

cefs of time reach the earth, where they foon take root, and become fo many new ftems to feed and fustain the parent plant. This now begins to enlarge in dimensions, and, expanding its bark, forms by degrees a trunk, or cafe, around its foster tree, which, if not compofed of very firm materials, is liable to have its vegetation entirely checked by the paraftical embrace. A fpeedy decline is the confequence. At laft it dies; and then ferves only to nourish with its duft the luxuriance of the reptile, that has fupplanted it. The reafon why this thatch-tree has efaped the like fate may be, that it was probably at full-growth when it was firft invaded; and the density and hardnefs of its bark, which render it almoft impenetrable by the keeneft instrument, have made it capable of refifting the utmoft impreffion and efforts of its treacherous gueft.

The town of Lacovia, which ftands about feven miles inland from the bay, between the Y S and Black rivers, has its name perhaps from a corruption of the Spanifh words *la-agua-via*, the watery way, or *lago-via*, the way by the lake; for this part of the country, being very low and flat, is fometimes overflowed with water, from the large morafs which furrounds it; but, as the roads are now raifed confiderably, it is feldom, if ever, impaffable. This town contains two good taverns, for the accommodation of travellers, and about twelve or fourteen houfes, moftly inhabited by Jews. Here is alfo a court-houfe, for more conveniently holding the quarterly feffion of the peace, petty-courts of common-pleas, elections, and veftry-meetings, it being fituated nearly in the middle of the parifh.

The face of the parifh is various. The Eastern divifion is walled in by fucceffive ridges of high mountains, diftinguifhed by the names of Carpenter's, Don-Figuerero's, and May-day. Towards the North, it is bounded by thofe of Edmund's Valley, and the Blue Mountain Chain, which diffociate it from St. James and Trelawny. Accompong and Charles Towns, inhabited by Maron Blacks, lie among thefe mountains, in the North-weft part of the parifh. Befides thefe, are fmall chains, which run in different points; as Effex Valley Range, Eaft and Weft, near the coaft; Top Hill, lying parallel; and the high land of Pedro Bluff, extending from the Cape, Eaftward, along the fhore. In the centre

of the parish are Santa Cruz, and Burnt Savannah Mountains, lying North-west and South-east. A little further back, are those of Nassau and Lacovia. To the South-west of these, are Middle-quarter Mountains, running N. N. E. and S. S. W. and the Western boundary is crossed by New Savannah and Luana Mountains, tending N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. Such a multitude of eminences not only serve to attract frequent rains, but contain reservoirs for affording the constant supply of water necessary to feed the innumerable springs, rivulets, and those larger collections, which are perpetually flowing through every part of the lower grounds, and spending themselves in the ocean. The lands between, and at the feet, of these different mounds, admit of a great variety of soils. In the Eastern district they consist of savannah, for the most part dry and infertile. The most noted are Pedro Plains, Bull, Labour-in-vain (a name perfectly descriptive of its nature), Nassau, and Burnt Savannahs. In these parts there are but few sugar-plantations, though a great number of very fine pens for breeding horned cattle, horses, mules, sheep, and goats, as well as poultry of all kinds. The soil of Middle-quarter Mountains, in the South-west, is stony, though not altogether so unproductive; but the plain of Luana is a continued sand, and covered with palmeto-trees, which, though large and flourishing, are a sure indication of its poverty. The rich veins of mould adapted to the sugar-cane are bordering upon the Y S and Black rivers; but a vast scope, of not less than twenty thousand acres in the whole, lies scattered in waste morafs, which, could it be drained, might form many capital plantations. No attempt of this sort has yet been made, at least that I have heard of; but it promises to yield a very great return to any of the proprietors, who shall have spirit, ability, and patience, sufficient for prosecuting such an experiment. It lies in three principal divisions, each of which is pervaded by a river. The remotest part is distant only ten miles from the sea, and might have its products sent by water-carriage the whole way. The other two approach to the very mouth of Black River; and all of them are well circumstanced for water-mills. The land in this island has, from its first settlement, been out of all proportion too much for its average-stock of inhabitants; but, if it should

ever become populous, these neglected portions will undoubtedly be brought into culture. In the year 1764, a project indeed was talked of here for building a bridge across Black River, near its mouth, in order to open a communication with the East and West sides; by which means, it was alledged, and with great appearance of reason, that the contiguous lands might soon be improved[e]; which at present they cannot well be, on account of the inconvenient and expensive mode of passing across in a ferry-boat, for which each passenger pays  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$  a time; and often it happens, that it cannot be ferried at all. The sum of 2500*l.* was proposed to be raised within the parish, for carrying this scheme into execution; but I do not find that it has been hitherto attempted. This extensive space of undrained, swampy ground circumjacent, renders the habitations on the bay unfavourable to health. So it proved to a company of the 66th regiment, quartered here in 1764. In the month of August they were attacked with putrid fevers and dysenteries, so fatal to them, that three men were buried in one day; an instance of great mortality, considering the small number of which the company consisted. This ravage is to be ascribed to no other cause than the exhalations reeking from the marshy soil around them, which, in that hot season of the year, imparted an evil disposition to the atmosphere. Some of the other quarters on the coasts are not less unwholesome, from similar causes; which I shall occasionally speak of. This regiment, which was chiefly cantoned in different parts near the sea-shore, buried in this year no less than one hundred and two men; whereas the 36th, whose quarters lay mostly at Spanish Town, Port Royal, Mosquito Fort, and Clarendon (two detachments only, I think, being posted on the coast in the out-parishes; one at Old Harbour, the other at

[e] The land contiguous to the banks of this river is alledged by some to be of an infertile nature; which they ascribe to this cause, that the water, being uncharged with soil, affords no vegetative deposit, like most other rivers of the island, when it overflows; but rather does mischief, by leaving a petrifactive, barren substance behind. If this be true, it furnishes another argument in favour of draining and embanking the adjacent grounds; by which means, the river-water, being hindered from spreading, might be confined within the cuts. The lowness of situation induces a probability, that any such deposit is but very superficial, and that at a very small depth the natural soil is rich, and when duly turned up would become highly productive. Besides, there certainly must have been no small quantity of vegetable mould accumulated in the course of so many ages, by the annual decay of plants and herbage on the surface.

Port Maria), lost no more than thirty men. They both arrived from Europe in the month of June. And hence may be deduced some useful remarks with regard to the situations most proper, or most baneful, to troops sent hither from Northern climates; which, if possibly it can be avoided, should not be brought down to swampy places near the coast; for, in the inland barracks, they would probably enjoy their health and vigour unimpaired, and so be in fitter condition for effective service; or, by the residence of one or two years, become so thoroughly seasoned to the climate and manner of living, as to be less susceptible of malignant distempers, in case of their being afterwards, upon any emergency, marched into unwholesome quarters on the coast.

State of the Parish:

	Annual Produce.			
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Hogheads.   Other Settlements.
1734,	7046	9184		
1740,	6641	9695		
1745,	7575	13500		
1761,	9715			
1768,	10110	16947	31	2600   150

From this view it appears to be improving; but it contains near eighty thousand acres of land as yet unsettled; the greater part of this is mountainous, though capable of producing coffee, and other valuable commodities. The air of the low lands is hot; and they have a plentiful flock of moskeetos; but the hilly parts in general are temperate and pleasant.

S E C T. II.

W E S T M O R E L A N D.

THIS parish was formed in the year 1703, out of St. Elizabeth, by which and a part of St. James it is bounded on the East; on the South and West, by the Sea; and on the North, by Hanover. Its rivers are Bluefields, in the East division; Bonito, or Cabarito East Branch; and Cabarito West Branch; which intersect it about the middle district; and New Savannah River, which rises further Westward. It has likewise some smaller streams; and, on the North-east, the Great River, which discharges

on the North side coast of the island, makes the dividing limit. It contains several head-lands, and some good harbours; of the former, along its Southern shore, are Parkinson's, or Palmeto Point, Crab Point, Cape Bonito or Bluff, Cabarito and Palmeto Points. From the last-mentioned to South Cape Negril, which is the Land's-end, is a ridge of moderately high eminences, called the Negril Hills; the shore iron-bound, and lined with rocks. On the West end are this Cape, Cunningham's Point, and North Cape Negril, which divides this parish from Hanover. Bluefields Bay lies Westward, within Crab Point. It is spacious, and has such excellent anchorage, with so fine a watering-place, that it is the constant rendezvous, in time of war, for the homeward-bound fleets and convoys, intending to steer by the way of Florida Gulph. The river, which falls into the bay, rises suddenly about three quarters of a mile from the shore, and turns two mills in its way. Here is the second great barquadier for the plantations in this parish. West of this bay lies Savannah la Mar, latitude North about  $18^{\circ} 13'$ , sheltered on one side by Bluff Point; on the West, by Cabarito. The road leading into Westmoreland from St. Elizabeth crosses the boundary at a place called the Wells, and proceeds for eight or ten miles along a dreary, narrow lane, opposite Parker's Bay, till it reaches Bluefields. Near this part stands, on an elevated spot, the dwelling-house of Mr. Wh—e, called Bluehole, which commands an extensive prospect over the sea to the Southward, and over the Western district of the parish. This is a modern building, constructed with stone, fortified with two flankers, and loop-holes for musquetry, and defended, besides, towards the sea with a barbette battery of six guns, nine-pounders. But, notwithstanding these muniments, it was taken during the last war by the crew of a Spanish privateer, who plundered the house, carried away the owner and his brother prisoners, and treated them extremely ill: fortunately for them, they were re-taken, together with their enemies, upon whom the English captors did not retaliate, as they well deserved.

From the foot of this hill, the passage is frequently made across the bay, about four miles, to a place called the Cave, where the barquadier stands. This is built of timber, and projected to a considerable

siderable distance into the sea, for better conveniency of shipping goods. Here most of the sugars, rum, mahogany-plank, and other commodities of the neighbouring estates, are put into boats, or lighters, to be carried on board such ships as are to export them, and lie either at Savannah la Mar, or the upper end of the bay. The road from hence continues rough and stony, till it reaches Sweet River, so called from the transparency and purity of its waters, which fall into the bay. After passing this, and a long tedious lane, the face of the country opens at once upon the view, and appears truly beautiful from the continued succession of well-cultivated sugar-estates and rich pastures. The rains in this parish being usually heavier than in most others on the South side of the island, and the country in general flat near the sea, the roads are consequently for the most part deep and dirty, and in the rainy seasons scarcely passable. Savannah la Mar, though it is the principal barquadier, has nevertheless but a very indifferent harbour, or rather road, for the shipping. The water is shoal, and against the assaults of the sea it is defended only by reefs of sunken rocks, and a few sand-banks, which are apt to shift. Nor is it much better guarded against enemies. The fort, which cost the parishioners upwards of sixteen thousand pounds in building, is extremely ill-contrived, and perpetually sapped by the sea. Formerly it was mounted with eighteen or twenty guns, mostly of too small a calibre; and, indeed, both from its structure and furniture, it never could have promised any security except against privateers. Unless it has very lately been repaired, it is in a very ruinous condition. It was never compleated; and, the South curtain being undermined, the wall on that side is almost all tumbled into the sea. As for the bastions, they are for the most part unfinished. Of this fort we may justly say,

*Vis consilii expers, mole ruit sua.*

“ Ill-counsel'd force, by it's own native weight,

“ Headlong to ruin falls.”

The parishioners thought perhaps that they had a right to lay out their money in what manner they pleased; and therefore, consulting (as one would imagine) neither engineer, nor any other person better skilled than themselves in fortification, they resolved to

throw away one half of it into the sea, and with the other erect this mis-shapen pile, as a lasting monument to convince posterity of the inexpertness of their fore-fathers in military architecture. At the entrance is a small magazine, and a barrack for about a dozen men. Most of the guns are dismounted; and salutes are therefore fired from a battery of fourteen small pieces, ranged before the court-house. This building was erected in 1752, for holding a court of common-pleas in matters of debt not exceeding 100*l.*, quarter-sessions of peace, elections, and vestry-meetings. In 1758, the assize-court for the county of Cornwall was appointed by law to be holden here; in consequence of which, the jurisdiction was greatly enlarged. Two years before, this port, together with Kingston, Montego Bay, and St. Lucia, was by act of parliament made free, for the importation of live cattle, and all other commodities except sugars, coffee, pimento, ginger, melasses, and tobacco, the growth or produce of any foreign colony in America; and for the export of Negroes, and all other legally imported commodities in foreign floops or schooners having only one deck. The advocates for this bill, and the subsequent one (cap. LII. 6 Geo. III. which permits the importation of foreign melasses, paying only a duty of one penny *per* gallon), alledged the great utility of admitting Negroes and provisions to be brought into our West-India islands from the foreign colonies, and in foreign bottoms, in order that they might be plentifully and cheaply supplied. On the other hand, it was objected, that Ireland and the North-American provinces were very able to furnish our islands with much more provisions than they could consume; that, if the price of Negroes is high, this may arise from some mismanagement in the African trade; but that it does not appear that foreigners can buy them at a cheaper rate; if they do, the trade requires to be better regulated; but, if they buy them upon equal terms, the high price is a gain to the British merchants; that the capital mistake in these bills lay in the latitude of encouragement which they gave to the employing a greater number of foreign shipping and seamen than are at present employed, and consequently diminishing those of Great-Britain. Nor is this evil remedied by allowing the exportation of Negroes, and certain other commodities from our islands, to such foreign



foreign colonies, since the same foreign bottoms, which import provisions, melasses, cotton-wool, and indigo, into our plantations, will undoubtedly endeavour to make bullion or specie the chief article of their return-cargoes. The bill therefore seems, on this presumption, in an especial manner to favour the navigation and commerce of the Dutch, and such North-Americans as are, from the nature of their employment, adopted foreigners; who readily obtrude their vessels into an opening of this kind, and actually become the principal carriers of French sugars and coffee into the free-ports, whence they carry a return chiefly in money or bullion for the French islands. It was said, that, if provisions are dear in our islands, this happens from a peculiar obstacle, namely, “ that the “ North-American vessels would willingly bring them as much as “ they want, if they could but be sure of a back-lading; but that, “ from the difficulty of procuring one, they carry their provisions “ to the French islands, and sell them cheaper than they would at “ our own, because they can take in at the French islands a back- “ lading of melasses.” This inconvenience was intended to be obviated, in part, by the latter of the acts mentioned, admitting the importation of French melasses into our islands, which may help to load back the North-American vessels: but upon this it is rightly observed, that the importation of their sugars ought likewise to have been allowed under certain restrictions, and for several strong reasons; viz. the North-Americans would then have no pretence, nor indeed any adequate inducement, to go to the French islands for a back-lading; they would bring their provisions to a better market at our islands, and be able to procure the very returns they want; for it is not to be supposed they resort to the French merely to take in their melasses; the French sugars are their primary object, and surely they would rather receive them at Jamaica without risque, than run the hazard of getting them clandestinely from Hispaniola. If we could become the carriers to Europe of all the sugars which the French islands produce, it would certainly be very much for our interest to become such; but, whether we are or not, their produce will find its way to the European markets, either in their own, or some other bottoms.

We are then to consider, that the North-Americans are carriers every year of a certain proportion of their produce ; and in all likelihood will so continue. The question therefore is, whether it would not be more advantageous for Great-Britain, that this produce should be first brought into our own islands, to be afterwards taken from thence to Europe by British carriers? And it clearly appears to be so, because this double voyage tends to the employment of more British shipping. This shipping would receive all, or the greatest share of, the freight, which is now paid to foreigners, or to North-Americans; besides the further benefit of supplying sugars to those European markets which the French and Dutch at present monopolize. In respect to our islands, they would be more plentifully furnished with provisions, and be able to keep up their stock of silver sufficient for circulation, or to remit the superfluity to Britain, instead of seeing it drained away to the French islands. Nor need the planters apprehend the lowering the value of their own produce. There may be, it is true, a greater quantity and assortment of sugars at their markets; but the increase of demand, and of shipping, to take it off their hands, must necessarily be in proportion; so that the augmentation of one will keep pace with, and prevent any mischief from, the increase of the other. This point is regulated by the European markets, which will still require to be supplied as heretofore; and the annual quantity supplied for their consumption cannot be at all affected, whether it is brought to them from Hispaniola, or from Jamaica. As this consumption is permanent, so must be the demand; both will co-operate to relieve the island-markets, whilst they have shipping enough to facilitate the carriage to Europe; and shipping is naturally attracted by well-stocked markets, and a certain and profitable freight.

These motives, for permitting our own ships to carry French produce, with a view to improve our commercial dealings with the North-Americans, and re-establish an export of sugars to the foreign markets in Europe, appear, I think, of some weight, and merit serious consideration; in order that the several free ports, opened in this island, may become of more extensive utility to the trade of the mother-country, than in their present state they seem  
capable

capable of. The act of parliament was certainly well-meant, but it has produced an effect very contrary, in some respects, to what was intended.

Of all the blunders committed by our statesmen respecting colony-trade, none perhaps have turned out more injurious, than the branding his majesty's ships and tenders, in the year 1764, with custom-house commissioners, under pretence of rigorously executing the navigation-act; in consequence of which measure, and the strict orders accompanying it, the Spanish traders were wholly proscribed from entering the ports of this island. The folly and ignorance of those who projected and abetted this French-Spanish scheme cannot be more exposed, than by shewing the loss which Great-Britain sustained in consequence of it, and which will appear from the following comparative account of the exports to Jamaica :

		Value, Sterling,			£	s.	d.
1763,	(Before these regulations took place)	—	584,978	0	0		
1764,	—	—	456,528	0	0		
1765,	—	—	415,624	0	0		
1766,	—	—	415,524	0	0		
1767,	(First year of the free-port act)	—	467,681	0	0		

This loss, in actual diminution of exports, amounts, at a medium, to 146,134*l.* sterling *per annum*. But, when we take into the account what would have been gained on the return-cargoes, and compute the super-lucration on the prime-cost only at 30*l. per cent.*, the loss in four years amounts to upwards of 700,000*l.* We may venture, indeed, without any exaggeration, to pronounce it near a million. And, what is worse, we have every reason to believe, that France, by the immediate translation of this trade to her colonies, gained at least the full amount of what Great-Britain lost.

Second to this enormous measure, were the orders given (rather unwisely), in a public manner, in November 1765, for the free admission of Spanish vessels into all the colonies. Little regard was paid to this invitation by the traders.

*Exclusit ; revocat. . Redeam ? Non ; si me obsecret.*

“ He” (the minister) “ kicks us out of doors ; then he calls us back. . Shall we return ? No ; not if he should intreat us on his knees.”

The free-port act was then let go as the sheet-anchor. Great advantages would probably have resulted from this measure, if it had been thought of and tried immediately after the war, instead of commissioning cruizers to destroy the trade: and although it may have prevented a total wreck of this valuable commerce; yet it came perhaps too late, and under too many disadvantageous circumstances, to make any adequate reparation for the damages we have sustained, and are still liable to sustain.

The trading inhabitants of the island required nothing more than very strict and positive private injunctions to the governor and port-officers, not to allow or to practise exactions upon those foreigners who came hither; whereby they had at different times been much discouraged. The act of navigation, so far as regarded these particular bottoms importing live stock and bullion, was always relaxed, and never rigorously observed here; because it appeared repugnant (so far as regarded these imports) to the spirit of commerce, and the plain interest of Britain. These were therefore already free-ports in every beneficial sense; and the traffic went on in silence and security. But so soon as government interfered, with a view to do no more than was already virtually done, so public a declaration of favouring this commerce, and laying open what ought to have remained clandestine, naturally awakened jealousy in the breast of that power, whose policy it has ever been to defeat and impede, as much as possible, every such attempt. Guards, cautions, and penalties, were multiplied, and held to their vigilance and execution with such unabating severity, as had never before been observed.

What would be the consequence, if the port of Boulogne, or Dunkirk, in France, was to be opened by a public arret, expressly for the importation of smuggled wool from Great-Britain? Surely, the whole British nation would take alarm, and British guard-coats would immediately be commissioned, without number, to prevent the effect which an invitation so authoritatively given might be likely to produce. It is notorious, that large quantities of Portugal gold have been privately gleaned from Portugal, and brought into this kingdom. But, if government should, from a fond desire to swell the tide, and procure the stream to flow hither in  
a publick

a publick channel, issue proclamations for exprefsly encouraging the importation of gold coin from Portugal; is there any doubt, but every British vefſel, and their crews, would be ſearched in the moſt rigorous manner before they were ſuffered to depart from Liſbon and Oporto? or may it not rather be queſtioned, whether any British vefſel would ever be admitted to enter them again?

I have ſaid enough to point out the ill conſequence of this meaſure, and the ground of complaint among the Jamaica-traders, who are all ſenſible that, inſtead of being ſerved by it, they have loſt what perhaps may never be retrieved. And, unfortunately, things are ſo circumſtanced, that a repeal of the free-port law would only tend to make bad matters worſe. We muſt therefore leave it to the operation of time, and the dexterous management of thoſe parties who are to be reciprocal gainers by this traffic, to revive it again extenſively. It is a very juſt obſervation I have ſomewhere met with, that, conſidering the native wants of Spain, the vaſt expences ſhe is at in endeavouring to prevent her colony-ſubjects from ſupplying themſelves with various conveniences in a clandestine manner, which they cannot procure, at leaſt in ſufficient quantity, or equally cheap, by any other channel at preſent;—That, notwithstanding all theſe precautions, no leſs than fifteen millions of every annual cargo have been ſuppoſed to belong to foreigners; and that it is, in every view, ſo much for the intereſt of that nation to cultivate the friendſhip of Britain, and admit the latter to a fair and regular commerce by treaty:—Theſe circumſtances conſidered, it is amazing that ſhe ſhould rather have choſen to reject what might ſettle a perpetual harmony between the two nations, and to perſiſt in thoſe ſtubborn maxims, of whoſe inefficacy ſhe has had ſo long and uniform an experience. It is in vain for her to expect, that her numerous ſubjects here will obey thoſe reſcripts, in the breach of which their natural wants, as well as their intereſt and inclination, concur. Inſtead of an equitable tariff, admitting the free importation of certain enumerated goods and manufactures from Britain; ſhe has often unneceſſarily inſulted and provoked its vengeance: and the iſſue of all her quarrels has only ended in waſte of her treaſure, loſs of ſhips, and the affording more convenient opportunity for the ſubjects on both ſides to proſecute that

very intercourse which she meant to obstruct; infomuch that it never has attained to so flourishing and active a state as during the time of open war. By a different system of policy, she might have enjoyed a strict alliance with the greatest maritime power in the world, capable and ready to fight her battles, and defend her against the united forces of all the other European states; whose merchants might have largely augmented her revenue [*f*], by regular payment of the bullion-duties, and have united with her in keeping off every interloper; for it had then been their interest to put a stop to every inlet of contraband-traffic, and make every return which honour, good faith, and gratitude, could prompt. Thus might Spain, instead of being one of the poorest, become one of the richest and most respectable powers in Europe; if it were not for the infatuation of those impolitic counsels which so long have kept her at variance with Great-Britain.

But it is now time to return to Savannah la Mar, hitherto the metropolis of Cornwall; though Montego Bay seems to tread close on its heels, and in a few years will probably dispute this pre-eminence. The number of vessels which enter and clear here is from sixty to seventy *per annum*; and the tonnage, exclusive of coasters, has by some been computed *per average* at eleven thousand five hundred. The town, not many years ago, possessed a very flourishing trade. It is situated commodiously for a correspondence with Truxillo, Honduras, and the Mosquito-shore; being not more than one hundred and five leagues from the bay of Honda, and the passage equally short and speedy, as the trade-wind serves both in going and returning. Near this tract lie, scattered along, the little cays and islands of Serranilla, Quitosveno, Serrana, Roncador, Sancta Catalina or Old Providence, and St. Andreas, &c. Serrana took its name from Augustin Pedro Serrana, who was wrecked upon it, and lived here seven years. Sancta Catalina was a celebrated place of resort for the buccaneers, is about fifty leagues from Cape Gracias a Dios, and contains several good harbours; for which reason it seems a very proper station for small cruizers in war-time. The town, at present, is but small, consisting only of one tolerable street, and about fifty or sixty scattered houses. Most of the pro-

[*f*] A fifth of all the treasure shipped from their American dominions.

duce of Westmoreland, besides some of what belongs to St. Elizabeth and Hanover, is shipped from this port. Underneath the court-house, or hall of justice, are the barracks, capable of receiving seventy men, and garrisoned with a company of the regulars. The situation, in point of health, is by no means approvable; for to the Westward of it lies a tract of undrained morafs, at least seven miles in length, which at certain times of the year cannot fail of producing mitchievous effects. It is overspread with mangroves, and below the level of the sea, and therefore not easily to be drained. Cabarito East River discharges its stream into it, and contributes by this means not only to feed the lagoon-water, but in some degree to refresh it. Whether the river could be converted into a drain, by banking and retrieving the ground on each side, is a point I cannot determine; but it may be worth examination. This river has two good bridges of timber across it, and is navigable in boats about twelve miles inland to a public barquadier at Paul's island. The land on which the town is built is flat and low, subject therefore to those excessive heats and putrid vapours, which, in the months of July and August, occasion fatal maladies in habits unseasoned to such places of residence. In 1768, a very necessary act was passed, the better to secure this town from accidents by fire. Coopers were prohibited from making fires except within an inclosed yard, surrounded by a brick or stone-wall of eight feet height, having only one door, and that placed to the Westward; and the magistrates were empowered to cause all huts and other buildings covered with thatch to be pulled down. The hamlet of Queen's Town stands about two miles North from Savannah la Mar. It consists of a few houses tolerably well built; but is a place of no note as yet. This is more usually called Beckford Town, or Savannah, the land having been given in lots of from five to twenty acres by the late Richard Beckford, esq; and regularly laid out for streets, with a large square left in the centre for a church. At the West end, between the two capes of Negril, is Long Bay; where is good anchorage, and shelter from tempestuous winds. It is conveniently situated for our men of war, during any rupture with Spain, to lie in wait for the Spanish vessels passing to or from the Havannah; and here admiral Bembow collected

lected his squadron in 1702, when he was looking out for Du Caffé. It is not as yet made convenient for shipping of produce, being rendered almost inaccessible on the land-side by means of a large morafs, extending the whole length, comprehending upwards of fix thousand acres, which in time may probably be drained and cultivated, as the Black Morafs which lies near the centre of the parish has fuccesfully been. It contains large quantities of grafs, boar-wood, Santa Maria thatch, and mountain cabbage trees; and is interperfed with small iflands, full of bread-nut and other hard timber trees, and some mahogany; which prove the foil to be very deep and rich. Three freams, or rivulets, take their rife in it, and empty themselves at Negril Harbour, and Long Bay. When the wind fetts hard-in upon this part of the coast from West and North-West, they are frequently repelled; and by this means overflow the lower grounds. Yet the draining of this tract appears extremely practicable, and by means of the rivers, if proper flood-gates and banks were formed, after the method practifed on the flat coasts of Lincolnshire and Suffex. The Eastern range of the morafs has a fine, fubftantial clay; but the part neareft the fea is of a loofer texture, though poffibly it might become more folid, if it could be reclaimed from the water, which at prefent faps and oozes through it. It is the refort of wild pigeons, and hogs, in great abundance; and the rivulets are ftored with plenty of excellent fifh and land-turtle.

This parish has a chapel for performing divine fervice, though fcarcely opulent and populous enough to afford a good church. The chapel is built with timber, and ftands in the favannah, about the diftance of one mile from the town of Savannah la Mar.

Some years ago, there was an exceeding good church, of white free-ftone, built in the form of a crofs, about feven miles from the bay: but the parifhioners falling into a violent difpute, whether they fhould repair it, or erect a new one at Savannah la Mar, the roof was unable to wait the iffue, but tumbled in; and, the point not having fince been brought to a final determination, it remains a ftately ruin, to add one proof more to the million of the deplorable effects which attend religious fquabbles. As the two parties could not agree, the church (which formerly was no uncommon cafe)



case) seems to have taken the decision upon itself, and by wilful dilapidation endeavoured to convince them, that it will at least be the cheaper plan for them to build a new tabernacle than repair the old one. As no house of residence has been provided for the rector, he receives 50 *l.* a year in lieu of one. The rector's stipend is 250 *l.*; but his whole income has been computed at not less than 700 *l.* In the year 1710, a Mr. Thomas Manning devised the bulk of his estate to trustees, for the purposes of founding a free-school near Beckford Town, maintaining and educating poor children of the parish till the age of fourteen. In 1738, an act was passed for more effectually executing this charitable bequest. The trustees were incorporated, empowered to build a school-house, receive children, appoint tutors, and prescribe rules and orders, under a common seal, for its better government. I shall take occasion hereafter to offer some remarks in regard to this and other similar foundations, which have not in general answered the good ends of their institution.

In the East part of the parish, near Scot's Cave, were settled the Surinam planters in 1675, and in 1699 the remnant of the Scotch Darien colony, who may now be traced by the names of several settlements hereabouts, as Culloden, Auchindown, &c. From the former, this division was called Surinam quarters. The savannahs, or low lands, of Westmoreland are in general rich and fertile, but, if neglected for any time, become as much infested with logwood as those in St. Catharine's are with the opopanax. The air of these parts is hot, but tolerably healthy, except near the shore. The East and North-east district, being very mountainous, is not yet peopled. Towards the West, or land's-end, the hills diminish. Many of the planters houses are situated on these eminences, and enjoy a very pure and healthy air, though subject to very heavy and frequent rains, occasioned by the collection of vapours, blown hither from the Eastward, over the whole length of the island, by the trade-wind: these are often impeded in their course, either by the high ridges, or Westerly airs, and then they fall very copiously. This plentiful irrigation, though productive of some inconveniencies, yet conduces to the fertility of the plantations, and secures their crops with so much regularity and cer-

tainty, that it may be esteemed one of the most eligible for sugar in the whole island, both in regard to quantity, and excellence of quality.

On leaving Savannah la Mar, the road to Hanover crosses Caba-rito River twice, at no great distance, by two bridges, about eight or nine feet wide, constructed with planks laid across some beams, but unprovided with any side-rails to guard passengers from tumbling over. This river takes its rise among the Hanover Mountains, a little to the Eastward of King's Valley. At Black Morass it separates into two streams, one of which empties itself into the sea at Savannah la Mar, as already mentioned; the other, a little to the Westward of it. These streams, although they run upwards of eighteen or twenty miles through the country, are neither of them navigable, except for canoes. From hence to Albany plantation the way is, in general, very flat, confined, and swampy. This brings us to the Delve barracks, which were built in consequence of the insurrection in 1761, and capable of accommodating one hundred men. They are situated near the foot of Hanover Mountains, tolerably well constructed, and judiciously posted. They stand on a dry spot near the dividing line of the two parishes, three or four miles distant at least from the morassy ground of Negril, and are well enough contrived to answer most of the purposes for which they were intended, being sufficiently strong to resist any force that a band of rebellious Negroes could bring against them. They are also built in a place most likely to be infested with such disturbances; for it is a part of the country where there are a great multitude of slaves, and few proprietors of estates reside; and where the neighbourhood is filled with woods and thickets, that might the oftener tempt them to mutiny, by the shelter they afford, if they were not kept in awe by these barracks, from which a small detachment might harass and prevent their committing any extensive outrages. This building is, however, defective in some respects. The hospital for the sick is only divided from the common room by a boarded partition, full of chinks; by which means there is a continual passage open for malignant and noxious effluvia to infect the healthy. The number of loop-holes is likewise too small, there not being more than five or six; so that very little annoyance

annoyance can be given from it in case it should be closely besieged. The window-shutters are of bullet-tree-wood (so called, because an inch-board of it is bullet-proof); but, if these windows are to be opened in the time of attack, in order that the garrison may fire upon their enemy, which they could not otherwise do, for want of loop holes, their bodies must necessarily be much exposed, and the shutters of no use to screen them. The roads, for three miles after leaving Albany, afford a prospect delightfully variegated. Towards the North, the late commodore F—rr—t's plantation, and several others, are seen stretching along the skirts of the Hanover Mountains, which are just behind, and seem to over-hang them. The ground towards the South appears uneven, poor, and of a reddish soil; full of brakes and irregular clumps of trees, and uncultivated; serving only to feed a few young cattle that graze scantily among the bushes. Point Negril lies about three or four miles West of Albany. The morassy land embracing it renders the air of the adjacent estates damp and unwholesome. Eastward, the view is terminated by another range of mountains, covered with a forest of mahogany and other gigantic trees. Between these different mountainous barriers lies the road to Hanover, through the fertile glade called King's Valley, which exhibits a lively and picturesque scene. Though not above half a mile across, it is inimitably contrasted throughout. It abounds with delicious springs and cooling rivulets, refreshing the land through which they glide. The lofty mountains on either side twice every day extend their grateful shade over the whole, and veil the richly-cultivated fields below from the sun, preserving the canes from taint in times of drowth, to which the champaign lands, in many parts of the island, are much exposed. There are, besides, in this sequestered vale, two or three smooth sugar-loaf hills, that rise to considerable elevation, and whose ever-green and sloping sides yield pasturage to numerous herds of cattle.

The whole machinery of this charming spot is highly pleasing; for, abstracted from its natural beauties, it is decorated with some handsome plantation-houses; at one of which (called Glasgow) situated on a rising ground, is a battery which was of great use in protecting the estates here during the Negroe rebellion.

From

From hence the road into Hanover is by a steep ascent, or rather pass, of about a mile in length, so narrow, that two horses can scarcely go a-breast. From the summit of it, the eye takes in, at once, a rural scene enriched with every embellishment of art and nature. The landscape is inimitably fine, and mocks description: canefields, villas, pastures, clumps, groves, and rivulets, are promiscuously spread over the whole of its swelling wavy surface. These extend two or three miles from the centre of the prospect, having about one-half filleted, as it were, with a range of hills enveloped with thickets, and a shaggy mantle of venerable trees; the other, skirted by the Western ocean. This district of the parish exceeds most others, as well in the configuration and wild arrangement of all its parts, as in the peculiar nature of its soil, which is a kind of fuller's-earth, soapy and rich; so congenial to the sugar-cane, that a long and uninterrupted culture seems not in the least to have exhausted, or even impaired, its fertility. The sugars made here most resemble those of Liguanea, remarkably fine, and inferior to none in the West-Indies. But I shall not anticipate further the description of Hanover parish.

State of the Parish:

			Annual Produce.		
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	9081	6915			
1740,	11155	8921			
1745,	12131	8520			
1761,	15158				
1768,	15186	13750	69	8000	96

There needs no other proof, to shew how greatly it has improved of late years. It is very capable of being advanced still further in its product, if breeding-penns should ever be formed in the North-east mountains, and the lowland-penns be converted into sugar-plantations. The road, which has lately been compleated from Deane's Valley, in this parish, to the Bogue in St. James's, is skilfully conducted and well-finished, and will probably invite the proprietors of land, contiguous to it on each side, to open and settle their lots. This road is now the grand communication be-

tween

tween the two parishes, and extremely convenient to both, as the assize-court is held at Savannah la Mar.

The natural curiosities in this parish, hitherto discovered, are but very few; though the want of them is, doubtless, compensated by the variety of its natural beauties, in point of wood, water, and prospects. At Ricketts's Savannah, in the Western district, two mineral springs were discovered not long since. A gentleman of the faculty, who tried some experiments upon them, affirmed, as I am told, that they were not inferior to the celebrated Geronstere spa; and that, on being administered, they have proved efficacious in the same disorders which that spa so successfully relieves.

### S E C T. III.

#### H A N O V E R.

THIS parish is bounded on the East by Great River, which divides it from St. James; on the West and North, by the sea; and on the South, by Westmoreland. It was not formed till the year 1723; when it was taken out of the last-mentioned parish. It contains several rivers, but none of them remarkable, scarcely any rising more than four miles from the coast. The principal headlands are North Negril and Pedro on the West, and Roundhill Bluff on the North. Proceeding from Westmoreland, the first shipping-place we meet with is Orange Bay, lying within North Negril, a capacious road, and good anchorage. About a league North from this, lies Green Island Harbour. But the chief barquadier is at Sancta Lucia Harbour, about ten miles further on the North coast. Green River is navigable by boats upwards of two miles, and has many agreeable meanders, affording as many different prospects. Its banks are cloathed on each side, either with groves of plantain, banana, and other trees, or with sugar-canes, to within about half a mile of the mouth, where the breadth expands to fifty feet at least; and it falls over a little shallow bar into the bay; here the sides are morassy, and have rather a wild and unpleasing appearance. Green Island Harbour and Orange Bay are the most North-western parts of Jamaica. The former takes

its

its name from a little island at the offing, about half a league distant from the main land. On the West side of the harbour is a small battery of nine guns, six-pounders, to guard the entrance, and is kept in excellent order; but if, instead of the battery, a fort had been erected here, inclosing the barrack, a garrison of forty or fifty men might hinder any privateer, or small ship of war, from crossing the bar, and landing their crew; but, whilst it continues open towards the West, it is liable to surprizes. Besides the nine guns mounted at the battery, there are two more at a distance from it, near a small tavern, where the main battery was first intended; and eleven embrasures completely built.

North-east from this harbour is another small bay, commodious enough for shipping; on the West side of which is a strong battery, of seventeen or eighteen guns, built and maintained at the private expence of Mr. J—s, whose estate lies contiguous. This battery has embrasures for twenty-one guns; and those already mounted are six and nine-pounders.

Not far from hence is Orange Cove, near Point Pedro, a part of Hanover, beautiful beyond description. So various, so picturesque, and admirably fine, is the combination of all the detail which unites in forming this landscape; and the whole so nicely interwoven and disposed; that it seems almost impossible for either painter or historian to give any thing like a faithful sketch of it. Here has nature exerted all her plastic powers, in laying out and arranging the ground-work; and art has likewise put forth her whole skill, in vying with or assisting her in the machinery, composed of a thousand decorations. Wherever the passing eye delights to wander, it meets with a succession of objects, throughout an extent of many miles, equally new, striking, and lively. In one division is seen a wide plain, richly carpeted with canes of the emerald tint, differently shaded, and striped with fringes of log-wood, or penguin-fence, or, instead of this border, with rills of crystal water. In another rises a high-swelling lawn, smooth and fertile, whose gently-sloping bosom is embellished with herds and flocks, and whose summit is crowned with Negroe-villages, or clumps of graceful trees. Here, on a neighbouring hill, is a windmill in motion; boiling-houses, and other plantation-buildings, at  
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the foot: there, in the various duties which cultivation excites, are labourers, cattle, and carriages; all briskly employed. In addition to these animated scenes is a boundless prospect of the sea, which skirts the distant horizon towards the North; and, on the other hand, a wood-capped battlement of hills, that shuts in the Southern view. Delicious as the face of this part of the country is, it scarcely exceeds in beauty the prospect of Lucea and its environs. The harbour at the entrance is half a mile across; and, continuing its channel for about one mile inland, expands at once into a circular basin of nearly the same space in diameter every way; the anchoring-ground every where good, and depth of water from four to six fathom.

The town is inconsiderable, consisting only of one large street, and about forty or fifty scattered houses. It stands on the South-West side, upon a swampy bottom; but no part of it is seen from the road, until it is actually entered. The land behind and on each side is hilly; so that the view from it is only open towards the water. Two or three rivulets creep through it, more noisome than the antient canal of Fleet-ditch. At the bottom of the harbour, the East and West Lucea Rivers discharge their streams. Though raised to the dignity of a free port, its trade as yet is not very extensive. The number of vessels which enter and clear here may be reckoned at about fifty to sixty sail *per annum*; but the harbour is very capable of receiving three hundred top-sail ships at a time, were there but inducements to attract them. During the last war, this town carried on a very active trade; but this has been discouraged since by captures and other losses; so that at present it is far from being in a prosperous condition. The present situation is ill-chosen, and naturally unadapted for healthful residence. But the port is conveniently situated for traffic with the South-West parts of Cuba; and, enjoying as it does so fine a receptacle for shipping, it is well deserving of the public patronage. The fort, which commands the entrance, stands on the Western point, a small peninsula, and is built on a rock, rising about twenty feet above the level of the sea. It is very compleat in its defences, having embrasures for twenty-three guns, of which twenty are mounted from six to nine-pounders, and in good condition for service; so that it is ca-

pable of making a tolerable resistance. The barracks for fifty men are at a small distance to the Southward. These, like the others before-spoken of, are separated only by a boarded partition, full of holes, from the hospital, which is very inconsiderately placed at the windward-end; so that a large quantity of the foul putrid air, proceeding from those who are unhappily affected with any virulent or epidemic distemper, is immediately taken into the lungs, and respired by those who are, and probably might otherwise long continue, in sound health. The house designed for accommodation of the officers is, with as little propriety, erected to leeward of the barracks, kitchen, and other necessary offices; whence all the foetid effluvia, that reek from these sources, are wafted upon those who are stationed here in garrison. A want of proper regulation in these particulars is but too common in most of the maritime barracks throughout the island; and not only the poor soldiers, but the island itself, may suffer greatly, if it should not be remedied. The circumstance has been overlooked perhaps, as generally is the case in this country, where the genuine parents of sickness are not scrupulously traced out. But it is to this mistaken disposition, I am persuaded to believe, that the unhealthiness of the garrison, at particular times, has been chiefly owing; for, supposing only one or two men to lie sick in the hospital of a malignant fever, they may contaminate the atmosphere so much in twenty-four hours, as to render it morbid and infectious to the healthy who are lodged in a situation to be susceptible of its pernicious effects. This misfortune actually befel the garrison in 1764, composed entirely of men newly-arrived from Europe. One or two falling sick of putrid fevers, the disorder soon grew epidemic. Those who probably would have escaped (at least any bad symptoms) if they could have breathed a refreshing air, were poisoned with the stench of the hospital and offices; and several were seized with fevers of an anomalous kind, which seldom or never occur unless from some such pre-disposing cause. In fact, the sickness spread so rapidly, that, in a short time, hardly ten men of the whole company were able to do duty. Errors of this nature, though apparently trivial in the opinion of many, ought not to be slighted, when the value of mens lives comes to be rated. And, since the modern discoveries of  
learned



learned physicians have taught us to consider a vitiated air as a principal agent in the acute diseases most common to hot climates, the publick of the island should, as far as possible, endeavour to alleviate this inclemency, and consult the preservation of health and vigour among these detachments at the out-ports. Good sense, humanity, and a regard to their own security, all conspire to enforce this recommendation. Situated on an agreeable spot, about half a mile from the town, and near the fort, is the church, built a few years since by the parishioners, at the expence of 7000*l.* and upwards. It is a plain, neat building of brick, decently pewed, and provided with every convenience suitable to the good purposes for which it was intended, except bells, though the tower is capacious enough to hold a ring of five or six. The living, perquisites included, is esteemed worth about 400*l.* currency. On the opposite side of the harbour is the Point Plantation; distinguished for its fine situation, commanding the town, fort, church, harbour, shipping, and a distant view continued for many miles over rich cane-fields and a country most elegantly diversified; so that few parts of the island present a greater assemblage of delightful objects in one prospect.

Here, as well as at Greenwich, in the neighbourhood, and most of the frontier plantations near the North coast, are small batteries, erected at the private expence of the respective owners of those plantations, which in time of war supply the want of king's ships, and are of use to intimidate the privateers from landing, to carry off Negroes, cattle, and other moveables.

The face of this parish is, in general, hilly; and, towards Westmoreland, it is flanked with that ridge of mountains common to both. The air is esteemed healthy, and will be more so, when greater progress is made in cutting down its woods; the Eastern and South-east division not being as yet occupied with any settlement.

Lucca has a custom-house, under direction of a collector and comptroller.

## State of the Parish:

	Annual Produce.				
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	3339	1774			
1740,	4863	2631			
1745,	6351	3054			
1761,	10498				
1768,	13571	8942	71	7500	35

Considering Hanover as a modern parish, it has advanced surprizingly, and contains more sugar-works than some of three times the extent; which is a sure proof of the fitness of the soil for this cultivation. There are few other in the island that, in the same time (little more than thirty years), can boast of having increased their stock in the proportion of four to one; which is actually the fact in respect to Hanover; so that it bids fair to vie with those esteemed the richest in Jamaica.

## S E C T. IV.

## St. J A M E S.

THIS parish is bounded on the East by Trelawny; West, by Hanover; North, by the sea; South, by St. Elizabeth. The principal rivers are Great River, on the Western boundary; Martha-brae, on the Eastern; and Montego, which falls into the bay of that name. Great River rises in the furthest Southern extremity of the parish, meandring a course of about thirty miles, and, collecting some other streams in its way, grows pretty large where it disembogues into the sea at the West angle of the bay, and about five miles from the town of Montego. This river is the natural boundary between this parish and Hanover; but, although it is pretty wide at its mouth, and penetrates so considerable a way into the country, it is at present not navigable above three or four miles, and that only for boats and canoes. At the mouth it is crossed by a ferry.

The Montego River falls into the Bay about three quarters of a mile West from the town. The coast of this parish has no head-land of any note, nor any harbour, except Montego; but this is very sufficient. The extent of the parish from North to South being

being near twenty-four miles, it contains of course a large run of unfettled lands. The settlements reach between thirteen and fourteen miles back from the sea: but there is a space still behind them of one hundred thousand acres, or upwards, yet uninhabited, except by the Maroon Negroes, of Furry's and Trelawny Towns; who possessing a grant of fifteen hundred acres, there remain about ninety-eight thousand for cultivation. This land is mountainous, but said to be inferior to none in fertility; and, as St. James is now become the most thriving district in the island, some extension will probably be made every year. One great source of this flourishing state has been the rapid increase of the town and its trade from very small beginnings. It contains at present, by computation, about four hundred houses, mostly built of brick, and some of them inhabited by opulent merchants; one of whom carried on the Guiney branch with so much success, as to remit bills, in the year 1771, to Great-Britain, for near 50,000*l.* sterling, on account of new Negroes alone; and, as only two of these bills (which were both under 300*l.*) were protested, we have, in this instance, the strongest indication possible of the happy circumstances enjoyed by the planters in this part of the country. The town, situated in about 18° 30' North latitude, stands on the North-east side of a spacious bay, along the feet of a range of moderately hilly land, which somewhat incommodes it by intercepting the breeze. The streets are laid out with tolerable exactness. In the bay, the water is from four to thirty fathom: the channel leading into it is guarded, on the East and West, by a reef and sunken rocks; but far in there is excellent anchorage, and room for a large fleet of ships. On the South-west part of the bay is a cluster of little islands, covered with mangroves, and other maritime trees. Beyond these islands is another spacious harbour, but of no use at present; since it is impossible for any vessel of burthen to sail into it, on account of the shoal-water on one side, and the islands on the other; though it is affirmed, that a passage between them might be opened at no very great expence. It is likewise supposed to be defended by the fort (situated about half a mile from the town to the North-east, on a small point of land), which mounts some guns, and may be occasionally garrisoned by a party of regulars,

for

for whose reception the parishioners erected barracks capable of holding one hundred men, with their officers. As the situation of these barracks is high, and on a rock by the harbour-side, they would be pleasant and healthy, if the trees and bushes, which are suffered to grow so luxuriantly near them, were cut down; and if a further improvement was made in respect to the accommodations provided for the officers, which are very inconveniently placed. The fort is, or lately was, in a state of decay; and scarcely deserves to be rebuilt, as it does not, from its situation, appear to have been ever capable of guarding the entrance; since, at the spot where it now stands, the channel is so wide, that any vessel might enter the bay without danger from its artillery, and afterwards come to anchor unmolested. The guns (eleven in number) are of too small a size to range a sufficient distance, and (what is still worse) so honey-combed and rust-eaten, and so crazily mounted, as to make it dangerous to fire them; which was fatally experienced by a gunner, who was shattered to pieces on letting off a *feu de joye* after the surrender of the Havannah to the English forces. Though a more eligible spot may be appropriated to the next fort, and though the present is not worthy to be rebuilt, I must take leave to say, that these ruins, like others of a similar kind in many defenceless parts of the island, have happened chiefly for want of a trifling sum every year expended in necessary repairs, and particularly the painting, or tarring, the guns and their carriages. In truth, the fortifications planted about the harbour of Port Royal and Kingston, being the only ones which receive an annual visitation from the commissioners of forts and fortifications, are kept in better repair than any other; and, because there was a time when no other part of the island was fortified, or of so much importance as that district, it is therefore still the custom to expend the whole fortification-fund, and several thousand pounds more *per annum*, upon them; while others at the out-ports are utterly neglected, and left to be kept up at the expence of private persons, or of the parishes in which they have been erected, and where the inhabitants are glad, on every convenient occasion, to lessen their assessments as much as they can, and perhaps take no thought about their forts and batteries, except in time of actual war. This proceeding of the

the legislative branches is much the same as if a man, by clapping a helmet upon his head, should think himself perfectly invulnerable, though all the rest of his body remains exposed. But, in order to maintain these defences along the coast, which are necessary, not only to such parishes, but to the whole island; the assembly, we may venture to think, might every year call for an exact and faithful report of their condition; and, if no portion can be spared out of the fortification-fund, the justices and vestry might at least be obliged, in the more opulent of these parishes, to raise a small annual sum, by some easy and permanent mode, which should constitute a fund to be applied solely to the repair of their respective fortifications.

These sentiments arise from considering the improved state of Montego Bay; the vast value of its trade; its buildings, rents, goods, and shipping; the opulence which is likely to centre in it; and the hazard to which all these may become exposed, on any sudden revival of war, from the attacks of a few daring privateers. As it is now, with justice, deemed the *emporium* of the Western part of the island, it certainly merits to be well guarded, and indeed seems entitled to come in for a yearly share of the public money, which hitherto has been partially lavished upon the environs of one principal port, as if they were the only quarters which an enemy could attempt, or that were worthy of the public defence.

Montego Bay, in the opinion of the best judges, is growing very fast into a place of so much consequence and wealth, that, in the event of a war, it will be a capital neglect of government, should it be left unprotected by a strong fort, or one or two men of war for guard-ships.

The shipping of every kind, that enter and clear at this port, are, one year with another, about 140 sail *per annum*, and continually on the increase; as it not only lies so commodious for foreign trade, but employs near about eleven thousand tons for the products of the adjacent district; this being the great mart for supplying it with Negroes and other necessaries, that formerly used to be bought at Kingston, which has therefore suffered a severe blow from this new establishment. For the like reason, among others, the town of

Lucca

Lucea has made so little progress; the chief trade and business for the Northern leeward part of the island being engrossed and concentrated at Montego.

The establishment of a trading town necessarily attracts artificers in various branches, and other numerous dependents. Hence a great convenience results to the settlers around in the country-parts, from the easy method by which they can accommodate themselves with what they want. But a far greater advantage accrues to them from the yearly consumption of their products in such a town, which gives birth and support to a multitude of petty settlements for cultivating provisions of different sorts to answer that consumption. Such a town must therefore add considerably to the population of the country; and itself derive a reciprocal profit from the sale of goods to, and transaction of business for, the more opulent plantations, which furnish staple or exportable commodities; and this profit will be large and durable in proportion to the fertility of the neighbouring soil. Now, the lands in this parish being very productive, and so many thousand acres still remaining to be hereafter gradually employed, here seems to be a morally certain prospect, that this town, being constituted upon the most permanent supports, can never decline so long as the staple products of the island are worth any thing at the home-market.

I have elsewhere taken notice of the rapid augmentation of settlements in this part of the country of late years; which is really amazing, and will so appear from the comparative table, that, like the foregoing, is brought down no lower than the year 1768: but I am well informed, that at least twenty or more sugar-works may be added to the list at the present time.

Behind the town, to the Southward, is a long range of uncultivated mountains, clad, like most others in this country, with lofty trees. The road which crosses this to Montpelier is excellently constructed, and opens an avenue into a vale behind, containing many thousand acres of rich soil, a small part of which only is at present brought into culture. But, as improvements are moving on here at a surprizing rate, there is good reason to believe, that the whole of this fine tract will, in a few years, be overspread

with canes, and make a prodigious addition to the exports and imports of this parish.

The land towards the Eastern district of it is of a reddish cast, and singularly porous quality, lying on a clayey substrate, excellently well adapted to the sugar-cane. Towards the Western parts it has more of the loamy soil, but not much less fertile. The produce of lands here in general is really amazing. I have been told the following anecdote in confirmation of this remark. A person rented a tract from the proprietor on a lease of eleven years, conditioned to surrender it back, at the expiration of the term, compleatly planted with canes, &c. and furnished with proper works. But, before the term expired, the lessee is said to have gained by the bargain a clear profit of 30,000*l.* Others, from the very meanest and smallest beginnings here, have acquired very large fortunes. It is related for a fact, that a poor man and his wife, possessing a grant of a small parcel of land, planted some part of it in canes with the labour of their own hands. From these, when they were ripened, they made shift to express the juice, which they boiled in an old cauldron, and manufactured a little sugar, with which they went to market. By degrees, and the incessant application of their industry, they augmented their produce, till they gained sufficient to purchase a Negroe. By the same means, they increased their labourers, and the importance of their estate; till, at length, they became proprietors of a valuable sugar-work, which is now enjoyed by the survivor, and by the most honourable title.

It is impossible to particularize the various natural productions of this parish, so small a section of it being as yet laid open to view; but, from what has hitherto been discovered, it is wanting in no article conducive to the pleasure and convenience of the inhabitants. In most parts it abounds with excellent stone both for lime and building; and in some, as about the neighbourhood of Montpellier, what is obtained from the quarry, resembles that of St. Anne before-described, whose texture, when first dug, is so soft as to be easily worked with the saw, or the chissel. It remains, for its further better population, to form two good roads of communication, one leading into Westmoreland, the other to St. Elizabeth's. The former is at present well attended to; but the latter, by the way

of Chesterfield, has been thought ill constructed, and inconvenient on other accounts, as it passes over a great deal of boggy land, and very steep hills. It has therefore been proposed to lead the road from Montego Bay, through Spring-mount estate, into Hardyman's penn; thence to Ellerslea plantation, to Naffau, the centre and most thriving part of St. Elizabeth. It is said, that the land, through which this road would go, abounds in fine materials to render it firm and durable; that it could be made fit for carriages from the bay to Ellerslea for 1600*l.* and would be the best way for travelers from Hanover and St. James to go to Spanish Town, being only a day's ride, or sixty miles extent, over level grounds, from Spanish Town to Naffau, and thirty-six from thence to Montego Bay; in all ninety-six: finally, that, by opening so easy an intercourse between the seat of government and the Western parts of the island, now advanced into so flourishing a state, a multitude of conveniences and benefits might be expected to result to the whole island; of which latter position there can be no doubt, if the former ones are as practicable as they appear plausible; since a commercial island, like the human body, will always enjoy the best health and most active vigour, when the circulation is carried on, freely and without impediment, from the heart to the extremities, and back again from these to the heart.

As St James was but recently divided into two parishes, I am obliged in the table to consider it as still indistinct, to make the detail comply with the former estimates: however, I shall endeavour also to form another state of the number of Negroes and cattle contained in it, as distinct from Trelawny.

## State of the Parish:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual Produce.	
				Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	2297	1099			
1740,	2588	1204			
1745,	4907	1961	about 20	2500	14
1761,	14729				
1768,	21749	15137	95	11000	102.
1768, Proportion distinct from Trelawny by computation,	10010	7007	55	3080	36
Increase, in twen- ty-three years, about	16842	13176	75	8500	78



The progress therefore of this parish, for the time, exceeds that of any other in the island; and at present it takes the lead of all, the annual produce of sugar being at least twelve or fourteen thousand hogsheds.

The hills in general near the coast, and to some distance from it, are rocky, but bear good provisions. The canes are planted in the glades and richer patches, and yield a very excellent sugar. This, being the most Northern part of the island, and full of rising grounds, enjoys an healthy air, and promises long life to the interior settlers, who increase very fast. The slowest progress seems to be made in the Eastern and Southern divisions, which are over-spread with ranges of mountain, requiring nothing but good roads to promote their settlement. On this subject I may be thought, perhaps, to have expatiated sufficiently. I shall only further observe, that, nature having in this and other parts of the island walled-in many of the richest spots in the world, it remains for the legislature to make them accessible, by opening a passage for those industrious subjects who are willing to labour the soil, if they were but as able to get at it; and in no part of the island will such assistance turn more beneficially to the public account than in this parish.

In the town is a custom-house, under the direction of a collector and comptroller, deputy naval-officer, receiver-general, and secretary. The rector's stipend is 200*l. per annum*; but, considering the extent and populousness of the parish, his income cannot be estimated at less than 700*l.* A printing-press has lately been set up here, furnished with a very beautiful type, and gives birth to a weekly paper of intelligence. There seems a struggle between this town and Savannah la Mar for the ascendancy, somewhat similar to what has happened between Spanish Town and Kingston; but the ostensible object of dispute is different. Savannah la Mar having declined in proportion as Montego Town has increased, the latter, being far more populous, and more thriving in its trade, became desirous of having the assize-court alternately held. This perhaps was considered, by the partizans of the elder sister, as a first step towards removing the seat of justice, and transferring it wholly to Montego Bay. It was opposed with great warmth; and

the rights of seniority prevailed. But it is probable, that as the business of the court must be in proportion to the number and opulence of the inhabitants, so this claim of seniority will yield in the end to the conveniency of the people of Montego and Trelawny; at least so far as to establish an alternate court, as first proposed: by which means, the ease of trade may be consulted in the least partial manner, and the new establishment be reasonably favoured, without ruining the older one.

It is a just remark of Dr. Browne, that those towns, which, since the decay of the Spanish trade, have been supported chiefly by standing courts and the calamities of the people, are rather a prejudice than an emolument to the community; while they harbour so many dependents in idleness at the expence of the industrious, who might have proved very serviceable members, had they been distributed about the island, and their thoughts turned more upon the advancement than the distressing of settlements.

## S E C T. V.

### T R E L A W N Y.

PROCEEDING from St. James to Trelawny, the road lies, for the most part, along the coast, without having any object more pleasing to the eye than, on one side, a prospect of the sea, and on the other a chain of shaggy mountains, which run along the North side of the island in one almost uninterrupted range, except where they are indented by creeks and bays, and cleft as it were by rivers. In some other parts are also recesses, affording room for plantations and pasture-grounds; but, in general, their soil is good; and such of them as are cultivated, produce here, as on the South side, great plenty of corn, plantains, coffee, pimento, yams, cassada, and most other sorts of West-India provisions, as well as many kinds of European vegetables. But although, towards the East, the hills seem retired further from the sea than in the Western parts of St. James, there are few districts of Jamaica of a more wild and barbarous aspect than the tract which lies to the Eastward of Long-Bay, till the cultivated parts of Trelawny open to view. This newly-baptized parish is divided from St. James on the West by a  
North

North and South line, intersecting New Canaan estate; from St. Anne on the East, by the Rio Bueno; on the North it is bounded by the Sea; and Southerly by St. Elizabeth. Its capital river is the Marthabrae, which takes its source among the mountains, about twelve miles distance from the coast, as commonly supposed; for, there being no settlement near the spring-head, it is not exactly known. It serpentine through a course of about thirty miles before it reaches the harbour; from whence it is navigable by canoes and boats, for some miles, to the bridge. The depth of its water is sufficient for much larger vessels, except at the mouth, where a bar, occasioned by the sand disgorged from the stream, and repelled by the tide, obstructs the navigation. The village of Marthabrae stands about two miles above the mouth, on a rising ground not far from the bridge, and consists of about thirty houses or more; as the late partition of St. James has of consequence tended to the establishment of a new town here, which may grow in size in proportion as the lands, at present unsettled in the parish, are brought into culture. The river which glides by it abounds with fish of various kinds; and the course so delightfully twining, that its banks might be laid out in gardens, with a view to pleasure, as well as utility, which is an additional circumstance in favour of the town's increase. The harbour is defended by a small fort, placed on Point Mangrove, which projects into the sea on the West side. The only fault in its structure seems to be the narrowness of the gorges of the bastions, and of the bastions themselves; in which the guns cannot traverse so freely as they ought. The spot whereon it stands, and all around it, being altogether swampy, there is reason to suspect that without draining these quarters will not be very healthy. In other respects this fortress is well situated for guarding the entrance, or channel, which runs at right angles to it about North-East; narrow, and hemmed in by reefs and shoals on either side, for near a mile. The barracks, for the accommodation of one hundred men and officers, are at a small distance.

The harbour is covered, towards the East and North-East, by a semicircular sweep of the main land on that side, and by a small island; so that within it is not only capacious, but well sheltered from the sea.

The

The country hereabouts, for a few miles, is well cultivated; but, some miles further to the Eastward, it still wears a savage aspect, though by no means unsusceptible of great improvements, and valuable plantations. In the Easternmost part is a succession of fine pimento walks, which continue, with little interruption, beyond Rio Bueno, the boundary between Trelawny and St. Anne, and through a considerable extent of the last-mentioned parish. The beauty of these spicy groves, which are likewise interspersed with the orange, limon, star-apple, avogato-pear, wild cinnamon, and other favourite trees, among which some impetuous river rolls its foaming flood, or babbling rivulet, gently trails along in glittering meanders, furnishes a subject worthy some darling of the Muses. Even paradise itself, described by the pen of Milton, exhibits but a faint representation of them, when he says,—

“ Whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm.  
 “ Others, whose fruit, burnish’d with golden rind,  
 “ Hung amiable—Hesperian fables true.—  
 “ If true, here only ; and of delicious taste.  
 “ Betwixt them lawns or level downs, and flocks  
 “ Grazing the tender herb, were interpos’d ;  
 “ Or palmy hillock. Or the flow’ry lap  
 “ Of some irriguous valley spread her store,  
 “ Flow’rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose.  
 “ Another side, umbrageous grots and caves  
 “ Of cool recess. Mean while, the murm’ring waters fall  
 “ Down *yon* slope hill, dispers’d, or in a lake  
 “ That to the fringed bank, with myrtle crown’d,  
 “ Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.  
 “ The birds their choir apply. Airs, vernal airs,  
 “ Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune  
 “ The trembling leaves. While universal Pan,  
 “ Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,  
 “ Led on th’ eternal spring.”

The parish extends about fifteen miles in depth, and is settled, but imperfectly, to the distance of six miles only from the sea. A space remains behind of eighty thousand acres, and upwards, uninhabited ; and concerning which we know nothing more at present,

sent, except that it is very mountainous, no public road being traversed as yet through any part of it; so that it is almost as much an undiscovered country, as the regions bordering on the South pole. But so large a tract contains, probably, valuable timbers, rich veins of soil, and a variety of other stores of wealth and curiosity.

It may be proper, as my sketch of the different parishes is drawing near to a close, that I should here recapitulate the several parcels of supposed cultivated land, which have been noticed to lie in wilderness, and without an inhabitant.

		Acres.	Morafs.
Middlefex,	{ between St. Anne and Clarendon, about _____ }	180,000, of which	
Surry,	{ St. Thomas in the East, — Portland, — — — — — St. George, — — — — — }	133,000 — — —	8000
Cornwall,	{ St. Elizabeth, — — — — — Westmoreland, — — — — — St. James, — — — — — Trelawny, — — — — — }	284,000 — — —	26,000
		597,000	34,000

exclusive of the large vacant tracts in all the other parishes, which, if the computation I made in treating upon this subject be near the truth, amount to 1,753,000 acres of plantable or cultivable acres more. But, if the amount in all was only one million, I may surely hope to be justified in the propositions which I have offered, tending to shew the expediency of forming roads, and of introducing settlers, where so vast a space remains unoccupied; as well as in the happy consequences I have deduced as necessarily attendant upon the execution of a liberal plan of improvement; whether considered with respect to the strength, the trade, the opulence, and salubrity, of the island, or to the extension of the commerce, manufactures, navigation, and profits, of Great-Britain.

Consistent with the preceding order, I shall now give a state of this parish for 1768, proportioned to the other division of St. James, from which it was so lately severed.

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Annual Produce. Hogheads.	Other Settlements.
1768,	11739.	8130	40	7920	66
					This

This is not to be deemed the present state, because the stock and produce may well be supposed to have been constantly increasing ever since the year mentioned. I have therefore only submitted this scheme for the sake of preserving uniformity, agreeably to my first design of bringing the progress of the several parishes down to 1768; beyond which, I have not been able to obtain any very exact calculation.

General State of the County of Cornwall.

County-town, Savannah la Mar, where the Assizes are held in the months of March, June, September, and December.

			Annual Produce.	
Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Hogsheads.	Other Settlements.
60616	54776	266	29100	383

Rectories and Stipends.

	£	s.	d.
St. Elizabeth, ———	200	0	0
Westmoreland, —	250	0	0
Hanover, ———	200	0	0
St. James, ———	200	0	0
Trelawny, ———	200	0	0
	£	1050	0 0

Churches, 2;—Chapels, 2;—Synagogue, 0.

From hence will appear, that this county, though possessing fewer Negroes and cattle than Middlesex, is nevertheless more productive. This may be ascribed to the greater freshness of the land in general; to the greater quantity of seasonable rains, and of cane-land, situated more conveniently with respect to shipping-places. The North side parishes labour under the inconvenience of late crops, high insurance, a voyage homewards in the most dangerous season of the year, and a high freight to the Kingston market. All these are attended with double charge in war-time. Notwithstanding these obstacles, we find that most of them are in a flourishing condition. The parishes of St. George and Portland seem to be the only exceptions. The quantity of sugar produced in both of them together is not equal to the half of what is made in St. Mary's. There are natural difficulties with which the settlers in them have to struggle. To these are added the others before-mentioned, to which the rest are liable in common. Perhaps a bounty

of twenty shillings *per* hoghead might be some encouragement to the feebler settlers; it would at least enable them to carry their sugars to the Kingston market freight-free; for it is not the least of the misfortunes attendant upon their situation, that they are obliged to pay nearly thrice as much, for the transport of a hoghead of sugar to that market, as a shipper at Old Harbour on the South side. But the pressure of this tax will appear in a more conspicuous light from the following table of

WATER-CARRIAGE from KINGSTON to the OUT-PORTS.

Out-ports.	Hhds. and Punch.		Tierces.		Barrels.		Fikins and Boxes.		Hoes and Bills.		Small Bundles.		Ginger <i>per</i> Cwt. or Bag.	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Old Harbour and Peak Bay,	7	6	3	9	2	6	1	3			7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	0
Withy Wood & Milk River,	8	9	3	9	2	6	1	3			7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	0
Salt River, ———	8	9	3	9	2	6	1	3			7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	0
Black River, ———	12	6	5	0	3	9	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	3
White-house, near Scot's } Cove, St. Elizabeth, — }	15	0	7	6	3	9	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	3
The Hope, ———	16	3	8	9	5	0	2	6	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Westmoreland, ———	18	9	10	0	5	0	2	6	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hanover and all North side,	20	0	10	0	5	0	2	6	2	6	3		3	9
Morant Bay, ———	8	9	5	0	3	9	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	0
Port Morant, ———	10	0	5	0	3	9	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	0
Yallah's Bay, ———	8	9	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3			7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1	0

WATER-CARRIAGE, as above, continued.

Out-ports.	Cotton <i>per</i> Cwt.		Pimento <i>per</i> Cwt.		Tobacco <i>per</i> Cwt.		Hoops, staves, bricks, <i>per</i> M.		Ofna-brigs, <i>per</i> piece.		Large bundles.		Boards and Planks.	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Old Harbour and Peak Bay,	2	6	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	0	1	3	1	3	20	0
Withy Wood & Milk River,	3	9	2	6	2	6	25	0	1	3	1	3	23	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Salt River, ———	3	9	2	6	2	6	25	0	1	3	1	3	23	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Black River, ———	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30	0	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	25	0
White-house, near Scot's } Cove, St. Elizabeth, — }	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	33	9	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	25	0
The Hope, ———	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	33	9	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	25	0
Westmoreland, ———	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	35	0	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	27	6
Hanover and all North side,	5	0	3	9	3	9	40	0	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	6	35	0
Morant Bay, ———	3	9	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	0	1	3	1	3	23	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Port Morant, ———	3	9	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	0	1	3	1	3	23	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Yallah's Bay, ———	2	6	1	3	1	3	20	0	1	0	1	3	20	0

These charges are advanced, by an act of assembly, fifty *per cent.* in time of war. From hence will appear the utility of establishing Port Antonio as a place of trade; by which means the settlers in both parishes would be relieved from this heavy burthen, and put in a condition of meeting their fellow-planters of the richer districts upon a more equal footing at the British market.

It remains only for me to say, that as the perfecting those roads already struck through the interior part of the country, and opening

others wherever such a communication is wanting, appears to be the first great leading measure towards a more compleat settling and peopling of this island; so I can with pleasure bear testimony to the laudable spirit which at present actuates the gentlemen resident there, who, in a late session of assembly, bestowed no less than 5,000*l.*, by public grant, towards forming or compleating twenty very necessary roads in the following parishes; a munificence which, faithfully applied, will redound not more to the credit of their good sense, than to the general benefit of the island.

Westmoreland, from Hamberly's Penn, to Lenox Plantation.

Ditto, from Glasgow Estate, to Lucea in Hanover.

Ditto, from Dean's Valley, to Great River in St. James.

Hanover, from Lucea along the mountains, to Mosquito Cove.

St. James, from Great River, through Seven-Rivers, to Montpelier.

Ditto, from Great River, through Montpelier, to the Bogue Estate.

St. Elizabeth, from Moroe's Craal, to Chesterfield.

St. Anne, from Ocho Rios Bay, to Dun's River.

Ditto, from Dry Harbour, to the Cave in Clarendon.

St. Thomas in the Vale, to St. Mary.

Ditto, to St. Anne.

Ditto, over Monte Diablo.

St. Mary, from Guy's Hill, through Bagnal's, to Rio Nuevo-Bay.

St. George, from Kingston, through Cold Spring, to Buff-Bay.

St. David, from the head of Yallah's River, to Roger's Corner, leading to the Barquadier at Yallah's Bay.

Ditto, and Port Royal, from the conflux of the Hope and Hoghole Rivers, to Yallah's River, near its junction with Green-River.

St. Andrew, from Moore's Estate, to Wagwater River.

St. Thomas in the East, from Port Morant Harbour, to the Bath.

Portland, from Bath, over Break-heart Hill, to Titchfield.

Ditto, from Titchfield, to Priestman's River, being part of the high road from Rio Grande.

In fact, the great improvements, made in many parts of the island of late years, are principally to be ascribed to the meliorated state of the roads; to the more general use of water-mills; to an improved



proved skill in every branch of plantation-œconomy ; and (in the Western district) to the importation of Negroes immediately into the ports of Savannah la Mar and Montego ; as well as to the natural excellence of the cane-land in that district.

On revising what has been said in respect to the shipping which load at this island, and their tonnage, I perceive I shall be thought to have greatly under-rated them. Errors on this head may very well happen, for want of an average-table, as no two successive years are perhaps equal in the calculation, and as the number and quantity are yearly increasing.

Mr. Leslie, in his account published in the year 1739, supposed the annual produce of sugar equal to seventy thousand hogheads, of fifteen hundred pounds weight each ; which was certainly a mistake. From this *postulatum* he endeavoured to shew, that five hundred sail, weight fifty thousand tons, and manned by at least six thousand seamen, were at that time loaded with the produce of the colony ; and he deduces the advantages to Great-Britain in the following manner :

Seamen maintained,	—————	—————	—————	—————	6000
Persons subsisted in Britain by the building and outfit of this shipping,	—————	—————	—————	—————	14000
Maintained and enriched by the imports into Britain,	—————				20000
Mouths fed by the return of British manufactures, merchandizes, and commodities,	—————	—————	—————		40000
Ditto, by retailing these products, computed at	—————	—————			10000
				—————	
In all (exclusive of inhabitants in the island),	—————	—————			90000

Whoever is well informed of the growth of Jamaica will readily discern, that this detail, instead of being conformable to the state of it at that period, was, in fact, only an anticipation of what has since happened. But, to speak of the present time, the produce in sugar is augmented by many thousand hogheads ; rum and melasses in proportion. Coffee makes a very capital article of export ; and indigo begins to be conspicuous. Several new ports are opened, whose trade is in a very promising way. The progress, in short, since the time Mr. Leslie wrote, has been astonishingly great ; in so much that I do not know, whether the following computation is not still rather too diminutive ; viz.

Shipping employed (including British and North-American, and exclusive of coasting vessels),	—	—	—	700 sail.
Tonnage,	—	—	—	90000 tons.
Seamen,	—	—	—	10000

From which it is easy to conceive (without minutely recapitulating the subject) how vastly profitable this island is to the mother-country in every view; whether by employing such multitudes of her manufacturers and artificers of all kinds, or of British and American sailors, ship-builders, and all the trades and occupations dependent upon them. Such is the value of this flourishing colony to Britain! Whence we may rightly conclude, how enormous and irreparable the loss must be, should it ever devolve into the hands of any other power. In respect to the quantity of sugar which the island may be capable of producing, in addition to what it now yields, it is no easy matter to speak with absolute precision, on account of the unequal crops obtained from different soils, and the diversity of situation; those which are remote from the coast, or which have bad or indifferent roads for their carriage, or cannot have the conveniences of wind or water-mills, requiring a much greater tract of land for pasturage than others. But, in order to form some conjecture on this head, let us first consider that the unplanted land, lying chiefly within the mountains, and distant from the sea, must in general be subject, more or less, to the inconveniences I have enumerated; and therefore the allowance for pasture, or grass-land, should in general be rated accordingly. Let us suppose, then, a tract of three hundred acres compleatly settled, and duly apportioned in canes, provision, pasture and grass, waste, and wood for fire and repairs; and that this estate, in the situation before-represented, yields, *communibus annis*, one hundred hogheads of sugar, and about forty-two puncheons of rum. Admitting then, that here are only five hundred thousand acres of cane-land unplanted; these, according to the estimate, are capable of producing one hundred and sixty-five thousand hogheads, and seventy thousand puncheons; the duties on which amount to 727,500*l.* or upwards. The computation may be easily led on to the shipping, the seamen, the consumption of manufactures, and other numerous appendages, which necessarily and invariably follow this augmented state of cultivation. But all these are, by this time, so obvious to

the apprehension of every reader, that I need not proce-  
date them any further.

Having now gone through the several counties and parishes in a  
manner which, though discursive and imperfect, I hope may be suf-  
ficient to give a tolerable idea of their state, in regard to settle-  
ments, ports, rivers, productions, advantages, and defects, it may not be  
improper to exhibit a general review of the whole.

Counties.	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar Plantations.	Annual Prod. Hhds.	Other Settle-ments.	Whites Towns.	Villages and Hamlets.	Free Negroe Towns.	Forts.	Churches.	Clas-pels.	Rector's Stipends, per ann.	Syna-gogues.	Reprefen-tatives in Assembly.
Middlesex,	66746	59512	239	24050	763	3	10	1	3	7	2	1750	1	17
Surrey,	39542	21465	146	15010	314	4	4	2	5	5	0	1250	1	16
Cornwall,	60616	54776	266	29100	383	4	3	2	4	2	2	1050		10
Totals,	166904	135753	651	68160	1460	11	17	5	12	14	4	4050	2	43

A GENERAL ABSTRACT of the State of the ISLAND from the Time of  
OLIVER CROMWELL.

Ann.	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar Plantations.	Annual Prod. Hhds.	Rum. Pun-cheons.	White Inha-bitants.
1658	1400					4500
1670	8000		70	1333	650	7500
1673						8564
1734	86516	76011				7644
1738	99239	84313	429	33000	13200	10080
1745	112438	88036	455	35000	14000	11330
1701	146000	122800	610	44800	22400	15330
1768	166904	135753	651	68160	27200	17000
Increase in about 110 years. —	165504					

By conjecture.

13500—The other articles proportionably.

The following table may serve to shew the comparative state of the parishes in regard to their contribution of public taxes, taking the first-mentioned as the largest contributor, and so descending in a series of diminution to the lowest, or Port Royal, whose proportion, compared with the first, is only as one to eighteen; and hence some idea may be formed of their comparative wealth:

1 St. James (including Trelawny),	11 St. Thomas in the Vale,
2 Clarendon,	12 Vere,
3 Westmoreland,	13 St. John,
4 St. Thomas in the East,	14 Kingston,
5 Hanover,	15 St. Dorothy,
6 St. Elizabeth,	16 St. George,
7 St. Mary,	17 Portland,
8 St. Andrew,	18 St. David,
9 St. Catharine,	19 Port Royal.
10 St. Anne,	

A comparative table, intended to shew the traffic carried on by captains of ships, and other transient dealers, at the different out-ports: and the proportion which they severally bear to Kingston; from which some judgement may be formed of the number of shipping that resort to each respectively:

Montego Bay,	— — — —	One Fifth.
St. Anne, Savannah la Mar,	— — — —	One Fifth.
Old Harbour,	— — — —	One Ninth.
St. Lucea,	— — — —	One Fifteenth.
Black River,	— — — —	One Eighteenth.
Carlisle Bay,	— — — —	One Twenty-second.
The others,	— — — —	Not computed.

An estimate of the number of coaches, and other wheel-carriages of pleasure, kept in the several parishes:

Kingston,	— — — —	500
St. Catharine,	— — — —	280
St. Andrew,	— — — —	170
Clarendon,	— — — —	114
Westmoreland,	— — — —	88
Vere,	— — — —	87
St. Elizabeth,	— — — —	73
		St. Dorothy,

St. Dorothy,	—	—	—	70
St. James,	—	—	—	85
St. Thomas in the Vale,	—	—	—	25
St. Anne,	—	—	—	14
St. David,	—	—	—	7
St. Thomas in the East,	—	—	—	4
Portland,	—	—	—	1
				Total. 1498

The number of these carriages is not in exact proportion to the value of property; for it is to be considered, that, in regard to the richer parishes, some of the proprietors reside more commonly in town; some, on account of bad or hilly roads, keep no carriage in the country; but many more are absent from the island, and keep theirs in Great-Britain. They are by no means to be regarded as articles of luxury in Jamaica: they are necessary to the inhabitants for their conveniency in point of health, and in traveling from place to place; but, considering their hasty decay in this climate, and the costliness of their workmanship, they form no contemptible article in the list of British manufactures which this island consumes; and, as the roads become more and more improved, the number of them will doubtless increase.

The general post-office for the island is kept in the town of Kingston. This place is in the appointment of the post-master general of Great-Britain, and supposed worth about 1000 *l.* sterling *per annum*. With respect to any convenience which the inhabitants at present derive from it, much cannot be said; nor can, indeed, the deputy well afford to make it more useful to them, until the roads shall be further improved, and the country better peopled. The several mails are dispatched from Kingston but once a week; and, if a merchant there sends a letter by this conveyance to his correspondent at Savannah la Mar, he must wait twelve days before he can receive an answer. The present deputy, however, has had the credit of regulating the inland post upon a better plan than any of his predecessors.

The following are the distances computed at his office ; agreeably to which the postage is demanded and paid.

## South Side Post.

From	to	Miles comp.
Kingston	Spanish Town,	18
Spanish Town	Old Harbour Market,	12
Old Harbour Market	Clarendon Crofs,	12
Clarendon Crofs	Pepper St. Elizabeth,	37
Pepper St. Elizabeth	Lacovia,	13
Lacovia	Black River,	12
Black River	Savannah la Mar, Westmoreland,	25
Savannah la Mar	Lucea,	25
		<u>154</u>

## North Side Post.

From	to	Miles comp.
Kingston	Spanish Town,	18
Spanish Town	Salt Gut, St. Mary's,	40
Salt Gut,	St. Anne's Port,	20
St. Anne,	Rio Bueno,	20
Rio Bueno,	Marthabrae, Trelawny,	17
Marthabrae	Montego Bay, St. James,	25
		<u>140</u>
Kingston,	Anotto Bay, St. Mary,	30
Anotto Bay,	Port Maria,	15
		<u>45</u>

## Windward Post.

From	to	Miles comp.
Kingston	Æolus Valley, St. Thomas in the East,	20
Æolus Valley	Petersfield, ditto,	6
Petersfield	Morant Bay, ditto,	5
Morant Bay	Port Morant, ditto,	7
Port Morant	Bath, ditto,	6
Bath	Amity Hall, ditto,	7
Amity Hall	Manchineal,	9
Manchineal	Port Antonio, Portland,	11
		<u>71</u>

Rates

Rates of the Inland-postage, for any Distance not exceeding sixty English Miles.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>				
Single,	0	7½	Jamaica currency,	or	1	Ryal.
Double,	1	3	—	—	2	ditto.
Treble,	1	3	—	—	2	ditto.
Ounce,	1	10½	—	—	3	ditto.

For any Distance upwards of sixty, and not exceeding one hundred English Miles.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>				
Single,	0	7½	Jamaica currency,	or	1	Ryal.
Double,	1	3	—	—	2	ditto.
Treble,	1	10½	—	—	3	ditto.
Ounce,	2	6	—	—	4	ditto.

For any Distance upwards of one hundred, and not exceeding two hundred miles.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>				
Single,	1	3	Jamaica currency,	or	2	Ryals.
Double,	1	10½	—	—	3	ditto.
Treble,	2	6	—	—	4	ditto.
Ounce,	3	9	—	—	6	ditto.

And in Proportion for every Ounce Weight.

Rates of Postage from this Island to Great-Britain *per* Act  
9 Anne, c. 10.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	Sterling.	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	Jamaica Currency.
Single,	—	—	1 6	—	2	1
Double,	—	—	3 0	—	3	4½
Treble,	—	—	4 6	—	6	3½
Ounce,	—	—	6 0	—	8	4¼

Merchants accounts exceeding one sheet of paper, bills of exchange, invoices, and bills of lading, are all to be rated and taxed as so many several letters, *per* 6 George I.

Considering the great and continual commerce which this island maintains with the mother-country, and the extensive correspondence carried on by letter with merchants, absentees, and others; the frequent orders for insurance and for goods, the transmission-invoices, bills of lading, bills of exchange and accompts, with dupli-

cates; we may suppose the revenue gains a considerable annual sum from these articles; perhaps, the clear emolument, to speak within compass, is not less than 6000*l.* sterling, or upwards. The office was first created in Jamaica in the year 1687, and one Mr. James Wade appointed post-master. This has been produced as one example, among others, of parliamentary supremacy in the levying of internal taxes within the colonies; but, as the conveniency arising from it to trade and commerce was undoubtedly the original ground of its institution, so the sense of this conveniency gave it an easy admission into the colonies, still indulges its existence, and must continue to do so, unless the rates should be increased to a degree of oppression; in this event it must destroy itself, of which the revenue-officers are probably well satisfied.

## C H A P. X.

### *State of the Clergy.*

**T**HE Clergy of the established church have had a footing in this island only since the Restoration of Charles II. Cromwell took care to furnish the army with spiritual as well as carnal weapons. I think there were no less than seven allotted to this service; but they were fanatical preachers; a sort of irregulars, who soon made way for more orthodox divines. It has always been a rule, in our West-India islands, to assimilate their religion, as well as laws, to those of the mother-country. It is no wonder, therefore, that popery became the favourite system in Jamaica during the reign of James II. And the character of this religion was perfectly well supported by the spirit of persecution which was let loose against all non-conformists. The Revolution under king William happily expelled or subdued these superstitions, and gave the inhabitants, at one and the same time, the enjoyment of religious and civil liberty. Recantations became frequent; industry revived; and the stubborn rage of bigotry was melted into peace and concord. Charles II, although secretly professing the Roman faith, cannot be accused of having exercised severity against its adversaries. Good sense taught him to discern the expediency of  
granting



granting toleration in these distant parts of his dominion; for I do not suspect that he meant so much to favour men of the Roman Catholic persuasion, as to stock these infant-settlements with useful people. In his instructions to the governors, he directs, “for the  
 “encouragement of persons, of different judgements and opinions  
 “in matters of religion, to transport themselves, with their  
 “effects, to Jamaica; and that they may not be obstructed and  
 “hindered under pretence of scruples in conscience,” to dispense with the taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to those that should bear any part in the government (the members and officers of the privy council only excepted), and to find out some other way of securing their allegiance; and in no case to let any man be molested or disquieted in the exercise of his religion, provided he should be content with a quiet, peaceable enjoyment of it; not giving therein any offence or scandal to the government. But the governors themselves were strictly enjoined, in their own house and family, to the profession of the Protestant religion, as preached in England; and to recommend it to others as far as might be consistent with the peace of the island. This toleration was afterwards much narrowed by the acts of parliament affecting papists; which are so far admitted in force here, as to preclude them from exercising any office, or place of trust, the oaths of abjuration and supremacy being indispensably required to be taken before admission into any such office or place, or a seat in the legislature. But men of all persuasions are still received here as inhabitants; the naturalization-act, passed in Jamaica, only obliging aliens to take the oath of allegiance: nor is any man ever questioned here about his religious principles [g]. The bishop of London claims this as a part of his diocese; but his jurisdiction is renounced, and barred by the laws of the island, in every case, except so far as relates or appertains to ecclesiastical regimen of the clergy; which imports no higher power than that of granting orders, and giving pastoral

[g] In 1729, an act was passed “for preventing dangers that may arise from disguised, as well as declared, Papists.” But, this not being found to answer the purposes for which it was intended, and, on the contrary, having only served to discourage well-affected Protestants from coming over to settle in the island, it was repealed in the year following. It is said to have been leveled against one particular gentleman, a member of the legislature, and a papist; who had made himself offensive to a party which at that time existed in the house of assembly.

admonitions; for it is questioned, whether he can suspend any clergyman here, either *ab officio*, or *a beneficio*; since it is expressly enacted, by act of assembly, “that no ecclesiastical law, or jurisdiction, shall have power to enforce, confirm, or establish, any penal mulcts, or punishment, in any case whatsoever:” and, as the deprivation either of a living, or its emoluments, is virtually a mulct, and actually a punishment, the opinion is strong against his right of interposition. The governor, as supreme head of the provincial church, and in virtue of the royal instructions, is vested with a power of suspending a clergyman here, of lewd and disorderly life, *ab officio*, upon the petition of his parishioners; and I can remember one example of this sort. The governor inducts into the several rectories within the island and its dependencies; the parties first producing before him the testimonials of their being regularly in orders, and taking the usual oaths. The custom of tythes has never been in use here: instead of them, the several stipends are established by law, and levied by the justices and vestries; who are likewise empowered to appoint and limit the fees for christening, marriage, churching, and burial. No minister is to demand or take his stipend for any longer time than he shall actually officiate in his parish, sickness only excepted; so that a suspension *ab officio* is, in fact, a suspension also *a beneficio*. They are required to register births, christenings, marriages, and burials. These entries are declared authentic records, to be received as such in any court of justice; and the stealing, razing, or embezzling of them is made felony. Every beneficed minister is, *ex officio*, a freeholder to all intents and purposes, and accordingly admitted to vote at elections of assembly-members. He is also to be constantly one of the vestry; and no vestry can make any order, without first giving timely notice to the minister, that he may attend if he thinks fit. The ordinance respecting non-officiating is but vaguely expressed; however, it has been thought strong enough to justify the churchwardens and vestry in refusing to pay the stipend, in case their rector should wilfully refuse to perform the duties of his cure. It is supposed, that non-residence is implied, because in the rector’s absence, the parishioners are left to bury their own dead; and a wilful neglect of the performance of any duty is much the same, in effect,

effect, as a positive denial. The statute, 21 Henry VIII. excuses from residence in three cases; 1st, the want of a dwelling-house, or the inconvenience of one too small, or mean, to receive and accommodate the rector's family: 2dly, sickness, or where, by advice of a physician, a removal into another air is, *bonâ fide*, necessary for recovery of health; 3dly, employment in the king's service. In Jamaica, the justices and vestry of each parish, where there is no parsonage-house, are required, either to hire one of 50*l.* *per annum* rent, or to purchase or build one of 500*l.* value. Under this limitation, which is so unequal, it may be supposed that they cannot buy or build a very convenient habitation with suitable offices. The sum allowed ought to have been 800*l.* which would have held a nearer proportion to the sum allowed for hiring; 50*l.* being little more than the annual interest of 800*l.* In general, they are well lodged, except in those parishes where the rector's immorality, or bad disposition, has created him so many enemies, that his flock would rather he should live any where than among them. The second dispensation, in regard to ill health, and change of air for recovery, has always been readily indulged here in its full latitude. As to the third, the chaplains attending the governor, or the council, or assembly, are excused; the former at all times; the two latter, during the sessions. But the same minister having usually been chaplain both to the governor and council, and holding the living of Spanish Town, where the governor resides, and the council meet, no inconvenience has hitherto resulted. But pluralities are not allowed here; and, if ever they should be attempted, the people will be greatly incensed, having severely felt the inconveniencies arising from the combination of many places in one person.

The testimonials required to be produced, before induction into any living here, are, that the candidate be qualified according to the canons of the church of England, by having taken deacon's and priest's orders; which testimonials must, after the governor's approbation, be recorded in the secretary's office. They are not to celebrate any marriage without banns have been three times published in the parish-church to which the parties belong, or without a licence from the governor, under penalty of 100*l.* By a rule

of the governor's court of ordinary, for better preventing surreptitious marriages of orphans, or minors; affidavits, in such cases, are required to be filed of the guardian's consent; without which, the governor does not usually grant a licence. Formerly, the custom in these islands was, to be married by the justices of the peace; for in those days a clergyman was not always at hand. The same practice still subsists, as I am informed, at the Mosquito shore, and some of the other dependencies. And it is certain, that a marriage, celebrated in this manner in Jamaica, even now, if according to the form of words in our liturgy, would be valid in law, and support the right to dower or thirds. The Jamaica law restrains none from performing the ceremony, except ministers not qualified with the testimonials before-mentioned; and the penalty, imposed upon others who solemnize without banns or licence, does not tend to declare such marriages void. The chaplains of the council and assembly have a salary, of 100*l.* each, for reading prayers, every morning during session, previous to entering upon business. They are not called upon, as in England, to preach anniversary sermons. Of the character of the clergy in this island I shall say but little. There have seldom been wanting some, who were equally respectable for their learning, piety, and exemplary good behaviour: others have been detestable for their addiction to lewdness, drinking, gambling, and iniquity; having no controul, but their own sense of the dignity of their function, and the censures of the governor. The scandalous or irreproachable demeanour of many will chiefly depend on their own quality of heart, or that of the commander in chief. If the cloth has suffered disgrace and contempt from the actions of a few; we must nevertheless consider the major part, worthy the public esteem and encouragement. Some labourers of the Lord's vineyard have at times been sent, who were much better qualified to be retailers of salt-fish, or boatswains to privateers, than ministers of the Gospel. It is recorded of a certain rector of one of the towns, that, having the bodies of three deceased seamen brought to him one day for interment, he thought to make quick work of it by only one reading of the burial-service. The brother tars, who attended the solemnity, insisted upon three several readings, in honour of their comrades. The rector was obstinate. Words  
grew

grew high; and at length the dispute came to blows. The parson, the clerk, and all the congregation, engaged pell-mell. Nor long the battle raged; for divinity proved victorious, after hurling two or three of the combatants headlong into the very grave that had been prepared for their inanimate friends. Of another (a Frenchman) it is said, that, preaching one day, in his usual broken English, on the subject of the last day, he entertained his audience with the comparative condition of the good and the sinful; informing them, “dat dey would be separate, de goat on de left hond, de moutons “ on de right.” Ridiculous characters of this stamp should bring no slander on the clergy in general; they reflect dishonour alone upon those patrons in England, who would make no scruple in sending over their footmen, to benefit by any employment in the colonies, ecclesiastical or civil.

If the bishop of London could legally exercise the right (which some say he claims) of inspecting the conduct of the clergy here, and subjecting the same, when necessary, to ecclesiastical censures and punishment; yet his lordship’s residence at so great a distance, and the engagements of his diocese at home, would be obstacles to his working a thorough reformation in Jamaica. His censures, indeed, though but sparingly inflicted, might nevertheless produce a good effect, provided all the clergy of the island had been regularly trained at one of our English universities, and early versed in the knowledge of our religion. But, when persons are sent hither barely qualified according to the canons of the church, and the laws of the land, as to ordination, licence, &c. and thereby entitled to the very same privileges and favour, whether they have been bred at Cambridge, at Oxford, or St. Omer’s, in an university, or a cobbler’s shop; whether they have been initiated in the protestant, or in the popish religion; whether their language is English or French, or neither: I say, so long as the cassock is suffered to be put on here with so little discrimination, not all the exhortations of all the bishops in the world could possibly make the clergy of this island a respectable body of men. Let us, however, venture to assert in their favour, that, although some perhaps may be found, who, in their moral conduct, would disgrace even the meanest of mankind, there are others, and in a much greater number, who, by their ex-

ample and their doctrine, would do honour to their profession in any part of England.

## C H A P. XI.

## M I N E S.

**T**HE first adventurers who resorted to this island conceived very sanguine expectations of finding gold and silver mines. They were told of a silver mine, that had been worked by the Spaniards, somewhere in the Healthshire Hills, in St. Catharine; but they were not able to discover it. Still the flattering prospect encouraged two or three principal gentlemen of the island to solicit for an exclusive patent for working such mines. This they obtained, and made some attempts; which failed of success, and brought such heavy expences upon them, that they were glad to relinquish the project, and surrendered their patent. After all, the report of the Spanish silver mine was probably no other than a fiction. However, that the mountains contain both that metal and gold is very certain, as well as that the Spaniards obtained some of the latter from the river-courses; in which method they were instructed by the Indians, who, in Hispaniola and this island, used to procure it in the same manner. The inhabitants of Peru and Mexico pursue the same method at this day. They dig in the angles of some small brook, where by certain tokens they expect to find the grains, or particles, of gold. In order to carry off the mud, they admit a fresh stream upon it, and keep turning it up. As soon as they perceive the gold sand, they divert the stream into another channel, and dig up the soil with hoes or pick-axes, and convey it upon mules to certain basons, joined together by small conduits. Into these basons they let a smart stream of water, to loosen the earth, and clear away the grosser parts; the Indians standing all the time in the basons, and throwing out the stones or rubbish. The gold still remains in the sediment, mixed with a black sand, and scarcely visible, till further depurated by more washings. In some of these collections are gold grains, as large as bird-shot; in others have been found lumps of it, from two or three ounces to a

pound weight: and this way of procuring gold is justly thought far more profitable than digging for it in the mines. In Popayan, the process is very little different. They stir and dilute the mass in the basons till the most ponderous parts, as little stones, sand, and gold, remain at the bottom. They then go into the bason, with wooden buckets, made for the purpose, in which they take up the sediment; then moving them circularly and uniformly, at the same time changing the waters, the less ponderous parts are separated; and at last the gold remains at the bottom of the buckets, clear from all mixture. It is generally found in grains, as small as those of sand, and, for that reason, called *oro en polvo*; though sometimes *pepitas*, or seeds, are found amongst it, of different sizes; but generally they are small. The water issuing from the first bason is stopped in another, contrived a little beneath it, where it undergoes the like operation, in order to secure any minute particles, which, from their extreme tenuity, might be carried off by the current of water, mixed with earth and other substances: and, lastly, this water is passed into a third bason; but the savings here are generally inconsiderable. The labourers most commonly used are Negro-slaves; and whilst some are busied in washing, others bring earth; so that the washers are kept in continual employment. The fineness of this gold is generally of twenty-two carats; sometimes more, even to twenty-three; sometimes indeed it is under, but very seldom below twenty-one [b].

There is no doubt but, by a long course of practice, the Spaniards have made several improvements upon the original Indian process, which was more simple and tedious. The Rio Minho, in Clarendon parish, has by some been supposed to derive its name from the Minho in Portugal. Others imagine it was so called from some mine in its neighbourhood, known to the Spanish inhabitants; and I think there is ground for this conjecture; for, a few years ago, one of these lavaderos was discovered on its bank at Longville plantation, in that parish, which still remains tolerably perfect. Here is a terraced platform, with several basons chiseled out of rock; the interstices being filled up, here and there, with a very hard cement, or mortar, to render the surface smooth. Joined to

[b] Ulloa.

this platform is a pretty large fragment of a gutter, made for conducting the river-water into the basons. This seems to be a convincing testimony, that the bed of this river has afforded the gold sand, washed down perhaps from some of the mountains among which its course lies; and a further proof is, that bits of gold have sometimes been found after floods. The late Mr. Alderman Beckford possessed a plantation on the opposite side of the river. Many years ago, when he was in the island, the manager for this estate brought to him one day a small piece of very fine gold, which had been picked up in the sand of the river; and, at the same time, advised him to send for a skillful metallurgist, as he would probably discover a rich mine within his own land hereabouts. To this proposal Mr. Beckford made no other reply, than "whilst we have got so profitable a mine above ground" (pointing to the cane-pieces), "we will not trouble ourselves about hunting for any under ground." And he was certainly to be commended for the prudence of his answer; since, not to mention only the many thousand of Indians and Negroes destroyed by the Spaniards in Peru and Mexico in mining, and so little to the advantage either of individuals or their nation, how many great fortunes have there not been annihilated by undertakings of this sort, which have rarely yielded a profit in the end commensurate to the heavy expences that attended the conducting of them; and particularly in hot climates, where the subterraneous vapours are known to be of so malignant a nature, as to kill, or at least disable, very speedily the stoutest labourers! I am aware, that the manner of procuring gold by means of lavaderos is not liable to any such objection. It is neither an expensive nor unhealthy business; and therefore, if the art of discovering the river sand, in which gold has generally been found, could be revived in Jamaica, by sending for an Indian or Spaniard sufficiently intelligent, there might be no harm in trying some experiments with the sand of this river, where it has actually been found; as well as some others in the island, where it might reasonably be expected.

The mountains abound with copper ore of various species; the green and livid ore; and the shining dark ore, or vitrious copper. These two kinds are the richest as yet discovered here, and thought equal;



equal to some of those that are esteemed the of first class in Europe; the matrix in which they are engaged answering both to the hammer and fire with equal ease. Two mines were worked for some time in the Liguanea Mountains; but neither of them produced any thing correspondent to the charges that attended them. The undertaking was too important for two private men of no very capital fortunes; and perhaps they required the management of persons more experienced in the process. It served only to convince the curious, that such metals were to be found here; and this, I apprehend, is all the advantage that accrued, either to the proprietors, or to the publick. Yet one of these mines was said to have produced; no less than a ton *per* week; but perhaps this was only a bubble report, or the harvest was soon at an end. Schemes of this kind are most successfully carried on by large companies, or associations; whose several stocks united would bear the contingent expence, till the work is brought to answer. But there has been such a multitude of frauds and knavish practices committed, from time to time, in mining-adventures, that such projects are not at present likely to meet with any countenance. It is, however, to be regretted, that the copper and lead mines in this island had not been more effectually prosecuted; because, upon the computation that every sugar estate, which produces one hundred hogheads *per annum*, must be at a certain expence of 65 *l. per annum* for copper and lead alone, it will appear, that the island expends 45,000 *l.*, or thereabouts, every year, in these articles, which might be saved. The Spaniards certainly were more intelligent, or met with better success; for the bells, which hung in the Great Church at St. Jago de la Vega when the English took possession, were cast of copper produced in the island. Lead ore likewise abounds here, richly impregnated with silver, which renders the solution of it in *aqua fortis* milky; but it is not found in any regular bodied veins, which, among other reasons, obliged the gentlemen, who had been engaged in the lead-works of Liguanea, to drop the undertaking, after they had been at a great expence in building a very compleat set of works, and carried on the manufacture for some time. The ore, when in fermentation with *aqua fortis*, throws up a considerable quantity of sulphur; and hence it has been conjectured, that

some of the sulphureous springs in the island derive their qualities from this source. The varieties of the lead ore found here are the subgranulated, linked with silver; the lamellated, shining ore, in the same union; the black-glossy ore, linked with copper, and less impregnated with silver; and the black, lead ore, largely admixed with copper, and seldom rich; but the matrix is mellow, and easily fluxed [i]. Stibium has been frequently found in these lead mines.

Iron ore has been discovered in many parts of this island; but the very large quantities of black sand, which are thrown on many parts of the South side coast, especially near the mouths of rivers, having been hurried down by floods, are much more accessible, and with little pains. This sand is observable almost every where in the roads and gullies after hard rains; so that the soil of the savannahs, as well as that of the mountains, is impregnated with it. The inhabitants use it in common, like what is called in England the black writing-sand. It is freely attracted by the magnet; but does not answer, it is said [i], with the acid, or fire. However, it must be referred to future experiment to discover, whether it be not endued with the same properties as the Virginia black sand; particularly as, upon trial of the Virginia sand some years ago (an account of which is given in Lowthorp's Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions, vol. II.), *aqua fortis* produced no ebullition, and fluxing obtained no *regulus*, nor any substance that would apply to the magnet, except a thin crust, that adhered to a piece of charcoal, which dropped into the crucible during the fusion. For which reasons, this sand was imagined to be very slightly engaged with iron ore, and in such a manner, as that the metallic particles could not be separated and fixed by the usual process. But Mr. Horne, suspecting these experiments not to be decisive, conceived that the sand was not altogether and simply iron; but that it was strongly united with a very stubborn, fixed, and permanent earth, which could not be separated from it without some extraordinary as well as powerful means. The ingenious artist, proceeding upon this supposition, spread about eight or nine ounces of the sand, unmixed with any addition, upon an iron plate, over a strong fire, and gave it a very powerful torrefaction, or roasting, to try if by that means

[i] Browne.

he could not relax and loosen the component parts to such a degree, as to make the separation and reduction of the metal more easy, when he should bring it to the furnace. He then mixed it up with a flux of a very peculiar, but gentle nature, which he had before made use of for other purposes with great success [k], and committed it to the furnace, where he urged it, by a very strong fire, for about three hours, and upon taking it out found the event answerable to his most sanguine expectations; for in the bottom of the crucible he found rather more than half of the sand he had put in reduced to a very fine, malleable metal. Being now convinced that the sand was a very rich iron ore, he acquainted some of his friends with the discovery; who being largely engaged in trade with the part of the American continent from whence it was brought, he hoped the gentlemen in that part of the world would, in consequence, pursue experiments with it on a more extensive plan. And he informs us, that Mr. G. Elliot having since made trial of it, the event proved encouraging much beyond his expectation; insomuch that eighty-three pounds of the sand were found to produce a bar of excellent iron, weighing fifty pounds. Mr. Elliot smelted this iron, in a common bloomery, in the same manner as other iron ore is smelted; excepting this difference, that the iron sand is so pure, and so clean washed, that there is not a sufficient quantity of cinder, or flagg, to perform the smelting; and he was therefore obliged to add either the flagg which issues from other iron ore, or else some bog-mine ore, which abounds with cinder. In this way, he says, it is capable of being wrought as bog-ore, or bog-mine. There is so much of this sand in America, that he thinks there is more iron-ore in this form than any other. The specimens of iron, sent by Mr. Elliot from America, were tried by Mr. Horne, and found to possess all that agreeable toughness and ductility for which the Spanish iron is so deservedly famous. And he concludes with giving his opinion, that, by this discovery, we may obtain a more pure and better kind of iron than any we have hitherto been possessed of [l].

If the experiments of these gentlemen are to be relied upon, the American sand yields more in value than the richest and best ore

[k] This preparation he has not communicated.

[l] Horne's Essays on Iron and Steel.

hitherto found in Europe; for the latter usually produces no more than from sixty to eighty pounds out of one hundred weight; and when the facility of collecting the American sand, without the labour of much digging, is taken into account, together with the dispatch and little expence of washing and preparing it for fusion, it will surely justify this claim of superiority. It may therefore merit enquiry, whether the Jamaica sand does not contain the very same principles which there is every reason to believe it does; in which case, it may become an article of profitable export to Great-Britain, after having been too long neglected as of no value.

## C H A P. XII.

### S C H O O L S.

**T**HE great importance of education, in forming the manners, enlightening the minds, and promoting the industry and happiness of a people, is no where more obvious than in countries where it is not attainable. It at once excites our pity and regret, that Jamaica, an island more valuable and extensive than any other of the British sugar-colonies, should at this day remain unprovided with a proper seminary for the young inhabitants to whom it gives birth. This unhappy defect may be looked upon as one of the principal impediments to its effectual settlement.

I would by no means have it understood, that I mean to diminish any emoluments which Great-Britain derives from this colony: I am sensible, that the education of the Jamaica youth is attended with an yearly gain to the mother-country. What I would suggest is, that the establishment of one or more seminaries in Jamaica, upon a certain circumscribed plan, would infallibly prove a means of augmenting the profits which Britain draws from thence (though not in the very same, yet in other channels); and, if she is proved to gain more, it matters not in what line.

It has too long been the custom for every father here, who has acquired a little property, to send his children, of whatever complexion, to Britain, for education. They go like a bale of dry goods, consigned to some factor, who places them at the school where he himself was bred, or any other that his inclination leads him

him to prefer. The father, in the mean while, sends remittance upon remittance, or directs a liberal allowance, that his son may learn the art of squandering from his very infancy; and, not unfrequently, to gratify a little pride of heart, that little master may appear the redoubted heir to an affluent fortune. But, alas! it sometimes happens, that he sends *no* remittances: by which unlucky omission, his child is thrown upon the hands of the factor, who throws him upon the hands of the pedagogue; and, between both, the poor wretch undergoes as much neglect and ill usage, as if he was a charity-boy; and, in either case, too often comes from the feet of Gamaliel ignorant, vicious, idle, and prodigal; a disgrace to his friends, and a nuisance to his country. If suffered to remain in England, under the notion of finishing his manners, we find him, in the other view, in general rolling on the wheels of money into every species of town-debauchery; lavishing in one week what would maintain a poor family for a twelvemonth; the constant dupe of artifice; the sure gudgeon of every knave and impostor.

What a disadvantage is it to young men, of naturally strong passions and lively spirits, that they have not the watchful attention of a parent, to check their intemperate sallies, to conduct them into the ways of prudence, and habituate them in the practice of self-denial! How much to be regretted, that the fond father, whilst his son thus remains unemployed in useful pursuits during the most headstrong career of his life, is wearing himself out with incessant toil and anxiety, to no other effect than feeding the passions of an indolent or profligate spendthrift! Without a parent, or monitor, at his elbow, to hold him under due awe and subordination, and gratified with plentiful supplies of money, he soon acknowledges no other governor than his own inclination, and takes pleasure for his preceptor. Few will venture to restrain him, who either doubt their authority to controul, or who suspect that such an interpolation may either wear the appearance of too scrupulous a rigour, or prove detrimental, some time or other, to their interests in business.

The education of the youths *remitted* from this island is, in general, so mismanaged, that, was it not for their innate good qualities, not one in ten would ever arrive at the age of discretion, or:

return

return to his native country with any other acquisition than the art of swearing, drinking, dressing, gaming, and wenching. It is, I own, a laudable zeal in a parent, who is folicitous to confer on his children the blessings of liberal education. But it is surely a palpable mistake, that leads him to give their minds a wrong turn; and really pernicious to their welfare, that they should be brought up in a manner totally unsuitable to their future station. He should learn to distinguish, that to train up his son to no profession is, by no means, the way to make a gentleman of him; 2dly, that, if he intends him for a profession, the system of his education should be particularly adapted to it; 3dly, that to assign him a profession, and at the same time leave it in his own free choice to apply to the study of it or not, or to furnish him with the instruments of idleness and dissipation, when his mind should be engaged in the pursuits of useful knowledge, is no more than enjoining him to perform a task, and bribing him at the same time to leave it unperformed; 4thly, that one uniform plan, or system, of scholastic instruction cannot be indiscriminately proper for all youths, however various their fortunes, capacities, or the respective walks of life into which they are afterwards to pass.

Let me now ask, what are the mighty advantages which Britain, or the colony, has gained by the many hundreds who have received their education in the former? The answer may be, they have spent their fortunes in Britain, and learned to renounce their native place, their parents, and friends. Would it not have been better for both countries, that three-fourths of them had never crossed the Atlantic? Their industry is, in general, for ever lost to the place where it might have been usefully exerted; and they waste their patrimony in a manner that redounds not in the least to the national profit, having acquired a taste for pleasure and extravagance of every kind, far superior to the ability of their fortunes. Surely this can be no public acquisition, unless it be proved, that the kingdom is more enriched and benefited by a thoughtless prodigal, than by a thrifty, industrious citizen. The education they usually receive in Great-Britain does not qualify them for useful employment in Jamaica, unless they are bred to some of the learned professions; which nevertheless are not suitable to all, because those professions  
would

[would soon be overstocked in the island, if every youth consigned from thence was to be trained to physick, divinity, or law, and because *ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*. They generally leave Britain at that critical age when the blood beats high. They regret their exile from the gay delights of London, from the connections of early friendship, and perhaps the softer attachments of love. The impressions of all these remain lively and forcible. With this riveted prejudice against a colony-life, it is not to be wondered at, that they embrace the first convenient opportunity of returning to their favourite pursuits and social intimacies. Such is often the over-fond liberality of West-India parents, in ordering a too large allowance for their sons in Britain, that these youths are not only invited by this means to neglect their studies, and commence men of pleasure, but are readily elevated into a destructive opinion, that they have been sent thither merely to pass away their time agreeably, and that it is not meant they should perplex themselves with dry and abstruse literature, as their fortune will enable them to live independent of science or business. Sensible therefore of their exemption from paternal restraint, they joyously adhere to this conclusion, and follow the seductions of levity, caprice, and vicious indulgence, without reflection. Of the many students at law, natives of Jamaica, who after compleating their terms in London have returned to assume the gown, I have not heard of one who ever gained 5*l.* a year by his practice. This issue we must not ascribe to any defect of parts, but to a youth spent in foppery, licentiousness, and prodigality, under a total renunciation of every other study. Many I have noted, who, arriving there after having (as it is called) *finished their education* in England, appeared unpardonably illiterate, and possessed of few attainments beyond what I have already enumerated. Some I have observed, who, being endued with tolerable genius, acquired more real knowledge and gentlemanly accomplishments, in one twelvemonth after their arrival, than they had gained by sixteen years residence in London; and this from being led at once into a scene of public business, and the company and conversation of intelligent men. Having pointed out some principal sources of that imperfect education which our young men in general receive, I shall add a few thoughts in respect

to the other sex. If a seminary in this island is expedient for boys, it is still more so for girls. The necessary branches of their instruction usually lie within a small compass. They require not the elements of Greek, Latin, or Hebrew; nor the precepts of the university, nor the theory of the sciences, mechanic arts, or learned professions. Reading, writing, arithmetic, needlework, dancing, and music, will, with the additional helps of their own genius, prepare them for becoming good wives and mothers. There are many parents in this island, who, having a numerous family of children of both sexes, and barely able to afford their sons an education in Britain; they either send for a governante, to instruct their daughters, or keep them uninstructed, except by such casual tuition as may be had from itinerant music or dancing masters. The utility of a boarding-school for these girls, where their number might admit of employing the ablest teachers, where they might be weaned from the Negroe dialect, improved by emulation, and gradually habituated to a modest and polite behaviour, needs not, I think, any argument to prove it. Young ladies, so far accomplished as, I think, they might be on a well-conducted plan, would insensibly acquire, on their emerging into public life, the remaining graces and polish which are to be attained in genteel company and conversation. They would, by this means, become objects of love to the deserving youths, whether natives or Europeans, and by the force of their pleasing attractions soon draw them, from a loose attachment to Blacks and Mulattoes, into the more rational and happy commerce of nuptial union.

Upon enquiry, in the year 1764, into the state of the several foundations in this island, it appeared that considerable sums had been given and bequeathed for the purpose of erecting free-schools; some of which remained unapplied; and others had been so ill-managed, that the public derived but very trivial advantage from them.

These foundations are;

1st. Manning's, in Westmoreland, founded in 1710.

2d. One in Vere, by charitable donations, 1740.

3d. In Spanish Town, by devise of Peter Beckford, esq; 1744.

4th. In Kingston, by devise of John Woollner, goldsmith, 1736.



3th. At Halfway-Tree, St. Andrew's, by devise of Sir Nicholas Laws, 1695. He gave two acres and a half of land, with a house for a free-school; conditioning, that any parishioner, paying 5*l.* *per annum*, or 50*l.* down, towards advancement of the school, might send his child thither for instruction. This donation, by a law passed in 1738, was established, under the controul of governors, to make regulations, appoint teachers, &c.; but I do not find that it succeeded.

6th. At Old Woman's Savannah, in Clarendon, by a donation of three acres of land, and fundry subscriptions, 1756.

7th. About 1769, or 1770, Martin Rusea, of the parish of Hanover, devised his estate, consisting chiefly of personalty, for erecting and establishing a free-school in that parish; but the particular value of this donation, does not yet appear. The assembly, however, have shewn a desire to promote it, by granting 500*l.* towards its establishment.

All these foundations, except that at Old Woman's Savannah, were limited to receive boys of the respective parish in which they lay; which, together with their bad regulation, has been a principal cause of their failing. None promised so well to answer, on a general plan, as that at Old Woman's Savannah, situated as it was in a very healthy climate, in the centre of the island, and in the midst of several small settlements. No less than 2000*l.* was raised by voluntary subscription for carrying on the necessary buildings. About the year 1758, it was opened, and conducted successfully for about seven years. The air was found so healthy, that, out of eighteen youths, the disciples of the last preceptor, not one was afflicted with any fever or acute distemper during their residence in it. But, at the time when this academy was brought to a tolerable state of maturity, it all on a sudden fell into decline under several impediments. The first was the small allotment of land, which was not sufficient to enable the master to keep cows or sheep, or rear poultry, for the necessary subsistence of his boarders; secondly, the great difficulty (under this circumstance) of getting provisions; thirdly, the total want of some certain established fund, to afford a salary for the head-master, and keep the buildings in repair. The assembly, in 1764, taking into consideration the means by which

this feminary might be rendered more effectual, proposed to place it under the public sanction, and appoint governors and trustees by law. They likewise intended, that one hundred acres of land should be purchased contiguous to the school; and that twenty acres should be cleared and fenced; and 500*l.* be granted to trustees for this purpose; and, being of opinion that 50*l. per annum*, though as little as could be allowed for schooling, board, washing, and lodging, was too large a sum for persons of middling fortunes and numerous families to afford, they proposed that the master should give board, washing, and lodging, for 30*l.* a year, and education for 20*l.*, of which no more than 5*l.* to be paid by the respective parents, or guardians; and the remaining 15*l.* by the public. Such were their good intentions; which, if carried to effect, might have rendered this a very flourishing institution. But, before any bill could be framed, the house became involved in a hot dispute with the governor, which was followed with several dissolutions, and an utter interruption of business for a year and half; after which, such a variety of other matters called for present attention, that this affair was not resumed. In the mean while, the master, for want of the public support, of which he began to despair, found himself under necessity of quitting it, and of betaking himself to some other employment, that might yield him a better maintenance. In consequence of his resignation, the buildings, on which so much money had been expended, remained without a tenant: and, in 1767, the land and buildings were vested, by act of assembly, in trustees, with a power to sell the same, and apply the money to the purchase of land and erection of a school-house in some other part of the parish. The preamble of the act alledges, that the situation had been found improper: but this remains to be proved.

If the assembly should hereafter be convinced of the very many benefits which this island might reap from a well-concerted plan of this nature; there is no part of it better calculated for a public school than this Savannah.

The principal points respecting situation are;

1st, That it should be retired, free from the contamination of these vices which infest towns and places of much public resort.

2dly, That it should be on a dry, healthy spot, in an air entirely free

free from swampy and other noxious exhalations; and supplied with pure and wholesome water, for drinking and culinary uses.

3dly, That it should be in the near neighbourhood of several minor settlements, for the convenience of procuring small stock and other necessary provisions.

4thly, That the roads leading to it should be good and passable.

Every one of these requisites are enjoyed at Old Woman's Savannah. Nor is it in any of them liable to objection, except that the road leading to Old Harbour is so long, as to render the carriage of goods from thence in general tedious. Yet this difficulty would easily be surmounted, if established prices were formed for the carriage of goods, as there are several teams which constantly use this road; or a shorter carriage might be opened to St. Anne's Bay. I propose, therefore, that a square should be laid out here, about the size of the parade in Spanish Town. On one side of it should stand the school-house; opposite to this, a chapel, for the regular performance of divine service. The Eastern side of the square should be occupied with the master's dwelling-house; and in each of its wings a convenient suite of apartments, for the accommodation of boarders. Facing this range of building, should be disposed some convenient offices.

One hundred acres of land contiguous should be purchased by the public; and part of it cleared, fenced, and properly laid out for pasturage and other uses. To which should be added, six cows and a small flock of sheep. Eight or ten Negroes should likewise be provided, to be under the care of a white overseer, at 80 or 100*l. per annum* wages, to clear the land, repair fences and roads, and do other necessary work.

The master should be under the controul of a certain number of trustees, the governor for the time being to be one; a quorum of whom should annually meet at the school, to examine the condition and management of it, with full power to rectify abuses, discharge the master, and appoint in his room; and to lay a state of their proceedings before the legislature at their annual session.

For the better protection of the boys, and to guard against any calamity likely to happen from insurrections among the Negroes,  
a defensible

a defensible barrack should be built at a convenient distance; where a party, either of soldiers or militia, should always be kept on duty. This garrison would answer a double purpose, by giving likewise a protection to this part of the country, which requires it; and would have the further advantage of being one of the healthiest cantonments in the whole island.

For the better supply of this garrison and the school, a Negroe market should be held here once a week, for poultry, hogs, and such other provisions as these people usually deal in.

A certain number of white servants should be constantly kept, in proportion to the number of boarders, that the latter might not, by a too early familiarity and intercourse with the Negroes, adopt their vices and broken English.

The articles to be taught here should be restricted to reading, writing, arithmetic (including book-keeping), the Spanish and French languages, surveying, mechanics, together perhaps with such instructions in agriculture and botany as relate to the improvement of the vegetable productions of the island. The pupils might likewise be taught music, dancing, fencing, and the military manual exercise, to qualify them the better for a course of life which requires agility and strength of body, and occasionally the use of arms. The expences of boarding, washing, lodging, and tuition, should be regulated by law upon just and equitable terms, suitable to the general price of necessaries, and the circumstances of the middling inhabitants. Nor would it be a mis-placed generosity, if the public should contribute a certain allowance towards the education of each boy; or at least certain salaries to the master and his assistants, which would enable them to carry on the undertaking on terms better suited to the ability of parents.

Restricting the scheme of education to these limits, I purposely exclude all those youths, whose fortunes qualifying them for the learned professions, or to cultivate those sublimer degrees of erudition proper to their rank, ought to pursue such studies in Europe, or North-America, because it were vain to expect that they could attain them to a due accomplishment in this island.

I confine the plan to the children of persons who do not look so high, and who would be content to see their sons virtuously trained under

under their own eye, and at a moderate expence, to such branches of knowledge, as may qualify them to be industrious planters, surveyors, book-keepers, mechanics, useful members of this community, rather than be shipped off to Britain; from whence it is a great chance, but they might return with a thorough aversion to, or incapacity for, these or any other laudable employments. And here let me remark a little on the selfish and illiberal sentiments of those men who, in the exuberance of their contrivances for enriching the mother-country, oppose every establishment for education in the colonies, decry them as injurious to the interest of Britain, and would fain have the whole generation of infants regularly shipped home to learn their A, B, C. These politicians are not fathers, or at least have their bosoms so steeled with avarice, as to have lost all feeling for their fellow-subjects in these remote parts. The gain, made by the passage of these poor infants, is, it is true, in favour of the balance arising to Great-Britain from her freight. But let this pitiful earning be weighed against the hazard of their lives, and the extreme agony which so many tender parents must suffer at parting, through a cruel necessity, from their beloved offspring, which perhaps they never may see again. Exclusive of humanity, this circumstance must also be contemplated, in the view of social policy, as a bitter grievance, which to avoid, many persons have declined contracting marriage, lest they should thereby be driven into a distress so-severe; and which has forced others, under the intolerance of such a separation, to leave the colony prematurely, instead of devoting themselves, as otherwise they would have done, to the further improvement of their estates. So that, in consequence of this local defect, the island is become far less populous and cultivated than we should find it, if provision had been made for retaining both the parents and their children within it.

I shall now suppose a seminary properly founded in the island, and happily conducted on such a plan, as that the middling families might think themselves under no such necessity of sending their children to other countries for a decent education: and because, for better illustrating the argument, we must endeavour to fix some certain number of them to be so retained in the island, let this  
number

number be called two hundred. I shall be told, that these boys, if sent to England, might probably expend there 30*l.* sterling *per* head *per annum*, one with another, in cloathing, food, &c. to the amount of 6000*l.* But, on the other hand, if we suppose these boys to remain in Jamaica, will it not be found, that Great-Britain would gain full as much by them in similar articles? The difference of climate will certainly require double at least the quantity of articles for cloathing every year, and of a much more expensive fabric; their books, and many *items* of food and accommodation, must be procured from Britain at an enhanced price: so that, if any thing near an exact estimate could be framed, it must, I think, appear very convincingly, that these children would consume a much greater quantity, or value, of British manufactures and products by staying in Jamaica, and consequently conduce more to the national profit in this way, than if they had been transported into Britain. But it is to be further considered, that every one of these natives of the island will be equal to two unseasoned Europeans in ability to undergo the fatigues of business and laborious exercises here; be better qualified, by gradual initiation from their infancy, to understand and execute the useful plans of life for which they are designed; that they will, by habit and nature, prefer this country to every other, and therefore diligently settle themselves in it. The island, it is evident, would, in the progress of one generation only, contain a far greater number of families than it now possesses; it would be much more extensively settled; and Great-Britain would gain, in course, a proportional access of profit, by their consumption of manufactures, their ingenuity, and improvements. I am warranted in drawing this consequence; since it is well known, that a family, residing in Jamaica, consumes more of British manufactures, and gives employment to many more subjects in Great-Britain, than the same family would do, was it transplanted into that kingdom [*m*]. So much for the objections which

[*m*] We may apply, upon this occasion, what a modern writer has said on another. Let us suppose a tract of country that yields a rent of 50,000*l.* a year; the whole of which is enjoyed by one great man. In all probability, above 40 of the 50 is spent in the capital, in a profusion of elegancies; flowing into the pockets of the industrious, it is true, but the industrious in what? why, the furnishers of luxurious eatables, delicate cookery, and French wines; the exhibitors of  
public

which are to be expected from that quarter. Some of more weight may arise in the island itself, by reason of the expence attending such an establishment; but, in some degree to obviate this, I would propose the consolidating of all the foundations and charity-schools, whose incomes united would greatly contribute to support the new institution, although, in their present state, they are of very little other use than the bestowing so many annuities upon five or six persons under the title of schoolmasters.

The income of Spanish Town school is about	£. 190	<i>per ann.</i>	and	
has rarely extended to more at a time than			—	14 boys.
Woolmer's, in Kingston,	—	—	—	300 15
Vere School,	—	—	—	300 6
Manning's (I suppose about the same),	—	—	—	300 6
Of the rest I am not informed, but believe	—	—	—	
they are entirely dropped.	£. 1090			41

Not therefore to speak of the rest, here are four schools, with as many different masters; all of whom have regular salaries, although their pupils are, all together, not amounting to one half the number which one master in England is able enough to take charge of.

These, and all other unexecuted benefactions of the like kind, being lumped into one fund, the proposed school should be open to receive as many foundation-boys from each respective town, or parish, as they had been usually known to have at their respective free-school, one year with another; and upon the very same terms of board, maintenance, and instruction: by which equitable permission, no injury would accrue to these parishes; but, at the same time, it is presumed, that the good intentions of the several testators, and other benefactors, would be much better fulfilled.

public shows and entertainments; Italian singers, and French dancers; the industrious gentry of Newmarket and White's; in a word, in the encouragement of precisely that species of industry which is pernicious to the welfare of a kingdom. Thus the income of this tract of land is expended very little to the benefit of the kingdom at large, or the spot in particular.

Adjoining to this spot lies another of the same rent, but belonging to a thousand freeholders, of 50*l.* *per ann.* each, living in their neat mansions on their rents in the midst of as many, or perhaps more, tenants. What a population is here! and what a consumption of necessary manufactures, and home-products! What a difference to the public between the ends of such industry! the one is for ever exerted to the most beneficial purposes; the other, to the most pernicious ones.

POLIT. ESS.

It is astonishing to observe the gentlemen of this island so lavish in some respects of public money, and so inattentive at the same time, to a matter of this interesting concern; for what can be more so, than to wean the inhabitants from that detrimental habit of emigration, that unhappy idea of considering this place a mere temporary abode, especially as such numbers are, from unexpected turns in life, laid under a necessity of remaining in it, and bringing up a race of children, whom, for want of a seminary, they no sooner begin to take delight in, than they are forced to wish they could erase from their remembrance. These very people have not hesitated to disburse near 70,000*l.* in the space of nine years upon fortifying the island, who never thought of voting a seventieth part of that sum towards rendering it much more essentially secure, and much better protected, by falling on easy means of making it populous. The condition of the North-Americans would at this time have been deplorable indeed, if they had been equally improvident. But it is a proof of their wisdom and regard for posterity, that in every one of their townships, there is provision made for a schoolmaster; so that the lowest of their people are not left destitute of some education. For those of more liberal fortune, there are colleges founded under able professors; where philosophy has already dawned with a lustre that astonishes the oldest societies of the learned in Europe, and commands their most respectful attention. It is shocking to think, that, through a defect of this generous spirit, or a want of steadiness and resolution, no such measures have yet been espoused in our island. But our hearts must bleed, when we reflect on the many unfortunate children who have perished; some by shipwreck; some by explosion<sup>[n]</sup>; others by neglect after their arrival in England. To enumerate these fatalities, would be a melancholy recital, and perhaps only serve to revive paternal affliction. What blessings then will await that assembly, who shall patriotically resolve to prevent this barbarous necessity, and these sorrowful events, in future! They will, indeed, be justly styled the fathers of their country, and merit immortal honour.

[n] Several were destroyed in this manner on ship-board, a few years since.



I have chiefly confined my thoughts to a school for boys. If another for girls should likewise be approved, perhaps a situation nearer one of the towns, as at Halfway-tree, in St. Andrew's, might be most proper, in order to accommodate them easier with the necessary masters. This school would be best regulated under a select committee of the principal ladies in the island, the governor's lady being the patroness. These superintendants might annually be chosen by ballot; and the legislature no further interfere, than in supporting the foundation, and regulating the terms of admission.

The expence annually attending the boys seminary cannot be exactly computed; nevertheless, as a calculation may not only convey some idea of what it will require, but serve as a groundwork for concerting a regular plan of such an undertaking, I take the liberty to offer the following:

The head master, annual salary,	—	£. 280	to	£. 300
An assistant,	—	140		
A Botanical professor,	—	140		
A physician,	—	140		
A teacher of musick,	—	70		
A ditto, of fencing and the manual exercise,	—	70		
A dancing-master,	—	70		
An overseer,	—	80		
Two white servants, at 35 <i>l.</i> each,	—	70		
		<u>1060</u>		
Necessaries for ten Negroes <i>per ann.</i> at 60 <i>s.</i> each,		30		
		<u>1090</u>		

A botanic garden, situated near the school, might be laid out, and stocked with those plants of the island, or of the Southern continent, most distinguished for their virtues in medicine, or value for commercial purposes. It is certain, that nature has not only furnished this island with several vegetable productions useful in trade and manufactures, but likewise an unlimited variety of medicinal balms, barks, and roots, adapted to the cure of most distempers incident to the climate.

The person made choice of for master should not be allowed to follow any other avocation; which might engross too much of his time, to the neglect of his pupils; and for this reason any beneficed clergyman might be unfit, because his parochial duties would probably claim a great part of that attention, the whole of which ought solely to be employed in the affairs of the school.

My wish to render this island more flourishing far outstrips my ability to propound the means. In this case, the sincerity of an honest intention must atone for the imperfections of argument. The rectitude of a measure is one thing; the means of accomplishing it, another. Many persons are able to discern the former, who search for the other with hesitation. But, as the assembly possessèd happily the power of conducting most useful plans to effect, I cannot but indulge the hope, that it may hold a subject of this importance not unworthy its most serious deliberation.

### C H A P. XIII.

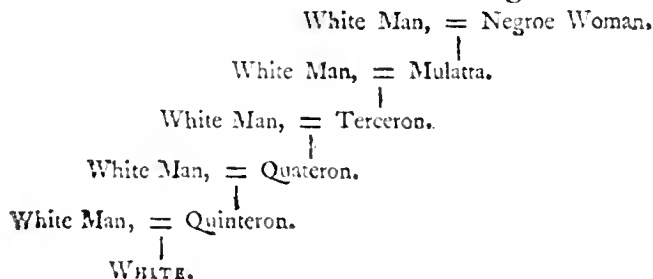
#### *Of the Inhabitants.*

#### S E C T. I.

**T**HE inhabitants of this island may be distinguished under the following classes: Creoles, or natives; Whites, Blacks, Indians, and their varieties; European and other Whites; and imported or African Blacks.

The intermixture of Whites, Blacks, and Indians, has generated several different casts, which have all their proper denominations; invented by the Spaniards, who make this a kind of science among them. Perhaps they will be better understood by the following table.

#### DIRECT lineal Ascend from the Negroe Venter.



#### MEDIATE

MEDIATE OR STATIONARY, neither advancing nor receding.

Quateron, = Terceron.

↓  
Tente-enel-ayre.

RETROGRADE.

Mulatto, = Terceron. Negroe, = Mulatta. Indian, = Mulatta. Negroe, = Indian.

↓  
Saltatras.

↓  
Sambo de }  
Mulatta, } = Negroe.

↓  
Mestize.

↓  
Sambo de } = Sambo de  
Indian, } = Mulatta.

↓  
NEGROE.

↓  
Givero [o].

In the Spanish colonies, it is accounted most creditable to mend the breed by ascending or growing whiter; insomuch that a Quateron will hardly keep company with a Mulatto; and a Mestize values himself very highly in comparison with a Sambo. The Giveros lie under the imputation of having the worst inclinations and principles; and, if the cast is known, they are banished. These distinctions, however, do not prevail in Jamaica; for here the Terceron is confounded with the Quateron; and the laws permit all, that are above three degrees removed in lineal descent from the Negro ancestor, to vote at elections, and enjoy all the privileges and immunities of his majesty's white subjects of the island. The Dutch, I am informed, transcend the Spaniards very far in their refinement of these complexions. They add drops of pure water to a single drop of dusky liquor, until it becomes tolerably pellucid. But this needs the apposition of such a multitude of drops, that, to apply the experiment by analogy to the human race, twenty or thirty generations, perhaps, would hardly be sufficient to discharge the stain.

The native white men, or Creoles, of Jamaica are in general tall and well-shaped; and some of them rather inclined to corpulence. Their checks are remarkably high-boned, and the sockets of their eyes deeper than is commonly observed among the natives of England; by this conformation, they are guarded from those ill effects which an almost continual strong glare of sun-shine might otherwise produce. Their sight is keen and penetrating; which renders them excellent marksmen: a light-grey, and black, or deep hazel, are the more common colours of the pupil. The effect of climate is not only remarkable in the structure of their eyes, but likewise

[o] Perhaps from *Givero*, a butcher.

in the extraordinary freedom and suppleness of their joints, which enable them to move with ease, and give them a surprising agility, as well as gracefulness in dancing. Although descended from British ancestors, they are stamped with these characteristic deviations. Climate, perhaps, has had some share in producing the variety of feature which we behold among the different societies of mankind, scattered over the globe: so that, were an Englishman and woman to remove to China, and there abide, it may be questioned, whether their descendants, in the course of a few generations, constantly residing there, would not acquire somewhat of the Chinese cast of countenance and person? I do not indeed suppose, that, by living in Guiney, they would exchange hair for wool, or a white cuticle for a black: change of complexion must be referred to some other cause. I have spoken only of those Creoles who never have quitted the island; for they, who leave it in their infancy, and pass into Britain for education, where they remain until their growth is pretty well compleated, are not so remarkably distinguished either in their features or limbs. Confining myself to the permanent natives, or Creole men, I have this idea of their qualities; that they are in general sensible, of quick apprehension, brave, good-natured, affable, generous, temperate, and sober; unsuspecting, lovers of freedom, fond of social enjoyments, tender fathers, humane and indulgent masters; firm and sincere friends, where they once repose a confidence; their tables are covered with plenty of good cheer, and they pique themselves on regaling their guests with a profusion of viands; their hospitality is unlimited; they have lodging and entertainment always at the service of transient strangers and travelers; and receive in the most friendly manner those, with whose character and circumstances they are often utterly unacquainted [p]; they affect gaiety and diversions, which in general are cards, billiards, backgammon, chess, horse-racing, hog-hunting, shooting, fishing, dancing, and music; the latter in particular they are formed to enjoy with the nicest feelings; and their ear for melody is, for the most part, exceedingly correct. This, indeed, has also been remarked of the Creole Blacks, who, without being able to read a

[p] One obvious proof of this is, that there is scarcely one tolerable inn throughout the whole island, except at a great distance from any settlement.

single note, are known to play twenty or thirty tunes, country-dances, minuets, airs, and even sonatas, on the violin; and catch, with an astonishing readiness, whatever they hear played or sung, especially if it is lively and striking.

There are no people in the world that exceed the gentlemen of this island in a noble and disinterested munificence. Such a disposition deserves to be commemorated; and I shall therefore think it incumbent on me to give some examples of it. After the decease of the duke of Portland, it was well known that he died in very indifferent circumstances. From the time of his death, the dutchess and her family were provided with a regular and splendid table, suitable to her rank, at the public charge; and, as she could not have the convenience of returning home in a man of war, the assembly caused a ship to be equipped for her with every proper accommodation, and added to this mark of respect a very considerable present in money. They have been often accused, and very unjustly, of wilfully seeking occasions to quarrel with their governors. On the contrary, they have never failed in liberality and a just deference to those governors who have deserved well by the mildness and equity of their administration.

They made an augmentation of 2500*l.* *per annum* to the governor's usual salary; erected a magnificent house for his residence; and purchased lands, for his better convenience, at no less expence than 12,000. Their gratitude to their governors would have been manifested more frequently, if more occasions had been given for exciting it. Among other instances of this sense they have of good usage, let me mention, that, upon the death of the late worthy governor Sir William Trelawny, the assembly paid no trivial compliment to his merit, by giving his remains an honourable interment at the public charge; the expence amounted to 1000*l.* sterling. But, what was a more conspicuous indication of their regret for the loss of so esteemed a man, there was not a person of any consideration, in the county where he died, who did not attend him to the grave, and with looks that bespoke the the sincerity of their affliction. But this natural propensity to such actions of benevolence as do honour to mankind cannot shew itself so often in a public manner, as in the more silent walks of private life.

An officer died here, leaving his wife and several children in very great distress. No sooner was their unfortunate condition made known, than relieved by private contributions amounting to a very large sum. Another officer's widow, in somewhat similar circumstances, except that she was left unincumbered with a family, met with the like generous support. And here I must not pass over a still more striking anecdote of this amiable disposition. I shall relate it faithfully as near as I can recollect. A certain planter, having taken offence at the behaviour of his son, resolved to disinherit him. He accordingly devised away the whole of his estate to a gentleman of distinction in the country, for whom he entertained a particular esteem; and soon afterwards died. The devisee was surprized and shocked when the will was shewn to him. He sent for the young man; and, upon his arrival, delivered into his hands a deed which he had just executed, reconveying to him all his paternal estate, adding to this effect; "Your father meant to be my friend; it is my duty to be yours. I give you back his estate; it is now yours by just inheritance: go and enjoy it; and be assured that you may always depend on my best services and advice so long as your future conduct shall entitle you to claim them." An admirable example this of refined virtue and principle, untainted with selfish or mercenary baseness. Though simply no more than the effusion of a mind controuled by justice, humanity, and moral rectitude; yet, in this age of callous venality, it deserves to be applauded as an act of self-denial, not very commonly met with in other parts of the world. Without multiplying such narratives, I shall only declare, that I know but very few natives of the island, among the class of gentlemen, who, in the like case, would not have acted in the same truly noble manner.

Some years ago, several new settlers, who had arrived in consequence of different acts passed for their encouragement, were bound, by an express condition, that, after the expiration of the first seven years, they should be obliged to re-imburse the treasury for the expence of their passage, and a twelvemonth's subsistence advanced upon their first coming over. In 1749, there were fifty of them found indebted to the public, on this account, no less than

than 7479*l.* This sum the assembly readily remitted, and discharged them entirely from the obligation [7].

This will be supposed an act of political generosity, and of a different nature from the examples before given; for which reason I have placed it last in my catalogue, as it is considered perhaps more referable to the spirit of patriotism, than the impulses of humanity; though to have acted otherwise would have betrayed, I confess, but a small share of either.

With all these praise-worthy qualities, the Creoles have some foibles in their disposition. They are subject to frailties in common with the rest of mankind. They are possessed with a degree of supineness and indolence in their affairs, which renders them bad œconomists, and too frequently hurts their fortune and family. With a strong natural propensity to the other sex, they are not always the most chaste and faithful of husbands. They are liable to sudden transports of anger; but these fits, like hurricanes, though violent while they last, are soon over and subside into a calm: yet they are not apt to forget or forgive substantial injuries. A lively imagination brings every circumstance present to their remembrance, and agitates them almost as much as if it had occurred but immediately before. They are fickle and desultory in their pursuits; though unshaken in their friendships. From this cause perhaps it is, that various schemes, both in pleasure and business, have been eagerly started, and then suddenly dropped, and forgotten as if they had never existed. They have some tincture of vanity, and occasionally of haughtiness; though much less of the latter than formerly. That distant carriage, which was gained here insensibly by habit, when the planters employed six times the number of white servants, whom, together with their Negroes, they might think it prudent to keep under a due awe and subordination to authority, has worn away in course of time with the causes of it. They are too much addicted to expensive living, costly entertainments, dress, and equipage. Were they but more abstemious in these respects, and more attentive to good husbandry on their plantations, there

[7] In 1758, was a similar act of remission of 6301*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to sixty settlers. I have not the least doubt, for my own part, but that these remissions were the pure effects of compassionate sentiments, and not the offspring of a political liberality.

are few who would not amass considerable fortunes, and render their posterity opulent. But they are fond also of monopolizing large tracts of land, buying up all around them, and attempting to settle new estates before the old one is cleared of debts. By this means, and imposing on themselves by a specious mode of payment, in giving their own bonds, and taking upon them the debts of other men, they become harrassed and unhappy ever after. Finding themselves unable to deposit when the day of payment arrives, they are either reduced to be slaves for life, in hopes to redeem, or sustain, the whole of a large territory thus acquired; or to plunge deeper and deeper in debt and distress, by submitting to every species of fraud and extortion that may gain them a little respite; till perhaps, after a tedious conflict, they leave at their decease their whole fortune to be torn piece-meal, and their family turned adrift, to make room for some worthless upstart, who has possessed cunning and villainy enough to accumulate money, or obtain credit, sufficient for becoming the proprietor. It is a settled maxim, "that you are not distinguished, or of any note, unless you are in debt." In other words, you are no body, unless you make yourself literally so. But what sort of a levee is to attend such pre-eminence? A banditti of creditors and deputy marshals, who, for their own sakes, not the planter's, wish him well for a while, that they may be the better; as a flight of vultures would rather make their repast on a fat carcase, than a lean one; and will pick either the one or the other to the very bones before they quit it.

Most of the old Creole families are allied, by the inter-marriages among their ancestors before the island was populously settled. The same remark may be made on many other communities in the world, which have sprung from a few families; for example, the Welsh and Scotch. The natives in general prefer pure water to any other beverage. Punch seems almost proscribed from the politer tables; though, when it is made with rum of due age, ripe fruit, and not too strong, it is a very pleasant, refreshing, and wholesome drink, and one of the best appropriated to a hot climate. Madeira wine is in more esteem than claret, not only because it is cheaper, but as the greatest heat of the air only serves to improve its flavour, and as it is not apt to ferment in the stomach. It is generally



nerally drank here diluted with water; and in this state it may be regarded as a very powerful antiseptic. They are excessively fond of chocolate, which some drink morning and afternoon in preference to tea. Formerly the men used to indulge in a *siesta* in their hammocks every day after dinner. They dressed in waistcoats and caps; never wearing coats nor wigs, except at church, or on public occasions. These modes, copied from the Spaniards, have long been disused; and at present they follow the English fashions, only studying coolness and ease. They indulge in the fruits of the country, particularly such as are most nutritious; and swallow pepper without moderation, which is also the principal ingredient in their olios or pepper-pots, a composition highly esteemed here even by the Europeans.

The planters of this island have been very unjustly stigmatized with an accusation of treating their Negroes with barbarity. Some alledge, that these slave-holders (as they are pleased to call them, in contempt) are lawless bashaws, West-India tyrants, inhuman oppressors, bloody inquisitors, and a long, &c. of such pretty names. The planter, in reply to these bitter invectives, will think it sufficient to urge, in the first place, that *he* did not make them slaves, but succeeded to the inheritance of their services in the same manner as an English squire succeeds to the estate of his ancestors; and that, as to his Africans, he buys their services from those who have all along pretended a very good right to sell; that it cannot be for his interest to treat his Negroes in the manner represented; but that it is so to use them well, and preserve their vigour and existence as long as he is able. The antagonists, though willing to allow that he is self-interested in all he does, can hardly admit this plea; although it is evident, that the more mercenary a planter's disposition is, the stronger must the obligation grow upon him to treat his labourers well, since his own profit, which he is supposed alone to consult, must necessarily prompt him to it. In proving him therefore to be such a mercenary wretch, they effectually confute the charge of cruel usage; since the one is utterly incompatible with the other [r]. “But,” says Mr. Sharpe, brandishing his two-edged

[r] Etiquemeling, who was himself an indented servant to the French West-India company about the year 1664, has described very feelingly the difference between the condition of a Negroe-

edged weapon, “ the planter makes no scruple to gain by wearing  
 “ out his slaves with continual labour, and a scanty allowance,  
 “ before they have lived out half their natural days;” and he compares this excess of constrained labour to “ the merciless usage practised in England over post-horses, sand-asses, &c.” Soon after this declamation, he tells us, “ that the allowance of food is not  
 “ given to a slave for his own sake, but merely for the interest of  
 “ his master; to enable the slave to continue his daily labour in the  
 “ same manner as the foddering a horse, or fattening of cattle for  
 “ slaughter, because the food is given on no other consideration  
 “ than for the profit of the owner.” Then he gives us a quotation from the learned and reverend Mr. Godwyn, “ that the planter  
 “ considers this allowance of provision as expedient and fit, in  
 “ order to enable his Negroes to undergo their labour, without  
 “ which, himself cannot get riches and great estates; but nothing  
 “ for the wretch’s health and preservation!” Now, with all submission to this profound advocate and his co-adjutor, I presume,

grove-slave and that of a white contract-servant, in his time, and assigned the true cause of it. Speaking, first, of his countrymen at Hispaniola, he says, “ the servants commonly bind themselves to their masters for three years; but their masters, having no conscience, traffic with  
 “ their bodies as with cattle at a fair, selling them to other masters as they do Negroes. Yet, to  
 “ advance this trade, some persons go purposely into France, and likewise to England and other  
 “ countries, to pick up young men and boys, whom they inveigle and transport; and, having  
 “ once got them into the islands, they work them like horses; the toil imposed upon them being  
 “ much harder than what they enjoin the Negroes, their slaves; for these they endeavour to preserve, being their perpetual bond-men; but, for their white servants, they care not whether  
 “ they live or die, seeing they are to serve them no longer than three years.

“ The planters of the Caribbee Isles” (he asserts) “ were still more cruel to their white servants.” And he names a Frenchman, at St. Christopher’s, “ who had killed above a hundred with  
 “ stripes and blows. In regard to the English” (he says), “ they did the same with theirs; and  
 “ that the mildest cruelty they exercised towards their servants was, that, when they had served six  
 “ years of their time (the usual term of their contracts being seven), they used them so ill, as  
 “ forced them to beg their masters to sell them to others, though it were to begin another servitude of seven years; and that he had known many who had thus served fifteen or twenty  
 “ years.”

The low price at which these servants were furnished by the French company to the planters, being no more than from 4*l.* 10*s.* to 6*l.* 15*s.* sterling *per* head, was another cause of their ill usage; since the loss sustained by their death was considered, by the purchaser, as very trifling, and easily to be replaced.

At present, it requires no argument to prove, that the enormous price of Negroe-slaves must procure them an indulgent and careful treatment even from owners of an inhuman disposition; and with such men, however selfish the motive is, still the effect may be no less favourable to the slave.

that,

that, if the enabling his Negroes to undergo their labour, by allowing them expedient food, be the true motive, as they affirm it is, for the planter's care of his Negroes; the same motive must necessarily induce him to be equally assiduous for the preservation of their lives and health. This, indeed, is implied; since, if they are abandoned to sickness, or suffered to perish for want of his care, he must of course be deprived of the benefit of their labour, which alone (as they rightly observe) is the foundation of his riches. Thus the planter is affirmed to take care of the life and health of his Negroes, that he may profit by their labour; and yet to let them die through barbarity and neglect; by which he must eventually be a loser of all that benefit. In one paragraph he is made to starve and wear them out before they have half finished their term of life; in the next he is said to allow them plenty of food, to support them in the continuance of their labour. How they can be hacked and starved to death, like post-horses, or sand-asses, and yet fattened like oxen for Leadenhall-market, at one and the same time, is so far beyond the humble limits of a planter's comprehension, that it must be left to be further reconciled and explained by these two sagacious writers; and the perplexing ænigma, they are desired to solve, is, by what means it comes to pass, that the planter gains equally, whether he starves and destroys them, or whether he feeds and takes care of them?

I will assert, in my turn, and I hope without inconsistency or untruth, that there are no men, nor orders of men, in Great-Britain, possessed of more disinterested charity, philanthropy, and clemency, than the Creole gentlemen of this island. I have never known, and rarely heard, of any cruelty either practised or tolerated by them over their Negroes. If cruelties are practised, they happen without their knowledge or consent. Some few of their British overseers have given proofs of a savage disposition; but instances are not wanting to shew, that, upon just complaint and information of inhuman usage, the planters have punished the actor as far they were able, by turning him out of their employ, and frequently refusing a certificate that might introduce him into any other person's. These barbarians are imported from among the liberty-loving inhabitants of Britain and Ireland. Let the reproach  
then

then fall on the guilty, and not on the planter. He is to thank his mother-country for disgorging upon him such wretches as sometimes undertake the management of West-India properties; and, by wanton torture inflicted on the slaves confided to their charge (the result of their own unprincipled hearts and abominable tempers), bring an unmerited censure on the gentlemen proprietors, who are no further culpable than in too often giving this employment to the outcasts of society, because, it may happen, they can get none better.

America has long been made the very common sewer and dung-yard to Britain. Is it not therefore rather ungenerous and unmanly, that the planter should be vilified, by British men, for the crimes and execrable misdeeds of British refugees! It is hard upon him to suffer this two-fold injury, first by the waste of his fortune in the hands of a worthless servant, and next by such unfair imputations upon his character. There is, I allow, no country existing without some inhuman miscreants to dishonour it. England gives birth to such, as well as other states; but I would not, from this reason, argue that every Englishman is (according to Voltaire) a savage.

The planters do not want to be told, that their Negroes are human creatures. If they believe them to be of human kind, they cannot regard them (which Mr. Sharpe insists they do) as no better than dogs or horses. But how many poor wretches, even in England, are treated with far less care and humanity than these brute animals! I could wish the planters had not too much reason on their side to retort the obloquy, and charge multitudes in that kingdom with neglecting the just respect which they owe to their own species, when they suffer many around them to be persecuted with unrelenting tyranny in various shapes, and others to perish in gaols, for want of common necessaries; whilst no expence is thought too great to bestow on the well-being of their dogs and horses. But, to have done with these odious comparisons, I shall only add, that a planter smiles with disdain to hear himself calumniated for tyrannical behaviour to his Negroes. He would wish the defamer might be present, to observe with what freedom and confidence they address him; not with the abject prostration of real slaves, but as  
their

their common friend and father. His authority over them is like that of an antient patriarch: conciliating affection by the mildness of its exertion, and claiming respect by the justice and propriety of its decisions and discipline, it attracts the love of the honest and good; while it awes the worthless into reformation. Amongst three or four hundred Blacks, there must be some who are not to be reclaimed from a savage, intractable humour, and acts of violence, without the coercion of punishment. So, among the whole body of planters, some may be found of naturally austere and inhuman tempers. Yet they, who act up to the dignity of man, ought not to be confounded with others, whose odious depravity of heart has degraded them beneath the rank of human beings. To cast general reflections on any body of men is certainly illiberal; but much more so, when applied to those, who, if their conduct and characters were fully known to the world, would appear so little to deserve them.

The French treat the gentlemen of their West-India settlements in a very different manner. "It is with great justice," says Bossu, "that we reckon the Creoles *noble* in France. Their sentiments are so noble and delicate in every station of life, that they perfectly well merit that appellation."

I should implore pardon of the ladies, for not having given them the precedence which is their due: but I dispatched the gentlemen first, that I might pay the more attention to the lovelier sex. Feminine beauties and virtues are to be found in every clime, the growth of every soil. The Creole women are perfectly well-shaped; and many of them remarkably handsome. In general, they have exceedingly good teeth; which some have imputed to the pains they constantly take in cleaning them with the chaw-stick [s], which guards them from the scurvy. They prefer chocolate to tea; and do not drink any liquor so hot as is customary with women in England. It seems to be a vulgar error, that sugar causes the teeth to decay. It is certainly an anti-septic, and un-

[s] A species of rhamnus. It is of a bitter taste, and contains a great quantity of fixed air; both of which qualities render it a very proper corrector of any putrid slough that may happen to lodge between the interstices of the teeth. It is cut into small junks, of three or four inches in length; one extremity of which, being first soaked a little while in warm water, is soon formed into a soft brush by chawing; from whence it derives its popular name.

justly bears that blame ; which, for the most part, should rather be thrown on the neglect of cleanliness. The ladies of this island eat large quantities of it in sugar-cakes, or what is called *pan-fugar* [t], and confectionary. I knew a man here, who was excessively fond of sugar and its preparations. During the crop-season, he not only used to eat plentifully of it, but mixed syrup and water for his common beverage at meals. At the age of about eighty years, he had his teeth still compleat, perfectly white and sound. He informed me, that he never was afflicted with the tooth-ach in his life. His head was covered with good black hair, without any visible intermixture of grey, or the least symptom of baldness; and he was strong, hale, and lively. He imputed the soundness of his teeth, his unchanged hair, and activity, to his never having drunk malt-liquors, wine, or spirits of any kind; his only drink being plain water, the purest he could get, or mixed with sugar. He would probably have attained to a much greater age, if it had not been for an accident, occasioned by his own temerity.

Kalm, accounting for the bad teeth of the ladies in Pennsylvania and other North-American provinces, opposes the vulgar notion of bad qualities in sugar upon very probable grounds. He observes, that women, who used no sugar in their tea, had equally bad teeth as the rest; that the men in general were less liable to this misfortune; and that the Indians, living in the same air and country, were remarkable for good teeth. He ascribes the decay of them to their drinking tea too often, sometimes no less than thrice a day, and too hot. Some females may titter at the good Dr. Hales's experiment with a pig's tail, which being dipped into a cup of tea, heated to the degree in which it is usually drank (viz. thirty degrees above the blood-heat), the skin was scalded in a minute, so as to make the hair come off easily. But he justly concludes from hence, that the frequent drinking of such hot liquor is hurtful, agreeably to the general assertion of physicians. And I may add, that the ablest dentists have concurred in their testimony, that it is particu-

[t] The syrup in the tache, or last clarifier, adheres in a thick crust to the rim, somewhat resembling brown sugar-candy. This is taken off, and passes under the name of pan-fugar. Cakes are also made by mixing a little powdered ginger and cinnamon with the clarified syrup; and, after pouring it on a plate, it hardens, and is sliced into little squares.

larly destructive of the enamel of the teeth. No people in the world have finer teeth than the native Blacks of Jamaica; and none devour greater quantities of sugar. Few of the Creole ladies sip their tea till it cools to about milk-warmth, nor oftener than once, or at the utmost twice, a day. But they, who have been brought up in England, where they were accustomed to drink it almost boiling-hot, and to debauch in it too freely, are many of them so much addicted to, and confirmed in this practice, that they cannot break themselves of it here without much reluctance. And hence perhaps it happens, that the natives of England, and those Creoles who have been educated in England, have not in general such good teeth, as others who have never been out of the island [u].

A crooked or deformed Creole man or woman, unless such at the time of their birth, or distorted by some mischance, would here be a rarity to be gazed at.

The method used here in rearing children secures the graceful form of their persons, and is a certain proof of maternal good sense. From the time their infants are a month old, they are allowed no other bed than a hard matras, laid upon the floor; and, instead of a sheet, they repose on a smooth sheep-skin, which is occasionally shifted, for the sake of cleanliness. They are clad loose and light, go without the incumbrance of stockings, are bathed regularly in water every day, and exposed freely to the air; so that no part of the world can shew more beautiful children. The girls are not suffered to wear stays (those abominable machines for the destruction of shape and health); but, as well as the boys, are indulged in such a cool and unconfined attire, as admits the free extension of their limbs and muscles.

[z] Some restrict the bad effects of sugar entirely to what is refined, which is supposed to be impregnated with lime, used in the process; and the corrosive power of this substance upon bones is well known. But it is scarcely probable, that even a strong solution of lime in water could produce this erosion of the teeth, unless they were daily rubbed with it; and even then it is far from being certain. But combine this alkali with an acid (as it is in sugar), and surely its effect must be greatly altered. We may remark, however, the inconsistency of writers; some of whom blame the acid in the sugar; others, the alkali of the lime; thus imputing the effect to two contrary principles. The very small quantity of lime, that can remain intermixed, is certainly not answerable to the suspicion; but, if it even should be thought to deserve it, the muscovado, or unrefined, will stand clear of it.

Many of the good folks in England have entertained the strange opinion, that the children born in Jamaica of white parents turn swarthy, through the effect of the climate; nay, some have not scrupled to suppose, that they are converted into black-a-moors. The truth is, that the children born in England have not, in general, lovelier or more transparent skins, than the offspring of white parents in Jamaica. In the Southern parts of the island, they have none of that beautiful *vermeille*, so much admired in England; but, though exposed, as lively children necessarily must be, very much to the influence of sun-shine, their skins do not acquire the English tan, but in general grow pale, and of a fainter white. The genuine tan of the sun here, on faces of healthy, grown persons, who are a good deal in the open air, is a suffusion of red. The natives of both sexes are very remarkable for this kind of complexion; and it gives them the appearance of sanguine habits, and vigorous health. The brunettes, or those of a naturally thick and unperpiring skin, frequently become browner, as they advance in years, and seem to be tinged with a bilious secretion, which circulates with the blood, and lurks in the smaller vessels, instead of passing off, as it does in other habits, by the outlets of perspiration. The many Mulatto, Quateron, and other illegitimate children sent over to England for education, have probably given rise to the opinion before-mentioned; for, as these children are often sent to the most expensive public schools, where the history of their birth and parentage is entirely unknown, they pass under the general name of West-Indians; and the bronze of their complexion is ignorantly ascribed to the fervour of the sun in the torrid zone. But the genuine English breed, untainted with these heterogeneous mixtures, is observed to be equally pure and delicate in Jamaica as the mother country.

The practice of inoculation, according to the modern improvements, has been very successfully used here. I shall be forgiven, I am sure, by the ladies, for a short digression on this subject, and for introducing the following sensible remarks upon it:

“ Of those who take the small-pox casually, one in seven is  
 “ found to die. But, of fifteen hundred patients inoculated in  
 “ England by the surgeons Ranby, Hawkins, and Middleton, three  
 “ only



“ only miscarried, *i. e.* one in five hundred. Now, not to mention that the hazard is, by a long experience since, reduced almost to nothing, according to this computation, which has never been invalidated; in every five hundred persons inoculated, seventy lives are preserved to society! Let the computation be extended to the probable number inoculated every year, from the time when the practice began to obtain generally, and to these add the posterity derived from the marriage of these redeemed persons, as they advance to maturity; and we shall find a positive and happy increase of people, continually rising up, and staring out of countenance all declaimers against the practice [w].”

I thought I might, without impropriety, give this quotation at large, because I have observed some tender mothers in the island led away by vain terrors, or influenced by predestinarian scruples; not considering, that the hand of the Almighty has pointed out this easy method of preserving his creatures from the horrid ravages of this disease, the seeds of which are probably congenial to our very frame, and from whose infection very few are exempted; nor perceiving the force of positive evidence, which, through a long course of experience, has demonstrated, that inoculation is almost an infallible means of rendering it harmless. Nothing can be more mild than the disorder in Jamaica, received in this manner. Infants, of one month old, have gone through it very safely. The working slaves followed their usual occupations with the pustules upon their bodies, without inconvenience; and even bathed themselves in the rivers, without any ill consequence. When a preparation was used, they either had no pustules, or at least such as never came to a supuration. Two very moderate doses of the mercurial medicines, and as many gentle purgatives, with an interval of three or four days between them, were found sufficient. With respect to children at the breast, care was only taken to keep their bodies gently lax during the continuance of the eruptive symptoms; and, after the eruption, to correct any gripings with daily doses of testaceous powder, and a few drops of *tinct. thebaic.* at night. The eruption generally appeared, on these young subjects, about the sixth day:

and, in grown persons, about the eighth or ninth. They were constantly in a free air in the shade, and suffered no confinement; being restrained only, in diet, from animal food, salt, and spirituous liquors.

Of fifteen hundred Negroes, of all ages and habits of body, who were inoculated here by *one practitioner*, not one died. Such plain facts should weigh more than argument in suppressing groundless apprehensions; and teach every mother, that the wilful confinement of her helpless little ones to almost certain death, when she might exert the probable means of saving them, is absolute murder in effect, and little short of it in guilt. The infant is incapable of judging for itself, or of exercising a freedom of choice. But to the parents God has imparted reason sufficient to conduct their uninstructed charge, and protect it from impending evils. In using their best endeavours for this purpose, they manifest a truly religious obedience to their Maker, a due affection for their offspring, and a submission to the rules of good sense. And, whatever the event may prove, they are conscious of having acted with the best intentions, which will surely be most acceptable to that Being, who

“ Preferreth the upright Heart, and pure.”

Whilst I render all due praise to the Creole ladies for their many amiable qualities, impartiality forbids me to suppress what is highly to their discredit; I mean, their disdaining to suckle their own helpless offspring! they give them up to a Negroe or Mulatto wet nurse, without reflecting that her blood may be corrupted, or considering the influence which the milk may have with respect to the disposition, as well as health, of their little ones. This shameful and savage custom they borrowed from England; and, finding it relieve them from a little trouble, it has gained their general sanction. How barbarous the usage, which, to purchase a respite from that endearing employment so agreeable to the humanity of their sex, so consonant to the laws of nature, at once so honourable and delightful to a real parent, thus sacrifices the well-being of a child! Notwithstanding every precaution they take to examine the nurse of their choice, it is a million to one but she harbours in her blood the seeds of many terrible distempers. There is scarcely one of these

these nurses who is not a common prostitute, or at least who has not commerce with more than one man; or who has not some latent taint of the venereal distemper, or *scrofa*, either hereditary, or acquired, and ill-cured. The place of a nurse is anxiously coveted by all of them, as it is usually productive of various emoluments to them; and on this account they are sure to keep secret any ailment they labour under, however detrimental to the child, rather than be turned off. The mothers in England are at least able to find some healthy labourer's wife; and none of them, I venture to believe, would send their infants to be suckled in any of the brothels of London. It is true, the Creole ladies have not the same advantage; they can meet with none other than unchaste nurses; and this is another unanswerable argument to prove the necessity of their administering their own breast, in preference to one that they are under so many reasons to suspect is not equally proper.

Numberless have been the poor little victims to this pernicious custom. Many innocents have thus been murdered; and many more have sucked in diseases, which rendered their life miserable, or suddenly cut short the thread of it.

A misfortune attending most of these children is, that they are extremely subject to worm-disorders imbibed with the milk; for I have frequently seen these vermin discharged from babes of three months age. But it is more usual to see them looking healthy and well till they reach the third year; when they frequently decline all at once, and from this cause. They are often too much crammed with the fruits and roots of the country, which at this tender age are apt to generate a large quantity of viscid slime in their bowels, that affords a *nidus* for the worms to deposit their eggs. The more common kinds which infest them are the *ascarides*, and *tania* or tape worm: both these sorts are effectually expelled with a decoction of the *anthelmenthia*, or worm-grass, which grows naturally in the South parts of Jamaica; and sometimes the *oleum ricini*, or nut oil, is administered in small and frequent doses with success.

The down of the cow-itch pods, given in the proportion of one part to three parts of honey or syrup, to the quantity of one teaspoonful morning and evening, for a week, has been found, by repeated

repeated trials and long experience, to be equally destructive to them; care being only taken to give a proper dose of rhubarb, or other mild purgative, in order to carry off the dead worms.

An old woman here formerly performed several wonderful cures of this kind, with no other remedy than fat pork, with which she fed her little patients; and, no doubt, it acted upon the worms in the like manner as the oily compositions frequently prescribed, which are found to destroy these animalcules by stopping up their pores.

Another misfortune is, the constant intercourse from their birth with Negroe domestics, whose drawling, dissonant gibberish they insensibly adopt, and with it no small tincture of their aukward carriage and vulgar manners; all which they do not easily get rid of, even after an English education, unless sent away extremely young.

A planter of this island, who had several daughters, being apprehensive of these consequences, sent to England, and procured a tutorefs for them. After her arrival, they were never suffered to converse with the Blacks. In short, he used all his vigilance to preserve their language and manners from this infection. He succeeded happily in the design; and these young ladies proved some of the most agreeable and well-behaved in the island: nor could it be distinguished from their accent, but that they had been brought up at some genteel boarding-school in England; insomuch that they were frequently asked, by strangers, how long they had resided in that kingdom. Until a proper seminary can be established, every master of a family here might pursue the like method, at least with his daughters, who are generally kept more at home than boys. But a mother, who has been trained in the accustomed mode among a herd of Negroe-domestics, adopts the same plan, for the most part, with her own children, having no idea of the impropriety of it, because she does not discern those singularities, in speech or deportment, which are so apt to strike the ears and eyes of well-educated persons on a first introduction to them.

The ladies, however, who live in and about the towns, being often in company with Europeans, and others brought up in Great-Britain, copy imperceptibly their manners and address; and become  
better

better qualified to fill the honourable station of a wife, and to head their table with grace and propriety. Those, who have been bred up entirely in the sequestered country parts, and had no opportunity of forming themselves either by example or tuition, are truly to be pitied. We may see, in some of these places, a very fine young woman awkwardly dangling her arms with the air of a Negroe-servant. lolling almost the whole day upon beds or settees, her head muffled up with two or three handkerchiefs, her dress loose, and without stays. At noon, we find her employed in gobbling pepper-pot, seated on the floor, with her sable hand-maids around her. In the afternoon, she takes her *siesta* as usual; while two of these damsels refresh her face with the gentle breathings of the fan; and a third provokes the drowsy powers of Morpheus by delicious scratchings on the sole of either foot. When she rouses from slumber, her speech is whining, languid, and childish. When arrived at maturer years, the consciousness of her ignorance makes her abscond from the sight or conversation of every rational creature. Her ideas are narrowed to the ordinary subjects that pass before her, the business of the plantation, the tittle-tattle of the parish; the tricks, superstitious, diversions, and profligate discourses, of black servants, equally illiterate and unpolished.

Who is there, that does not sincerely deplore the lot of this unhappy *tramontane*, and blame the inattention of the legislature to that important article, Education! To this defect we must attribute all that cruel ridicule and sarcasm, so frequently lavished upon these unfortunate females by others of their sex, who, having experienced the blessings of a regular course of instruction at school, are too ostentatiously fond of holding in derision what they ought to look upon with candour and concern. What ornaments to society might not these neglected women have proved, if they could have received the same degree of liberal polish! On the other hand, deprived thus of the means of culture and refinement, ill-furnished as they are with capacity for undertaking the province of managing domestic concerns, uninformed of what pertains to œconomy, order, and decency; how unfit are they to be the companions of sensible men, or the patterns of imitation to their daughters! how incapable of regulating their manners, enlightening  
their

their understanding, or improving their morals! Can the wisdom of legislature be more usefully applied, than to the attainment of these ends; which, by making the women more desirable partners in marriage, would render the island more populous, and residence in it more eligible; which would banish ignorance from the rising generation, restrain numbers from seeking these improvements, at the hazard of life, in other countries; and from unnaturally reviling a place which they would love and prefer, if they could enjoy in it that necessary culture, without which life and property lose their relish to those who are born, not only to inherit, but to adorn, a fortune.

The women of this island are lively, of good natural genius, frank, affable, polite, generous, humane, and charitable; cleanly in their persons even to excess; insomuch that they frequently bring on very dangerous complaints by the too free use of bathing at improper periods. They are faithful in their attachments; hearty in their friendships; and fond, to a fault, of their children, except in the single instance which I am grieved to have been obliged to expatiate upon. They are temperate and abstemious in their diet, rarely drinking any other liquor than water. They are remarkably expert at their needle, and indeed every other female occupation taught them; religious in their lives and sentiments; and chaste without prudery in their conversation. In horsemanship, dancing, and music, they are in general very accomplished: in these acquired qualifications they excell, more or less, according to the opportunities that have fallen in their way of cultivating their natural talents, which are very good, and susceptible of extensive improvements. As a foil to the brilliant part of their character, I must acknowledge, although with great reluctance, that they yield too much to the influence of a warm climate in their listless indolence of life. But it is chiefly the fault of the men, if they do not assemble till dinner is served up, or retire from it with the cloth, to doze away an hour or two, or enjoy a separate *tete a tete* in some adjoining chamber, leaving the men to their bottle. I have heard it reported of the master of a family, that, regularly after dinner and one circulation of the bottle, he used to throw out broad hints that it was time for all females in company to withdraw;

draw; and, when this signal was disregarded, gave so indecent a toast, as drove them immediately out of the room; a practice so brutal, that it would merit the bastinadoe even among Hottentots. This unsozial custom, however, loses ground, as the men are less attached than formerly to the pleasures of getting drunk. In the genteeler families, conversation between the two parties is kept up for a considerable time after dinner. Tea, coffee, and cards, supply the *passetemps* of jovial songs and voluptuous bumpers. They now contrive, for the most part, to have a select apartment, or drawing room, for rejoining the ladies after a short separation; and the customary intermixture in large companies, of placing the beaux and belles alternately, tends much to promote this polite intercourse between the two sexes. Formerly the married men and bachelors used to carouze together almost every day at taverns; the spirit of gaming then prevailed to a great excess; and the name of a *family man* was held in the utmost derision.

That irregular course of life was accompanied with innumerable evils. Many gentlemen of rank in the country impaired their fortunes, and reduced their families to the brink of ruin. It was not at all unusual to see one of them, after losing all his money, proceed to stake his carriage and horses that were waiting to carry him home; and, after losing these, obliged to return on foot. Drunken quarrels happened continually between intimate friends; which generally ended in duelling. And there were very few who did not shorten their lives by intemperance, or violence.

The present state of reformation therefore is a very happy change; which, by re-uniting the sexes, has promoted temperance, urbanity, and concord. A want of proper education and good maternal examples has rendered some women here extravagant in their expences, and very indifferent œconomists in their household affairs. They employ too numerous a tribe of domestic servants, and are apt to trust too far their fidelity, which is not always proof against strong temptations. From twenty to forty servants is nothing unusual. Perhaps it may not be unpleasant to the reader, to see a list of one of these household establishments. I shall therefore present him with the following:

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O O

2 Footmen, or waiting-men,  
1 Coach-

1 Coachman,  
 1 Possillion,  
 1 Helper,  
 1 Cook,  
 1 Assistant,

1 Key, or store-keeper,  
 1 Waiting-maid,  
 3 House-cleaners,  
 3 Washer-women,  
 4 Sempstresses.

These amount all together to twenty. If there are children in the family, each child has its nurse; and each nurse, her assistant boy or girl; who make a large addition to the number. Most of these are on board-wages, from three to four rials *per* week, besides their cloathing; with which they seem to live very comfortably. A speculative writer supposes it very feasible, in order to increase the number of white inhabitants, that every family should employ white domestics instead of Negroes. But he did not reflect, that even in Britain there is no one class of the people more insolent and unmanageable than the house-servants. Their wages are enormous; the charge of maintaining them, their wilful waste, idleness, profligacy, ingratitude of disposition, and ill behaviour in general, are so universally, and (I believe) with good reason, complained of, that most families consider them as necessary evils, and would gladly have nothing to do with such plagues, if their rank or station in life, or their own imbecillities, could possibly admit of their keeping none. What then must be the case in Jamaica, if these gentry are found so ungovernable and troublesome in Great Britain? None of them would leave home, to serve in the colony, except for very extravagant wages: even those that might pass over would soon discover, that, by the policy of the country, there subsists a material distinction between them and the Negroes. If they should chance to meet with any black servants in the same family, they would impose every part of the drudgery of service upon these poor creatures, and commence ladies and gentlemen. The females would attend to no work, except pinning their lady's handkerchief; and the men, to no other than laying the cloth for dinner, and powdering their master's hair. The governors usually bring over white servants with them; but are very glad to get quit of them, and fall into the modes of the country. The Negroes are certainly much better servants here, because they are more orderly and obedient, and conceive an attachment to the families they serve, far stronger



stronger than may be expected from the ordinary white domestics: at least, the inhabitants of the island seem to be of this opinion; for those gentlemen, whose ample fortunes admit their affording the expence of importing and maintaining white servants, incline universally to prefer the Blacks; nor will they, I believe, ever wish to increase population, and strengthen their security, by the introduction of English valets and friseurs into their families; the debauched morals, and dissolute practices of this race of men, would do more hurt among the Blacks by the force of example, than their ability for defending the country could do good. The sort of men, best qualified for increasing the number of Whites, are the sober, frugal, and industrious artificers; together with the poorer farmers and graziers, a hardy useful people, and most fit for occupying the unsettled desarts, and changing the woods and wildernesses into flourishing pastures and plantations.

But to return to what concerns the ladies. Scandal and gossiping are in vogue here as well as in other countries. A natural vivacity and openness of temper are apt to betray the unguarded into little indiscretions, which are sometimes diligently aggravated and blackened with the tongue of malevolence and envy. Yet few are more irreproachable in their actions than the Creole women: they err more in trivial follies, and caprices unrestrained, than in the guilt of real vice. And, if we consider how forcibly the warmth of this climate must co-operate with natural instinct to rouse the passions, we ought to regard chastity here as no mean effort of female fortitude; or, at least, judge not too rigidly of those lapses which happen through the venial frailty and weakness of human nature. They have not yet learned those artifices and disguises which women of the world can assume when they please to veil their sentiments and conduct. Their gaiety inclines them to be fond of dress, balls, and company; and, considering the small circle of public diversions in this island, it is not surprising that they should seek to gratify their inclinations by every lively amusement of this sort that presents itself. I must add, that they possess some share of vanity and pride; and that some few join to the latter an high and over-bearing spirit, which, not having been duly checked in their infancy, is apt to vent itself in turbulent fits of rage and

clamour, to the unspeakable disturbance of the poor animal, whose misfortune it may be to be linked in the nuptial bonds with such a temper. Fain would I wish to relate, that the more gentle and esteemable fair-ones apply themselves to repair the deficiencies of an imperfect education, by giving some leisure hours to the most approved authors, by whose help they might add the delights of a rational conversation to those abundant graces which nature has bestowed upon them. It is a pity that such excellent talents should lie waste, or misemployed, which require only cultivation to make them shine out with dignity and elegance. To please the eye, requires only the skill of a common mercenary harlot; but to captivate the heart, and charm the mind, a woman must divest herself, as soon as possible, of gross ignorance (that foster-mother of pride), silly prattle, and conceited airs; she must endeavour, by diligent reading and observation, to enlarge her notions, banish her prejudices, and stock her intellect with such improvements, as may enable her to bear her part in a sensible conversation. By these easy means, she may save many a blush, when common subjects are discussed, of which she ought not to be ignorant; she will entertain her company in a rational manner, and with correct language, and not expose her husband to be hooted at, for his folly in tying himself for life to a pretty idiot. That audacious slanderer, Dr. Browne, accuses some of the ladies here of flaying their faces with the caustic oil of the cashew-nut, in order to acquire a new skin. "The process" (he says) "continues fourteen or fifteen days; during which they suffer the most exquisite torture, which their vanity enables them to support with Christian patience." And yet it seems to be to very little purpose; "for" (he adds) "all this blistering leaves the countenance much more deformed, than any spots or freckles could have made it. Happy," (quoth he) "had they been equally attentive to the improvement of their mind, which they too frequently neglect; while they bear so much pain, to cast their skins, in imitation of snakes and adders."

The doctor, like many other old bachelors, had strange fancies about the operations of the toilet, or (to believe the best of him) took a hint, from some girlish freak of this kind, which might have

have come to his knowledge in the course of his medical practice, to insinuate that this colicetic was in general use. But the women here so universally understand the caustic nature of this oil, that they never attempt to open the nuts with their own fingers, for fear of burning them. All families have the kernels served up at their table in a variety of different preparations. And hence I judge it impossible, that any woman, possessing two grains of sence, could think of besmearing her whole face with such a liniment, which erodes like *aqua fortis*, though she might use the kernels in emulsion. I rather suspect the doctor's credulity was imposed upon by some wag; and that he seized this occasion to have a sting at the ladies, who are therefore much obliged to him for so ingenious a tale, as well as for the sting at the end of it.

It is remarked here, that the women attain earlier to maturity, and sooner decline, than in the Northern climates: they often marry very young, and are mothers at twelve years of age. They console themselves, however, that they can enjoy more of real existence here in one hour, than the fair inhabitants of the frozen, foggy regions do in two. The temperance of their life carries them on, notwithstanding, to a good old age; it being no uncommon thing to see women here of eighty or ninety years, and upwards. A few years since, a venerable matron died at the age of one hundred and eight; and I remember one of ninety-six, who enjoyed all her faculties unimpaired, excepting her sight, which truly was somewhat the worse for wear. Many of the other sex too, who, by constitution or from prudence, avoid strong liquors and hurtful excesses, arrive at the same periods of longevity with fewer infirmities than accompany the same ages in England, where old folks are generally shriveled with cold, and overwhelmed with catarrhus defluxions, the natural fruits of a raw, wet atmosphere. In Jamaica, the warmth and equable state of the air is friendly to age; and the nutritious quality of its foods preserves vigour and a lively flow of spirits.

Intemperance and sensuality are the fatal instruments which, in this island, have committed such havoc, and sent their heedless votaries, in the prime of manhood, to an untimely grave. It is owing to these destructive causes, that we perceive here such a  
number

number of young widows, who are greedily snapped up by distressed bachelors, or rapacious widowers, as soon as the weeds are laid aside. Sir Nicholas Lawes, formerly governor of the island, used to say, that the female art of growing rich here in a short time was comprized in two significant words, "*marry and bury.*"

To sum up the character of the Jamaica ladies, I shall conclude with this remark; that, considering the very great defects in their education, and other local disadvantages, their virtues and merits seem justly entitled to our highest encomium; and their frailties and failings to our mildest censure.

## S E C T. II.

THE natives of Scotland and Ireland seem to thrive here much better than the European English. They bring sounder constitutions with them in general, and are much sooner provided for. The national partiality, which is made an accusation against the gentlemen of the two former parts of the British empire, is so far attended here with very good consequences; for their young countrymen, who come over to seek their fortunes, are often beholden to the benevolence of these patrons, who do not suffer them to languish and fall into despondence for want of employment, but take them under friendly protection; and, if they are well disposed, they are soon put into a way of doing something for themselves. The gentlemen are therefore, in my opinion, very often unjustly censured for doing what humanity requires. This hospitable alacrity to assist and befriend their countrymen, in a place where they might otherwise become destitute of support, and sick of life, produces likewise an event very favourable to the colony, by inviting into it frequent recruits of very able hands, who add not a little to its population and strength. The offspring of this part of Britain are extremely numerous and flourishing in Jamaica. I have heard a computation made of no fewer than one hundred of the name of Campbel only actually resident in it, all claiming alliance with the Argyle family. There are likewise numbers, who, though related to other noble stocks of the North, deserve much more respect from their own intrinsic worth, than from their illustrious consanguinity. Jamaica, indeed,

indeed, is greatly indebted to North-Britain, as very near one third of the inhabitants are either natives of that country, or descendants from those who were. Many have come from the same quarter every year, less in quest of fame, than of fortunes; and such is their industry and address, that few of them have been disappointed in their aim. To say the truth, they are so clever and prudent in general, as, by an obliging behaviour, good sense, and zealous services, to gain esteem, and make their way through every obstacle. The English were never charged with a want of benevolence; but, in the exercise of it, they resemble the blind goddess Fortune, who scatters her favours with her eyes shut before all that happen in the way to scramble for them. Abstracted from the line I have drawn, the extension of friendship to an undeserving man, for no other reason but because it was his lot to have been born in the same parish, and in preference to one of far greater merit who chanced to be born two or three hundred miles further distant, is illiberal and unmanly, and betrays a mind enslaved, in the most contemptible degree, to meanness and ignorance. In this island no distinctions ought to subsist, but of good or bad citizens. They who would seem to maintain any other by their conduct, however they may affect to disdain them with their lips, are of narrow souls, and no true friends to the interest and peace of the island.

The lower order of white people (as they are called here) are, for the most part, composed of artificers, indented servants, and refugees.

The first live well here, and get high prices for their work [x]. Of the second class, great numbers used formerly to be brought from

[x] I select a few articles, from which some idea may be formed of the expence of building in this island; and, for better comparison with the London prices, the sums are all reduced to sterling.

	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
Masonry, <i>per perch</i> , _____	0	4	5 $\frac{1}{4}$				
Reduced brick-work, <i>per rod</i> , _____	16	1	5				
Bricks, <i>per mill.</i> with carriage, _____	2	2	10				
Laying ditto, <i>per mill.</i> _____	0	14	3 $\frac{1}{2}$				
Paving ditto on edge, <i>per yard</i> , _____	0	3	6 $\frac{3}{4}$				
Ditto ditto flat, ditto, _____	0	1	9 $\frac{1}{4}$				
Lime, <i>per hoghead</i> , _____	0	3	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	to	0	3	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Scantling, plank, and board, <i>per mill.</i> feet, _____	8	11	5				

Hard

from Scotland, where they were actually kidnapped by some *man-traders*, in or near Glasgow, and shipped for this island, to be sold for four or five years term of service. On their arrival, they used to be ranged in a line, like new Negroes, for the planters to pick and chuse. But this traffic has ceased for some years, since the despotism of clanship was subdued, and trade and industry drove out laziness and tyranny from the North of Scotland. The artificers, particularly stone-masons and mill-wrights, from that part of Britain, are remarkably expert, and in general are sober, frugal, and civil; the good education, which the poorest of them receive, having great influence on their morals and behaviour. I do not know whether the overseers of plantations should be considered in a separate class: they are, for the most part, such as have passed through a regular course of service in the agriculture of this country; and, if they are sensible and thrifty, they enjoy very comfortable lives, and save enough out of their salaries to buy a settlement of their own: some of them have even become possessors, in time, of very large properties, and made a very respectable figure here. Subordinate to the overseers are the plantation book-keepers, warehouse or store-keepers, distillers, tradesmen, and drivers, or sub-overseers; but for this last office Negroes are mostly employed.

The crimp's office has supplied no small number of inferior servants. This office has the singular faculty of qualifying any man whatever for any art or mystery he inclines to follow in the colonies, and by no other magic than a common indenture; carpenters, who never handled a tool; bricklayers, who scarcely know a brick from a stone; and book-keepers, who can neither

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Hard timber, <i>per</i> hundred feet, _____	1	12	$1\frac{1}{2}$	to	1	15	$8\frac{1}{2}$
Best Carolina shingles, <i>per mill.</i> about _____	2	17	$1\frac{3}{4}$		3	11	$5\frac{1}{4}$
Roofing, boarding, and shingling, <i>per</i> square, _____	3	4	$3\frac{1}{2}$				
Door-frames, each, _____	2	17	$1\frac{3}{4}$				
Window ditto, _____	1	15	$8\frac{1}{2}$				
Framing, lathing, and shingling roofs, <i>per</i> square, _____	2	17	$1\frac{3}{4}$				
Iron work, <i>per</i> pound, _____	0	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$				
Flat and square bars, <i>per</i> pound, _____	0	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$				
Twenty-penny nails, <i>per mill.</i> _____	0	17	0				
Ten-penny nails, ditto, _____	0	10	3				
Six-penny nails, ditto, _____	0	5	$4\frac{1}{2}$				
Spike nails, <i>per</i> pound, _____	0	0	$10\frac{1}{4}$				

write

write nor read. Many of these menial servants, who are retained for the sake of saving a deficiency, are the very dregs of the three kingdoms. They have commonly more vices, and much fewer good qualities, than the slaves over whom they are set in authority; the better sort of which heartily despise them, perceiving little or no difference from themselves, except in skin, and blacker depravity. By their base familiarity with the worst-disposed among the slaves, they do a very great injury to the plantations; causing disturbances, by seducing the Negroes wives, and bringing an *odium* upon the white people in general, by their drunkenness and profligate actions. In fact, the better sort of Creole Blacks disdain to associate with them, holding them in too much contempt, or abhorrence.

Although the gaol-delivery of Newgate is not poured in upon this island; yet it is an occasional asylum for many who have deserved the gallows. These fellows are no sooner arrived, than they cheat away to the right and left, and off again they start; carrying all away with them, except the infamy of their proceedings, which they leave behind, as a *memento*, to shew the impropriety of admitting any other than honest men to be members of an industrious colony.

Formerly convict-felons were transported hither; but the inconvenience attending the admission of such miscreants obtained the inhabitants a relief from them. While the traffic for Scotch servants lasted, the legislature of the island lent their helping hand to give it encouragement; and, in 1703, it was enacted, that a master of any ship, importing thirty white men servants at one time, should be for that voyage exempted from paying all port-charges. If any of the servants so brought in should happen to remain undisposed of at the expiration of thirteen days after their arrival, the receiver-general was directed to take charge of them, upon paying to the importer a certain sum *per* head. He was then to send them to the *custos* of that parish, where the greatest deficiencies were; and the treasury was reimbursed by the person, or planter, on whom they were quartered. It is curious to remark the prices which at that time were set upon these servants, and to compare them with what are paid at present.





It is no wonder, therefore, that the planters do not supply their deficiencies as formerly, by importing indented servants, but rather pay the penalty, which was fixed, in the year 1715, at 13*l.* *per annum*, and rarely exceeds that sum now, it being seldom doubled; or else pick up any transient vagabonds that chance to fall in their way, and will serve for 15*l.* or 20*l.* a year.

The first deficiency-law, passed in 1681, required a greater proportion. According to this, the same proprietor must have kept thirty-three. This may account for the greater proportion of white inhabitants in those days, when such servants were to be procured at the most trifling expence, and maintained at a very cheap rate. In their condition, they were little better than slaves during their term of service. They were allowed yearly three shirts, as many pair of drawers, shoes and stockings, and a hat or cap; which were probably of very wretched stuff, as the penalty for not making such an allowance was no more than forty shillings. Their subsistence was directed to be four pound weight of good flesh or fish *per week*, with a sufficient quantity of plantation provision, such as yams, &c.; and they were subjected to various penalties for misdemeanour; viz.

For laying violent hands on their employer; a twelvemonth's *extra* service.—Embezzling or wasting goods, of above 40*s.* value; two years *extra* service.—Getting a fellow-servant with child; a service of double the time the woman had to serve.—Marrying without the consent of their master or mistress; two years *extra* service.—Absenting from service without leave; one week's service for every day's absence.—*Wilfully* catching the venereal, or other disease; or *wilfully* getting broken bones, bruises, &c.; to serve double the time thereby lost, and for all charges thereby occasioned, at 10*s.* a month, after the expiration of their indentures.—Concealing a servant, or slave; one year's service, or a whipping of thirty-nine lashes, at the option of the injured party, on conviction before a justice.—Stealing timber, or tanning-bark; 3*l.* penalty, upon conviction.—Forging a certificate of freedom; on conviction, to be pilloried, and lose both ears.

The only material provisions in their favour were, that they should not be whipped *naked*, without order of a justice of the

peace; nor be turned off, when grown infirm, under pretence of giving them freedom; nor be buried until the body had been viewed by a justice of the peace, constable, tything man, or two neighbours.

But the penal clauses of these acts have long since been extinct; and at present the white indented servants are laid under few restrictions, except so far as respects their serving out their term. And by a later law, passed in 1736, the misbehaviour of servants during their contract, and all differences between them and their masters (overseers of sugar-plantations excepted) are to be heard and determined before two justices of the peace, according to the nature of the case, and without appeal, save that they are to inflict no punishment extending to life or limb. Where they have not fresh meat, they are allowed four barrels of beef *per annum*, with flour, or bread-kind in proportion; but, in general, their allowance is not limited; and the tradesmen and better sort mess with the overseer of the respective plantations, unless he thinks proper to keep a separate table for them, which is sometimes the custom on very large estates, where they rarely eat any salt-meat, except for a forenoon luncheon.

Any master of a ship attempting to carry off the island, or run away with another person's white indented servant, without a discharge from the employer, is, on conviction, to be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and to suffer accordingly.

Many of the artificers who have come under these contracts, if they were sober and diligent, have settled afterwards in the island, and acquired very handsome fortunes, particularly the Scotch. That part of Britain has likewise furnished some of the ablest surveyors known here. There are generally twelve of these, who are commissioned by the governor, give bond in 300*l.* for the faithful execution of their office, and are put under several regulations by law. This business was formerly very profitable; and still is so in the hands of able draughtsmen, the charges of making plans being extremely high: besides, the ignorance and knavery of surveyors, formerly employed to run out the wood-lands, have caused such errors as to breed numberless disputes concerning the true fixings and boundaries even to this day; and the adjustment  
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of these contentions is a perpetual fund for employing and supporting the professors of the geometric art.

The Jews were very early settled in this island, attracted no less by the quantity of gold and silver brought into circulation here, than the mild disposition of the government towards them. In some of the other sugar-islands they were proscribed, by admitting the evidence of pagan slaves against them in the courts of justice. Yet, although this government was comparatively lenient, they were oppressed, in some instances, conformably to that persecuting spirit which zealous Christians used antiently to manifest towards all those who differed from them in matters of faith, particularly Jews, Turks, and Infidels. But it must be owned, that the rascally tricks, for which both antient and modern Jews have always been distinguished, may have served not a little to embitter the popular hatred against them. In 1681, a law passed in Jamaica to prevent clipping and falsifying of coin, and debasing of gold and silver wares. The Jews were, at that time, the principal workers in gold and silver. Their fondness for this craft in all ages is remarkable, and proves the gainfulness of it; and it is still more so, that perhaps there seldom has been such a law enacted in any country, which did not abound with these Jewish artists.

I think it was in the reign of William III, that the council of this island addressed the crown to expel all the Jews from this part of the British dominions, not for the substantial reason above assigned, but for a very whimsical one, viz. because "they were descended from the crucifiers of the blessed Jesus." I need not mention, that his majesty did not think fit to comply with their request. The gentlemen were not deep enough read in history to discover, that the Romans, and not the Jews, punished by crucifixion. But, if they supposed the Jews of Jamaica to be the lineal descendents from that part of the Jerusalem mob which accused our Saviour before the Roman governor, and, by importuning for his execution, became *participes criminis*, and so transmitted the guilt down to their third and fourth generations; we must admire their skill in pedigrees, who could thus trace the line of descent through a course of near seventeen centuries. - In these days of ignorance, and long after, they were not taxed like other subjects,

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but obliged to raise among them a certain annual tribute, which the assembly varied at pleasure. During the government of Sir Thomas Lynch, they were assessed the annual sum of 750*l.*, besides one shilling in the pound on their rents. In governor Molefworth's time, they began to make a considerable figure, and were permitted to erect synagogues, and perform divine worship according to their own ritual. And from this period we begin to date their deliverance out of bondage in the island.

It is uncertain, whether at the same period they purchased the interest of a commander in chief to obtain the royal instruction, forbidding the governor for the time being to give assent to any bill imposing this partial taxation; but it was probable from this origin their custom began of presenting every new governor, upon his arrival, with a peace-offering, consisting of a purse of doubloons. I have heard, that the first oblation of this sort was, for decency-sake, conveyed in a *pye*; whence it has obtained this nick-name. The smaller *douceur*, presented to a lieutenant-governor, is styled a *tart*; and the still smaller perquisite, to the secretary, a *tartlet* [*y*]. Oppression had taught them, that no argument was so powerful as this in soliciting for protection. It must be acknowledged, however, that these people have shewn themselves very good and useful subjects upon many occasions. When the French invaded

	Pistoles.
[ <i>y</i> ] Their present to a new governor in chief has generally been, as I am told, about	200
To a lieutenant-governor, _____	150
To a president, I suppose the same.	
To the governor's, &c. secretary, _____	50

I shall take the opportunity of mentioning here, what I omitted in the proper place, that the governor's secretary has no fixed salary; nor any fees allowed by law, except a trifling sum on certificates of freedom taken out, which are renewable only once in seven years: but his income is rated by some at about 1000*l.* sterling *per annum*; and by others much higher. It arises from the gratuities he receives on all civil and military commissions and warrants issued by the governor, especially upon entrance of the latter into office; at which time it has been often the practice to renew such commissions, &c. merely to put money into the secretary's pocket. And some governors have condescended to take a share in the profits; for they are sometimes considerable, fifty pistoles having often been given for an honorary post in the militia. Other emoluments accrue from let-passes, granted to foreign vessels entering Port Royal harbour (which may be reckoned among the number of impolitic restrictions laid upon the trade of the island); likewise from orders for surveying crown-lands, and *fiats*; and, in short, from every other instrument vesting any office, preferment, or commission, within the governor's gift or appointment. But the principal harvest is gleaned, in time of war, from the grant of letters of marque, and flags of truce.

this

this island during the government of Sir William Beeston, they opposed the enemy with great courage. Their knowledge of foreign languages, and intercourse with their brethren, dispersed over the Spanish and other West-India colonies, have contributed greatly to extend the trade, and increase the wealth, of the island; for they have always been the chief importers of bullion: and the riches they acquire to themselves are expended in effect to the public welfare; for they are not mere brokers and money-holders that may remove *ad libitum*; they are allowed to purchase lands and tenements, and actually possess a large share of both. This gives them a solid attachment to the interest and security of Jamaica; which they consider as their home. Their affection is still further strengthened by the assurance, that, under other governments, they would not be indulged with the enjoyment of the same rights, privileges, and immunities, which they now hold undisturbed. The provincial laws, it is true, lay them under some few restrictions (if they can be properly called such, for they rather seem exemptions from burthen, than privations of any benefit).

They may not officiate, nor write, in any of the public offices. They must supply their deficiencies out of their own nation, and not by indented Christian servants; but they are allowed to hire Christians for this purpose.

Their religion necessarily excludes them from exercising any post under the government above the rank of constable; but the policy of the island requires all of them, without distinction, to bear arms in the militia. If they cannot, on account of their religion, hold posts of profit, they are nevertheless excused, for the same reason, from troublesome offices, that have no profit annexed to them, which are here exceedingly numerous: so that the balance, upon the whole, seems much in their favour. The lenity of the laws, which tolerate them in the free exercise of their religion and customs, permit them to hold landed property, protect them equally with other subjects in the possession and enjoyment of it; and load them with no partial or oppressive taxations, altogether forms a very ample compensation for the want of a voice in the legislature, or courts of justice. They are consequently contented and happy under this government; and would be more so, if it was not for  
their

their own little schisms in religious matters; for they are divided into two factions, or sects; one of which, called the *Smoufe Jews*, are not acknowledged orthodox by the rest, on account of their having, through the rigours of the inquisition in the Portuguese and Spanish dominions, relaxed in some indispensable rituals, or intermarried with Christians; by which abomination, they have polluted the pure Israelitish blood with the corrupt stream of the Gentiles. The *Smoufes* have therefore a distinct conventicle, or meeting, of their own, at a private house, where they vociferate, to the great disturbance of the neighbourhood.

The chief men among the Jews are very worthy persons, and ought not to be reproached for the vices and villainies of the lower rabble, since they strive all in their power to put them in the way of earning their livelihood honestly: and, although some fraudulent bankruptcies now and then happen among the poorer and more knavish tribe; yet there are no common leggars of their nation, the elders having an established fund for the relief of all their poor. They traffic among the Negroes chiefly in salt-fish, butter, and a sort of cheap pedlary wares, manufactured by their brethren in England. But among the chief men are several very opulent planters, and capital merchants, who are connected with great houses in the city of London. It has been a very striking remark, that the multitude of them settled in this island, the purchases they are continually making both of houses and lands, and the vast wealth they collectively have staked here, are sure indications that they are delighted with the mildness and equity of the government, and rest satisfied, that their property is entirely safe, and securely held; from a conviction, “that a place of such great importance to the mother-country will never be neglected, nor fail of receiving all due care and protection.” Some persons have affirmed, that the Jews of this island are not such rigid observers of the Mosaic ritual as their brethren of other countries. Many of them have been charged with the heavy accusation of gratifying their appetites now and then with a pork dinner without licence; and others are said to purchase a dispensation for it of the rabbi, after the manner of Roman catholic epicures in the Lent season. Indeed, the West-India pork is of so exquisite a flavour, that,

that, if Moses had ever tasted it, he certainly would not have been so unkind towards his followers as to include it in his catalogue of non-eatables; for I do not know any thing more likely to convert a Jew who wavers in faith in this part of the world, than the temptation of this delicious food; and it may be owing to the just consideration of human frailty, that the rabbis here are too politic to interdict absolutely the moderate use of it to the members of their congregation, or perhaps to abstain wholly from it themselves. In regard to other sects, some quakers were formerly settled here, who came principally from Barbadoes. They had a meeting-house in Kingston and a burial ground, situate West from the town, the walls of which are still remaining. They afterwards dispersed, and the greater part retired to New-England and Philadelphia. Very few here at this time openly profess themselves of this order. The chief inducement for their quitting Jamaica probably was no other than the indispensable obligation imposed by its laws, on every man in the island, to bear *carnal weapons* in the militia. This ordinance was incompatible with their non-resisting tenets; and all such as adhere to them so rigidly, are doubtless very unfit inhabitants for a sugar-colony, which cannot be defended either from foreign or intestine enemies by a flock of sheep. In 1732, there appears to have been a remnant of them in the island; for a law, passed in that year, entitles them to vote at elections, proving their qualification by affirmation, instead of oath.

A party of Moravians are settled here, who in some particulars seem to hold resemblance to the quakers. They are chiefly, I believe, confined to an estate in the parish of St. Elizabeth. In the year 1763, the freeholders of that parish presented a petition to the assembly, setting forth, “ that, for some years past, many persons, who called themselves Moravians, had arrived there; that they always refused to do military duty, pleading an exemption by act of parliament, of which they had particularly availed themselves during the late rebellions; that it was conceived such a pretext entirely frustrated the ends of the deficiency-law, and prevented a number of white persons, capable of bearing arms, from being employed upon the estates where these drones had met with encouragement.” It does not appear that the assembly

interfered at all in this matter. It was thought sufficient, perhaps, that they should be left to those penalties and articles of war, to which men of every persuasion are liable in this island during martial law. The evasion of these schismatics is not founded on indisputable grounds; for the act of parliament (22 George II. cap. 30 [z]), which they set up to screen themselves, seems restricted to the congregation of *unitas fratrum*, or Moravians, settled in the North-American provinces. This act admits them to the privilege of making solemn affirmation, instead of oaths or affidavits, in civil cases; and discharges them from personal service in a military capacity, provided they pay such sum of money as may be assessed or rated on them, in lieu of personal service: and, to prevent all doubt of their being of the congregation, they must produce a certificate of their being members of it, signed by some bishop of their church, or pastor, nearest to the place of their residence; and must likewise solemnly affirm, that they are members as before-mentioned; otherwise they are not entitled to the benefit of the act. It seems pretty evident from hence, that this act does not extend to Jamaica, because the laws here exempt no man from military service, except the council and superannuated persons; and admit no fine or assessment in lieu of any man's personal duty. Every proprietor of landed estate here holds under express conditions contained in his patent, that he shall personally bear arms to repel invasions, and suppress insurrections; and his refusal to do so would make his patent voidable. It is true, the owners of these Moravian properties, being non-resident, escape from personal service; but they ought to employ such agents, or servants, in the management, who will yield due obedience to the laws of the colony. That exemption cannot possibly be legal, or justifiable, which, if it extended to all, would endanger the ruin of the colony. What, for example, would become of it, if the seduction of their example should make converts of all the militia in the island, so that every man of them might turn Moravian, and set up the plea of conscience to excuse himself from his proper share of the general duty and service, which the very being of the island

[z] N. B. This act prohibits them from serving on juries, or being evidences in criminal cases.



has rendered indispensable to all? The consequence is evident. In order, therefore, that this sect may quietly enjoy their religious scruples, but at the same time make them inoffensive to the public weal, every Moravian proprietor ought to compound for the personal service of himself, his substitutes, and servants, who are members of the same church, by being subjected to a double deficiency-tax; which is the only fair compensation, because it leaves them the alternative of providing an equal number of servants who *will* fight, in the room of those whose hands are tied up by conscience. Nor is this repugnant to their principles; for although they refuse carrying arms, yet they profess willingness to contribute towards the pecuniary charge of war; which the quakers refuse. Of the two sects the Moravians are therefore the better citizens, since nothing can be more hateful in the present state of the world than the pusillanimous doctrine of non-resistance against an invading enemy.

The Moravians possess a large tract of land in the province of Philadelphia, where they have a settlement called Bethlem, and are very zealous in converting the Indians. They publish no creed, nor confession of faith; use musical instruments in their worship; and preach in an enthusiastical strain. The style of their hymns has such a pruriency and wantonness in it, as can scarcely be reconciled with the chaste fervour of a truly pious mind. They are said to encourage marriage among their young people, but in a strange way; for they are obliged to cast lots, in order to preserve an equality among themselves. Whether their doctrines are strictly consistent with good morality, or not, we are not particularly informed. Kalm mentions, that at Philadelphia, where they have a large meeting-house, they used to perform service, not only twice or three times every Sunday, but likewise every night after it grew dark, till they were interrupted by some wicked young fellows, who accompanied every line and stanza of their hymns with the symphony of an instrument which sounded like the note of a cuckoo. And, upon repeated serenadings of this kind, they discontinued their nocturnal conventions. We are to suppose, that nothing passed among these godly people in the dark but what was extremely decent and proper; yet the convenience which this veil

might administer to the practical performance of those rapturous caresses, ravishing extasies, thrilling transports, with all the kissings, pantings, sighings, dyings, which fill up the luscious measure of their psalmody, might doubtless be apt to strike the imaginations of the prophane, and incline them to suspect, that the saints behind the curtain voluptuously mingle a little of the sensual with their spiritual feelings.

These which I have mentioned are all the schismatics publicly avowed in Jamaica: not but there are many Roman catholics, and dissenters, who enjoy their respective opinions in private, without seeking to form themselves into distinct congregations, or to put themselves to the expence of maintaining preachers or pastors.

The laws of the island are favourable to the admission of foreigners. They empower the governor, by instrument under the broad seal, to naturalize any alien who may come to settle in the island, having first taken the oath of allegiance: but they are required, within thirty days after their arrival, to give in their names, trades, vocations, &c. to any *custos*, or chief magistrate, and apply for their letter of naturalization.

They are then declared entitled to the same immunities, rights, laws, and privileges, of the island, and in as full and ample manner, as any of the king's natural-born subjects, or as if they themselves had been born within any of his majesty's realms or dominions. And, in order that such patents may be obtained at little charge, the governor is to receive five pounds currency, and his secretary ten shillings, each, and no more, for passing them.

This matter is further regulated by act of parliament, passed 13 George II.; the object whereof seems to be, that aliens, transporting themselves into any of the British colonies, should become entitled to the rights of natural-born subjects, on condition that they remain and reside therein for a certain term of years: for a multitude of transient persons, transferring their effects, perhaps for the sake of traffic, and having no fixed abode, nor making any settlement, would add nothing to the security of a colony; but, on the contrary, might do it hurt, by carrying off the profits, gained on their trade, to be spent in a foreign dominion, and by excluding many real British merchants and traders, who would otherwise

otherwise have settled in the colony. It enacts, that all persons, born out of his majesty's liegeance, who shall reside for the space of seven years, or more, in any of his American colonies; and that shall not have been absent from thence above two months at any one time; and that shall take and subscribe the oaths of allegiance; or, if quakers, subscribe the declaration; or, if Jews, with the omission of some Christian expressions; and shall also subscribe the profession of their Christian belief (Jews excepted), as directed by the statute, 1 William and Mary, before any judge of the colony they shall reside in; and shall have received the sacrament of the Lord's-supper in some protestant or reformed congregation in Great-Britain, or in the said colonies (quakers and Jews excepted), within three months of his or her so qualifying, and producing a certificate thereof, signed by the minister of the congregation, and attested by two witnesses; a certificate of all these preliminaries, having been complied with under the respective colony seal, shall be a sufficient proof of his or her being thereby become a natural-born subject of Great-Britain to all intents and purposes whatsoever: and the secretary of the colony shall annually transmit, to the board of trade and plantations, lists of the said persons so naturalized, to be registered in their office: provided that such persons shall not thereby be enabled to be a privy-counsellor, or a member of either house of parliament, or capable of taking, having, or enjoying, any office, or place of trust, within the kingdoms of Great-Britain or Ireland, either civil or military; or taking any grant from the crown of any lands, tenements, &c. within the said kingdoms.

In the construction of this act, I do not apprehend, that the absence of two months implies any thing more than a removal to some other dominion, or territory, of some foreign prince. An alien, qualified as the law directs, may have his *domicile*, or fixed habitation, in one of the British colonies, and nevertheless, by reason of his vocation, either of a merchant or seaman, be obliged, from time to time, to pass to and fro between that and some other British colony, so as to be absent necessarily above two months at one time. But, where his freehold and family are located, there is (properly speaking) his *domicile*, or home. And it would be inconsistent.

consistent with the liberal spirit and meaning of the act to say, that an alien, having qualified in Jamaica, and purchased a settlement in that island, but making a voyage every year to the North-American continent, in the way of trade, or for health, which might cause him to be absent from Jamaica somewhat more than two months, should therefore forfeit his acquired right of a natural-born subject. It is more reasonable to conclude, that a residence in any of the British American colonies for the term of seven years, without having been absent above two months from British territory during that space, effectually meets the intention of the act.

Foreign protestants, naturalized under the Jamaica law, possess all the rights of natural-born subjects *quoad* that island. They may purchase lands, or inherit, or take grants from the crown; have a right to represent, and be represented, in the assembly, if they enjoy the necessary qualification in estate; and may hold and exercise places of trust in the military and civil departments; for some of them have acted under commission as field-officers in the militia, judges in the supreme court and common-pleas, justices of the peace, &c.; and the late secretary, Mr. Ballaguire, was a naturalized German. But I do not remember any in the privy-council.

The clause, 7 and 8 William III. § 12, enacting, “that all “places of trust, or what relates to the treasury of the British “West-India islands, shall be in the hands of native-born subjects “of England or Ireland, or of the said islands,” seems not to exclude those who by naturalization are made natural-born.

The foreigners, who have taken the benefit of these acts, are not very numerous in Jamaica; but, if any townships should be formed in the central parts of the island, perhaps none would be fitter for the purpose of inhabiting them than French protestants.

I shall next consider the state of the soldiers quartered here. The island stood but little in need of regular forces, for its defence, till about the year 1730; when the depredations and outrages, committed by the Maroons (or wild Negroes, as they were called) had gone on to such a length, that the settlements were in many parts deserted, and the inhabitants thrown under the oppression of very heavy taxes, for supporting a continual intestine war, which greatly interrupted the business of their plantations. These mo-

tives

tives engaged governor Hunter to solicit the duke of Newcastle (then at the head of the ministry) for two regiments of foot; which were accordingly detached from the garrison of Gibraltar to their assistance. The people were told, that these troops would be no burthen to them, for that they were to be victualed and paid at the national expence, as they had before been at Gibraltar. However, the victualers not arriving in due time, the assembly were called upon to make some provision for them in the *interim*; to which they consented, and passed a bill for this purpose, to have a duration for six months only. The governor had assured them, that, so soon as the victualers should arrive, the provisions they brought should be distributed instantly among the troops, that the island might not be unnecessarily put to any further expence for their subsistence. But no sooner were they arrived, than he caused the provisions to be sold, and retained the proceeds in his own hands, meanly taking advantage of the pressing necessity which the inhabitants were under of keeping the regiments, at any rate, for their defence. This proceeding, so dishonourable on the governor's part, first gave rise to the country-pay, or allowance, which is now granted by annual bill. These troops were, soon afterwards, disbanded here; and such of the men as inclined to stay were formed into eight independent companies, and kept in pay by the island until the Negroes were brought to submission; which happened in the administration of governor Trelawny, about the year 1739. In the year 1745, they were incorporated into a regiment, and the command given to that governor. They then became intitled to receive pay from the crown; but, nevertheless, the assembly made an additional provision of twenty shillings *per week* to each officer, and five shillings to each private. This pay has since received considerable augmentation; and it is at present upon the following establishment:

	<i>Per Week.</i>			<i>Per Ann.</i>						
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
To every lieutenant-colonel, major, } captain, lieutenant, or ensign, ——— }	1	0	0	52	0	0	} 116	0	0	Married officers.
Captain's lodging, ——— ——— ———				25						
His wife, ——— ——— ———	10	0		26						
Child, ——— ——— ———	5	0		13			} 29	5	0	{ Non-commis- sioned and private.
Serjeant, corporal, drum, or private, —	5	0		13						
Wife, ——— ——— ———	3	9		9	15	0				
Child, ——— ——— ———	2	6		6	10	0				

Per

For Lodgings.					<i>Per Annum.</i>
Lieutenant-colonel,	—	—	—	—	£ 50
Major	—	—	—	—	50
Lieutenant, ensign, or surgeon,	—	—	—	—	20

They are likewise allowed to buy their rum free of the island duty, which is a saving of from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* *per* gallon; an advantage purposely given them by the legislature, that they might be enabled to buy it of the best quality, instead of debauching with the balderdash liquor, sold under the name of rum by the keepers of retail shops.

The subsistence is, in the three towns of St. Jago, Kingston, and Port Royal, paid into the hands of the men; but, in the country-quarters, to their commanding officers, for the use of the soldiers. A diversity of opinion has prevailed in regard to this mode of payment; as the soldiers in some of the country quarters have, in one or two instances, appeared to have been defrauded of their dues, or supplied with putrid and unwholesome provisions, which were sold to them much above their prime-cost. It was argued, that, with money in their hands, the men might purchase much better in quality, and more in quantity, of fresh meat and wholesome victuals; and that every country-barrack would attract a market for the sale of hogs, poultry, fresh fish, fruits, and roots, which are articles produced and vended by almost all the Negroes.

On the other hand, it was alledged, that, by paying the allowance in money to the common soldiers, they would become, in some degree, independent of their officers; that they would dissipate it in spirituous liquors, grow enervated with tipping, relaxed in their discipline, and impaired in their vigour and health.

I do not take upon me to reconcile these different opinions; but certain it is, that all the men are not prone to drunkenness, in particular those who have wives and children; that they prefer fresh meat to salt, and the many excellent roots, pulse, and herbs, of the island produce, to biscuit, which will not keep any long time undecayed in this climate; that a pound of fresh meat is far more nutritive, and will go much further in satisfying hunger, than a pound of beef hardened with salt; that salt-beef creates an artificial thirst; and that this produces a constant appetite for drink,  
and

and therefore most likely, either to make fots of those men who were not such before, or to confirm others more inveterately, in their drunken habits; and, lastly, that money and a demand are the only things requisite to procure a regular and well-supplied market in a country which abounds with provision. There is, moreover, a very great difference in the air and situation of the different barracks; so that, in some of them, a diet on salt provision, concurring with any local depravity of the atmosphere, may dispose the body to very malignant distempers; while, in other barracks, the same diet may prove much less injurious to a soldier's health. Thus, of fifty unseasoned men, quartered at an inland barrack for three years, not one died of any distemper; though other companies of the same regiment, quartered on unhealthy spots near the coast, were sickly, and buried several of their men. I would not mean to insinuate any thing to the disadvantage of so respectable a body as the officers in general are; but some among them are not immaculate; nor is it to be supposed but they are subject, like other men, to human frailties. The worthier part of them, I am convinced, upon a due consideration of the subject, might fall on some plan of regulation, to the end that these benevolent aids, which the inhabitants grant to the poor soldiers and their families, may not be misapplied; that their health should be effectually consulted, as well by feeding them with wholesome provisions, as by restraining them from the immoderate use of spirituous liquors.

An officer, who attends strictly to the health of his men in both cases, certainly renders the most essential service to the king and to the public, and makes the best return to the good intentions of the people, by thus supporting the ability of the troops, to give that protection in time of need; which, I conceive, is the chief design of their being stationed in this island.

By the encouragements given to the troops, the service here is become far less disagreeable than in most other parts of the West-Indies. The private men, who are married, are, by living in a regular manner, more healthy than the unmarried. The children are very little burthenfome to their parents; and, when a woman has the misfortune of losing her husband, she continues but a short

time in a state of viduity: the same reason, which in England might deter any suitors from addressing her, namely a crowd of children, is here the certain recommendation to a number of candidates for the honour of her hand; and happy is he, who succeeds, and gains her in marriage; for he enters into present possession of her children's pay, which continues even though some of them may be capable of earning an income with their own hands. And from this source, for every able-bodied soldier thus sent abroad from Great-Britain, that kingdom may possibly receive back, at the time the forces are recalled, a large stock of young recruits, to supply the losses occasioned by death during the abode of the regiments in Jamaica. But, if any stay behind, they probably acquire more riches to the nation by exerting their industry in the colony, than they could have done had they returned to the mother country.

The author of a pamphlet, entitled, "Considerations upon the Military Establishments of Great-Britain and her Colonies," recommends to government, "that the troops, intended for garrisoning the West-Indies, should, after passing three years at New-York, be removed to the West-Indies; and, after three years longer stay to garrison those parts, should be recalled home, being first completed to their full numbers before their return to Britain; and such numbers to be supplied by the respective islands and colonies." The former part of this scheme seems plausible enough, because the vicinity of New-York to the West-Indies may admit of such a remove with great expedition and facility; and because the troops, after enduring three North-American summers, which are even hotter than the same season of the year in our West-India islands, may be supposed tolerably well seasoned to the change. But their cloathing should be very different for the West-India service from what might be thought necessary in North-America; and they ought to arrive at their West-India destination in December, January, February, or March, that they might not, in separating to their country-quarters, be exposed to either the inclemency of the rainy seasons, or the great heats of the summer months. The author's proposition about recruiting the regiments on the spot is by no means admissible with respect to the West-India



dia islands; for, if it was practicable to make such drains from these islands, already in want of white men, for such a purpose, they would occasion a very great insecurity, by wasting the substantial strength of every colony every third year, and by that means endanger our settlements in them, without effecting any collateral benefit either to the army or nation; for such recruits would be of very little service after their emigration to Europe; the change to a damp, cold climate, and hard duty, would soon render them invalids. Besides, their insisting of hired and indented servants (for none other are likely to offer) would inevitably obstruct the planting business, and occasion continual quarrels and law-suits between the planters and the military; which, in their consequences, might prove extremely embarrassing to government both abroad and at home.

The laws, for instance, of Jamaica inflict a penalty of 200*l.* on any captain, or commander, of any ship, attempting to carry away a hired or indented servant as a sailor or passenger. They make the carrying off any such servant, by any person, felony, without benefit of clergy; and impose a penalty likewise of 20*l.* on every person hiding, hiring, or employing, a hired or indented servant without a discharge from his last master or employer, attested by a justice of the peace. The parliament, no less attentive to the security and welfare of the West-India islands, in 1746, passed an act to prevent the impressing of mariners in those parts; and, in 1756, when the defence of the North-American provinces required that indented servants should be insisted, they took care to restrain the permission, by the most express words, to “the British colonies upon the *continent* of America;” which evinces their caution, that no pretence might be made for extending this act to the West-India colonies.

The North-American recruits are, in general, unfit for the West-India service; for which reason (unless there appears any invincible necessity to justify such an expedient), it might be more advisable to recruit from Europe than from that continent; for the North-Americans are far less hardy than the Europeans, and, during the last and former war, died in numbers whenever they were removed to a distance from home. It is very difficult for

them to inure themselves to a climate different from their own; nor do they bear transplanting into the Southern colonies so well as the British, Irish, Germans, or Swifs. I cannot therefore but surmise, that such a project, if carried into execution, would prove in the issue no better than a plan for sacrificing triennially so many hundred poor victims, and essentially distressing the service. In the expectation of two thousand effective soldiers to be constantly kept here, the inhabitants expended near 100,000*l.* in building barracks for their accommodation; which are so disposed among the different parishes, that they are calculated to afford a general protection to the internal parts, and capable of holding more than that number of men, besides their officers. But, in 1764, when the 49th and 74th regiments were relieved, the people had the mortification to find, that, instead of two regiments of one thousand men each, they were to be protected by two of four hundred and fifty each; which was less than one half the complement they expected; and consequently their barracks, on which they had laid out such large sums of money, raised by taxes, which fell very heavily on the planters, for three years, were left to moulder into decay, for want of being tenanted.

The smallest number that ought be cantoned here, for the internal security of the island in time of peace, is an establishment of one thousand and thirty-five effectives, to be distributed according to the plan hereafter described; by which, every one of the new barracks would be garrisoned, and kept from going to decay; and the guard so well balanced in the respective counties and parishes, in proportion to the danger they may severally be exposed to from sudden insurrections, as would probably be an effectual curb upon the mutinous and disaffected. But, to form a body for this establishment, either two reduced regiments should be raised to five hundred and twenty-five men each; or one regiment, under the name of the Royal American, be completed to one thousand and thirty-five men. In time of war, if government should judge two regiments necessary for the better defence of the island against foreign enemies, it will appear from the following state of the barracks, that they are in a condition to accommodate between two and three thousand men exclusive of their officers.

Present State of the different Barracks:

County.	Parish.	Situation of Barracks.	Number of Troops they can receive, exclusive of Officers,	
Middlesex.	St. Catharine,	St. Jago de la Vega,	=====	300
	Ditto,	Fort Augusta,	=====	300
	St. Dorothy,	Old Harbour,	=====	70
	St. John,	Point Hill,	=====	70
	St. Mary,	Bagnals,	=====	70
	Ditto,	Port Maria,	=====	60
	Ditto,	Auracabeffa,	=====	60
	Ditto,	Anotto Bay,	=====	70
	St. Anne,	Port St. Anne,	=====	70
	Clarendon,	Chapel,	=====	100
Vere,	Carlisle Bay,	=====	50	
				<hr/>
				1220
Surry,	Port Royal,	Fort Charles,	=====	300
	Kingston,	Kingston,	=====	200
	Ditto,	Rock Fort,	=====	70
	St. Andrew,	Stony Hill,	=====	120
	St. Thomas in the East,	Morant Bay,	=====	25
	Ditto,	Port Morant,	=====	25
	Ditto,	Barb,	=====	25
	Portland,	Fort George,	=====	70
St. George,	Gibraltar Point,	=====	70	
				<hr/>
				905
Cornwall,	St. Elizabeth,	Black River,	=====	30
	Westmoreland,	Savannah la Mar,	=====	70
	Ditto,	Delve,	=====	100
	Hanover,	St. Lucia,	=====	47
	St. James,	Montego Bay,	=====	100
				<hr/>
				100
				<hr/>
				447
				<hr/>
				2572

Total in the three counties, 2572

Besides these, there are several old barracks, which were built during the war with the Marons, and are still kept in repair; viz. in Middlesex six; Surry two; Cornwall three; in all, eleven; which are capable of holding a considerable body of men, if occasion should ever require their being garrisoned [a]. A governor once replied, when he was solicited for a party to be quartered at one of the inland barracks, “ that his majesty’s troops were sent “ hither to guard the coasts, not to protect the internal districts “ from Negroe insurgents.” But it is hoped that every administration will not be guided by so absurd a policy. The men of property in this island pay an ample contribution, in order that it may be protected, not so much from French or Spaniards, as against the machinations of the many thousand slaves, which, in proportion as the settlements advance further and further into the heart of the

[a] These would be most convenient for receiving the corps of rangers proposed, under the head of “ Militia.”

country, grow the more formidable from their multitude: I speak chiefly of imported Africans, who are the most to be feared. Men must first believe their life and fortune tolerably secure, before they will venture to settle. But if the troops, instead of being garrisoned in the internal parts, where the greatest danger lies, where the settlements are few and scattered, and incapable of defending themselves, are ranged along the coasts, which in time of peace require no such guards, and at any time are least healthy, and too remote from the centre to afford a seasonable relief; can the inhabitants be said to receive that degree of protection from them, to which they are entitled? It may perhaps be never prudent to leave the maritime forts without some garrison, to prevent surprizes; and the larger towns require a sufficiently strong guard, for many obvious reasons. To answer therefore every one of these purposes, we may suppose the following establishment of a corps, for this service, to consist of

Twenty companies, of fifty privates each,	—	—	1000
Two field-officers,			
Twenty captains,			
Twenty lieutenants,			
Thirty surgeons mates,			
Two surgeons in chief,			
Forty serjeants,			
Twenty corporals,	—	—	—
			<u>134</u>
		The complement total,	1034

The offices of barrack-masters and adjutants might be executed by some of the *cour* of officers.

For their cantonment in time of peace, I propose the following scheme; by which it will appear, that the principal towns and port are well guarded, and the most unsettled districts as well defended, as the number can admit on the scale of an equal protection.

Head-

Head-quarters, St. Jago de la Vega.

County.	Parish.	Situation,	N <sup>o</sup> of each Garrison.	Total in each County.
Middlesex,	St. Catharine,	St. Jago,	100	436
	Ditto,	Fort Augusta,	125	
	St. Dorothy,	Old Harbour,	25	
	St. John,	Point Hill,	50	
	St. Mary,	Port Maria,	25	
	Ditto,	Auracabella,	12	
	Ditto,	Anotto Bay,	12	
	St. Anne,	Port St. Anne,	25	
	Clarendon,	Chapel,	50	
Vere,	Carlisle Bay,	12		
Surry,	Port Royal,	Port Royal,	150	424
	Kingston,	Kingston and Rock Fort,	75	
	St. Andrew,	Stony Hill,	50	
	St. Thomas in the East,	Morant Bay,	12	
	Ditto,	Port Morant,	12	
	Ditto,	Bath,	25	
	Portland,	Fort George,	50	
St. George,	Gibraltar,	50		
Cornwall,	St. Elizabeth,	Black River,	25	175
	Westmoreland,	Savannah la Mar,	25	
	Ditto,	Delve,	25	
	Hanover,	Lucea,	25	
	St. James,	Montego Bay,	50	
		Marthabrae,	25	
			Total,	1035

The additional expence to the island for their maintenance would (by the best calculation I can make) not exceed the present annual supply more than 7000*l.*, even allowing one third of men and officers to be married, and to have one child each at an average, which is certainly a very large reckoning; so that the island, if it be thought necessary, is capable of supporting such an augmentation; much more so (it may be imagined) at this time than some years ago, when the assembly petitioned for a constant establishment of two thousand men, which would have brought upon them an additional charge, of at least 18,000*l. per annum.*

In regard to the state of health of the soldiers here, the following table will convey some idea of it. I have already noticed several causes of their ill health in particular cantonments, which may admit of some fit regulations for their remedy. The complement of the two regiments, landed here in June, 1764, and lately relieved, consisted, as I am informed (at four hundred and fifty each reduced establishment), of nine hundred effectives; and it is proper

to

to remark, that the 36th was kept at head-quarters and neighbourhood; and the 66th at the out-posts.

## DEATHS.

	Regiment 36th.		Regiment 66th.	
1764,	—	30	—	102
5,	—	53	—	32
6,	—	30	—	30
7,	—	22	—	30
8,	—	27	—	41
9,	—	29	—	32
1770,	—	42	—	43
1771,	—	28	—	23
		<u>261</u>		<u>333</u>
Average, <i>per annum</i> ,		$32\frac{5}{7}$		$41\frac{5}{7}$

According to this table, of the 36th there died, *per annum*, one in every fourteen; and, of the 66th, one in every eleven. The smallest loss of the 36th was about one in twenty; and, of the 66th, about one in nineteen. The havoc among the 66th, on the first year of their arrival, I have accounted for, in speaking of the quarters of Black River and some other out-posts. In that year a detachment was sent on the Havannah service; and the state of the troops appeared, from the return then laid before the assembly, as follows; viz.

Detachment,	—	500 Men
Effectives remaining,	—	301
In the hospital,	—	104
		<u>905</u>

Of those in hospital, the governor mentioned that several were recovered fit for duty since the last returns had been made; and that others were in a fair way.

The calculations, which Dr. Price has made, are;

Deaths, — 1 in 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ , London; — 1 in 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Vienna; — *per annum*.

Now, it is worthy experiment, whether, by proper diet of fresh meat, a moderate allowance of the best rum, and care in removing all nuisances, and sources of putrid distempers, from the several barracks in this island, the deaths might not be reduced to the

the standard of London or Vienna. Let us however compare the above account (bad as it may seem) with two examples, one taken from the East, and the other from the West-Indies. It was not long since given in evidence, before the House of Commons, that the climate of the East-Indies destroyed 700 out of 1000 men, in one campaign after their arrival. On the expedition to St. Vincent, one regiment buried 122 in one year, and 309 in three; the average of which is about 1 in every 4. The truth is, as Dr. Lind has well observed, that every island in the West-Indies, and other parts of the world, has its healthy and unhealthy spots. The nature and exigencies of the service prevent the troops, sent over to garrison our larger islands, from being kept on any one particular spot, which might be selected on account of its good air; in some cases necessity, in others inattention to the important evils, which originate from seemingly trifling causes, have occasioned the erection of barracks in very improper situations; near swamps, the oozy banks of rivers, and stinking lagoon waters. Sometimes an injudicious position of the sick wards and offices, has thrown a constant annoyance of an impure air upon the healthy; and sometimes a tendency to sickness, and bad fevers, has arisen from the very materials with which the barracks have been built. Thus, the barracks in Clarendon and at Bath, being of stone, were found insalutary to the men lodged in them, until the walls were lined with plaister. Some species of stone are extremely porous, imbibing and transfusing moisture freely; others are so firm and compact in their texture, that they condense the watery particles in damp weather upon their surface, which trickle down the sides of walls, or pass off again in a reek. Stone buildings, without some precautions, are not wholesome habitations in the West-Indies. They ought to be surrounded with a shed, or piazza, to keep off the beating of heavy showers; the walls within should either be lined with a facing of brickwork, plaistered, or of boards, set off about 1 or 2 inches, leaving a space behind for the free circulation of air between, in order to prevent their becoming damp. The ill contrivance of the barrack at Lucea, I have noticed in the account of Hanover parish; if the hospital there, the stercorary, and kitchen, were changed to leeward of the dwelling, this barrack is in other respects not ill situated for health. The same

remark may be applied likewise, to some other barracks in the island, which require more windows for admitting the air, proper remedies for damp walls, the draining away of stagnant water, and removal of the sick wards and offensive smells, to a quarter where they may not incommode the men who are in health.

Reason and experience point out, that men, coming from a cold into a hot climate, should make the change at that season of the year, when the degree of heat is least at the place of their destination; by which means, the transition will be more gradual, and therefore productive of a less violent shock to the constitution. On their first arrival, the change of climate most commonly brings on a diarrhœa. If the men at this time, and during the succeeding twelve months, are not hindered from besotting themselves with new rum, or from dieting too constantly upon salt fish, salt beef or pork, and rancid butter; they will probably be seized with violent fevers of the putrid class, and it may be expected that many of them will die.

The most wholesome beverage for them would be sugar and water, with or without a moderate allowance of old rum; what is still preferable, is the *cool drink*, prepared here by many of the free Negroe and Mulatta women, who vend it cheap to the soldiers. It is made with a mixture of sugar, guaicum chips, and ginger, infused together in hot water, and afterwards worked into a ferment with a piece of fresh gathered chaw-stick; which, by the quantity of fixed air contained in it, soon excites a considerable froth, and imparts a slight bitter, of a very agreeable flavour. This drink, when cool and depurated, is racy and pleasant, extremely wholesome, and, if taken in too large quantities, intoxicates in some degree, but without causing any ill effect to the constitution. This liquor might easily be brewed twice or oftener in the week, at the barracks, and drank by way of a change. The plantains, yams, and cassava bread, are nutritious, wholesome, and, after a little use, preferred by most of the soldiers to flour bread or biscuit at their principal meal, and are far cheaper. The potatoes and cocos are not less nourishing. Half a pound of what is called in England *make-weight* beef, consisting of the coarser parts, with some of these roots, the esculent herbs of the country, such as the colalu,



colalu, oera, &c. every where to be had in abundance, with a small seasoning of the country pepper to correct their flatulence, would make a most wholesome and strengthening mess for one or two men, and at no greater charge than about 6*d.* or at most 7½*d.* currency.

Particular attention ought likewise to be given to the quality of the water, with which the men are supplied. The barracks at Port Royal and Fort Augusta are served from the Rio Cobre, a person being paid about 400*l.* *per annum* for this purpose: it would properly be the surgeon's duty to examine this water from time to time, lest, to save a little trouble, it should be taken up too near the mouth of the river, and so be impregnated with the salt water in the harbour: it ought likewise to be suffered to settle for some time in casks or jars, that it may not be drank in a turbid state, which would probably occasion fluxes.

It was intended, some time since, to form a cistern at Port Royal, to be lined with lead, for holding water for the use of the troops quartered there: but it may not be improper to remark here, by the way, that water, standing for any time in a leaded vessel, becomes impregnated with the poisonous qualities of that metal; and from late discoveries, and many well-attested facts, has been found to produce obstinate constipations, and cholicky disorders in the bowels, and not unfrequently paralytic complaints. The water at Rock Fort is brackish and unwholesome; but the officer commanding there, being allowed a boat, and six Negroes to navigate it, might easily supply that small garrison from Kingston. At those places (if any such there are in this island) where none other than brackish water can possibly be procured, it may be rendered potable and wholesome by distillation [*b*]; or by suffering it to percolate through sand, with which several puncheons, open at one end, might be filled to one third of their depth.

Coolness of dress is another essential article, whenever they are on a march in the country. When lieutenant colonel Spragge

[*b*] Captain Wallis, of his majesty's ship *Dolphin*, mentions, that in 5 hours and a quarter's distillation, he obtained from 56 gallons of sea water six and thirty gallons of fresh, at an expence of nine pounds weight of wood, and sixty-nine pounds weight of coals. Thirteen gallons and two quarts remained in the still; and that which came off, had no ill taste, nor (as he had often experienced) any hurtful quality.

Voyage round the World, vol. I. p. 515.

commanded a party of the forty-ninth regiment, against the Maron Negroes, he provided his men with flannel jackets lined with linen; this was their only covering over the shirt. In the day-time, they wore the linen next their bodies, and at night the woollen: in this dress, they were cool by day, sufficiently warm at night, and went through an astonishing course of fatigue, without injury to their healths; not one of the party having fallen sick during the whole time of their being on that service.

The laws of the island contain very few particulars relative to the regular troops. The hiring, concealing, employing, entertaining, or carrying off any soldier belonging to any regiment quartered here, or seaman belonging to any of his majesty's ships on this station, without a discharge from their commanding officer, subjects the offender, upon conviction, to the penalty of 50*l.*; and the person so hired, &c. is admitted an evidence, and entitled to one half the fine for informing.

A soldier, maimed or wounded in any publick service, is to be cured and maintained at the publick charge [c].

A lot of land at Bath is reserved for erecting an infirmary for sick soldiers, labouring under complaints remediable by the waters; and another lot for a burial-ground.

Contiguous to all the old country barracks, one hundred acres are allotted for the use of the soldiers, who may be posted in them; but as they have received no garrisons since the pacification with the Marons, the most part of these lands have been given up to the gentlemen possessed of plantations near them, on condition of keeping the buildings in constant good repair.

I shall close this account of the white inhabitants, by observing on the very capital errors which seem to have been committed by different writers in respect of their number; for some have not scrupled to assert that, in 1720, the island contained 60,000 Whites; and that, in 1740, the number was but little reduced. It is impossible to reconcile these accounts with the representation made by the board of trade to the house of lords in 1734, when 7,644 was stated as the whole number of Whites at that time upon the island. I have supposed the present number (in the preceding parts of this

work) about 17,000 exclusive, of transients, soldiers, and seamen. At the very lowest I could not deduct more than 1000 from this calculation; for the towns, villages, and hamlets certainly contain altogether not less than 9000; and 7000 will not be thought too many to allow for the sugar plantations, pens, and smaller settlements. In 1750, a gentleman of ability in the island made the computation, that it contained 10,000 planters, merchants, shopkeepers, hired and indentured servants, and artificers; or upwards. To suppose therefore an advance of six thousand or more, since that period, considering the vast multiplication of houses and settlements, both in the towns and country parts, seems not at all extravagant. The account of its population about the time of the great earthquake at Port Royal, as cited by Dr. Browne, and put at 17,307, is evidently erroneous, having been copied from the estimate taken when Sir Thomas Modiford was governor, about the year 1670; which confounds the Whites with the Blacks, and classes the whole under the general title of the inhabitants. A more accurate list was given, during the government of Sir Thomas Lynch, in 1673, which I have quoted at length. This makes the Whites 8,564, and the whole number of inhabitants, of all complexions, 18,068. We find by Sir William Beeston's paper (in the first book,) that in 1664 the number of regimented Whites was no more than about 3000; which, being supposed one half of the whole, makes 6000, besides those employed in privateering, which may be reckoned about 800; total 6,800.

In 1670 they mustered for the militia,	2,720
And on board privateers,	2,500
	5,200

Allowing two fourths of that number  
for women and children, or ——— 2,600

The whole stock of Whites amounted to 7,800, or only 764 less than in the year 1673, which gives an increase of about 250 *per annum*. In the year 1678, according to the same account, the militia mustered

—————	4,526
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Allowance for seamen, who were reduced very much in number in consequence of the American treaty;

treaty; and betook themselves,  
 some to planting, and so incor-  
 porated with the land-men; and  
 some to piracy in other parts of  
 the West-Indies, —

500  
 5,026

Women and children — 2,513

and the whole number appears  
 to have been about —

7,539; by some, computed 10,000.

Several desertions happened about this time and afterwards, in consequence of some arbitrary measures of government; which doubtless reduced the number, and retarded the increase of the colony: the number which left the island was computed at five hundred or upwards.

About the year 1702, the Negroes imported were 843, exported 327; so that no more than 516 remained to supply all the plantations in the island. Even in 1720, their consumption amounted to no more than 2,249; and in 1734, to 2,964. If therefore we consider the demand for Negroes, as one sure test to judge of the increasing population of a West-India colony, which it manifestly is; and that the inhabitants were all this while kept almost perpetually in arms, to oppose the Marons, who destroyed many infant settlements, and hindered others from being formed; I do not think, that the number of Whites can be supposed to have risen at any time much above 8, or 9,000, until the pacification with those disturbers.

The author of an ingenious tract (entitled “Account of the European settlements in America”) allots 25,000 Whites to Jamaica. If he had meant all the resident Whites, and those of white extraction, he would not probably have been very wide of the true state; but, if his estimate includes none other than the unmixed Whites, I judge it much too high an allowance, and the rather, as he has not favoured us with any *data*, or grounds whereby we might examine how far it should be relied on.

For a general rule of loose calculation, perhaps allowing nine Whites to every one hundred Blacks, will come nearest to exactness. To take one example, the board of trade represented the number to be 7,644 in the year 1734. In that year, the number of Negroe

slaves

slaves in the island amounted to 86,546. Multiplying therefore 865 (the number of hundreds) by 9; the product is 7,785, or only 141 difference.

Agreeably to the same rule, we may try what may be supposed the present number, allowing the slaves to be at this time increased to 170,000, and they probably exceed, because many new sugar works have been formed since the year 1768; therefore,  $1700 \left. \begin{array}{l} \times \\ 9 \end{array} \right\}$  gives 15,300 Whites, or 700 only different from the lowest number I have presumed them.

It would be more agreeable to go upon sure grounds; but where information is defective, as in this case, we can only take some speculative line for our guide; and this appears to me to draw as near to precision, as may be reasonably expected [d].

(d) The many nautical, or seafaring terms of expression, in use here among the planters from time out of mind, were probably introduced by the first English settlers; who, for some years, alternately followed privateering, and planting. I shall enumerate a few of them, with their explanation:

*Cook-room.* Kitchen.

*Leeward.* Every place situated to the Westward.

*Windward.* The contrary.

*Store-room.* Warehouse for goods.

*Stoker.* The Negroe appointed to stuff fuel into the holes under the boilers. Probably from the word *stoked* or stopped as a ship's pump.

*Boatwain of the mill.* The Negroe who attends the mill-gang, or feeders.

*To rig the mill.* To get it ready for putting about.

*Mill-tackling.* The mule-traces, &c.

*Saveeps.* The arms or levers belonging to the *main* roller.

*Skids.* Poles, or levers used for putting casks into a boat from the shore.

*Stanchions.* Upright pieces of timber in the curing-house.

*Gangway.* Interval or space left for passage through the middle of the curing-house.

*Co.* A fettee.

*Awning.*

*Bread-kind.* Such roots and fruits of the country as are used instead of bread.

*To jerk.* To salt meat, and smoak-dry it.

*Birtb.* An office, place, or employment.

*Grog.*

*Today.* } Liquors, whose choicest ingredient is rum.

*Kill-devil.* }

*Hand the mug.* Carry or bring the mug.

*Bowl.* Instead of cup.—As “a bowl of tea,” of chocolate, or both; which term expresses the large morning-potations of our ancestors here.

*Cow.* Is the bucaner term, to signify all sorts of horned cattle, &c.

## S E C T III.

FREED BLACKS *and* MULATTOS.

THERE were three classes of freed persons here. The lowest comprehended those who were released from slavery by their owner's manumission, either by will or an instrument sealed and delivered, and registered either in the toll-book or the secretary's office. They were allowed no other mode of trial, than the common slaves, (*i. e.*) "by two justices and three freeholders;" for they were not supposed to have acquired any sense of morality by the mere act of manumission; so likewise they were not admitted evidences against white or other free-born persons, in the courts of justice, nor to vote at parochial nor general elections.

The second class consisted of such as were free-born. These were allowed a trial by jury, and might give evidence in controversies at law with one another, and in criminal cases; but only in civil cases against white persons, or against freed-persons, particularly endowed with superior privileges.

The third contained such as, by *private acts* of assembly, became entitled to the same rights and privileges with other English subjects born of white parents, except that they might not be of the council nor assembly; nor judges in any of the courts, nor in the public offices, nor jurymen. Some of them are likewise precluded from voting at elections of assembly-members. There are not any considerable numbers who have enjoyed the privileges annexed to this latter class; they have chiefly been granted to such, who were inheritors of large estates in the island, bequeathed to them by their white ancestor.

The freedom of the two former classes was much enlarged in 1748, when a law passed, allowing the manumitted, as well as free-born, to give evidence against any freed-persons enjoying the liberty of white subjects, provided, in respect to the manumitted, they have received their freedom six months at least antecedent to the time of their offering such evidence; and if they should be

convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury, they are made liable to the same punishment, as the laws of England inflict on this offence.

Thus it appears, that they hold a limited freedom, similar to that of the Jews; and it has been often suggested by very sensible men, that it is too circumscribed, more especially in reference to those who have large patrimonies in the island; who, without any probable ill consequence, might be permitted to have a vote in the vestry, and at the election of members to serve in the assembly; to write as clerks in some of the offices; and hold military commissions in the Black and Mulatto companies of militia; which privileges I will not dispute: but, for many reasons, it were better to confer them on particular or select persons, of good education and morality, than to extend them by a general law to many, who, it must be confessed, are not fitly qualified for this enlargement.

The descendants of the Negroe blood, entitled to all the rights and liberties of white subjects, in the full extent, are such, who are above three steps removed in the lineal digression from the Negroe *center* exclusive; that is to say, real *quinterons*, for all below this degree are reputed by law *Mulattos*.

The law requires likewise, in all these cases, the sacrament of baptism, before they can be admitted to these privileges. Some few other restrictions are laid on the first and second class. No one of them, except he possesses a settlement with ten slaves upon it, may keep any horses, mares, mules, asses, or neat cattle, on penalty of forfeiture. This was calculated to put a stop to the practice of slaughtering the old breed on commons, and putting their own marks upon the young.

But two justices may license any such freed-person to keep such stock, during good behaviour.

They who have not a settlement, as just mentioned, must furnish themselves with certificates of their freedom, under the hand and seal of a justice, and wear a blue cross on the right shoulder, on pain of imprisonment.

If convicted of concealing, enticing, entertaining, or sending off the island, any fugitive, rebellious, or other slave, they are to forfeit their freedom, be sold, and banished.

These are the principal ordinances of the laws affecting the common freed-persons; whence the policy of the country may be easily measured. The restraints, so far as they are laid upon the lowest order just emerged from servitude, and who have no property of any consequence, seem very justifiable and proper; but in respect to the few who have received a moral and Christian education, and who inherit fortunes considerable enough to make them independent, they may be thought capable of some relaxation, without any prejudice to the general welfare of the colony; for it deserves serious reflection, that most of the superior order (for these reasons) prefer living in England, where they are respected, at least for their fortunes; and know that their children can enjoy *of right* all those privileges, which in Jamaica are withheld from their possession.

The slaves that most commonly gain a manumission here from their owners, are

1. Domesticks, in reward for a long and faithful course of service.

2. Those, who have been permitted to work for themselves, only paying a certain weekly or monthly sum; many of them find means to save sufficient from their earnings, to purchase their freedom.

3. Those who have effected some essential service to the public, such as revealing a conspiracy, or fighting valiantly against rebels and invaders. They have likewise generally been requited with an annuity, from the publick treasury, for life.

Some regulation seems expedient, to give the first mentioned the means of acquiring their freedom, without the temptation of converting it into licentiousness.

In Antigua, every white person who bestows this boon upon his slave, accompanies it with some further grant, enabling him to enjoy his new station with advantage to himself and the community. The law there compels all these freed-men, who have not lands wherewith to form a settlement, to enter themselves into the service of some family. In Jamaica, where land is a cheap commodity, this is not the case. The Negroe receives his manumission, but not always a provision for his future subsistence; this defect therefore impels many of them to thefts and other illegal practices,  
for



for a maintenance. A liberty of this species is baneful to society ; and it seems to be the proper object of legislature, to make these acts of private bounty subservient to, instead of leaving them subversive of, the publick good.

From five to ten acres of ground might very well be spared upon any planter's estate. Five acres of good soil are abundantly sufficient for one such freed Negroe. It may be said, that such a condition, tacked to these grants, would hinder men from rewarding their faithful slaves with liberty ; but, on the other hand, in a publick view, it is better that the Negroe should continue an honest and industrious slave, than to be turned into an idle and profligate free-man. All however that is here meant is, that, in imitation of the Antigua law, all those freed-men, who have neither lands to cultivate, nor trade to follow, should be obliged to enrol themselves in some white family, as domesticks ; a list should annually be taken, and registered, of all the classes, and their occupations annexed to their names.

I come now to speak of the Mulattoes and other casts, who (in common parlance) all pass under that appellation. Upon enquiry of the assembly, in the year 1762, into the devises made by last wills to Mulatto children, the amount in reality and personalty was found in value between two and three hundred thousand pound. They included four sugar estates, seven pens, thirteen houses, besides other lands unspecified. After duly weighing the ill consequences that might befall the colony, by suffering real estates to pass into such hands, a bill was passed, “ to prevent the inconveniencies arising from exorbitant grants and devises made by white persons to Negroes and the issue of Negroes, and to restrain and limit such grants and devises ;” this bill enacted, that a devise from a white person, to a Negroe or Mulatto, of real and personal estate, exceeding in value 2000 *l.* currency, should be void. It has been objected by many, and with great warmth, to this law, “ that it is oppressive in its effect, tending to deprive men of their right to dispose of their own effects and acquisitions, in the manner most agreeable to their inclinations”. It may not be improper, therefore, to examine a little into the fair state of the question. That it is repugnant to the spirit of the English laws, is readily granted, and so is

*Negroe slavery*: the question therefore arising from this comparison will be, Is there or not a local necessity for laying many restraints in this colony, where slave-holding is legally established, which restraints do not exist, nor are politically expedient, in England, where slavery is not tolerated? It is a first principle, and not to be controverted, in political and civil as well as in moral government, that if one person does any act, which if every other or even many others of the same society were to do, must be attended with injurious consequences to that society, such an act cannot in the nature of things be legal nor warrantable. All societies of men, wherever constituted, can subsist together only by certain obligations and restrictions, to which all the individual members must necessarily yield obedience for the general good; or they can have no just claim to those rights, and that protection, which are held by all, under this common sanction.

In countries where rational freedom is most enjoyed, as in England, the laws have affixed certain bounds to mens passions and inclinations, in numberless examples; so a succession to estates there is regulated more according to the rules of policy, and the good of the community, than to the *law of nature*, simply considered; therefore, although a man may be desirous, nay thinks he has a natural right, to determine who shall enjoy that property from time to time after his death, which he acquired by his industry while living, the law of England, abhorring perpetuities as hurtful to the society, defeats this purpose, and readily gives it's assistance to bar such entails.

The right of making devises by will was established in some countries much later than in others. In England, till modern times, a man could only dispose of one third of his moveables from his wife and legitimate children; and, in general, no will was permitted of lands till the reign of Henry the Eighth, and then only a certain portion; for it was not till after the Restoration, that the power of devising real property became so universal as at present. The antient law of the Athenians directed that the state of the deceased should always descend to his legitimate children; or, on failure of such lineal descendants, should go to the collateral relations. In many other parts of Greece they were totally discountenanced.

In Rome they were unknown till the laws of the twelve tables were compiled, which first gave the right of bequeathing; and among the Northern nations, particularly the Germans, testaments were not received into use. By the common law of England, since the conquest, no estate, greater than for term of years, can be disposed of by testament, except only in Kent and in some antient burghs, and a few particular manors, where their Saxon immunities by particular indulgence subsisted. And though the feudal restraint on alienations by deed vanished very early, yet this on wills continued for some centuries after, from an apprehension of infirmity and imposition on the testator *in extremis*; which made such devises suspicious. Every distinct country has different ceremonies and requisites to make a will compleatly valid; and this variety may serve to evince, that the right of making wills and disposing of property after death is merely a creature of the civil or municipal laws, which have permitted it in some countries, and denied it in others; and even where it is permitted by law, it is subjected to different restrictions, in almost every nation under Heaven. In England, particularly, this diversity is carried to such a length, as if it had been meant to point out the power of the laws in regulating the succession to property; and how futile every claim must be, that has not its foundation in the positive rules of the state [e]. In the same kingdom, the institution of marriage is regarded as one of the main links of society, because it is found to be the best support of it. A promiscuous intercourse and an uncertain parentage, if they were universal, would soon dissolve the frame of the constitution, from the infinity of claims and contested rights of succession: for this reason, the begetting an illegitimate child is reputed a violation of the social compacts, and the transgressors are punishable with corporal correction [f]. The civil codes were so rigorous, that they even made bastards incapable, in some cases, of a gift from their parents. The detestation in which they have been held by the English laws is very apparent, and may be inferred from the spirit of their several maxims: as, “*Hæres legitimus est quem nuptiæ demonstrant &c.* [g].”

[e] Blackstone.

[f] 18 Eliz. 7 Jac. I.

[g] A legitimate child is he that is born after wedlock,

“*Cui pater est populus, non habet ille patrem [b]*”. “*Qui ex damnato coitu nascuntur, inter liberos non computentur.*” So they are likewise styled “*fili nullius [i]*,” because their real father is supposed to be uncertain, or unknown. The lenity however of the English law at present, is satisfied only with excluding them from inheritance, and with exacting a competent provision for their maintenance, that they may not become chargeable upon the publick.

The institution of marriage, is doubtless of as much concern in the colony, as it is in the mother country: perhaps more so; because a life of celibacy is not equally hurtful in the latter, who may draw recruits to keep up her population, from the neighbouring states of Europe. But the civil policy of the two countries, in respect to successions to property, differ very materially; so that, if three fourths of the nation were slaves, there can be no question but that the law of last wills would be modified to a different frame, perhaps carried back again to the ancient feudal doctrine of non-alienation, without consent of the lord; which restraint was suited to the policy of those times, when villeinage prevailed. A man's right of devising his property by will ought justly, therefore, from the constitution of our West India colonies, to be more circumscribed in them, than is fitting in the mother state. A subject (for example) in Jamaica ought not to bequeath his whole personal estate which may be very considerable, to a slave; and, if he should do so, it is easy to conceive that it would be utterly repugnant to the civil policy of that island. The Jamaica law permits the putative father to leave, what will be thought, a very ample provision, in order to set his bastard forward in the world; and in all cases where the father, having no legitimate kin, to whom he may be willing to give his property, where that property is large, and his illegitimate child may be, by the polish of a good education, and moral principles, found well deserving to possess it; there can be no question, but he might be made legitimate and capable of inheriting, by the power of an act of assembly; since the same thing has been done in similar cases in England, by act of the parliament. It is plain, therefore, the policy of the

[b] The offspring of promiscuous conjunctions has no father. Marriage ascertains the father.

[i] Bastards are not endowed with the privilege of children. No man's children.

law only tends to obviate the detriment resulting to the society, from foolish, and indiscriminate devices; leaving in the breast of the legislature to ratify others particularly circumstanced, and which might not be so likely to produce the same inconveniences. It is a question easily answered, whether (supposing all natural impediments of climate out of the way) it would be more for the interest of Britain, that Jamaica should be possessed and peopled by white inhabitants, or by Negroes and Mulattos?—Let any man turn his eyes to the Spanish American dominions, and behold what a vicious, brutal, and degenerate breed of mongrels has been there produced, between Spaniards, Blacks, Indians, and their mixed progeny; and he must be of opinion, that it might be much better for Britain, and Jamaica too, if the white men in that colony would abate of their infatuated attachments to black women, and, instead of being “*grac’d with a yellow offspring not their own* [k],” perform the duty incumbent on every good citizen, by raising in honourable wedlock a race of unadulterated beings. The trite pretence of most men here, for not entering into that state, is “the heavy and intolerable expences it will bring upon them.” This, in plain English, is nothing more than expressing their opinion, that society shall do every thing for them, and that they ought to do nothing for society; and the folly of the means they pursue, to attain this selfish, ungrateful purpose, is well exposed, by the profusion and misery into which their disorderly connexions often insensibly plunge them. Can we possibly admit any force in their excuse, when we observe them lavishing their fortune with unbounded liberality upon a common prostitute? when we see one of these votaries of celibacy grow the abject, passive slave to all her insults, thefts, and infidelities; and disperse his estate between her and her brats, whom he blindly acknowledges for his children, when in truth they are entitled to claim twenty other fathers? It is true, the issue of a marriage may sometimes lie under suspicion, through the loose carriage of the mother; but on which side does the weight of probability rest, on the virtue of a wife, or the continence of a prostitute?

[k] Pitt’s Virg. Æn. vi. 293.

Very indigent men may indeed, with more colour of propriety, urge such an argument in their defence; but the owner of a large fortune possesses what is a visible demonstration, to prove the fallacy of his pretence. Such a man is doubtless as able to maintain a wife, as a mistress of all the vices reigning here; none are so flagrant as this of concubinage with white women, or cohabiting with Negresses and Mulattas, free or slaves. In consequence of this practice we have not only more spinsters in comparison to the number of women among the natives (whose brothers or male relations possess the greatest part of their father's patrimony) in this small community, than in most other parts of his majesty's dominions, proportionably inhabited; but also, a vast addition of spurious offsprings of different complexions: in a place where, by custom, so little restraint is laid on the passions, the Europeans, who at home have always been used to greater purity and strictness of manners, are too easily led aside to give a loose to every kind of sensual delight: on this account some black or yellow *quasheba* is sought for, by whom a tawney breed is produced. Many are the men, of every rank, quality, and degree here, who would much rather riot in these goatish embraces, than share the pure and lawful bliss derived from matrimonial, mutual love. Modesty, in this respect, has but very little footing here. He who should presume to shew any displeasure against such a thing as simple fornication, would for his pains be accounted a simple blockhead; since not one in twenty can be persuaded, that there is either sin; or shame in cohabiting with his slave. Of these men, by far the greatest part never marry after they have acquired a fortune; but usher into the world a tarnished train of beings, among whom, at their decease, they generally divide their substance. It is not a little curious, to consider the strange manner in which some of them are educated. Instead of being taught any mechanic art, whereby they might become useful to the island, and enabled to support themselves; young *Fuscus*, in whom the father fondly imagines he sees the reflected dawn of paternal genius, and Miss *Fulvia*, who mamma protests has a most delicate ear for music and French, are both of them sent early to England, to cultivate and improve the valuable talents which nature is supposed to have so wantonly bestowed, and the parents, blind with folly, think

think they have discovered. To accomplish this end, no expence nor pains are spared; the indulgent father, big with expectation of the future *eclat* of his hopeful progeny,

“ disdains

- “ The vulgar tutor, and the rustic school,  
 “ To which the dull cit’ sends his low-born fool.  
 “ By our wife sire to London are they brought,  
 “ To learn those arts that high-bred youths are taught;  
 “ Attended, dress’d, and train’d, with cost and care,  
 “ Just like some wealthy duke’s apparent-heir.”

Master is sent to Westminster, or Eaton, to be instructed in the elements of learning, among students of the first rank that wealth and family can give: whilst Miss is placed at Chelsea, or some other famed seminary; where she learns music, dancing, French, and the whole circle of female *bon ton*, proper for the accomplishment of fine women. After much time and money bestowed on their education, and great encomiums, year after year, transmitted (by those whose interest it is to make them) on their very uncommon genius and proficiency, at length they return to visit their relations. From this period, much of their future misery may be dated. Miss faints at the sight of her relations, especially when papa tells her that black *Quasheba* is her own mother. The young gentleman too, after his introduction, begins to discover that the knowledge he has gained has only contributed to make him more susceptible of keen reflections, arising from his unfortunate birth. He is soon, perhaps, left to herd among his black kindred, and converse with *Quashee* and *Mingo*, instead of his school-fellows, *Sir George*, or *My Lord*; while mademoiselle, instead of modish French, must learn to prattle gibberish with her cousins *Mimba* and *Chloc*: for, however well this yellow brood may be received in England, yet here so great is the distinction kept up between white and mixed complexions, that very seldom are they seen together in a familiar way, though every advantage of dress or fortune should centre with the latter. Under this distinction, it is impossible but that a well-educated Mulatta must lead a very unpleasant kind of a life here; and justly may apply to her reputed father what Iphicrates said of his, “ After all your pains, you have

“made me no better than a slave; on the other hand, my mother “did every thing in her power to render me free.” On first arriving here, a civilized European may be apt to think it impudent and shameful, that even bachelors should publickly avow their keeping Negroe or Mulatto mistresses; but they are still more shocked at seeing a group of white legitimate, and Mulatto illegitimate, children, all claimed by the same married father, and all bred up together under the same roof<sup>[m]</sup>. Habit, however, and the prevailing fashion, reconcile such scenes, and lessen the abhorrence excited by their first impression.

To allure men from these illicit connexions, we ought to remove the principal obstacles which deter them from marriage. This will be chiefly effected by rendering women of their own complexion more agreeable companions, more frugal, trusty, and faithful friends, than can be met with among the African ladies. Of some probable measures to effect this desirable purpose, and make the fair natives of this island more amiable in the eyes of the men, and more eligible partners in the nuptial state, I have already ventured my sentiments. A proper education is the first great point. A modest demeanour, a mind divested of false pride, a very moderate zeal for expensive pleasures, a skill in œconomy, and a conduct which indicates plain tokens of good humour, fidelity, and discretion, can never fail of making converts. Much, indeed, depends on the ladies themselves to rescue this truly honourable union from that fashionable detestation in which it seems

[m] Reason requires, that the master's power should not extend to what does not appertain to his service. Slavery should be calculated for utility, not for pleasure. The laws of chastity arise from those of nature, and ought in all nations to be respected. If a law, which preserves the chastity of slaves, be good in those states where an arbitrary power bears down all before it, how much more so will it be in monarchies! and how much more still in republics! The law of the Lombards has a regulation which ought to be adopted by all governments. “If a master debauches “his slave's wife, the slave and his wife shall be free;” an admirable expedient, which, without severity, lays a powerful restraint on the incontinency of masters. The Romans erred on this head: they allowed an unlimited scope to the master's lust; and, in some measure, denied their slaves the privilege of marrying. It is true, they were the lowest part of the nation; yet there should have been some care taken of their morals, especially as, in prohibiting their marriage, they corrupted the morals of the citizens.

So thinks the inimitable Montesquieu. And how applicable these sentiments are to the state of things in our island, I leave to the dispassionate judgement of every man there, whether married or single.



to be held; and one would suppose it no very arduous task to make themselves more companionable, useful, and esteemable, as wives, than the Negresses and Mulattas are as mistresses: they might, I am well persuaded, prove much honest friends. It is true, that, if it should be a man's misfortune to be coupled with a very profligate and extravagant wife, the difference, in respect to his fortune, is not great, whether plundered by a black or by a white woman. But such examples, I may hope, are unfrequent without the husband's concurrence; yet, whenever they do happen, the mischief they occasion is very extensive, from the apprehensions with which they strike multitudes of single men, the viler part of whom endeavour to increase the number of unhappy marriages by every base art of seduction; while others rejoice to find any such, because they seem to justify their preference of celibacy, or concubinage. In regard to the African mistress, I shall exhibit the following, as no unfavourable portrait. All her kindred, and most commonly her very paramours, are fastened upon her keeper like so many leeches; while she, the chief leech, conspires to bleed him *usque ad deliquium*. In well-dissembled affection, in her tricks, cajolements, and infidelities, she is far more perfectly versed, than any adept of the hundreds of Drury. She rarely wants cunning to dupe the fool that confides in her; for who "shall teach the wily African deceit?" The quintessence of her dexterity consists in persuading the man she detests to believe she is most violently smitten with the beauty of his person; in short, over head and ears in love with him. To establish this opinion, which vanity seldom fails to embrace, she now and then affects to be jealous, laments his ungrateful return for so sincere a passion; and, by this stratagem, she is better able to hide her private intrigues with her real favourites. I have seen a dear companion of this stamp deploring the loss of her deceased cull with all the seeming fervency of an honest affection, or rather of outrageous sorrow; beating her head; stamping with her feet; tears pouring down in torrents; her exclamations as wild, and gestures as emphatic, as those of an antient Roman orator in all the phrensy of a publick harangue. Unluckily, it soon appeared, that, at this very time, she had rummaged his pockets and escrutoire; and concealed his watch, rings, and money, in the

feather-bed upon which the poor wretch had just breathed his last. And such is the mirror of almost all these conjunctions of white and black! two tinctures which nature has dissociated, like oil and vinegar. But, as if some good was generally to arise out of evil, so we find, that these connexions have been applauded upon a principle of policy; as if, by forming such alliances with the slaves, they might become more attached to the white people. Perhaps, the fruit of these unions may, by their consanguinity with a certain number of the Blacks, support some degree of influence, so far as that line of kindred extends: yet one would scarcely suppose it to have any remote effect; because they, for their own parts, despise the Blacks, and aspire to mend their complexion still more by intermixture with the Whites. The children of a White and Quarteron are called English, and consider themselves as free from all taint of the Negroe race. To call them by a degree inferior to what they really are, would be the highest affront. This pride of amended blood is universal, and becomes the more confirmed, if they have received any smattering of education; for then they look down with the more supercilious contempt upon those who have had none. Such, whose mind has been a little purged from the grossest ignorance, may wish and endeavour to improve it still more; but no freed or unfreed Mulatto ever wished to relapse into the Negro. The fact is, that the opulent among them withdraw to England; where their influence, if they ever possessed any, ceases to be of any use. The middle class are not much liked by the Negroes, because the latter abhor the idea of being slaves to the descendants of slaves. And as for the lower rank, the issue of casual fruition, they, for the most part, remain in the same slavish condition as their mother; they are fellow-labourers with the Blacks, and are not regarded in the least as their superiors. As for the first-mentioned, it would probably be no disservice to the island, to regain all those who have abandoned it. But, to state the comparison fairly, if their fathers had married, the difference would have been this; their white offspring might have remained in the colony, to strengthen and enrich it: the Mulatto offspring desert and impoverish it. The lower class of these mixtures, who remain in the island, are a hardy race, capable of undergoing equal fatigue with the Blacks,

above

above whom (in point of due policy) they ought to hold some degree of distinction. They would then form the centre of connexion between the two extremes, producing a regular establishment of three ranks of men, dependent on each other, and rising in a proper climax of subordination, in which the Whites would hold the highest place. I can foresee no mischief that can arise from the enfranchisement of every Mulatto child. If it be objected, that such a plan may tend to encourage the illicit commerce of which I have been complaining; I reply, that it will be more likely to repress it, because, although the planters are at present very indifferent about the birth of such children upon their estates, knowing that they will either labour for them like their other slaves, or produce a good price, if their fathers should incline to purchase them; yet they will discountenance such intercourses as much as lies in their power (when it shall no longer be for their interest to connive at them), and use their endeavours to multiply the unmixed breed of their Blacks. Besides, to expect that men will wholly abstain from this commerce, if it was even liable to the severest penalties of law, would be absurd; for, so long as some men have passions to gratify, they will seek the indulgence of them by means the most agreeable, and least inconvenient, to themselves. It will be of some advantage, as things are circumstanced, to turn unavoidable evils to the benefit of society, as the best reparation that can be made for this breach of its moral and political institutions. A wise physician will strive to change an acute distemper into one less malignant; and his patient compounds for a slight chronic indisposition, so he may get relief from a violent and mortal one. I do not judge so lightly of the present state of fornication in the island, as to suppose that it can ever be more flourishing, or that the emancipation of every Mulatto child will prove a means of augmenting the annual number. The retrieving them from profound ignorance, affording them instruction in Christian morals, and obliging them to serve a regular apprenticeship to artificers and tradesmen, would make them orderly subjects, and faithful defenders of the country. It may, with greater weight, be objected, that such a measure would deprive the planters of a  
part

part of their property ; and that the bringing up fo many to trades and mechanic arts might difcourage white artificers.

The first might be obviated, by paying their owners a certain rate *per* head, to be determined by the legislature. The fecond is not infurmoutable ; for few or none will be mafter-workmen ; they will ferve as journeymen to white artificers ; or do little more than they would have done, if they had continued in flavery ; for it is the cuftom on moft eftates at prefent to make tradefmen of them. But, if they were even to fet up for themfelves, no difadvantage would probably accrue to the publick, but the contrary. They would oblige the white artificers to work at more moderate rates ; which, though not agreeable perhaps to thefe artificers, would ftill leave them an ample gain, and prove very acceptable to the reft of the inhabitants ; for to fuch a pitch of extravagance have they raifed their charges, that they tax their employers juft what they think fit ; each man of them fixes a rate according to his own fancy, unregulated by any law ; and, fhould his bill be ever fo enormous or unjuft, he is in no want of brother tradefmen in the jury-box to confirm and allow it. I fhall not here prefume to dictate any entire plan for carrying this fcheme into effect. This muft be left to the wifdom of the legislature, and be made confiftent with the abilities of the treasury. In general only I may fuppofe, that for every fuch child, on its attaining the age of three years, a reasonable allowance be paid to the owner : from that period it becomes the care of the public, and might be provided for, at a cheap rate, until of an age fit for fchool ; then be instructed in religion ; and at the age of twelve apprenticed for the term of four years ; after this, be regimented in his refpective diftrict, perhaps fettled near a town-ship ; and, when on militia or other public duty, paid the fame fubfiftence *per* day, or week, that is now allowed to the Marons. The expediency muft be feen of having (as in the French iflands) fuch a corps of active men, ready to fcour the woods upon all occafions ; a fervice, in which the regulars are by no means equal to them. They would likewife form a proper counter-balance to the Maron Negroes ; whofe infolence, during formidable infurrections, has been moft infufferable. The beft way of fecuring the allegiance of thefe irregular people muft be by preferving the treaty  
with

with them inviolate: and, at the same time, awing them into the conservation of it on their part by such a powerful equipoise, composed of men dissimilar from them in complexion and manners, but equal in hardiness and vigour.

The Mulattos are, in general, well-shaped, and the women well-featured. They seem to partake more of the white than the black. Their hair has a natural curl; in some it resembles the Negroe fleece; but, in general, it is of a tolerable length. The girls arrive very early at the age of puberty; and, from the time of their being about twenty-five, they decline very fast, till at length they grow horribly ugly. They are lascivious; yet, considering their want of instruction, their behaviour in public is remarkably decent; and they affect a modesty which they do not feel. They are lively and sensible, and pay religious attention to the cleanliness of their persons: at the same time, they are ridiculously vain, haughty, and irascible. They possess, for the most part, a tenderness of disposition, which leads them to do many charitable actions, especially to poor white persons, and makes them excellent nurses to the sick. They are fond of finery, and lavish almost all the money they get in ornaments, and the most expensive sorts of linen. Some few of them have intermarried here with those of their own complexion; but such matches have generally been defective and barren. They seem in this respect to be actually of the mule-kind, and not so capable of producing from one another as from a commerce with a distinct White or Black. Monsieur Buffon observes, that it is nothing strange that two individuals should not be able to propagate their species, because nothing more is required than some slight opposition in their temperaments, or some accidental fault in the genital organs of either of these two individuals: nor is it surprising, that two individuals, of different species, should produce other individuals, which, being unlike either of their progenitors, bear no resemblance to any thing fixed, and consequently cannot produce any thing resembling themselves, because all that is requisite in this production is a certain degree of conformity between the form of the body and the genital organs of these different animals. Yet it seems extraordinary, that two Mulattos, having intercourse together, should be unable to continue their species, the

woman

woman either proving barren, or their offspring, if they have any, not attaining to maturity; when the same man and woman, having commerce with a White or Black, would generate a numerous issue. Some examples may possibly have occurred, where, upon the intermarriage of two Mulattos, the woman has borne children; which children have grown to maturity: but I never heard of such an instance; and may we not suspect the lady, in those cases, to have privately intrigued with another man, a White perhaps? The suspicion is not unwarrantable, if we consider how little their passions are under the restraint of morality; and that the major part, nay, almost the whole number, with very few exceptions, have been *filles de joye* before they became wives. As for those in Jamaica, whom I have particularly alluded to, they married young, had received some sort of education, and lived with great repute for their chaste and orderly conduct; and with them the experiment is tried with a great degree of certainty: they produce no offspring, though in appearance under no natural incapacity of so doing with a different connexion.

The subject is really curious, and deserves a further and very attentive enquiry; because it tends, among other evidences, to establish an opinion, which several have entertained, that the White and the Negroe had not one common origin. Towards disproving this opinion, it is necessary, that the Mulatto woman should be past all suspicion of intriguing with another, or having communication with any other man than her Mulatto husband; and it then remains for further proof, whether the offspring of these two Mulattos, being married to the offspring of two other Mulatto parents, would propagate their species, and so, by an uninterrupted succession, continue the race. For my own part, I think there are extremely potent reasons for believing, that the White and the Negroe are two distinct species. A certain philosopher of the present age confidently avers, that “none but the blind can doubt it.” It is certain, that this idea enables us to account for those diversities of feature, skin, and intellect, observable among mankind; which cannot be accounted for in any other way, without running into a thousand absurdities.

The

The antient fathers of the Christian church, disliking the Copernican system, pronounced it damnable and heretical for any one to maintain the doctrine of the antipodes, and the annual motion of the earth round the sun. According to the ecclesiastical system of those days, the sun was made to revolve above three hundred and twenty thousand miles in the space of a minute; but it is found more rational to conclude, and more easy to believe, that the earth makes one revolution on its own axis once in twenty-four hours; and we have living testimonies of its having been circumnavigated, and the doctrine of antipodes confirmed beyond a doubt. The freedom of philosophic enquiry may still proceed to extirpate old prejudices, and display more and more (to the utter confusion of ignorance and bigotry) the beautiful gradation, order, and harmony, which pervade the whole series of created beings on this globe.

Of the number of the free Blacks and Mulattos in the island I have before given an estimate. They increase very fast. By an act, passed in 1761, they were all required to take out certificates of their freedom, to be signed by the governor. This was a very proper method to come at the knowledge of their number. In 1762, or 1763, they were found as follows :

Middlesex.		Surry.		Cornwall.		Total in the 3 Counties.
St. Catharine,	872	Kingston,	1093	St. Elizabeth,	228	
St. Thomas in the Vale,	44	Port Royal,	103	Westmoreland,	189	
St. John,	67	St. Andrew,	56	Hanover,	67	
St. Dorothy,	38	St. David,	22	St. James,	26	
Clarendon,	130	St. Thomas in the East,	64			
Vere,	172	Portland,	27			
St. Anne,	78	St. George,	32			
St. Mary,	100					
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	1501		1397		510	3408

They are since increased to upwards of three thousand seven hundred, principally in the towns; and, I think, we may reckon about one thousand five hundred of them for fencible men, fit for able service in the Militia.

I shall conclude this account of them with a hearty recommendation of some plan, both for instructing them in morality, and regimenting their fencible men, to be employed by rotation on constant duty. I need not recapitulate my former arguments,

tending to illustrate the utility, and even necessity, of adopting this measure,

## S E C T. IV.

## M A R O N S [?].

WHEN the Spaniards retreated before the army under command of Venables, they had with them about one thousand five hundred Negroes and Mulattos, many of whom were slaves. Some adhered to their masters; while others dispersed, thirty or forty in a gang, to different parts of the mountains, chusing their own leaders; from whence they made frequent excursions, to harass the English soldiers, who had been represented to them as blood-thirsty heretics, that gave no quarter. They frequently killed stragglers near the head-quarters; and one night grew so bold, as to fire a house in the very town. Major-general Sedgewick prophesied, in his letter to Thurloe (1656), that these Blacks would prove thorns in our sides; living as they did in the woods and mountains, a kind of life natural and agreeable to them. He adds, that they gave no quarter to his men, but destroyed them whenever they found opportunity, scarce a week passing without their slaying one or two; and, as the soldiers grew more secure and careless, they became more enterprising and bloody. “Having no *moral sense*,” continues he, “nor understanding what the laws and customs of civil nations mean, we neither know how to capitulate or dis-  
 “course with, nor how to take, any of them. But, be assured, they  
 “must either be destroyed, or brought in upon some terms or  
 “other; or else they will prove a great discouragement to the set-  
 “tling of people here.” What he foretold actually came to pass. At the latter end of the same year (1656), the army gained some trifling success against them; but this was soon afterwards severely retaliated by the slaughter of forty soldiers, cut off as they were carelessly rambling near their quarters. A party was immediately sent in quest of the enemy, came up with, and killed seven or eight

[?] Probably derived from the Spanish *Marrano*, a porker, or hog of one year old. The name was first given to the hunters of wild hogs, to distinguish them from the bucaniers, or hunters of wild cattle and horses.



of them. The following year, they discovered the place where the Blacks held their usual rendezvous, and gave them some annoyance. But they still found means to hold out, until, being hard pressed by colonel D'Oyley, who, by his final overthrow of the Spaniards at Rio Nuevo, having taken from them all hope of future succour from their antient friends, they became very much frightened, for want of provisions and ammunition. The main party, under the command of their captain, Juan de Bolas (whose place of retreat, in Clarendon, still retains his name), surrendered to the English on terms of pardon and freedom. But other parties remained in the most inaccessible retreats within the mountainous wilds; where they not only augmented their numbers by procreation, but, after the island became thicker sown with plantations, they were frequently reinforced by fugitive slaves, and at length grew confident enough of their force to undertake descents upon the interior planters, many of whom they murdered from time to time; and, by their barbarities and outrage, intimidated the Whites from venturing to any considerable distance from the sea-coast. One of these parties was called the Vermaholis Negroes; in quest of whom captain Ballard was sent, in the year 1660, with a detachment, and took several of them prisoners. In 1663, the lieutenant-governor Sir Charles Lyttelton, and his council, issued a proclamation, offering to grant twenty acres of land *per head*, and their freedom, to all such of them as would come in. But I do not find that any of them inclined to accept the terms, or quit their savage way of life. On the contrary, they were better pleased with the more ample range they possessed in the woods, where their hunting-ground was not yet limited by settlements. They took care that none of the latter should be formed; and, for this purpose, butchered every white family that ventured to seat itself any considerable distance inland. When the governor perceived that the proclamation wrought no effect upon their savage minds, Juan de Bolas, who was now made colonel of the Black regiment, was sent to endeavour their reduction; but, in the prosecution of this service, he fell unfortunately into an ambuscade, and was cut in pieces. In March, 1664, captain Colbeck, of the White militia, was employed for the same purpose. He went by sea to the

North side; and, having gained some advantages over them, he returned, with one who pretended to treat for the rest. This embassy, however, was only calculated to amuse the Whites, and gain some respite; for they no sooner found themselves in a proper condition, and the white inhabitants lulled into security, than they began to renew hostilities.

These Blacks possessed several small towns in different divisions of the country; and, about the year 1693, commenced open war, having chosen Cudjoe for their generalissimo. They continued to distress the island for about forty-seven years; and, during this time, forty-four acts of assembly were passed, and at least 240,000*l.* expended, for their suppression. In 1730, they were grown so formidable, that it was found expedient to strengthen the colony against them by two regiments of regular troops, which were afterwards formed into independent companies, and employed, with other hired parties, and the whole body of militia, towards their reduction. In the year 1734, captain Stoddart, who commanded one of these parties, projected and executed with great success an attack of their windward town, called Nanny, situated near Carrion-crow Ridge, one of the highest mountains in the island, in the neighbourhood of Bath. Having provided some portable swivel-guns, he silently approached their quarters, and reached within a small distance of them undiscovered. After halting for some time, he began to ascend by the only path leading to their town. He found it steep, rocky, and difficult, and not wide enough to admit the passage of two persons abreast. However, he surmounted these obstacles; and, having gained a small eminence, commanding the huts in which the Negroes were lodged all fast asleep, he fixed his little train of artillery to the best advantage, and discharged upon them so briskly, that many were slain in their habitations, and several more, amidst the consternation which this surprize occasioned, threw themselves headlong down precipices. Captain Stoddart pursued the advantage, killed numbers, took many prisoners, and, in short, so compleatly destroyed or routed the whole body, that they were unable afterwards to effect any enterprize of moment in this quarter of the island.

About

About the same time, another party of the Blacks (having perceived that a body of the militia, stationed at the barrack of Bagnal's Thicket, in St. Mary, under command of colonel Charlton and captain Ivy, strayed heedlessly from their quarters, and kept no order) formed an ambuscade to cut them off, and, whilst the officers were at dinner, attended by very few of their men, the Marons rushed suddenly from the adjacent woods, and assaulted them. Several pieces were discharged; the report of which alarmed the militia, who immediately ran to their arms, and came up in time to rescue their officers from destruction. The Marons were repulsed, and forced to take shelter in the woods; but the militia did not think fit to pursue them far. Some rumours of this skirmish reached Spanish Town, which is distant from the spot about thirty miles; and, as all the circumstances were not known, the inhabitants were thrown into the most dreadful panic, from apprehensions that the Marons had defeated Charlton, and were in full march to attack the town. Ayscough, then commander in chief, fell in with the popular fear, ordered the trumpets to sound, the drums to beat, and in a few hours collected a body of horse and foot, who went to meet the enemy. On the second day after their departure, they came up to a place, where, by the fires which remained unextinguished, they supposed the Marons had lodged the preceding night. They therefore followed the track, and soon after got sight of them. Captain Edmunds, who commanded the detachment, disposed his men for action; but the Marons declined engaging, and fled different ways. Several, however, were slain in the pursuit, and others made prisoners. These two victories reduced their strength, and inspired them with so much terror, that they never after appeared in any considerable body, nor dared to make any stand. Indeed, from the commencement of the war till this period, they had not once ventured a pitched battle; but skulked about the skirts of remote plantations, surprising stragglers, and murdering the Whites by two or three at a time, or when they were too few to make any resistance. By night they seized the favourable opportunity, that darkness gave them, of stealing into the settlements; where they set fire to cane-pieces and out-houses, killed all the cattle they could find, and carried off the

slaves

slaves into captivity. By this dastardly method of conducting the war, they did infinite mischief to the Whites, without much exposing their own persons to danger; for they always cautiously avoided fighting, except with a number so disproportionately inferior to them, as to afford them a pretty sure expectation of victory. They knew every secret avenue of the country; so that they could either conceal themselves from pursuit, or form ambuscades, or shift their ravages from place to place, according as circumstances required. Such were the many disadvantages under which the English had to deal with these desultory foes; who were not reducible by any regular plan of attack; who possessed no plunder to allure or reward the assailants; nor had any thing to lose, except life and liberty.

Previous to the successes above-mentioned, the distress into which the planters were thrown may be collected from the sense which the legislature expressed in some of their acts. In the year 1733, they set forth, that these Blacks had within a few years greatly increased, notwithstanding all the measures that had then been concerted, and made use of, for their suppression; in particular, that they had grown very formidable in the North-East, North-West, and South-West districts of the island, to the great terror of his majesty's subjects in those parts, who had greatly suffered by the frequent robberies, murders, and depredations, committed by them; that, in the parishes of Clarendon, St. Anne, St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, Hanover, and St. James, they were considerably multiplied, and had large settlements among the mountains, and least accessible parts; whence they plundered all around them, and caused several plantations to be thrown up and abandoned, and prevented many valuable tracts of land from being cultivated, to the great prejudice and diminution of his majesty's revenue, as well as of the trade, navigation, and consumption, of British manufactures; and to the manifest weakening and preventing further increase of strength and inhabitants in the island. We may learn from hence what extensive mischief may be perpetrated by the most despicable and cowardly enemy. The assembly, perceiving that the employment of flying parties had proved ineffectual, by the length of their marches, the difficulty of

of subsisting them in the woods for so long a time as the service required, and the facility with which the Marons eluded their pursuers, ordered several defensible houses, or barracks fortified with bastions, to be erected in different parts, as near as possible to the enemy's most favourite haunts: in every one of these they placed a strong garrison, who were regularly subsisted, and roads of communication were opened from one to the other. These garrisons were composed of white and black shot and baggage Negroes, who were all duly trained. Every captain was allowed a pay of 10*l.*; the lieutenants each 5*l.*; serjeants 4*l.*; and privates 2*l.*, *per* month. They were subjected to rules and articles of war; and the whole body put under the governor's immediate order, to be employed conjunctly, or separately, as he should see occasion. Their general plan of duty, as directed by the law, was to make excursions from the barracks, scour the woods and mountains, and destroy the provision-grounds and haunts of the Marons; and, that they might not return without effecting some service, they were required to take twenty days provision with them on every such expedition. Every barrack was furnished besides with a pack of dogs, provided by the church-wardens of the respective parishes; it being foreseen, that these animals would prove extremely serviceable, not only in guarding against surprizes in the night, but in tracking the enemy.

This arrangement was the most judicious hitherto contrived for their effectual reduction; for so many fortresses, stationed in the very centre of their usual retreats, well supplied with every necessary, gave them a constant and vigorous annoyance, and, in short, became the chief means of bringing on that treaty which afterwards put an end to this tiresome war.

About the year 1738, the assembly resolved on taking two hundred of the Mosquito Indians into their pay, to hasten the suppression of the Marons. They passed an act, for rendering free Negroes, Mulattos, and Indians, more useful, and forming them into companies, with proper encouragements. Some sloops were dispatched to the shore; and that number were brought into the island, formed into companies under their own officers, and allowed forty shillings a month for pay, besides shoes; and white guides were assigned to conduct them to the enemy. In this service they gave

gave proofs of great sagacity. One of their white conductors, having shot a wild hog whilst they were on a march, the Indians told him that was not the way to surprize the Blacks, for the noise served only to put them upon their guard; and that, if he wanted provisions, they could kill the game equally well with their arrows, or lances, without giving any alarm. It was their practice to observe the most profound silence in marching to the enemy's quarters; and, when they had once hit upon a track, they were sure to discover the haunt to which it led. They effected considerable service; and were, indeed, the most proper troops to be employed in that species of action, which is known in America by the name of *bush-fighting*. They were well rewarded for their good conduct; and afterwards dismissed to their own country, when the pacification took place with the Marons. In 1741, the assembly shewed a further mark of esteem for these honest Indians; for, being informed that some traders belonging to the island had made a practice frequently of stealing away, and selling their children as slaves, which occasioned the Indians of Darien and Sambla to withdraw their friendship from the English, and embrace alliance with the Spaniards; they passed a bill, enacting, that all Indians, imported into the island for sale, should be as free as any other aliens or foreigners; and that all such sales should, *ipso facto*, be void; and the buyer and seller be liable to a penalty of 50*l.* each. In 1739, governor Trelawny, by the advice of the principal gentlemen of the island, proposed overtures of a peace with the Maron chiefs. Both parties were now grown heartily wearied out with this tedious conflict. The white inhabitants wished relief from the horrors of continual alarms, the hardship of military duty, and the intolerable burthen of maintaining an army on foot. The Marons were not less anxious for an accommodation: they were hemmed in and closely beset on all sides; their provisions destroyed; and themselves reduced to so miserable a condition by famine and incessant attacks, that Cudjoe (whom I conversed with many years afterwards) declared, if peace had not been offered to them, they had no choice left but either to be starved, lay violent hands on one another, or surrender to the English at discretion. The extremity, however, of their case was not at that time known

to the white inhabitants; and the articles of pacification were therefore ratified with the Maron chiefs, who were colonel Cudjoe, captains Accompong, Johnny, Cuffee, and Quaco. By these articles it was stipulated, that they and their adherents (except such as had fled to them within two years preceding, and might be willing to return to their owners upon grant of full pardon and indemnity, but otherwise to remain in subjection to Cudjoe) should enjoy perpetual freedom: that they should possess in fee simple one thousand five hundred acres of land near Trelawny-Town, in the parish of St. James; have liberty to plant coffee, cacao, ginger, tobacco, and cotton; and breed cattle, hogs, goats, and any other stock, and to dispose of the same; with liberty of hunting any where within three miles of any settlement [n].

That they, and their successors, should use their best endeavours to take, kill, suppress, and destroy, all rebels throughout the island, unless they should submit to the like terms of accommodation [o]. That they should repair at all times, pursuant to the governor's order, to repel any foreign invasion: that, if any white person should do them injury, they should apply to a magistrate for redress; and in case any Maron should injure a white person, the offender should be delivered up to justice: that Cudjoe, and his successors in command, should wait on the governor once a year, if required: that he and his successors should have full power to punish crimes committed among themselves by their own men, punishment of death only excepted; and that, in capital cases, the offenders should be brought before a justice of peace, in order to be proceeded against, and tried like other free Negroes: that two white men should constantly reside with Cudjoe and his successors, to keep up friendly correspondence. The command of Trelawny Town was limited to Cudjoe during life; and, after his decease, to Accompong, Johnny, Cuffee, and Quaco; and, in remainder, to such person as the governor for the time being may think fit to

[n] One thousand acres have likewise been assigned to Accompong's Town, in St. Elizabeth's; and due proportions to the other towns; secured to their respective Negroe inhabitants in perpetuity; and a penalty of 500*l.* ordained against any person convicted of disturbing their possession.

[o] This alludes to captain Quao, of the windward party, who did not come in till the following year.

appoint. These are the most material articles recognized by the law. It likewise provides, that no person shall seize, detain, or disturb, any of the Negroes in the possessions and privileges thereby granted, under penalty of 500*l.*; and it allows them, for apprehending and bringing in run-away slaves, 10*s.* *per* head, with a poundage of 2*s.* 6*d.* for money disbursed, besides mile-money, according to the distance. These were the Negroes belonging to the leeward towns, Trelawny and Accompong, the former in St. James; the other in St. Elizabeth. Some years afterwards, upon some difference arising among the Negroes at Trelawny, as I have heard, concerning the right of command, a fray ensued. The town divided into two factions; one of which adhered to a new chief, named Furry, and removed with him to another spot, where they formed a new town, called after his name. - In 1740, the like accommodation was entered into with Captain Quao, of the windward party; the purport of which is much the same as the preceding, except that they are prohibited expressly from planting any sugar-canes, except for their hogs; and are to be tried for capital crimes, like other Negroes. The command, upon Quao's death, is settled to devolve to Captain Thomboy; remainder to Apong, Blackwall, Clash; and afterwards to be supplied by the governor for the time being. It was likewise conditioned, that all fugitive slaves, who had joined Quao's party, or had been taken prisoners by them within three years antecedent, should be delivered up to their respective owners, upon assurance of pardon and good usage. This windward party now occupy Scot's Hall, in St. Mary; Moore Town (formed upon the desertion of Nanny Town), in Portland and Crawford; or Charles Town, in St. George.

By subsequent laws, the premium for taking up run-aways was augmented to 3*l.* *per* head [p], and some other provisions enacted: viz. that any Negroes in these towns, committing tumult and disturbance, shall suffer such punishment as the white superintendent, with four townsmen, and the captain commandant, shall inflict, not extending to life: that the governor shall issue commissions for trial of the offenders: that they shall not absent themselves

[p] By an act passed since, viz. in the year 1769, the premium is reduced to 2*l.* *per* head, or so much only as the magistrate may deem meet; and mile-money at the rate of 7½*d.* *per* mile.



from their respective towns, without leave in writing from their respective commanding officer, under penalty, upon conviction before two justices and three freeholders, of being deprived of freedom, and transported off the island: the like penalty, for enticing slaves to run away. They are also forbidden to purchase slaves; under penalty of forfeiture, and 100*l.* fine, to be paid by the feller, or other person concerned.

These Negroes, although inhabiting more towns than at first, are diminished in their number by deaths, and cohabitation with slaves on the plantations, instead of intermixing with each other. They have been very serviceable, particularly the leeward parties, in suppressing several insurrections. Their captains are distinguished with a silver chain and medal, inscribed with their names: they wear cockades, and are regularly commissioned by the governor. It is customary for the governors to give audience to their chiefs once a year, and confer some mark of favour, such as an old laced coat or waistcoat, a hat, sword, fusée, or any other articles of the like nature, which seem most acceptable. They are pleased with these distinctions; and a trifling douceur of this sort bestowed annually, accompanied with expressions of favour, wins their hearts, and strengthens their dutiful attachment. It is probable, they would be much honest allies, and more faithful subjects, if some little pains were taken to instil a few notions of honesty and religion into their minds. The erection of a chapel in each of their towns would be attended with very small expence; and here they might regularly attend divine worship once a week. A small addition to the rector's salary would enable him to visit and discourse to them occasionally. The white residents ought to be thoroughly examined by the governor; and care be taken, that they are men of good morals, sober, and promoters of order and peace in their several towns. They should be punished with exemplary severity, whenever found guilty of oppression, or other ill usage. And the articles of treaty should never be infringed by legislature, while the Negroes conform to them on their part: but, when any deviation is made, it ought in justice to affect only the contravenors of them. Good faith, good usage, and moral instruction, as far as they may be capable of it, are the best guarantees of their firm allegiance; a

different measure of conduct will necessarily render them discontented and troublesome.

Tedious and expensive as the war was, which continued for so many years before they could be brought to terms, the event was very happy for the island. The multitude of parties kept on foot, to invest their quarters, led to the discovery of various tracts of exceedingly fine land, unknown before. Many of these were brought into cultivation soon after they were reduced; and the roads, which were cut from time to time through the woods, for the better carrying on of military operations, were in consequence found of great use to the new settlers, for carriage of their goods. The treaty, moreover, gave a security to young beginners in the remote parts, even against any machinations of their own slaves: so that this contest, which, while it lasted, seemed to portend nothing less than the ruin of the whole colony, became productive of quite contrary effects in the end; insomuch that we may date the flourishing state of it from the ratification of the treaty; ever since which, the island has been increasing in plantations and opulence.

Their manner of engaging with an enemy has something too singular in it to be passed over. In the year 1764, when governor Lyttelton passed through St. James parish on his leeward tour, the Trelawny Marons attended him at Montego Bay, to the number of eighty-four, men, women, and children. After the white militia belonging to the parish were reviewed, the fencible men of the black party drew up, impatient to shew their martial skill. No sooner did their horn sound the signal, than they all joined in a most hideous yell, or war-hoop, and bounded into action. With amazing agility, they literally ran and rolled through their various fringes and evolutions. This part of their exercise, indeed, more justly deserves to be styled evolution than any that is practised by the regular troops; for they fire stooping almost to the very ground; and no sooner is their piece discharged, than they throw themselves into a thousand antic gestures, and tumble over and over, so as to be continually shifting their place; the intention of which is, to elude the shot, as well as to deceive the aim of their adversaries, which their nimble and almost instantaneous change of position renders

renders extremely uncertain. In short, throughout their whole manœuvres, they skip about like so many monkies [7]. When this part of their exercise was over, they drew their swords; and, winding their horn again, they began, in wild and warlike capers, to advance towards his excellency, endeavouring to throw as much savage fury into their looks as possible. On approaching near him, some, with a horrid, circling flourish, waved their rusty blades over his head, then gently laid them upon it; whilst others clashed their arms together in horrid concert. They next brought their muskets, and piled them up in heaps at his feet, which some of them desired to kiss, and were permitted. By way of closing the ceremony, their leader, captain Cudjoe, in the name of all the rest, stood forth, and addressed his excellency aloud, desiring the continuance of the great king George's favour and protection; and that his excellency, as his vice-gerent, would administer right and justice to them, according to the happy treaty and agreement subsisting between them and the white people of the island.

To this the governor replied, that they might depend upon the favour and protection of the great king George; and of his own constant endeavours likewise, that right and justice should be always done them; and also, that he would take care, that the good understanding, then so happily subsisting between the white inhabitants and them, should inviolably be preserved; provided that they, on their parts, continued to be always active and ready in obeying their commanding officer, and doing whatever else they had, in the treaty, solemnly promised to perform. To this they all assented; and then, having a dinner ordered for them, and a present of three cows, were dismissed, and went away perfectly well satisfied.

I have no certain account of the number of these Negroes in their several towns at present; but the following was the state of them in the year 1749 [r].

[7] A bucanier historian tells us, that, having landed with a party at Costa Rica, the toil of shooting was sufficiently compensated with the pleasure of killing the monkies; for at these they usually made fifteen or sixteen shot, before they could kill three or four; so nimbly did they elude their hands and aim, even after being much wounded: and that it was *high fun* to see the females carry their little ones on their backs, just as the Negroes do their children.

[r] According to a late return, the Negroes of Moore Town are increased to two hundred; but the whole number of fighting men does not exceed one hundred and fifty; and the whole number of Negroes in all the towns is not augmented much beyond the above list of the year 1749.

Totals.		Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	
276	Trelawny Town,	St. James,	112	85	40	39
85	Accompong's,	St. Elizabeth,	31	25	13	16
233	Crawford, or Charles Town,	St. George,	102	80	26	25
70	Nanny, or Moore Town,	Portland,	28	21	9	12
	N. B.					
664	{ " Scot's Hall, in St. Mary, } not then formed."		273	211	88	92
	{ " Furry's, in St. James, }					

The pay to these Negroes, when they are upon service, is, £ s. d.

To each captain,	—	—	—	<i>per day,</i>	0	2	6
Ditto private,	—	—	—				7½

This expence is charged to the annual fund of 500*l.* appropriated for the use of parties. We may add to this the following establishment, augmented since 1769; viz.

To a superintendant-general,	—	—	Currency, £	300
To three white superintendants, at 200 <i>l.</i> salary each, <i>per ann.</i>				600
To one ditto, of Trelawny Town, 300 <i>l.</i> ditto,	—	—		300
To one ditto, of Scot's Hall, 100 <i>l.</i> ditto,	—	—		100
To five white residents, 40 <i>l.</i> ditto,	—	—		200
For parties as above, brought down,	—	—		500
			Total, <i>per annum,</i> £	2000

The expence of a curate, to perform divine service, baptize,

&c. as proposed, may be put at 50*l.* each, — — — £ 250

Which would be no great addition to the annual charge. And it is not to be forgotten, that all this money remains to circulate in the island, and is of advantage to the shop-keepers, who supply these Negroes with several small articles for their cloathing and consumption.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE

## THE THIRD BOOK.

## CHAPTER I.

## NEGROES.

I SHALL divide this people into two classes, the native, or Creole blacks, and the imported, or Africans; but, before I come to speak of those who inhabit Jamaica, I shall beg to premise some remarks upon the Negroes in general found on that part of the African continent, called Guiney, or Negro-land. The particulars wherein they differ most essentially from the Whites are, first, in respect to their bodies, viz. the dark membrane which communicates that black colour to their skins [a], which does not alter by transportation into other climates,

[a] Anatomists say, that this *reticular membrane*, which is found between the *Epidermis* and the skin, being soaked in water for a long time, does not change its colour. Monsieur Barrere, who appears to have examined this circumstance with peculiar attention, as well as Mr. Winflow, says, that the *Epidermis* itself is black, and that if it has appeared white to some that have examined it, it is owing to its extreme fineness and transparency; but that it is really as dark as a piece of black horn, reduced to the same gracility. That this colour of the *Epidermis*, and of the skin, is caused by the bile, which in Negroes is not yellow, but always as black as ink. The bile in white men tinges their skin yellow; and if their bile was black, it would doubtless communicate the same black tint. Mr. Barrere affirms, that the Negroe bile naturally secretes itself upon the *Epidermis*, in a quantity sufficient to impregnate it with the dark colour for which it is so remarkable. These observations naturally lead to the further question, “why the bile in Negroes is black?”

Mr. Buffon endeavours to resolve the former part of this enquiry, by supposing that the heat of climate is the principal cause of their black colour. “That excessive cold and excessive heat produce similar effects on the human body, and act on the skin by a certain drying quality, which tans it; that originally there was but one species of men; and that difference of climate, of manner of living, of food, of endemical distempers, and the mixtures of individuals, more or less varied, have produced the distinctions that are now visible; and that this black colour of Negroes, if they were transplanted into a cold climate, would gradually wear off and disappear in the course of ten or twelve generations.”

But, to admit the force of this reasoning, we must suppose the world to be much older than has been generally believed. The Ethiopian is probably not at all blacker now than he was in the days of Solomon. The nations of Nicaragua and Guatimala, on the American continent, who lie under the same parallel of latitude as the inhabitants of Guiney, have not acquired this black tincture, although many more generations have passed since they were first discovered by the Europeans than Mr. Buffon thinks sufficient for changing a Negroe from black to white. How many centuries must have revolved before that continent was discovered, may be imagined from the populous state of it in the days of Americus Vesputius, and the prodigious length of time required for a nation or large society of men to grow up, become powerful, warlike, and tolerably civilized, as the Mexicans

were!

climates, and which they never lose, except by such diseases, or casualties, as destroy the texture of it; for example, the leprosy, and accidents of burning or scalding. Negroes have been introduced into the North American colonies near 150 years. The winters, especially at New York and New England, are more severe than in Europe. Yet the Blacks born here, to the third and fourth generation, are not at all different in colour from those Negroes who are brought directly from Africa; whence it may be concluded very properly, that Negroes, or their posterity, do not change colour, though they continue ever so long in a cold climate.

Secondly, A covering of wool, like the bestial fleece, instead of hair.

Thirdly, The roundness of their eyes, the figure of their ears, tumid nostrils, flat noses, invariable thick lips, and general large size of the female nipples, as if adapted by nature to the peculiar conformation of their childrens mouths.

Fourthly, The black colour of the lice which infest their bodies. This peculiar circumstance I do not remember to have seen noticed by any naturalist; they resemble the white lice in shape, but in general are of larger size. It is known, that there is a very great variety of these insects; and some say, that almost all animals have their peculiar sort.

Fifthly, Their bestial or fetid smell, which they all have in a greater or less degree; the Congo's, Arada's, Quaqua's, and Angola's, were! Further, as this change is supposed by Mr. Buffon to be gradual, some proof of it would doubtless appear in the course of one or two centuries. But we do not find, that the posterity of those Europeans, who first settled in the hottest parts of the West Indies, are tending towards this black complexion, or are more tawny than an Englishman might become by residing five or six years in Spain, and exposing himself to the sun and air during his residence. It would likewise happen, that the progeny of Negroes brought from Guiney two hundred years ago, and transplanted into a colder climate, would be comparatively less black than the natives of that part of Africa, from whence their progenitors were removed; but no such effect has been observed. And lastly, the whole fabric of Mr. Buffon's hypothesis is subverted at once, by the race of *Albinos*, in the very heart of Guiney; who, although subject to the same intense heat of climate, which, he says, has caused the black colour of Negroes, are unaccountably exempted from the influence of this cause, though equally exposed to it. Without puzzling our wits, to discover the occult causes of this diversity of colour among mankind, let us be content with acknowledging, that it was just as easy for Omnipotence to create black-skinned, as white-skinned men; or to create five millions of human beings, as to create one such being.

particularly

particularly the latter, who are likewise the most stupid of the Negroe race, are the most offensive; and those of Senegal (who are distinguished from the other herds by greater acuteness of understanding and mildness of disposition) have the least of this noxious odour.

This scent in some of them is so excessively strong, especially when their bodies are warmed either by exercise or anger, that it continues in places where they have been near a quarter of an hour.

I shall next consider their disparity, in regard to the faculties of the mind. Under this head we are to observe, that they remain at this time in the same rude situation in which they were found two thousand years ago.

In general, they are void of genius, and seem almost incapable of making any progress in civility or science. They have no plan or system of morality among them. Their barbarity to their children debases their nature even below that of brutes. They have no moral sensations; no taste but for women; gormondizing, and drinking to excess; no wish but to be idle. Their children, from their tenderest years, are suffered to deliver themselves up to all that nature suggests to them. Their houses are miserable cabins. They conceive no pleasure from the most beautiful parts of their country, preferring the more sterile. Their roads, as they call them, are mere sheep-paths, twice as long as they need be, and almost impassable. Their country in most parts is one continued wilderness, beset with briars and thorns. They use neither carriages, nor beasts of burthen. They are represented by all authors as the vilest of the human kind, to which they have little more pretension of resemblance than what arises from their exterior form.

In so vast a continent as that of Afric, and in so great a variety of climates and provinces, we might expect to find a proportionable diversity among the inhabitants, in regard to their qualifications of body and mind; strength, agility, industry, and dexterity, on the one hand; ingenuity, learning, arts, and sciences, on the other. But, on the contrary, a general uniformity runs through all these various regions of people; so that, if any difference be found, it is only in degrees of the same qualities; and, what is more strange, those of the worst kind; it being a common known proverb, that all people on the globe have some good as well as ill qualities, except the

Africans. Whatever great personages this country might anciently have produced, and concerning whom we have no information, they are now every where degenerated into a brutish, ignorant, idle, crafty, treacherous, bloody, thievish, mistrustful, and superstitious people, even in those states where we might expect to find them more polished, humane, docile, and industrious. It is doubtful, whether we ought to ascribe any superior qualities to the more ancient Africans; for we find them represented by the Greek and Roman authors under the most odious and despicable character; as proud, lazy, deceitful, thievish, addicted to all kinds of lust, and ready to promote them in others, incestuous, savage, cruel, and vindictive, devourers of human flesh, and quaffers of human blood, inconstant, base, and cowardly, devoted to all sorts of superstition; and, in short, to every vice that came in their way, or within their reach.

For the honour of human nature it were to be wished, that these descriptions could with justice be accused of exaggeration; but, in respect to the modern Africans, we find the charge corroborated, and supported by a consistent testimony of so many men of different nations, who have visited the coast, that it is difficult to believe they have all been guilty of misrepresenting these people; more especially, as they tally exactly with the character of the Africans that are brought into our plantations. This brutality somewhat diminishes, when they are imported young, after they become habituated to cloathing and a regular discipline of life; but many are never reclaimed, and continue savages, in every sense of the word, to their latest period. We find them marked with the same bestial manners, stupidity, and vices, which debase their brethren on the continent, who seem to be distinguished from the rest of mankind, not in person only, but in possessing, in abstract, every species of inherent turpitude that is to be found dispersed at large among the rest of the human creation, with scarce a single virtue to extenuate this shade of character, differing in this particular from all other men; for, in other countries, the most abandoned villain we ever heard of has rarely, if ever, been known unportioned with some one good quality at least, in his composition. It is astonishing, that, although they have been acquainted with Europeans, and their manufactures, for so many hundred years, they have, in all this series of time, manifested so little taste for arts, or a  
genius



genius either inventive or imitative. Among so great a number of provinces on this extensive continent, and among so many millions of people, we have heard but of one or two insignificant tribes, who comprehend any thing of mechanic arts, or manufacture; and even these, for the most part, are said to perform their work in a very bungling and slovenly manner, perhaps not better than an *ouanoutang* might, with a little pains, be brought to do.

The Chinese, the Mexicans, the Northern Indians, are all celebrated, some for their expert imitation of any pattern laid before them; others for their faculty of invention; and the rest for the ingenuity of their several fabrics. There was not a tribe of these Indians, from the Mexican to the Caribbean, that was not found to possess many amiable endowments. In the hottest region of South America the natives were effeminate, less robust and courageous than the Northern inhabitants; but none of them addicted to the brutal practices common to the Negroes, lying under the same parallel of climate; on the contrary, these Indians are represented as a docile, inoffensive, sagacious, and ingenious people. The Northern Indians, we know, have, ever since they came to the knowledge of Europeans, displayed an elevation of soul, which would do honour to the most civilized nations. It must be agreed, (says *Charlevoix*) that the nearer we view them, the more good qualities we discover in them; most of the principles, which seem to regulate their conduct, the general maxims by which they govern themselves, and the essential part of their character, disclose nothing of the barbarian.

The Negroes seem to conform nearest in character to the Egyptians, in whose government, says the learned Goguet, there reigned a multitude of abuses, and essential defects, authorized by the laws, and by their fundamental principles. As to their customs and manners, indecency and debauchery were carried to the most extravagant height, in all their public feasts, and religious ceremonies; neither was their morality pure. It offended against the first rules of rectitude and probity; they lay under the highest censure for covetousness, perfidy, cunning, and roguery. They were a people without taste, without genius, or discernment; who had only ideas of grandeur, ill understood: knavish, crafty, soft, lazy, cowardly, and servile, superstitious in excess, and extravagantly besotted with an absurd and monstrous

theology ; without any skill in eloquence, poetry, music, architecture, sculpture, or painting, navigation, commerce, or the art military. Their intellect rising to but a very confused notion, and imperfect idea, of the general objects of human knowledge. But he allows, that they invented some arts, and some sciences ; that they had some little knowledge of astronomy, geography, and the mathematics ; that they had some few good civil laws and political constitutions ; were industrious enough adepts in judicial astrology ; though their skill in sculpture, and architecture, rose not above a flat mediocrity. In these acquisitions, however imperfect, they appear far superior to the Negroes, who, perhaps, in their turn, as far transcend the Ægyptians in the superlative perfection of their worst qualities.

When we reflect on the nature of these men, and their dissimilarity to the rest of mankind, must we not conclude, that they are a different species of the same *genus* ? Of other animals, it is well known, there are many kinds, each kind having its proper species subordinate thereto ; and why shall we insist, that man alone, of all other animals, is undiversified in the same manner, when we find so many irresistible proofs which denote his conformity to the general system of the world ? In this system we perceive a regular order and gradation, from inanimate to animated matter ; and certain links, which connect the several *genera* one with another ; and, under these *genera*, we find another gradation of species, comprehending a vast variety, and, in some classes, widely differing from each other in certain qualities. We ascend from mere inert matter into the animal and vegetable kingdoms, by an almost imperceptible deviation ; and these two are again nearly connected by a very palpable similitude ; so that, where the one ends, the other seems to begin. When we proceed to divide and subdivide the various classes of animals, we perceive the same exact subordination and close affinity between the two extremes combining all together in a wonderful and beautiful harmony, the result of infinite wisdom and contrivance. If, amidst the immense variety of all animate beings which people the universe, some animal, for example, the body of a man, be selected to serve as a criterion, with which all the other organized beings are to be compared ; it will be found, that, although all these beings exist abstractedly, and all vary by differences infinitely graduated, yet, at the same time, there appears a primitive and general design, or model, that  
may

may be very plainly traced, and of which the degradations are much slower than those of shape, figure, and other external appearances. For, besides the organs of digestion, circulation, and generation, belonging to all animals, and without which the animal must cease to be an animal, as it could neither subsist, nor propagate its species; there is, even in the parts which principally contribute to the variety of exterior forms, a prodigious resemblance, which necessarily reminds us of an original model, after which every thing seems to have been worked. The body of a horse, for instance, which, at first sight, seems so different from that of a man, when properly compared part by part, instead of surprizing us by the difference, fills us with astonishment at the singular and almost complete resemblance we find between them; for, take the skeleton of a man, incline the bones of the *pelvis*, shorten the bones of the thighs, legs, and arms, lengthen those of the feet and hands, connect the phalanges, extend the jaws, shorten the frontal bone, and, lastly, lengthen the spine; this skeleton, instead of resembling any longer the remains of a man, will be the skeleton of a horse. It may be easily supposed, that, by lengthening the spine and the jaws, the number of the *vertebræ*, the ribs and teeth are increased at the same time; and it is only in the number of these bones, which may be considered as necessary, and the protracting, shortening, or junction of the others, that the skeleton of the body of this animal differs from that of the human body. But, to carry these resemblances still further, let us separately consider some parts essential to the figure; the ribs, for instance, which will be found in man, in all the quadrupeds, in birds, fishes, and even the vestiges of them, may be traced to the very tortoise, where a delineation of them plainly appears in the futures under the shell. Let it also be considered, that the foot of a horse, though in appearance so different from the hand of a man, is yet composed of similar bones; and that, at the extremity of each of our fingers, there is the same horse-shoe shaped little bone, which terminates the foot of that animal; let it then be decided, whether this latent resemblance be not more astonishing than the visible differences; whether this constant conformity, and continuing model, followed from man to quadrupeds; from quadrupeds to the cetaceous species; from them to birds; from birds to reptiles; from reptiles to fish, &c. in which are always found the essential parts, as the heart,

intestines, the spine, the senses, &c. do not seem to indicate, that the Supreme Being, at the creation of animals, intended to make use of one model; varying it, at the same time, in every possible manner, that man might equally admire the simplicity of the plan, and the magnificence of the execution [b].

When we come to examine the exterior figures of any particular class of animals, we find them marked with a most remarkable variety. To instance, for example, the dog kind, who have some of them so near an affinity to the wolf and fox; there is more difference between the mastiff and lap-dog, than between the horse and the ass; and what two animals can be more unlike, than the little black Guiney dog, of a smooth skin, without a single hair upon it, and the rough shock dog? From these let us pass on to the monkey-kind, or *anthropomorphits*, so called by naturalists, because they partake more or less of the human shape and disposition; we here observe the palpable link which unites the human race with the quadruped, not in exterior form alone, but in the intellectual quality. The variety of them is so great, that a complete catalogue has never yet been made. *Condamine*, who traveled through the country of the Amazons, saw so many, that he affirms, it would take up some length of time to *write out* a list of their names. As far however as they are yet described, we trace them from the cynocephalus, which most resembles quadrupeds in the shape of its head, through a variety of the ape kind, which have tails and pouches, to those which have shorter tails, and somewhat more of the human visage; to those which have no tails, who have a callous breech, whose feet serve occasionally for hands, which constitute them of the order of *quadrumains*, or four-handed animals, and who more commonly move on all-four than erect, to the *cephus*, or *gibbon*, of Buffon; from these we come to the *oran-outang* species, who have some trivial resemblance to the ape-kind, but the strongest similitude to mankind, in countenance, figure, stature, organs, erect posture, actions or movements, food, temper, and manner of living.

The few which have been brought into Europe, being extremely young, were, from a popular error, denominated *pigmies*; for it is affirmed on every authority, that they grow to the ordinary size of

[b] Buffon.

man. Mr. Buffon, who has examined this curious subject with great attention, describes them thus ; “ The oran-outang has no pouch, tail, nor callosity, on his hind parts ; these parts, and the calves of his legs, are plump and fleshy, differing intirely from the ape and monkey. All his teeth are the same as the human, his face is broad, naked, and tawney, his ears, hands, feet, breast, and belly, are likewise without hair, and of the same tawney complexion ; the hair of his head is like that of a man, and descends in a forelock on each temple ; the hair on his back and loins is thin, and in small quantity ; he grows from *six* to *six* feet in height.”

The nose is flat, the breast of the females furnished with two paps, and they are subject to the periodical flux. The latter characteristic, which is common also to the monkey-class, was not unobserved by the ancient Ægyptians, who drew a singular advantage from it in their astronomical registers ; for they kept the cynocephalus, and other monkies, in their temples, in order to know, with tolerable certainty, by this means, the periodical conjunctions of the sun and moon.

Lewis le Compte, in his Memoirs of China, asserts, that in the straits of Molucca he saw some of *four feet* in height, that walked erect, and had faces shaped like those of the Hottentots at the Cape. They made a noise like a young child ; their passions appeared with a lively expression in their countenances ; they seemed to be of a tender disposition, and would kiss and embrace those they were fond of. Doctor Tyson, giving an account of a young male brought from Angola (afterwards dissected), observes, that he possessed the like tenderness of disposition towards the sailors on board ship. He would not associate with the monkies brought in the same ship, but shunned their company. He used to put on his own cloaths ; or, at least, whenever he found a difficulty in managing any part of his dress, he would take it in his hand to some of the company, signifying (as it were) his desire that they should help him.

Mr. Noell speaks of apes, which he saw in Guiney, and calls *barris* (which Mr. Buffon takes to be a synonym of the oran-outang), who walked erect, and had more gravity, and appearance of understanding, than any other of the ape kind, and were passionately fond of women.

Linnaeus, upon the authority of some voyage-writers, affirms, that they converse together in a kind of *hissing* dialect; that they possess thought and reflexion, and believe the world was made for them, &c. but Mr. Buffon, with good reason, suspects that Linnaeus has confounded the albinoe with the oran-outang.

The oran-outangs are said to make a kind of huts, composed of boughs interlaced, which serve to guard them from the too great heat of the sun [c].

It is also averred, that they sometimes endeavour to surprize and carry off Negroe women into their woody retreats, in order to enjoy them.

Monsieur la Brosse says, he knew a Negress at Loangs in Guiney, who had resided three years with them; he asserts that they grow to the height of *six to seven* feet, have vast muscular strength, and defend themselves with sticks. He bought two young ones, a male of fourteen months, and a female of twelve. They sat at table, ate of every thing without distinction, handled the knife and fork, and helped themselves, drank wine, and other liquors; made themselves understood by the cabin boy, when they wanted any thing, and, upon the boy's refusal to give them what they seemed to desire, they shewed symptoms of violent anger and disgust. The male falling sick, was twice blooded in the right arm, which relieved him; and afterwards, whenever he found himself indisposed, he pointed to his arm, as if he knew what had done him good in his former illness. I must own, this account contains some particulars very extraordinary; for a child of the same age, in England, would be regarded as wonderfully forward, if it should exhibit the like proofs of sagacity. But, if we allow to these oran-outangs a degree of intellect not restricted wholly to instinct, but approaching, like the frame of their organs, to an affinity with the human, we may establish the credibility of this relation, by supposing that like, the human inhabitants of Guiney, they arrive three or four years earlier at the age of puberty, or maturity, than the inhabitants of Northern climates: and consequently that their faculties, in general, blossom and expand proportionably earlier.

[c] Jobson.

Mr.

Mr. Groffe reports, that two young ones, scarcely two feet high (probably under two years of age), which he presented to the governor of Bombay, resembled mankind in all their actions. If they were gazed at when in bed, they covered with their hands those parts which modesty forbids to expose. They appeared dejected under their captivity; and the female dying on board ship, her comrade exhibited every token of heart-felt affliction, rejected his food, and did not survive her above two days.

Guat, speaking of a female which he saw at Java, says, her stature was *very large*; that she resembled strongly some Hottentot women he had seen at the Cape; that she made her own bed every day very properly, laid her head on the pillow, and covered herself with the quilt. When she had a pain in her head, she bound it with a handkerchief.—Several other particulars, he says, might be enumerated, that were very singular; but he suspected that these animals are often brought, by a habit of instruction, to do many of those feats, which the vulgar regard as natural; this, however, he only gives as a matter of conjecture.

Gemelli Careri asserts to have seen one that cried like an infant, and carried a mat in its arms, which it occasionally laid down and reposed upon. These apes, says he, seem to have more sense than some among mankind; for, when they are unable to find any fruits in the mountains for their subsistence, they come down to the sea shore, where they catch crabs, lobsters, and such like. A species of oyster, called *taclovo*, frequently lie on the beach. The apes, on perceiving any of them gaping, chuck a stone between the shells, which hinders them from closing, and then proceed to devour them without any apprehension.

Francis Pyrard reports, he found the *barris* in the province of Sierra Leon, in Guiney; that they are corpulent and muscular, and so docile, that, if properly instructed while they are young, they become very good servants.

Father Jarric speaks of them in the same terms; and the testimony of Schoutten agrees with Pyrard on the subject of the education of these animals; he says, they are taken with nets, that they walk erect, and can use their feet occasionally as hands, in performing certain domestic services, as rinsing of glasses, presenting them to drink,

turning spits, and the like. These and other examples are quoted by Mr. Buffon, who considers these animals, spoken of by voyagers under different appellations, to be only varieties of the oran-outang; and in this light he mentions the jocko, which he saw publicly shewn at Paris. This animal always walked in an erect posture; his carriage was rather awkward, his air dejected, his pace grave, and movements sedate; he had nothing of the impatience, caprice, and mischief of the baboon, nor extravagancies of the monkey; he was ever ready and quick of apprehension; a sign or a word was sufficient to make him do what the baboon and others would not without the compulsion of the cudgel or whip. He presented his hand to re-conduct the persons who came to visit him, and stalked with a stately gait before them. He sat at table, unfolded his napkin, wiped his lips, helped himself, and conveyed the victuals to his mouth with the spoon and fork; poured the drink into a glass, brought the tea-things to the table, put in the sugar, poured out the tea, let it stand till it was cool enough for drinking, and all this with no other instigation than a sign or word from his master, and often of his own free accord; he was of a courteous, tender disposition; he spent the summer at Paris, and died the following winter at London, of a cough and consumption. He ate of every food indifferently, except that he seemed to prefer confectionary, ripe and dried fruits, and drank wine in moderation.

This creature was about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet tall, and, according to the testimony of the person who brought him to Europe, not above two years old; Mr. Buffon, therefore, imagines that at his full stature he would have attained above five feet, supposing his growth proportioned to that of mankind.

The pigmy described, and dissected, by Dr. Tyson, was not more than two feet in height, and still younger, or under two years old, for his teeth and some other ossifications were not entirely formed.

The essential differences between the body of the oran-outang and that of a man, are reduced by Mr. Buffon to two, namely, the conformation of the *os ilium*, and that of the feet; the bone of the *ilium* is more close or contracted than in man. He has calves, and fleshy posteriors, which indicate that he is destined to walk erect; but his toes are very long, and the heel pressed with difficulty to the ground: he

runs



runs with more ease than he can walk, and requires artificial heels, more elevated than those of shoes in general, to enable him to walk without inconvenience for any length of time. These are the only parts in which he bears more resemblance to the ape kind than to man; but when he is compared with the ape, baboon, or monkey, he is found to have far more conformity to man than to those animals. The Indians are therefore excusable for associating him with the human race, under the appellation of *oran-outang*, or *wild man*, since he resembles man much more than he does the ape, or any other animal. All the parts of his head, limbs, and body, external and internal, are so perfectly like the human, that we cannot (says he) collate them together, without being amazed at a conformation so parallel, and an organization so exactly the same, although *not resulting to the same effects*. The tongue, for example, and all the organs of speech are the same in both, and yet the *oran-outang does not speak*; the brain is absolutely the same in texture, disposition, and proportion, and yet *he does not think*; an evident proof this, that mere matter alone, though perfectly organized, cannot produce thought, nor speech, the index of thought, unless it be animated with *a superior principle*.

His imitation and mimicry of human gestures and movements, which come so near in semblance to the result of thought, set him at a great distance from brute animals, and in a close affinity to man. If the essence of his nature consists entirely in the form and organization of the body, he comes nearer to man than any other creature, and may be placed in the second class of animal beings.

If he is a creature *sui generis*, he fills up the space between mankind and the ape, as this and the monkey tribe supply the interval that is between the *oran-outang* and quadrupeds.

When we compare the accounts of this race, so far as they appear credible, and to be relied on, we must, to form a candid judgement, be of opinion that Mr. Buffon has been rather too precipitate in some of his conclusions.

We observe that, in their native countries, they are not thoroughly known; they live sequestered in deep woods, possess great strength and agility of body, with probably sufficient cunning to guard against, as well as nimbleness to elude, surprizes. The Negroes and Indians believe them to be savage men; it is no wonder that, for the most part,

they are fearful of approaching the haunts of this race ; and that from some or other of these causes, none have been obtained for inspection in Europe, except very young ones, who could not escape their pursuers.

So far as they are hitherto discovered to Europeans, it appears that they herd in a kind of society together, and build huts suitable to their climate ; that, when tamed and properly instructed, they have been brought to perform a variety of menial domestic services ; that they conceive a passion for the Negroe women, and hence must be supposed to covet their embraces from a natural impulse of desire, such as inclines one animal towards another of the same species, or which has a conformity in the organs of generation.

The young ones exhibited in Europe have shewn a quickness of apprehension, and facility of imitation, that we should admire very much in children of the same tender age.

The conformation of their limbs denotes beyond all controversy, that they are destined to an erect position of body, and to move like men. The structure of their teeth, their organs of secretion, digestion, &c. all the same as the human, prove them entitled to subsist on the same aliments as man. The organs of generation being alike, they propagate their species, and their females suckle their young, in the same manner.

Their disposition shews a great degree of social feeling ; they seem to have a sense of shame, and a share of sensibility, as may be inferred from the preceding relations ; nay, some trace of reason appears in that young one, which (according to Le Brosse) made signs expressive of his idea that “ bleeding in the arm had been remedial to “ his disorder.” Nor must we omit the expression of their grief by shedding tears, and other passions, by modes entirely resembling the human. Ludicrous as the opinion may seem, I do not think that an oran-outang husband would be any dishonour to an Hottentot female ; for what are these Hottentots ?—They are, say the most credible writers, a people certainly very stupid, and very brutal. In many respects they are more like beasts than men ; their complexion is dark, they are short and thick-set ; their noses flat, like those of a Dutch dog ; their lips very thick and big ; their teeth exceedingly white, but very long, and ill set, some of them sticking out of their mouths like boars tusks ;

tunks; their hair black, and curled like wool; they are very nimble, and run with a speed that is almost incredible; they are very disagreeable in their persons, and, in short, taking all things together, one of the meanest nations on the face of the earth [d].

Has the Hottentot, from this portrait, a more manly figure than the oran-outang? I suspect that he owes, like the oran-outang, the celerity of his speed to the particular conformation of his foot; this, by the way, is only my conjecture, for he has not as yet undergone anatomical investigation. That the oran-outang and some races of black men are very nearly allied, is, I think, more than probable; Mr. Buffon supports his deductions, tending to the contrary, by no decisive proofs.

We can scarcely speak more of the oran-outang race than we might of any newly discovered people, the measure of whose faculties we have not yet had sufficient opportunity to examine.

We have seen their bodies hitherto in miniature only, which conveys very little further information of their intellect than might be gained from the view of a picture, or a statue.

But, if we reason about them from analogy, they possess all those organizations which indicate, according to Le Pluche [e], the pre-eminence of man over brutes, and shew him born to govern them.

These tokens of superiority are, 1st, The advantages received from the erect position of his head and body. All the brute species recline towards the earth, and creep upon it. Man alone walks with his head upright, and by this attitude maintains himself in full liberty of action, and command. 2d, The expression in his countenance, from the multitude of muscles which are distributed through the extent of his face. 3d, The liberty of governing all, and varying his actions according to the exigency of circumstances, is the first help which man experiences from the *noble* position of his body. 4th, But the analogy of his shape, with the things around him, is a new source of easy methods to him in making himself *master of all*. What we have just remarked of the whole frame of the body of man, and of the exact proportion between his shape and that universal sway which is allotted him, we may again observe in his legs and arms. 5th, His legs support him with an air of dignity, that sets him off, and be-

[d] Commodore Roggewein's voyage.

[e] *Spécacle de la Nature*.

ſpeaks him *a maſter*: by a particular form, and by muſcles peculiar to them, they perform a multitude of actions, and ſituations, adapted to the ſeveral exigencies of his government, but uſeleſs and denied to his *ſlaves*, the *inferior animals*; his legs grow leſs and leſs towards the ground, where they terminate in a baſis flattened on purpoſe to ſuſtain the body, by giving it a *noble* and firm attitude, without clog-ging the freedom of its motions by the largeneſs of bulk. 6th, The muſcles and nerves, which produce ſo many ſtretchings, retractions, jerks, ſlidings, turnings, and operations of all kinds, have been all collected into one bundle, neatly rounded behind the ſhin-bone; this maſs becomes a commodious pillow, fit to lay and reſt the tender bones upon, ſo very neceſſary, and ſo brittle. I paſs by a great many other marks of precaution, theſe inſtruments are evidently full of; but I muſt not omit obſerving, that the two columns of the body always aſcend thicker and thicker, not only to lay the body upon a proportionable prop, but alſo that it may lie ſoft, when it wants to eaſe itſelf of its fatigues. 7th, The arm and hand together contribute ſtill more to the exerciſe of the authority of man. Since man has an arm, I ſay, he is maſter of every thing on earth; this muſt naturally follow; that being truly the token and inſtrument of a moſt effectual ſovereignty. The arm of man being an univerſal inſtrument, his operations and government extend as far as nature itſelf. By ſtiſſening, it performs the functions of a lever, or bar. When bent in the ſeveral articulations which divide it, it imitates the flail, the bow, and any other kind of ſpring. By doubling the fiſt, that terminates it, it ſtrikes like a mallet. When it rounds the cavity of the hand, it holds liquids like a cup, and transports them as a ſpoon would do. By bending or joining its fingers cloſe to each other, it makes hooks, nippers, and pincers of them. The two arms, ſtretched out, imitate the balance; and, when one of them is ſhortened, to ſupport ſome great burthen, the other, extended out immediately on the oppoſite ſide, conſtitutes an equilibrium. But it is extenuating the merits of the arm and hand, to compare them with our ordinary inſtruments. In truth, the arm is both the model and the ſoul as it were, of all inſtruments whatſoever; it is the ſoul of them, as the excellence of their effects does always proceed from the hand and arm that direct them; ſince they are all ſo many imitations, or extenſions, of its different properties.

ties. 8th, One may know the *destination*, and general power, of man, in the same manner as we know the peculiar destination of the eye, arm, or leg; *the proportion of these instruments, with certain effects, points out to us the intention of the Creator.* 9th, One might be apt to think, that his stomach confounds him with the other animals, since they all have a stomach, and digest as well as he does; yet his very stomach serves to evidence his general dominion. The cormorant, the diver, and the hern, have a stomach fitted to digest the flesh of a fish. They are never seen observing, as the dove does, the departure of the ploughman, who has been just sowing his ground. The lion and tiger have a stomach fit to digest the flesh of terrestrial animals; you would in vain tie them up to the rack or manger, and reduce them to a few oats, or the grass of your meadows. The horse overlooks the hen, that turns up the straw he treads upon. The beasts of burthen, who exhaust their strength in our service, are no less valuable on account of the cheapness of their food; and in vain should we attempt to reward their labour, by offering them meats of the most exquisite taste, from which they would turn away with loathing. These animals are then, from the very disposition of their stomach, tied down to a certain kind of food; but man alone is unrestrained; and, as he has on his tongue the discernment of all the favours that are distributed among other animals, he has likewise in his stomach the faculty of digesting whatever is wholesome and nourishing. God has given him hands, that he might lay hold of, and fashion, whatever can nourish, cure, and defend him; and a stomach capable of digesting the foods tried by his palate. But the stomach of man is not the principal part of his body; *that seems by its functions to have a nearer affinity with that of animals, at the same time that it has a degree of excellence that raises it much above them.* It is the same with his *other organs.* 10th, The lips are the ramparts of the gums; the latter are the fence of the tongue, and of the roof of the mouth. They are a couple of true bulwarks, not only forming an inclosure round the tongue, but also serving as a basis to the two rows of teeth. These instruments, chiefly appointed to grind and dissolve, are a bony substance, perfectly hard, and covered with enamel, which embellishes the mouth by its whiteness, and preserves, by its firmness, those precious tools from the friction of massy foods, and the insinuation

of penetrating liquors. The *incisory* teeth fill the fore-part; they are thin at the edge, like a wedge, and sharp as knives. The *canine* are rounded, longer than the rest, and ending in a point. All the rest have a square surface, that grows wider and wider, the further they are set within the mouth; these are the *molares*, or grinders. From the variety of their several operations, these teeth comprehend in abstract all the powers of cutting, dividing, and tritulating, that are partially dispersed among other animals; they accommodate to every species of vegetable as well as animal food; and, together with the stomach, shew, that man was formed to derive his sustenance from both or either of these alimentary classes, at his pleasure. The wonders of man's organization are multiplied through every part of his body, inasmuch that anatomists confess, that the structure is, to any strict enquirer, an abyss, which swallows up both our eyes and reason. 11th, The human voice, merely as a voice, is not extraordinary, since other animals have a voice as well as man. But *speech* puts an immense distance between man and the animals. The merit of speech does not consist in noise, but in the variety of its inflections and universality of signification. Man can express his thoughts very variously. If making one's self understood is the same as speaking, we may of course speak with the foot, the eye, or the hand. A man, who seems transported with joy, or overwhelmed with grief, has already told us many things before he opens his mouth. His eyes, his features, his gestures, his whole countenance, correspond with his mind, and make it very well understood. *He speaks from head to foot*: all his motions are significant, and his expressions are as infinite as his thought. But his voice takes place of these signs whenever he pleases, and is not only equivalent to them, but even sufficient alone to explain distinctly what they cannot express when combined together. Speech was superadded to all these signs, that man should not want any means of explaining himself clearly. In every thing, man alone unites the prerogatives that have been granted but singly to any particular species, and his dignity arises from the *right use* to which his *reason* enables him to apply his corporeal powers and senses.

If then, the pre-eminence of man over the brute creation be displayed in the structure of his body, and the several *insignia* which the ingenious author has enumerated, it follows of course, that the oran-outang possessing

possessing the same structure and organization, is also destined to the like precedence and authority. The sole distinction between him and man, must consist in the measure of intellectual faculties; those faculties which the most skilful anatomist is incapable of tracing the source of, and which exist *independent of the structure of the brain*; these powers are rendered visible only in the result they produce, through the intervention of the bodily organs. Hence it is certain, that the oran-outang, though endued with brains and organs of a structure not to be distinguished from those of man by the ablest anatomists, still remains very far inferior to our idea of a *perfect* human being, unless he also is endowed with the faculties of reason and perception, adapted to direct him in the application of that mechanism to the same uses as we find it applied in a rational man. According to Mr. Buffon, he has eyes, but sees not; ears has he, but hears not; he has a tongue, and the human organs of speech, but *speaks not*; he has the human brain, but does not *think*; forms no comparisons, draws no conclusions, makes no reflections, and is determined, like brute animals, by a positive limited instinct. But in truth, we know not the measure of their intellect, nor can form a competent judgement of it from one or two young animals, that were shewn for a few months in France and England. Dogs, and some other brutes, have been made, by dint of blows, rewards, and constant exercise, to vary their motions in a very surprising manner, according to the desires and signals of their teachers; but in these cases, the actual skill has been supposed to reside in the teacher, and that no just argument can be drawn from hence to prove any particular dexterity in them, much less any design of theirs, or degree of perfection acquired by reasoning: the monkey tribe indeed form some exception, who, even in their wild state, shew a voluntary delight and readiness in mimicking human actions, of which there are an infinite multitude of well-attested proofs. When we come to view the structure of the oran-outang, we are forced to acknowledge, that his actions and movements would *not be natural*, unless they resembled those of *man*. To find him therefore excelling the brute animals in the dexterity of his manœuvres, and aptness of his imitations, does not excite our admiration, so much as the readiness of apprehension, with which, in his state of impuberty or childhood (if I may so express myself), his performances before such a variety of spectators were usually

accompanied. How far an oran-outang might be brought to give utterance to those European words (the signification of whose sounds, it is plain from Buffon, and others, he has capacity to understand, so as to conform his demeanour and movements to them voluntarily at the immature period of life, when his mental faculties are in their weakest state), remains for experiment. If the trial were to be *impartially* made, he ought to pass regularly from his horn-book, through the regular steps of pupilage, to the school, and university, till the usual modes of culture are exhausted upon him. If he should be trained up in this manner from childhood (or that early part of existence in which alone he has been noticed by the learned in Europe), to the age of 20 or 25, under fit preceptors, it might then with certainty be determined, whether his tongue is incapable of articulating human languages. But it, in that advanced age, and after a regular process of education, he should still be found to labour under this impediment, the phenomenon would be truly astonishing, for if it be alledged, that he could not produce such sounds for want of the sentient or thinking principle to excite the organs of speech to such an effect, still we should expect him capable of uttering sounds resembling the human, just as well as a natural idiot, or a parrot, can produce them without the agency of thought. For my own part, I conceive that probability favours the opinion, that human organs were not given him for nothing: that this race have some language by which their meaning is communicated; whether it resembles the gabbling of turkies like that of the Hottentots, or the hissing of serpents, is of very little consequence, so long as it is intelligible among themselves: nor, for what hitherto appears, do they seem at all inferior in the intellectual faculties to many of the Negroe race; with some of whom, it is credible that they have the most intimate connexion and consanguinity. The amorous intercourse between them may be frequent; the Negroes themselves bear testimony that such intercourses actually happen; and it is certain, that both races agree perfectly well in lasciviousness of disposition [f].

But

[f] An ingenious modern author has suggested many strong reasons to prove, that the faculty of speech is not the gift of nature to man; that articulation is the work of art, or at least of a habit acquired by custom and exercise; and that mankind are truly in their natural state a *mutuum pecus*. He instances the case of Peter the wild youth, caught in the forests of Hanover, who (he tells us) was

a man



But if we admit with Mr. Buffon, that with all this analogy of organization, the oran-outang's brain is a senseless *icon* of the human; that it is meer matter, unanimated with a thinking principle, in any, or at least in a very minute and imperfect degree, we must then infer the strongest conclusion to establish our belief of a natural diversity of the human intellect, in general, *ab origine*; an oran-outang, in this case, is a human being, *quoad* his form and organs; but of an inferior species, *quoad* his intellect; he has in form a much nearer resemblance to the Negroe race, than the latter bear to white men; the supposition then is well founded, that the brain, and intellectual organs, so far as they are dependent upon meer matter, though similar in texture and modification to those of other men, may in some of the Negroe race be so constituted, as *not to result to the same effects*; for we cannot but allow, that the Deity might, if it was his pleasure, diversify his works in this manner, and either withhold the *superior principle* entirely, or in part only. or infuse it into the different classes and races of human creatures, in such portions, as to form the same gradual climax towards perfection in this human system, which is so evidently designed in every other.

If such has been the intention of the Almighty, we are then perhaps to regard the oran-outang as,

“ — the lag of human kind,

“ Nearest to brutes, by God design'd [g].”

The Negroe race (consisting of varieties) will then appear rising progressively in the scale of intellect, the further they mount above the oran-outang and brute creation. The system of man will seem more consistent, and the measure of it more compleat, and analagous to the harmony and order that are visible in every other line of the world's stupendous fabric. Nor is this conclusion degrading to human nature, while it tends to exalt our idea of the infinite perfections of the Deity;

a man in mind as well as body, yet was not only mute when first caught, but continued so for 30 years after, having never learned to speak, notwithstanding his constant intercourse with mankind during that space. This would seem to prove, that the want of articulation, or expressing ideas by speech, does not afford a positive indication of a want of intellect: since the difficulty arising from the mechanism of speech, or pronunciation, may to some organs be insurmountable. Singular examples of this kind may happen, but they are rare. To find a whole society of people labouring under the same impediment, would be really wonderful.

{g} Prior.

for how vast is the distance between inert matter, and matter endued with thought and reason! The series and progression from a lump of dirt to a perfect human being is amazingly extensive; nor less so, perhaps, the interval between the latter and the most perfect angelic being, and between this being and the Deity himself. Let us shake off those clouds with which prejudice endeavours to envelope the understanding; and, exerting that freedom of thought which the Best of Beings has granted to us, let us take a noon-tide view of the human *genus*; and shall we say, that it is totally different from, and less perfect than, every other system of animal beings? The species of every other *genus* have their certain mark and distinction, their varieties, and subordinate classes: and why should the race of mankind be singularly indiscriminate?

“ — In the catalogue they go for *men*,  
 “ As hounds and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,  
 “ Shocks, water-rugs, and demi-wolves, are 'clep'd  
 “ *All* by the *name of dogs*; the valued file  
 “ Distinguishes the swift, the slow, the subtle,  
 “ The housekeeper, the hunter; every one  
 “ According to the gift, which bounteous nature  
 “ Hath in him clos'd; whereby he does receive  
 “ Particular addition, from the bill  
 “ That writes them all alike;—*And so of men*—”

says that faithful observer of nature, our immortal Shakespear; and with him so far agrees that truly learned and sagacious naturalist Mons. Buffon, who investigates the marks of variation among mankind in the following manner: “ Men differ from white to black, from compound to simple, by the height of stature, size, activity, strength, and other bodily characteristics; and from the genius to the dolt, from the greatest to the least, *by the measure of intellect*.” That there are some physical distinctions, in respect of person, I think, requires no further demonstration; and that men vary still more in intellect, is almost equally evident. On our entering Africa towards the European confine on the North, we first meet with the Moors, a race of tawny men, who possess many vices, and some virtues; they are acute, industrious, and carry on trade and manufactures; next to these, are a mixture of Moors and Arabs: we then arrive at the gum coast, or country of Senaga,

Senaga, whose inhabitants are an intermixture of blacks and the two former [b]. Next to these lie the Jaloffs, Phulis, and Mandingo Blacks; the former of whom are the most humanized and industrious of any on the coast; yet they are variously described by travelers, some commending them for amiable qualities, others accusing them of the worst; so that, to judge impartially, we are to suppose that they possess both, and differ only from each other in degree; but the Mandingoes are represented as little better than their Southern neighbours on whom they border. From hence we proceed through the different districts called the grain, ivory, gold, and slave coast, to Angola; all these we find occupied by petty Negroe states, whose character is nearly uniform, and who scarcely deserve to be ranked with the human species. The kingdoms of Angola and Benguela, having been chiefly peopled by the Giagas an interior nation, the inhabitants are said to be savages in a shape barely human. The Giagas were a tribe that poured out of the inland parts, ravaged and plundered almost every country bordering on the coast, deluging them like the Goths and Vandals of Europe, and intermixing with most of the conquered states, particularly Angola and Benguela. They are described as a barbarous race, hardened in idolatry, wallowers in human blood, cannibals, drunkards, practised in lewdness, oppression, and fraud; proud and slothful, cursed with all the vices that can degrade human nature, possessing no one good quality, and in short more brutal and savage than the wild beasts of the forest. From these, the Angolans borrowed their horrid custom of butchering a vast number of human victims, at the obsequies of their kings and relations, as well as that of feasting upon human flesh, and preferring it to any other; insomuch, that a dead slave was of more value at their market than a living one: the former practice indeed obtained in almost if not all the other provinces on the coast, and has only been discontinued by the greater advantage that offered, of selling their slaves and captives to the Euro-

[b] The Moors inhabiting on one side of the Senaga are wanderers, removing from place to place, as they find pasturage for their cattle. The Jaloff and Phulis Negroes, settled on the other side of the same river, live in villages. The Moors have superiors, or chiefs, of their own free election; the Negroes are in subjection to their kings, who are vested with a very arbitrary power. The Moors are small, lean, and ill looked, but have a lively, acute genius; the Negroes are large, fat, and well-proportioned, but silly, and of a slender capacity. The country inhabited by the Moors is a barren desert, almost destitute of verdure; that of the Negroes is a fertile soil, abounding with pasturage, producing grain, and trees of several kinds. Le Maire.

pean traders, instead of putting them to death. After leaving Benguela we arrive among the Hottentots, whose women are so remarkable for a natural callous excrescence, or flap, which distinguishes them from all others of the same sex in the known world. These people are of a dark nut, or dingy olive complexion, and in all other respects, save what have been noticed, are like the other Negroes in person. They are a lazy, stupid race; but possess benevolence, liberality, integrity, and friendship; they are hospitable and chaste, have some appearance of a regular form of government among them, and the barbarities they practise are more the result of antient customs, whose source is now unknown, than any innate cruelty of their dispositions. These people have several mechanic arts among them; but their language is guttural, and inarticulate, compared by some to the gabbling of enraged turkey-cocks, and by others to the rumbling of wind *a posteriori*. As we approach towards Abyssinia, the North East confine of Negro-land, we find the Blacks well shaped and featured, and for the most part having lank black hair instead of wool, though not very long. The Abyssinians are represented to be of a brown olive complexion, tall, of regular and well-proportioned features, large sparkling black eyes, elevated noses, small lips, and beautiful teeth; the character of their minds is equally favourable; they are sober, temperate, sensible, pious, and inoffensive.

The Red Sea divides these people from the Arabs, who, in complexion, person, and intellect, come still nearer to the Whites or Persians, their next neighbours, whose valour, quick parts, and humanity, are justly celebrated.

Having now completed this tour, we are struck with one very pertinent remark; the natives of the whole tract, comprised under the name of Negro-land, are all black, and have wool instead of hair; whereas the people in the most torrid regions of Libya and America, who have the sun vertical over them, have neither the same tincture of skin, nor woolly covering. As we recede from Negro-land, this blackness gradually decreases, and the wool as gradually changes to lank hair, which at first is of a short staple, but is found longer, the further we advance [1]. We observe the like gradations of the intellectual

[1] I admit there is some variety both in colour and feature among the different nations of the Negroes; some are lighter than others by a shade or two, and some have smaller features; but this diversity

lectual faculty, from the first rudiments perceived in the monkey kind, to the more advanced stages of it in apes, in the *oran-outang*, that type of man, and the Guiney Negroe; and ascending from the varieties of this class to the lighter casts, until we mark its utmost limit of perfection in the pure White. Let us not then doubt, but that every member of the creation is wisely fitted and adapted to the certain uses, and confined within the certain bounds, to which it was ordained by the Divine Fabricator. The measure of the several orders and varieties of these Blacks may be as compleat as that of any other race of mortals; filling up that space, or degree, beyond which they are not destined to pass; and discriminating them from the rest of men, not in *kind*, but in *species*.

The examples which have been given of Negroes born and trained up in other climates, detract not from that general idea of narrow, humble intellect, which we affix to the inhabitants of Guiney. We have seen *learned horses*, *learned* and even *talking dogs*, in England; who, by dint of much pains and tuition, were brought to exhibit the signs of a capacity far exceeding what is ordinarily allowed to be possessed by those animals. The experiment has not been fully tried with the *oran-outangs*; yet, from what has hitherto been proved, this race of beings may, for aught we know to the contrary, possess a share of intellect, which, by due cultivation,

diversity only serves to strengthen my argument; there is likewise a variety in the colour of their wool, for I have seen some perfectly reddish.

The natives of the Indian peninsula, betwixt the rivers Indus and Ganges in the East Indies, have the African black complexion, the European features, and the American lank hair, but all native and genuine.

It is not a variety of climate that produces various complexions. America lies from 65 degrees North lat. to 55 deg. South lat. comprehending all the various climates of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. The American complexion is every where permanently the same, only with more or less of a metalline lustre. Between the Tropics, and in the high Northern latitudes, they are paler; in the other parts, of a copper colour, have thin lips, jet black lank hair, and no beards; in the high Northern and Southern latitudes, they are tall and robust; between the Tropics they are short and squat. Douglas.—The greatest alteration caused by difference of climate seems to consist in enlarging or depressing the stature; relaxing or contracting the muscles, and articulations of the limbs; lengthening or shortening the bones; and, in consequence perhaps, raising or depressing, in a small degree, some particular features. The natives of Madagascar have neither such flat noses nor dark complexions as the Guiney Negroes; there are some of them said to be mere *brunets*; and most of them have long hair: they are by most travelers pronounced to be lively, intelligent, sensible of gratitude, and possessed of many amiable qualities; so that it is not without regret, that we find them treated as the most abject slaves by the French, on their settlements in Mauritius.

might

might raise them to a nearer apparent equality with the human, and make them even excel the inhabitants of *Quaqua*, *Angola*, and *Whidah*. Mr. *Hume* presumes, from his observations upon the native Africans, to conclude, that they are inferior to the rest of the species, and utterly incapable of all the higher attainments of the human mind. Mr. *Beattie*, upon the principle of philanthropy, combats this opinion; but he is unfortunate in producing no demonstration to prove, that it is either lightly taken up, or inconsistent with experience. He likewise makes no scruple to confound the Negroes and Mexican Indians together, and to deduce conclusions from the ingenuity of the latter, to shew the probable ingenuity of the former. We might reasonably suppose, that the commerce maintained with the Europeans for above two centuries, and the great variety of fabrics and things manufactured, which have been introduced among the Guiney Negroes for such a length of time, might have wrought some effect towards polishing their manners, and exciting in them at least a degree of imitative industry; but it is really astonishing to find, that these causes have not operated to their civilization; they are at this day, if any credit can be given to the most modern accounts, but little divested of their primitive brutality; we cannot pronounce them insusceptible of civilization, since even [*k*] apes have been taught to eat, drink, repose, and dress, like men; but of all the human species hitherto discovered, their natural baseness of mind seems to afford least hope

[*k*] The docility of many among the brute creation, is a subject which the pride of man is not very fond of examining with a too critical investigation; but none is more curious; the enquiry is humiliating to those who would fondly consider man as possessing something of an angelic nature; they think it degrades them to allow brutes a reasoning faculty; yet there are not wanting proofs of somewhat very like it, especially in those animals with whom we are most conversant, and therefore have more frequent opportunities of studying. *Pope*, more free in his opinion, calls the *elephant* "half-reasoning;" the relations that are given of the sensibility of this animal appear to many persons almost incredible.

Mr. *Toreen* affirms, that, when he was at Surat in 1751, he had an opportunity of remarking one, whose master had let it out to hire for a certain sum *per* day. Its employment was, to carry timber for building, out of the river; which business it dispatched very dextrously under the command of a boy, and afterwards laid one piece upon another in such good order, that no man could have done it better.

The docility of monkeys and apes is still superior. One of the latter, trained in France, was not long since exhibited in London. He performed a variety of equilibres on the wire with as much expertness as the most noted human artists that have appeared before the public in this walk.

of

of their being (except by miraculous interposition of the divine Providence) so far refined as to *think*, as well as act like *perfect men*.

It has been said, that the nature of their governments is unfavourable to genius, because they tolerate slavery; but genius is *manifested* in the right frame of government: they have republics among them as well as monarchies, but neither have yet been known productive of civility, of arts, or sciences. Their genius (if it can be so called) consists alone in trick and cunning, enabling them, like monkeys and apes, to be thievish and mischievous, with a peculiar dexterity. They seem unable to combine ideas, or pursue a chain of reasoning; they have no mode of forming calculations, or of recording events to posterity, or of communicating thoughts and observations by marks, characters, or delineation; or by that method so common to most other countries in their rude and primitive ages, by little poems or songs: we find this practice existed formerly among the Ægyptians, Phœnicians, Arabians, Mexicans, and many others. The ancient inhabitants of Brazil, Peru, Virginia, St. Domingo, and Canada, preserved, in poems of this kind, such events as they thought worthy of the knowledge of future times, and sung them at their public festivals and solemnities. Arithmetick, astronomy, geometry, and mechanicks, were, in other societies of men, among the first sciences to which they applied themselves. The origin of arts and sciences in other countries has been ascribed to their uniting in societies, instead of leading a gregarious life; their necessities, the institution of laws and government, and the leisure which these afforded for indulging in such researches. It may be said, that the Negroes are not affected by this necessity which has affected other people; that their soil is wonderfully productive; that their country abounds with food; that the warmth of their climate makes cloathing superfluous; but no such pretences restrained the South Americans; and others living under the same parallel of climate, from cloathing themselves.

The art of making garments was invented in the mildest climates, where there was the least need of any covering for the body; necessity alone therefore could not be the cause of mens cloathing themselves.

The Negroes live in societies; some of their towns (as they are called) are even said to be very extensive; and if a life of idleness

implies leisure, they enjoy enough of it. In regard to their laws and government, these may, with them, be more properly ranged under the title of customs and manners; they have no regulations dictated by foresight: they are the simple result of a revengeful selfish spirit, put in motion by the crimes that prevail among them; consequently their edicts are mostly vindictive, and death or slavery the almost only modes of punishment; they seem to have no polity, nor any comprehension of the use of civil institutions. Their punishments are actuated either by a motive of revenge or of avarice; they have none to balance the allurements of pleasure, nor the strength of the passions, nor to operate as incitements to industry and worthy actions. In many of their provinces they are often reduced to the utmost straits for want of corn, of which they might enjoy the greatest abundance, if they were but animated with the smallest portion of industry. If no rules of civil polity exist among them, does it not betray an egregious want of common sense, that no such rules have been formed? If it be true, that in other countries mankind have cultivated some arts, through the impulse of the necessities under which they laboured, what origin shall we give to those contrivances and arts, which have sprung up after those necessities were provided for? These are surely no other than the result of innate vigour and energy of the mind, inquisitive, inventive, and hurrying on with a divine enthusiasm to new attainments. The jurisprudence, the customs and manners of the Negroes, seem perfectly suited to the measure of their narrow intellect. Laws have justly been regarded as the master-piece of human genius: what then are we to think of those societies of men, who either have none, or such only as are irrational and ridiculous?

*Religion and Religious Opinions among the Negroes.*

They are said to have as many religions almost as they have deities, and these are innumerable; but some have been taught to believe the existence of a supreme God. These say that God is partial to the Whites, and treats them as his own children, but takes pleasure in afflicting the Blacks with a thousand evils; that they are indebted to him for nothing but showers, without which the earth would not afford them provisions; but even in this, they alledge



alledge he is only the undesigning cause, and for the effect they are obliged to the fertility of the soil. Man's creation they assert to have happened in the following manner: in the beginning, black as well as white men were created; nay, if there was any difference in time, the Blacks had the priority. To these, two sorts of favours were presented; to the Blacks, gold; and to the Whites, the knowledge of arts and sciences. It was from choice, that the Blacks had gold for their share: and, to punish their avarice, it was decreed they should ever be slaves to the white men; they are fully persuaded that no country but Afric produces gold, and that Blacks can never attain the knowledge of letters [m].

The *Mocas* not only worship, but eat, snakes; now adore, and presently devour, their deity. In this however they are not unexampled by some states in Europe; I mean those pious canibals, one essential part of whose faith it is to believe, that they verily and substantially eat the flesh, and quaff the blood, of their God.

The snake is likewise a favourite divinity among many other of the Negroe states, and particularly the Whidahs. In 1697, a hog that had been teased for some time by one of these reptiles, killed and gobbled it up. The marbuts, or priests, went with their complaint in form to the king; and no one presuming to appear as council for defendant hog, he was convicted of the sacrilege, and a warrant issued for a general massacre of all his species throughout the kingdom. A thousand chosen warriors, armed with cutlasses, began the bloody execution; and the whole race of swine would have been extirpated from Whidah, if the king (who loved pork) had not put a stop to the dreadful carnage, by representing to the marbuts, that they ought to rest satisfied with the severe vengeance they had taken.

*Of some Customs among them.*

In hot climates, bathing is one of the highest luxuries; it is no wonder then that we find their inhabitants universally adopt this agreeable practice, especially as cattle, wild beasts, and other quadruped animals, use it for their refreshment. The Negroes teach their children to swim at a very tender age; hence they become

[n] Bosman.

expert divers, and are able to continue an incredible length of time under water; hence too they incline to fix their dwellings on the sea coast, or the banks of the rivers, to save themselves the trouble of a long walk.

In these climates the brute creation fly to shelter from the rain; the Negroes likewise avoid it with extreme anxiety; if they are caught in a shower they clasp their arms over their heads to defend them, run with all the speed they can to the nearest retreat, and seem to groan at every drop that falls upon them; to preserve their bodies the better from it, they rub them over with palm oil; as the aquatic birds besmear their plumage with the oily liquor expressed from the glands which nature has provided them with. Their women are delivered with little or no labour; they have therefore no more occasion for midwives, than the female oran-outang, or any other wild animal. A woman brings forth her child in a quarter of an hour, goes the same day to the sea, and washes herself. Some have even been known to bring forth twins without a shriek, or a scream; and it is seldom they are confined above two, or, at most, three days.

Immediately before her labour she is conducted to the sea side or a river, followed by a number of little children, who throw all manner of ordure and excrement at her in the way, after which she is washed with great care. Without this cleanly ceremony, the Negroes are persuaded that either the mother, the child, or one of the parents, will die during the period of lying-in. Thus they seem exempted from the curse inflicted upon Eve and her daughters, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children."

#### *Medicine.*

The origin of the invention of medicine is intirely unknown; some ascribe it to chance, others to observation on the conduct of brute animals; both probably combined. We know that the Northern Indians discovered that herb, which is an antidote to the venom of the rattle snake, by the latter means. Brutes are botanists by instinct; whether man in his rude state possesses any similar

similar instinct we are uninformed, but probability is in the affirmative.

The chief medicaments among the Negroes are lime juice, cardamoms, the roots, branches, leaves, bark, and gums of trees, and about thirty different herbs. The latter have been experienced in many cases wonderfully powerful, and have subdued diseases incident to their climate, which have foiled the art of European surgeons at the factories. However, the Negroes generally apply them at random, without any regard to the particular symptoms of the disease; concerning which, or the operation of their *materia medica*, they have formed no theory.

*Esquemeling* relates, that when he and his companions were amusing themselves at Costa Rica with shooting at monkeys, if one of them happened to be wounded, the rest flocked about him, and while some laid their paws upon the wound, to hinder the blood from issuing forth, others gathered moss from the trees (or rather probably some species of styptic *fungus*) and thrust into the orifice, by which means they stopped the effusion. At other times they gathered particular herbs, and, chewing them in their mouth, applied them as a poultice; all which, says he, “caused in me great admiration, seeing such strange actions in those irrational creatures, which testified the fidelity and love they had for one another.”

From what source did these monkeys derive their chirurgical skill and knowledge? From the same, no doubt, whence the Negroes received theirs—the hands of their Creator; who has impartially provided all animals with means conducive to their preservation.

#### *Diet.*

Maize, palm oil, and a little stinking fish, make up the general bill of fare of the prince and the slave; except that they regale themselves, as often as they can, with *aqua vite*, and palm wine [n], Their old custom of gormandizing on human flesh has in it something so nauseous, so repugnant to nature and reason, that it would hardly admit of belief, if it had not been attested by a multitude of voyagers; some of whom affirm to have been eye-witnesses of it,

[n] Barbot.

and, what is stronger, by report of Negroes themselves imported from that continent into our colonies [o]. The difficulty indeed of believing it to be true, is much lessened when we reflect on the sanguinary, cruel temper, and filthy practices of these people, in other respects; many Negroes in our colonies have been known to drink the blood of their enemies with great apparent relish; and at Benin, Angola, and other kingdoms, they at this day prefer apes, monkeys, dog's flesh, carrion, reptiles, and other substances, usually deemed improper for human food, although they abound with hogs, sheep, poultry, fish, and a variety of game and wild-fowl; why should we doubt but that the same ravenous savage, who can feast on the roasted quarters of an ape (that *mock-man*), would be not less delighted with the sight of a loin or buttock of human flesh, prepared in the same manner? This opinion must be strengthened by considering the idea they entertain of the ape species; for they esteem them as scarcely their inferiors in humanity; and suppose they are very able to talk, but so cunning withal, that, to avoid working, they dissemble their talent, and pretend to be dumb.

They are most brutal in their manners and uncleanly in their diet, eating flesh almost raw by choice, though intolerably putrid and full of meggots. Even those that inhabit the sea coast, though well provided with other victuals, are so ravenous that they will devour the raw guts of animals. The unhealthiness of some of the European factories here, has been imputed in great measure to the abominable custom of the natives, of exposing their fish to the sun till they become sufficiently stinking, fly-blown, and rotten. This causes a stench, which fills all the atmosphere in the neighbourhood; and, though insupportably offensive to the Europeans, it does not

[o] The existence of cannibals or man-eaters is now unquestionably proved, by the late discoveries made by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in their voyage to the South Sea; where they found, in the country called *New-Zealand*, a people who fed upon human flesh. The author of "*The Origin and Progress of language*," says, he is well informed of a nation in the inland parts of *Africa*, where human flesh is exposed to sale in the market, as beef and mutton are among us; this agrees with the accounts which have been formerly given by some travelers, and which till lately have not met with much credit; for this incredulity, the before mentioned ingenious author assigns a very sufficient reason. "Those, says he, who judge of mankind only by what they see of the modern nations of Europe, are not, I know, disposed to believe this; but they may as well not believe that there are men, who live without cloaths or houses; without corn, wine, or beer; and without planting or sowing."

seem to affect the Blacks with any other than the most delicious sensations.

At their meals they tear the meat with their talons, and chuck it by handfulls down their throats with all the voracity of wild beasts; at their politest entertainments they thrust their hands all together into the dish, sometimes returning into it what they have been chewing. They use neither table-cloths, knives, forks, plates, nor trenchers, and generally squat down upon the bare earth to their repast.

Their hospitality is the result of self-love; they entertain strangers only in hopes of extracting some service or profit from them; and in regard to others, the hospitality is reciprocal; by receiving them into their huts, they acquire a right of being received into theirs in turn. This in fact is a species of generosity which gives no decisive evidence of goodness of heart, or rectitude of manners, except in those countries where no advantage is expected to be made by the host.

In short, their corporeal sensations are in general of the grossest frame; their sight is acute, but not correct; they will rarely miss a standing object, but they have no notion of shooting birds on the wing, nor can they project a straight line, nor lay any substance square with another. Their hearing is remarkably quick; their faculties of smell and taste are truly bestial, nor less so their commerce with the other sex; in these acts they are libidinous and shameless as monkeys, or baboons. The equally hot temperament of their women has given probability to the charge of their admitting these animals frequently to their embrace. An example of this intercourse once happened, I think, in England [p]; and if lust can prompt to such excesses in that Northern region, and in despite of all the checks which national politeness and refined sentiments impose, how freely may it not operate in the more genial soil of Africa, that parent of every thing that is monstrous in nature, where these creatures are frequent and familiar; where the passions rage without any controul; and the retired wilderness presents opportunity to gratify them without fear of detection!

[p] It is said the lady conceived by her paramour, which gave occasion to the Star. 25 Hen. VIII. which was purposely extended to women, as well as men.

## C H A P. II.

## GUINEY SLAVES.

**T**HE part of the African continent whence the Negroe slaves are transported, begins at the river Senaga, and terminates at the river Quanza, in Angola; comprehending a shore of little less than 2000 leagues in extent, and including the several divisions before enumerated.

It is computed, that, for these hundred years past, not less than 40,000 have been shipped from thence every year upon an average; which, if true, makes the whole amount not less than four millions.

It is a matter of surprize to some, that so large and continual a drain has not depopulated this country. But, independent of the prodigious extent of Afric, there are many solid reasons given why this depopulation has not, and cannot happen. The state of slavery in use here does not hinder depopulation, as it doubtless would in a civilized part of the world, where liberty is highly prized. A man or woman of sensibility, that sensibility encreased by reflexion, and perhaps study, would, under the yoke of slavery, be deaf to all the calls of inclination, and refuse giving being to wretches doomed to inherit the misery their parents feel in so exquisite a manner. The idea of *slavery* is totally different in Afric. Exclusive of the entire absence of keen sensations, the slaves of a family are considered as no mean part of it; scarce any of them are sold, except for very great crimes. The owners are full as careful of bringing them up as their own children. For in the number of their slaves consist their wealth, their pride, and dignity; and therefore they shew an attention to preserve and multiply them, similar to that of an European merchant, in the care and improvement of his money.

Slaves likewise, who have any abilities, are allowed to make the most of them; by which means they grow rich, and able to purchase slaves for themselves; in this, it is said, (I know not with what truth) they meet with no interruption, provided they acknowledge their subservience from time to time, and pay a tribute,

or

or make satisfactory presents to their owner and his descendants. Elegance of thinking finds no place here; the air is soft, the food stimulating, and the passions unrestrained. Child-birth is attended with little or no danger or difficulty. The fruitfulness of the soil leaves no room to fear that children will become burdensome; and, this anxiety being removed, nature does the rest.

Many families ally themselves by marriage as soon as the children are born, without any other ceremony than the consent of parents on both sides. Such as have made free with the passion before marriage, are not the less respected by their husbands, or the public: on the contrary, they are esteemed the better qualified to enter into matrimony, and are accordingly often preferred to absolute *vestals*.

Scarcely any of the prisoners taken in battle are now put to death, but are almost all sold, and brought to some part of the coast. Polygamy universally prevails, and contributes greatly to populousness. Of this we may form some judgement from Haslequitt's account of Egypt; he informs us of a Turk, who by several wives had 40 children; of another who had at once in his haram seventy-seven women all with child by him; and a third who had by eight wives, in ten years, eighty children, all of whom lived to mature age. But to produce examples of the like kind among the Negroe provinces; Bosman, in his account of Whidah, mentions that he had frequently seen fathers who had upwards of two hundred children. Upon interrogating a certain captain of the king's guards concerning the number of his family, he replied with a sigh, that he was unhappy in that particular, not having above seventy living. Bosman then asked him how many had died, and he answered seventy. Thus a family of 140 children is by no means looked upon as extraordinary [7].

Of the slaves shipped from the coast, not a sixth part are women; and this happens from there being fewer female criminals to be transported, and no female warriors to be taken prisoners. The number of females born exceeds the males, and though some Blacks in the inland countries have ten, others an hundred wives, yet by the strictest enquiries from the inland merchants, it appears that no man goes without a wife from a scarcity of women; and that

[7] Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 402.

although the richest have many wives, the poorest are not thereby precluded from having one or two; in short, that an unpaired man or woman is seldom or never seen.

Thus of many hindrances to population in Europe, not one takes place in Africa; and such is the rapidity of propagation here, that it should seem there would be a superabundance of inhabitants, if the slave trade did not take so many off. Certain it is, that in many parts of Asia the climate and other circumstances are so much more favourable than the soil, that whilst the people multiply, the famines destroy; for this reason, in some parts of China, fathers sell or expose their supernumerary children. It seems from hence very probable, that Africa not only can continue supplying the West Indies with the same quantities as hitherto; but, if necessity required it, could spare thousands, nay millions more, and continue doing the same to the end of time, without any visible depopulation.

These circumstances, together with the incurable ignorance and unskilfulness of the natives, spread over a country of such extent, abounding with gold and a multitude of other rich commodities, highly prized in Europe, seem to point it out as an object of most valuable commerce to the trading and manufacturing nations of that quarter; we find accordingly, that Britain alone employs 50,000 tons of shipping in it, and imports from thence to the amount of above half a million sterling, exclusive of the slaves.

The populousness of this country, and spirit of the people, make it reasonable to suppose, that the constitution of slavery has been of some thousand years existence among them. Their commerce in slaves must be fixed exceeding early. Josephus, giving an account of the trade carried on by Solomon [r] with Ophir, which he places in Africa, mentions that, “besides gold and silver,” there were brought to the king, “*καὶ πολλὰς ἐλέφας, Αἰθίοπες τε, καὶ πιθηκοὶ,*” “much ivory, Blacks, and monkeys,” which are the same commodities that form the chief part of their trade at this day. Solomon however had no occasion for any great number of Blacks; they were bought perhaps chiefly for attending the seraglios of princes, high-priests, and other great officers of state; or for adding variety to their retinues. In some of the subsequent ages, from the

[r] About the year before Christ 1000.



decline or ruin of those petty kingdoms which had used to traffic with them, the demand grew less and less, until the Negroe provinces had no communication left, except with their neighbours, the Arabs and Moors.

The want of more extensive vent for their superfluous people, occasioned those horrid methods of diminishing them, of which we read in history, by sacrificing them to their fetishes and great men; butchering their captives in war, and, in most of the provinces, devouring human flesh; which perhaps supplied them with a permanent kind of food, and made it less necessary for them to break through their natural abhorrence of labour, and take the pains either of cultivating the earth, or laying up provisions against unreasonable years. Man's flesh was then in such cheap estimation among them, that they would give ten or twelve slaves for a horse: *Labat* cites an example of one being sold for forty slaves.

The Portuguese, who were the earliest Europeans of the modern ages that had any intercourse with these people, and first came among them about the year 1450, found slaves an established article of their inland commerce with one another, and hence conceived the idea of turning this local medium of traffic to account, by purchasing slaves to work their mines in South America. It is not improbable too that they thought it a meritorious act to rescue so many human victims from suffering death and torture, under such idolatrous and savage customs; and thus make their private gain compatible with the suggestions of humanity and religion.

It was the South-west part which the Portuguese first grew acquainted with. Many years passed before the English entered into the slave trade; in 1621, when captain Jobson touched at the river Gambia in the North-west part, the inhabitants offered him several slaves in exchange for goods; but he refused, alledging "that the English did not trade in them;" for a long time after, this traffic was regularly adopted by many of the different European states, so abundant were slaves, and so eager the natives to furnish themselves with brandy, trinkets, and other novelties, that, even in 1730, Snelgrave tells us, he purchased a child for a bunch of beads, worth no more than half a crown. But, to speak of the present

state of this trade, the rivalship of the Europeans, the bad management of some factories, and the overbidding of others, have opened the eyes of the crafty natives to their interest, and such a competition being extremely favourable to their avarice, they have gradually raised the price to 23*l.* and 24*l.* *per* head for able men and women; but, rating the price at 20*l.* at medium, the annual profit to the Africans is 800,000*l.* sterling, out of which their petty sovereigns on the coast draw a tribute, by way of capitation tax on all that are exported, of not less than 70 or 80,000*l.*; the most of which, if not the whole, arises from the extrusion of those, who, agreeably to the primitive frame of their constitution and usages, would but for this trade have been put to death, and so lost to their country, without any resulting benefit. The love of gain, which enables them the better to gratify their pride, sloth, and debauched inclinations, animates them in supplying the trade as at present conducted; and although it may lead to some acts of violence and injustice among them, yet it has lessened the number and atrocity of these acts, and is attended with such pleasing consequences to them, that it is probable they never will let it drop willingly.

The slaves in general are,

1. Such as are captured in war.
2. Such as are sold by their brutal parents, or husbands.
3. Native slaves sold by their owners, generally for some crime.
4. Such as are free born, but condemned to forfeiture of freedom for some flagitious offence.

Of the latter sort there is a great number; since to their natural vices is superadded, in some provinces, a long list of constructive crimes, for which the punishment assigned by their kings and great men is, a fine or slavery.

In some places, offences of all sorts, except treason, are atonable with money; but, that being deficient, the penalty is slavery. In others all crimes and offences, great and small, are punished with slavery.

An owner here has the absolute dominion over his slaves, their bodies, life, and goods, as the kings have over those of their vassals. He may kill or sell his slaves and their children at pleasure; and  
parents

parents consider their own offspring, as creatures wholly in their power, to be disposed of just as they think proper. The children uniformly follow the condition of their mother: if she is a slave, they continue such, though the father be free. All their work is performed by their women and slaves, and the latter are in place of beasts of burthen. Hence the chief riches among all the Negroe states consist in the number of their slaves. If they treat them at any time with particular indulgence, it appears to arise solely from the advantages derived from their service, and the fear of their elopement; but the third offence of this sort is punished by death, or sale to the traders, at the pleasure of their owner; their care of the children of their slaves is founded upon the same interested motive; for these are their wealth: and many breed slaves, like cattle, to make profit by the sale of them, either to the more opulent natives, or to the Black or White traders. Before the Europeans traded to this coast, their slaves, as well as prisoners of war, used to be sacrificed to their divinities; slaughtered or buried alive at the funerals of their princes and chief men, and at all great feasts. Slaves and prisoners were indiscriminately devoured; and in some provinces were regular markets, at which the aged and infirm were publicly sold for these uses. There is even some reason to believe, that in the interior countries these customs still prevail in a degree, though much fewer are butchered than formerly. Indeed, the profits by selling in trade all those whom formerly they used to put to death, in so many various modes, and for various causes, either from revenge or superstition, for food or amusement, are so great, that it is probable but very few of their slaves, prisoners, and criminals, are now put to death. As they consider their slaves merely as their necessary beasts during life, so they treat their bodies with no mark of humanity after their decease. In most of the provinces they do not bestow even interment upon them, but throw their carcasses in any open place, and leave them a prey to wild animals; in a few places only they cover them with earth, but without any ceremony.

The emoluments they draw from their slaves, in one way or other, operate as a perpetual incentive to their encouraging population

tion (already so favoured in several local circumstances, as has been mentioned) to the utmost of their power; in order that they may never want a sufficient number for their domestic services, for agriculture, and other purposes; besides enough of supernumeraries, to support and augment their revenues arising from trade with the Europeans. Slaves may therefore be now considered with them, actual *staple products*, as much as wool and corn are to Great Britain. They have gained by this means a constant vent for all their rogues and vagabonds; and the transportation of them is so far from being a burthen to their states, as the case is with respect to the European nations, that it is highly lucrative to them. Thus they are relieved from their vilest criminals, with a large profit into the bargain; whilst the European plantations in America are made the common receptacle of these abandoned outcasts; and are become as useful to the African provinces, as scavengers to a dirty town, or Virginia and Maryland to Britain. It is clear, that the African states have just as good right as any European power, to banish their criminals to other parts of the world that will receive them; it is certainly agreeable to the principles of humanity, that captives also should be exiled, rather than cruelly tortured to death; and by banishment of all these victims for life, they reap this sure benefit, that they are effectually prevented from returning to repeat again their former course of criminal or hostile practices; nor is the indemnification for these practices trifling, which accrues to the respective states, from the sale of their bodies to the Europeans.

In England, multitudes are hanged, and many more sent to the plantations and sold into slavery; some for a term, others for life. Such as are executed, can no longer commit injury nor do good; but of the many hundred wretches transported, many find methods of returning, and generally, if not universally, follow the same trade of villainy as before, till they suffer the *ultimum jus* of hanging. It may be said of our English transported felons, as of the Negroe criminals, that neither of them go into a voluntary banishment; but it must be allowed, that the Africans may with equal justice sell their convicts, as the English sell theirs; and equally well vest a legal right to their service in the purchasers. The argument that some are wrongfully punished in this way, is nothing to the purpose; it holds  
equally

equally respecting each government ; for how many examples have we continually, of innocent persons condemned to death or banishment in England, upon false evidence? and if this occurs, as it frequently does, in a country that boasts of its righteous laws, and equitable forms of justice ; we ought not to be surprized, that the same events happen in Africa, where justice is so ill administered through the natural barbarity of the people. Exclusive therefore of this argument, the African states having the power of dispensing life or death ; they are likewise empowered to regulate the condition upon which life is granted, where it has been adjudged by their forms of proceeding to be forfeited to their laws, or customary usages. It may justly then be questioned, whether this banishment is to be termed involuntary ; since the parties, knowing what must be the inevitable penalty of their doing so or so, might have avoided falling under it ; but by committing offences to which the penalty is annexed, they wilfully subject themselves to the consequential punishment, which is no other than slavery, perpetual or temporary, at the pleasure of their purchasers ; to whose discretion the sellers have left it. But although it is well known that ninety-nine out of one hundred of the slaves shipped from Africa, are now convicted felons, whose lives were forfeited, and whose punishment has been commuted for slavery to the Europeans ; this fact is denied, upon a supposition, “ that Africa could not have so many felons yearly as there “ are slaves thus sold.” To elucidate this, let us only consider, that Great Britain has above two thousand convicted felons yearly ; Africa does not sell any thing near two hundred thousand slaves yearly ; yet that would be only in the proportion of one hundred to one ; and Africa is not only one hundred, but perhaps one thousand times larger and more populous than Great Britain. It would not be wonderful then, if from thence were to be shipped every year two hundred thousand convicts ; these in fact would be just so many lives saved, and rendered useful to the community ; which advantages would be wholly lost, were the slave trade universally given up ; for as the Africans are naturally thieves and villains, though slavery is the certain punishment now on their conviction, the breaking up of the slave trade might indeed alter the punishment to that of death, but would not reform them ; and that this would be the true consequence,

quence, may be judged from the well-attested fact, that if the slaves which the Africans bring to market are so old or blemished, that they cannot get what they think a sufficient price for them, they will cut their throats before the faces of the Europeans [s]. To abolish this trade, is therefore no other than to resign them up to those diabolical butcheries, cruelty, and carnage, which ravaged their provinces before the European commerce with them began.

It appears from the fullest evidence, that the provinces bordering upon the coast do not send any of their own natives into banishment, unless for atrocious crimes; the major part are brought from the interior parts, where these slaves are an established article of traffic; some few captives of war, the rest convicts, or criminal persons, born in a state of pure slavery; and over whom their owners exercise, agreeably to their usage and constitutions, the most absolute will and power.

We are informed, that the Black merchants travel many hundred miles, and collect them from the utmost extremities of Afric; great numbers, sold from Angola, having been brought from the interior parts of *Æthiopia*, on the borders of the Indian ocean; and at Sabi, and in other provinces, inland, regular markets are held, where are to be sold men, women, children, hogs, sheep, goats, &c. in common. We find therefore, that these supplies are drawn, by a variety of channels, from every part of this extensive continent; every province contributing a few; so that by the time these several quotas are assembled at the coast, or grand shipping-place, they may well amount to a very considerable multitude.

If a Negroe, so purchased, should, upon being transplanted into a country where freedom is truly understood, aspire to get free from that bondage in which he has always lived, or to which the judgement of his society has decreed him; I acknowledge there are no means of preventing his attempts, but by an exertion of *force*. Few men (except those Africans who live in their own country in a state of servility) are without the desire of enlargement. These Africans know not what freedom is, until they enter our colonies; and therefore can have no passion for a state, whose qualities they are ignorant of. In regard to other countries, and other men, the laws of

[s] Treatise on the Trade from Great Britain to Africa, 1773.

different states, aware of this *furor* for liberty, have taken care to lay restraints upon it. In England, for example, the common labourers are obliged, by force of penal institutions, to remain content with a very limited portion of liberty. The felons banished to America would soon evade their sentence, if not constrained to obedience by superior strength. Without this curb, no man would suffer himself to be deprived of his personal freedom for debt; no seaman would submit to be pressed, no soldier to be retained in the service, no highwayman to be hanged. A labourer in England never consented to the laws which impose restrictions upon him; but there is in every government a certain supreme controuling power, included in the social compact, having the energy of law, or published and declared as the law of the land; by which every member of the community, high and low, rich and poor, is respectively bound: it is in truth an association of the opulent and the good, for better preserving their acquisitions, against the poor and the wicked. For want, complicated with misery and vice, generally seeks relief by plundering from those who are better provided. An African is as much bound by this supreme power, as the English labourer.

If then every African state has from the earliest ages, as far as we can trace, not only tolerated a property in men, but asserted and exercised a right of selling their criminals, slaves of war, and native slaves, to any one that would buy them, in this transfer is implied as much right of property in the vendee, as in the vender: no one questions in that country, not even the criminals and slaves themselves, this right of selling, and acquiring a property; it is universally acknowledged; nor is the will of the party sold, ever consulted; he admits the vender's right, as part of the law or usage of his society; and this precludes all idea of *illegal duress*, and proves that the right of personal property over such, as are purchased out of a state of pure slavery, is lawfully continued to the subsequent owners.

No one doubts, but that every contract made in Afric for the purchase of a slave, is there understood by the three parties, the buyer, the seller, and the person sold, to be perfectly firm and valid; the one knows what he buys, the other what he sells, and the third, that his services are thus become translated to his new owner; he is conscious likewise, that he himself would acquire the same right,

should he ever become a slave-holder ; accordingly we are told, that in certain provinces, the slaves are permitted to grow rich enough to become themselves the buyers and proprietors of slaves. The commencement of this bondage therefore in Afric is so very far from being illegal, that (respecting the laws and customs of that continent) it is universally admitted and sanctified by publick notoriety, established usage, and the general full consent of all the inhabitants. Surely, a voyage from Afric to any other country, where this claim of property is continued, cannot dissolve the bargain.

In regard to captives of war, sold as slaves, it appears that they come under that state by an act of their own, which cannot be deemed otherwise than voluntary. It is evident, from the history we have of the Negroe states, that the most potent among them cannot pretend to be ensured from slavery ; for it may become the lot of every one that ventures a battle. It is consistent with every maxim of equity, reason, and justice, that a person reduced to this class, to which he intended reducing his conqueror, does (on the principle of enslaving, or of being enslaved) submit knowingly and voluntarily to the event. Among Christian princes at war with each other, *Grotius* observes, that this practice of enslaving prisoners has entirely ceased. But still some shadow remains among them of the original power, which the victors exercised over their captives. Their personal liberty is restrained, until they either bind themselves not to resume arms, or until a valuable consideration is paid for their enlargement ; this consists either of a pecuniary ransom, or an exchange of man for man, which is the same as giving value for value. It is said, that a Negroe chieftain spares the life of his captive, which shews (according to the civilians) that he is under no absolute necessity of killing him. But who is to be judge of this necessity, the civilians or the chieftain ? This proves only a commutation of the mode, by which the chieftain seeks to be rid of, and to deprive his enemy of further capacity to do him hurt. His rage and his fears used formerly to meet satisfaction by two ways, either by putting him to cruel death, or by holding him in strict bondage ; these both secured him from future attacks. If he spared his life for a time, it was only to make him drag on a miserable existence, under continual hard treatment ; and by a lingering misery administer



administer more zelt to implacable vengeance. This was the custom before the Europeans visited the coast. But this trade diverted the thirst of blood, and the refinements of malice, into the love of gain ; and now the practice of banishment not only gratifies this powerful incentive, but consults their security equally well as the antient mode, by removing their enemies, and effectually preventing their repetition of hostility.

They, as well as the Europeans, consider their prisoner as one who is to be redeemed with a price. They hold his body as their absolute property ; and the prisoner, from the moment of his captivity, as well as before he was made a prisoner, knows the full latitude of that power ; he is conscious there is a price fixed upon his head ; if he is redeemed from death by his countrymen, he is sensible that he becomes justly their debtor, and no less so if, his countrymen refusing to ransom him, he is redeemed by others. We form an erroneous idea of the Negroes, if we suppose that they prefer death to life ; or that, upon the choice being offered, they would not rather be perpetual servants to a man of tolerable humanity, than be mangled and butchered by their inhuman conquerors. But without entering into the subtle distinctions of civilians, which would lead us too far, it is certain, that the Negroe states at present encounter with each other, with a view chiefly to acquire as many slaves as they can : slaves being their real wealth, whether retained for their own use, sold to other Negroe states, or to foreigners ; and all parties among them well understanding this to be, if not the motive, at least the sure issue, of all the wars in which they engage, *they* cannot be said to suffer injustice who meet with that fate, which they either design for others, or have reason to expect themselves.

It is said, that many are *kidnapped* into our plantations. This however is a fact which wants to be proved. The trade is not now to be estimated by the manner in which it was originally carried on (when irregular rovers of many nations made descents upon the coast), but as a regularly conducted, and established plan. Our acts of parliament, and the African company, strictly prohibit the buying any *panyard* or stolen Negroe, under severe penalties ; and the slaves bought by the factories always undergo a review of the chief men of the place, to prevent any such being shipped off ; their interest

makes this caution necessary, because very disagreeable consequences might ensue to the trade, if it should be neglected; for, many years ago, when any violences of this nature were practised, they not only put a stop to commerce at the particular place where they happened, but alarmed the neighbouring districts; and such injuries were usually retaliated upon innocent navigators, who afterwards touched there, and were often surprized and murdered by the natives. Almost every act of this sort, perhaps, has thus been atoned for at the price of blood; and it is therefore highly improbable that, under these circumstances, any such thefts can at present be committed; nor would any planter knowingly purchase Negroes obtained in that surreptitious manner, through a just fear, that they would either shorten their lives with pining after their friends and country, or take every opportunity of eloping from him; events which he has not equal reason to expect from exiles, whom their country has renounced, and vomited forth.

Banishment being now substituted throughout most part of the Negroe territory in Afric, in place of death; it is not surprizing, that the convicts and captives entertain horrid notions of it, and often struggle for relief before they quit the coast. Many of them, it is probable, when they have committed faults, were threatened to be sold to the Europeans; and this menace may be often used, as the name of Marlborough was by women in France, to frighten their children into good behaviour. Perceiving that this is the general course of punishment, inflicted on very capital crimes, they naturally apprehend it to be a most severe and cruel penalty. This apprehension must dwell upon their minds the more, as they remain ignorant of the fate which has attended the many other thousand exiles, their predecessors, none of whom return to tell the tale; so that, no doubt, their imaginations paint the change in the most terrific colours. These prejudices are strengthened by the necessity there is for treating them as condemned criminals and victims, from the time of their first delivery into the hands of the Negroe merchants, by whom they are conducted through the country tied together with thongs to prevent their escaping; at the factory they are shackled for the like reason, and on board ship they meet with the like treatment. These precautions are injurious to their health,  
and

and consequently to the interest of the traders; but they seem inevitable. The many acts of violence they have committed, by murdering whole crews, and destroying ships, when they had it left in their power to do so, have made this rigour wholly chargeable on their own bloody and malicious disposition, which calls for the same confinement as if they were wolves or wild boars.

Several of the Negroes imported into our colonies, having been questioned, as soon as they had learned English enough to be understood, what opinion they had conceived in Afric of their future destination among the white people; it appeared from their answer, that some of these poor wretches believe that they are bought in order to be fattened, roasted, and eaten. Others suppose, that the Europeans buy them to make gunpowder of their bones; and *Du Pratz* says, that the French Negroes imbibe a notion from their infancy, that the white men buy them to drink their blood; which, he tells us, is owing to this; that when the first Negroes saw the Europeans drink red wine, they imagined it was blood; so that nothing but experience can eradicate these false terrors: but as none of the slaves, who have had that experience, ever return to their own country, so the same prejudices continue to subsist on the coast of Guiney, where they are purchased. Some, who are strangers to the manner of thinking among the Negroes, imagine, that this can be of no bad consequence. But there are many examples of the contrary, especially if the Negroes, on their first arrival, meet with no other slave who can talk their dialect, and quiet their fears; for these have often caused some to hang or drown themselves, and others to run away.

To these prejudices may be ascribed the reluctance they so often manifest, on leaving Afric. They who are sold for heinous crimes, as well as others who are sold for trivial faults, or perhaps no fault at all, are equally susceptible of these apprehensions. The merely leaving their country, can work no such effect on the minds of those who are sensible that, if they had remained in it, or should return to it again, they must inevitably suffer death. *Snelgrave* mentions, that when he was, on the coast, in 1730, the king of Old Calabar, falling sick, caused (by advice of his *marbuts*) a child about ten months old to be sacrificed to his fetishe, or divinity, for recovery. *Snelgrave* saw the child, after it was killed, hung up on the bough of a tree, and a  
live

live cock tied to it, as an addition to the spell. Being afterwards on another voyage at the same place, he beheld the same king sitting on a stool under a shady tree, and near him a little boy tied by the leg to a stake driven into the ground, covered with flies and other vermin, and two *marbuts* standing by. On enquiry he learnt, it was intended to be sacrificed that night to their god *Egbo*, for his majesty's prosperity. Snelgrave redeemed the child at the king's own price, and carrying his bargain on board ship, found that this infant's mother had been sold to him the very day before; whose joy on thus meeting again with her son, so unexpectedly rescued from the brink of slaughter, he pathetically describes; adding, that the story coming to be known among all the Blacks on board, it dispelled their fears, and impressed them with so favourable an opinion of the white men, that although he had three hundred in all, they gave him not the least disturbance during the voyage. When their prejudices were dissipated by so striking an example of humanity shewn to a Negroe, they perceived the Whites were not such bugbears as they had been induced to believe, and grew happy and peaceable, on finding that a white master was likely to be more merciful towards them than a black one.

The objection, that many die in transportation to the colonies, does not bear against the trade itself, but against some defect or impropriety in the mode of conducting it. A similar objection may lie against cooping up debtors or other prisoners in a close unwholesome jail; sending convicts to America huddled together in small vessels; cramming soldiers into inconvenient transport ships; or impressed men into close tenders, or ill-constructed ships of war; by all which means vast multitudes have perished, without any bead-roll taken of their number, though, it is probable, the list would run shockingly high. To what end are the contrivances of ventilators, &c. but the prevention or diminution of this mortality? But the mortality is *fully evinced* in point of fact, by the many expedients which have been recommended by humane persons to render it less frequent.

The captains, I believe, to whose charge they are committed, are careful of their healths to the utmost of their power, consistent with the safety of their own lives; their interest, and that of their employers, depends much upon it. But captains, and other seafaring men, are not often philosophers or physicians; nor all as discerning as a

*Linde* or a *Macbride*. The African merchants will, for their own sakes, adopt every expedient that may conduce to the good health and condition of these cargoes [1]; but even with the utmost care it may happen, that an epidemic disease may break out during the passage; probably the small-pox or fluxes. Accidents of this nature cannot be totally excluded; and it is some satisfaction to reflect, even in this case, that most, or all of the poor wretches, if it were not for the trade, would have met with an untimely and more painful end in their own country; it is better surely, that a few should perish by such casualties, than that all should die by the hand of an executioner. That in the native Africans sale of Negroes to our shipping, various frauds have been committed, and persons improperly and unjustly sold; that merchants of ships have been inhuman; that planters have been wantonly cruel, may be supposed from the enormity of crimes seen every day in the most civilized states. To these abuses, efficacious remedies should be applied; and the African merchants will own the highest obligations to government, if by salutary laws it can alleviate any distresses suffered by those, whose labour supports our colonies, and enriches our mother country. But, to say the truth, it must be confessed, that the difference between the condition of the Negroes in general in Africa, and in our colonies, is so great, and so much happier in our colonies, that they themselves are very sensible of it. I once interrogated a Negroe, who had lived several years in Jamaica, on this subject. I asked him if he had no desire of re-visiting his native country?

[1] The benefit of ventilators in transport ships has been found very great. In a Liverpool ship which had ventilators, not one of 800 slaves died, except only a child, born in the voyage; but in several other slave ships without ventilators, there died 30, 40, 50, or 60 in a ship.

Capt. Thompson, of the *Success* transport, with 200 *pressed men*, delivered out of gaol with distempers on them, were all landed safe in Georgia (1749), though they had been detained near a twelvemonth on board; which *uncommon good luck* the captain attributed to his ventilators.

Capt. Crammond, with 392 slaves bound to Buenos Ayres, carried all of them safe by the same means, except 12 only, who were ill with a flux when they came on board. In the year 1753, ventilators being put on board the French vessels in the slave trade at Bourdeaux, it was found that by the use of them, instead of one-fourth loss in long passages from Africa to their plantations, the loss seldom exceeded a twentieth; and one vessel saved 308 out of 312 slaves, in spite of most tedious calms, and a lingering passage. So in the Nova Scotia transport ships, 12 to 1 more were found to die in unventilated than in ventilated ships. *Hails, or Ventilators.*

These examples will prove, that the ship owners of both nations have not been wanting in the exercise of means for preserving the lives and health of the slaves transported from Africa; but it appears obvious, that English convicts and recruits sent over the water were subject to equal mortality, and the like means were used for their preservation.

his reply was to the following effect; that he would much rather stay, live, and end his days, where he was. That he could not live so comfortably in his own country; for in Jamaica he had food and cloathing as much as he wanted, a good house, and his family about him; but that in Africa he would be destitute and helpless, without any security to his life, or any of those enjoyments which now rendered it comfortable. Although some few of these poor wretches may have inexorable tyrants for their masters, who may treat them worse perhaps than any person of humanity would treat a brute; yet, in general, the case is very different, and one thing is self-evident, that it being so opposite to the interest of any planter thus barbarously to treat, or inhumanly to work his slaves to death; if ever such instances of cruelty happen, the owner is, without doubt, either a fool or a madman.

Many of the Negroes in this island, the tradesmen, and such as are usually called House Negroes, live as well, or perhaps much better, in point of meat and drink, than the poorer class of people do in England; and not one of them, even to the plantation labourer, goes through half the work; for even those who cultivate the lands, are not without indulgence, and frequent intervals of recreation.

If, indeed, we suppose a man bred up and habituated to a state of *pure slavery* among numberless others in the same predicament, subject to the vilest species of bondage; that his life, his person, his food, and acquisitions, are all at the absolute and arbitrary disposal of his owner, as much as if he were a meer ox or sheep; and that he is in hourly peril of being damnified in some one or other of them, by the wanton cruelty or caprice of his owner: let us then imagine this unhappy wretch conveyed into another region, and among a people very different from the last, in government, manners, and disposition; where his servitude is tempered with lenity, where he is permitted to enjoy a little property undisturbed, where his life, his body, his food, and raiment, are protected and assured to him by public regulations; can we hesitate one moment to say, that his yoke is now become easy, his burthen light? and shall we not conclude, that such a being, though perhaps averse at first to the change, through erroneous impressions, and utter ignorance of his future destiny, will soon discern the more happy circumstances of his new condition, and really think, that, compared with the past, his present services are *perfect freedom*.

In this light, if we are impartial, we ought to examine the subject; not using slavery as an indefinite term, but considering how far just our particular idea or definition of it is, when applied to this or that set of men, who live in a different part of the world; since what is deemed slavery in one place, is far from being reputed so in another: a Briton therefore, who has always lived in fruition of a rational freedom, must not judge of every other man's feelings by his own; because they who have never experienced the same British freedom, or any degree near to it, cannot possibly hold the same opinion of slavery that a Briton does; for they know not how to distinguish it; and with such, the servitude they live under, has neither horrors nor hardship.

Among men of so savage a disposition, as that they scarcely differ from the wild beasts of the wood in the ferocity of their manners, we must not think of introducing those polished rules and refinements, which have drawn their origin and force from the gradual civilization of other nations that once were barbarous. Such men must be managed at first as if they were beasts; they must be tamed, before they can be treated like men. Ridiculous is it, when the argument regards such men, to say, that they do not come into our colony-servitude under *regular compacts*! True, they do not; for, if they did, they would no longer be slaves, in the usual acceptance of the term. As slaves, they come into the colony from their native country; but the difference lies in this, they were slaves, abject slaves in Africa, and so would have continued, with infinitely greater disadvantages than they experience in the colony. In the former, they were subject to all the severities of the most brutal and licentious tyranny, under men living in something worse than a state of nature. In the colony, the owner of the slave receives him with a tacit agreement that his services shall be requited with necessary food and cloathing; a just proportion and interval of rest; some leisure too for his own particular emoluments; a weather-tight and convenient habitation; a prospect of many temporary and occasional douceurs; and even of an independence, if his deserts should claim it. Add to this, that his life is protected by law, and that his owner holds not an unlimited power over him. He enjoys a more narrowed degree of liberty than some subjects in Britain, but in several respects a much larger extent than some others. Under

the penal laws of Jamaica, he is (in general) entitled to equitable modes of justice, trial, and judgement; from other laws he derives protection, immunities, and emoluments. In his habitation, cloathing, subsistence, and possessions, he is far happier and better provided for than most of the poor labourers, and meaner class, in Britain. It is not therefore a mere sound, importing slavery, that makes men slaves; the Negroes here are not the more so for the title; although the common ideas of uninformed persons lead them to think of their condition in the very worst sense which that term admits. In truth, on many plantations, and under mild masters, if they receive not hire in money, they receive an equivalent in the necessaries and conveniencies of life, and the peaceable enjoyment of their private acquisitions; and, what is still better, good usage, and protection from injuries; which are a more current coin amongst the honest and free-minded, than money itself.

It does not follow, because these slaves are delivered into the hands of Europeans by the Negroe merchants or potentates, to be dealt with as they think proper, that the Europeans assert any power of inflicting cruelty upon them; or believe, there is any merit in abstaining from misusage of these poor wretches; who might possibly have been put to death, if they had not redeemed them.

In fact, the most humane of the Europeans, among whom I surely may esteem the British, hold them only in what Grotius and other authors distinguish as a legitimate, equitable species of servitude; including a sort of compact, by which (abstracted from the *right* acquired by *purchase*) one man owes to another perpetual services for the preservation of his life, for his sustenance, and other necessaries; and this is founded on the principles of reason. The master does not extend his power over his slave beyond the bounds of natural equity, but a reciprocal obligation connects them; protection and maintenance on the one hand, fidelity and service on the other; this obligation has nothing in it oppressive, but, on the contrary, gives the slave a certainty of food and conveniencies; which others often want, who hire out their labours by the day. To this effect says also Gronovius, “forasmuch as the master is bound to give food to his slave, so is the slave bound to make a return or retribution by his labour; this duty is equally permanent on both sides:” and this is the kind of servitude  
existing



existing in Jamaica; the laws of which impose such an obligation upon every owner of slaves, and punish all who fail of conforming to it.

From the survey I have taken of the African Negroes, and the nature of the slavery existing among them, it will not, I think, be deduced, that the people they export undergo more hardship or injury by the transition, than they would have suffered in their own country.

The captives of war, instead of being inhumanly slaughtered, pass into a state of servitude, it is true; but it is such a state, that, under Christian masters, who, I venture to say, are not such tyrants as the African slaveholders, they enjoy indulgence proportioned to, and often far transcending, the merits of their behaviour; the comforts, even I may add, the pleasures of life; and not a few obtain their freedom.

Such as are banished for crimes and misdemeanors, have reason to rejoice at the sentence; which reprieves them from some horrid mode of execution, and prolongs their existence.

Should any be unjustly exiled, they may think themselves happy in being placed beyond the reach of a cruel and savage government.

If they were slaves in their own country, or had forfeited their freedom by some crime, they have no right to repine at the want of it in the country to which they are driven. They were already slaves, and have only exchanged their owner and laws; the former, for one less arbitrary; the latter, for one more beneficent and gentle than they before had experience of. In general, they gain life, for death; clemency, for barbarity; comfort and convenience, for torture and misery; food, for famine. Inasmuch that, after some trial of their new condition, under a master who in fact pursues his own interest best in treating them well, they would account it the highest act of inhumanity to be sent back to their native country.

The choice of Negroes for different purposes requires experience, and particular attention; for there is not only some variety in their passions and bent of mind, but, from the constitution of their native climates and local manners, they inherit a variety of different distempers. The Coromantins, and many others of the Gold Coast slaves, are haughty, ferocious, and stubborn. The Minnahs, timid and desponding, apt to destroy themselves upon the least, and often without any, provocation. The Mundingo Negroes are very subject to worm disorders; the Congos to dropsies. The Ebo men are lazy, and averse

to every laborious employment; the women performing almost all the work in their own country; these men are fullen, and often make away with themselves, rather than submit to any drudgery: the Ebo women labour well, but are subject to obstructions of the *menstrua*, often attended with sterility, and incurable. The Congos, Papaws, Conchas, Whidahs, and Angolas, in general, are good field labourers, but the last-mentioned are most stupid. The Negroes brought from Senegal are of better understanding than the rest, and fitter for learning trades, and for menial domestic services. They are good commanders over other Negroes, having a high spirit, and a tolerable share of fidelity: but they are unfit for hard work; their bodies are not robust, nor their constitution vigorous. The delicacy of their frame, perhaps, has some effect on their minds, for they are easier disciplined than any other of the African Blacks. The Aradas are thought to excel all the rest in knowledge of agriculture, yet their skill is extremely incompetent. The Congos, and Gold Coast Negroes, in general, are good fishermen, and excel in making canoes.

It has been remarked of the Guiney Negroes, that, although they are for the greater part of strong, healthy bodies, they rarely live to a determinate old age in their own country. A Negroe there of fifty is reckoned a very old man indeed; and at forty they appear debilitated. This short span has been attributed to their excessive venery: Buffon ascribes it to polygamy; but in Egypt, and the hotter parts of Asia, where polygamy prevails, the inhabitants are found to attain great ages. So, in Jamaica, if they are not far advanced in years when brought over, they have been known to attain to 80 and 90, or upwards; but 50 and 60 are extremely usual.

### C H A P. III.

#### *Of the CREOLE SLAVES and AFRICAN NEGROES in JAMAICA.*

**T**HE *general* character of our Creole slaves may be summed-up in the words of an old proverb, "Like master, like man." They are capable of being made diligent, and moderately faithful; or the reverse, just as their dispositions happen to be worked upon. It cannot be doubted, but the far greater part of them are more inclined to a life of idleness and ease, than a life of labour: yet the regular discipline

to which they are inured from their infancy, becomes habitual and natural to them, as it does to soldiers, sailors, and school-boys; and, like the latter, their principal address is shewn in finding out their master's temper, and playing upon it so artfully as to bend it with most convenience to their own purposes. They are not less studious in sifting their master's representative, the overseer; if he is not too cunning for them, which they soon discover after one or two experiments, they will easily find means to over-reach him on every occasion, and make his indolence, his weakness, or sottishness, a sure prognostic of some comfortable term of idleness to them: but, if they find him too intelligent, wary, and active, they leave no expedient untried, by thwarting his plans, misunderstanding his orders, and reiterating complaints against him, to ferret him out of his post: if this will not succeed, they perplex and worry him, especially if he is of an impatient, fretful turn, till he grows heartily sick of his charge, and voluntarily resigns it. An overseer therefore, like a premier minister, must always expect to meet with a faction, ready to oppose his administration, right or wrong; unless he will give the reins out of his hands, and suffer the mobility to have things their own way; which if he complies with, they will extol him to his face, condemn him in their hearts, and very soon bring his government into disgrace. But such a man, if he is gifted with good-nature and humanity, will easily get the better in every struggle; for these are qualities which the Negroes prize in their superiors above all others. Some overseers, unless sharply looked after, have been known to play the tyrant; and where this is the case, we cannot blame their black subjects for wishing a change, nor for their zealous endeavours to effect it. The old woman was much in the right, who prayed for the life of the tyrant Dionysius, fearing, that if he died, she might fall under the dominion of a successor, still more odious and diabolical. It would be an act of humanity, reflecting the highest honour on the legislature of Jamaica, if the gentlemen who compose it should, in imitation of the French, promulge a code of laws and ordinances respecting the Negroes, more particularly in the treatment of them upon their plantations; restraining and punishing, in an exemplary manner, all secret practices of barbarity; that those men, whose callous hearts are impenetrable to the feelings of human nature, may be affected in some degree by a dread of legal pains and penalties.

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Were this duly attended to, and proper encouragement given to informers, it would be impossible to act such private oppressions often; because, out of the whole posse of white servants on each plantation, there might always be supposed one or more, who, from the abhorrence of such practices, if not the allurements of reward, would quickly impeach the tyrant. At the same time, the very apprehension of such a consequence would infallibly check the most hardened; especially if, in addition to other punishment, the law should disqualify the offender from ever again exercising his profession, or office, within the island.

If every owner of a plantation resided upon it, there would be no cause for the interposition of legislative authority; but it is well known, that a great many estates belonging to different absentees, and lying in distant parts of the island, are often given up to the charge of one agent only, who cannot possibly reside at all, nor visit them very frequently. Matters are then left to the discretion of overseers, whose chief aim it is to raise to themselves a character as able planters, by increasing the produce of the respective estates; this is too frequently attempted, by forcing the Negroes to labour beyond their abilities; of course they drop off, and, if not recruited incessantly, the gentleman steals away like a rat from a barn in flames, and carries the credit of great plantership, and vast crops, in his hand, to obtain advanced wages from some new employer in another district of the island. The absentees are too often deceived, who measure the condition of their properties by the large remittances sent to them for one or two years, without adverting to the heavy losses sustained in the production of them; and they find, too late, their incomes suddenly abridged, and the sinews of their estate wasted far below their expectation. It might be of service to many of them, if they could bring themselves to live more within bounds; be content with a moderate equal remittance, such as they know is proportioned to the strength of their labourers; and once, in a certain number of years, revisit their plantations, in order to regulate their future measures from the plain evidence of their own eyes and ears.

When once they have shot beyond the mark of oeconomy, and become involved in England, they grow insensible to every other consideration than how to extricate themselves; which is commonly achieved

by exhausting the vigour of their only supporters; when a little patience, retrenchment of expences, and moderate uniform crops, would probably bring about what they wish, without any loss to their capital. Humanity operates here like virtue; it is its own sure reward. It is a planter's best interest to be humane; and it is clearly most conducive to his honour and peace of mind.

The great Christian precept "of doing unto others what we would that they should do unto us," speaks pathetically to every rational breast; though few among us pause perhaps to ask ourselves this candid question: How should I wish to be treated, if I was in a state of servitude, like these my fellow creatures? Doubtless we would wish, that our master might be a Christian in practice, as well as principle, and render our condition as easy as possible, by a mild and compassionate usage. Let every overseer and planter then only act the part of that master, and not be seduced, by a foolish vanity, to plume himself on his happier lot, or fancy that he is created to be the tyrant, not the friend, to mankind. I shall not attempt to give a complete description of all the customs and manners of our Creole Negroes, since many of them are not worth recording; and, in consequence of their frequent intermixture with the native Africans, they differ but little in many articles.

In their tempers they are in general irascible, conceited, proud, indolent, lascivious, credulous, and very artful. They are excellent dissemblers, and skilful flatterers. They possess good-nature, and sometimes, but rarely, gratitude. Their memory soon loses the traces of favours conferred on them, but faithfully retains a sense of injuries; this sense is so poignant, that they have been known to dissemble their hatred for many years, until an opportunity has presented of retaliating; and, in taking their revenge, they shew a treachery, cowardice, and deliberate malice, that almost exceed credibility. A stupid insensibility of danger often gives them the specious appearance of dauntless intrepidity; though, when once thoroughly made sensible of it, none are more arrant cowards. A blind anger, and brutal rage, with them stand frequently in place of manly valour. The impressions of fear, naturally accompanied with cunning and wariness, make them always averse to any other mode of engaging with an enemy, than by ambushes, and surprize; and in all their boxing matches with one another,

another, one may observe their efforts directed by malice, so soon as their fury is raised. When they have been employed against the rebellious slaves, each party meeting in a wood, have dispersed in an instant, and every man singled out his tree, behind which he sheltered his person, and fired. After the first volley, one party generally fled; but, if both stood their ground, the next conflict was made with cutlasses, in the management of which they are surprisngly active and skilful, using either hand alternately, as they see occasion. But they would never be brought to withstand horse, platoons, or screwed bayonets; nor to engage in an open place. When they did not succeed at the first fire, they trusted to the lightness of their heels, rallied at some distance, if not too closely pursued, and returned again to the bush-fight. They are remarkable, like the North American Indians, for tracking in the woods; discerning the vestige of the person, or party, of whom they are in quest, by the turn of a dried leaf, the position of a small twig, and other insignificant marks, which an European would overlook; but I have known some white Creoles not less expert at this art, which they acquired, as they said, by frequently ranging the woods after wild hogs, or runaways. The Negroes know each other's haunts and artifices, much better than the Whites; and, probably, form their conjectures, by reflecting which way they would steer their course, if they were pursued themselves. In marching through a wood they walk in *enfilade*, but do not always keep silence. Sometimes, when engaged with cutlasses, they will fight very desperately, and stand to it with the insensibility of posts, till they almost back one another to pieces, before either will surrender.

They are in general excellent marksmen at a standing shot, their eye quick, and sight so clear, that they seldom miss; yet their vision (as I have before remarked) is the worst possible for the regular position of any thing. They cannot place a dining-table square in a room; I have known them fail in this, after numberless endeavours; and it is the same in other things. So that such as are bred carpenters and bricklayers, are often unable, after many tedious and repeated trials with the rule and plumb-line, to do a piece of work straight, which an apprentice boy in England would perform with one glance of his eye in a moment. It is somewhat unaccountable, too, that they always mount a horse on the off-side. Their ideas seem confined to a very few

few objects; namely, the common occurrences of life, food, love, and dress: these are frequent themes for their dance, conversation, and musical compositions.

The African, or imported Negroes, are almost all of them, both men and women, addicted to the most bestial vices, from which it is the more difficult to reclaim them, as they are grown inveterately confirmed by habit from their very infancy. In Guiney they are taught to regard a dram, as one of the chief comforts of life; they grow up in this opinion: and I have seen some of them forcing the precious liquor down the throats of their children, or *pickaninnies*, with the same eagerness that indulgent mothers in England shew, when they cram their little favourite with sugar-plumbs. In thieving they are thorough adepts, and perfectly accomplished. To set eyes on any thing, and endeavour to possess it, is with them intirely the same. From this cause it happens, that, upon their being brought into the plantations, they are soon engaged in quarrels, which sometimes are attended with fatal consequences; for, when they are prompted to revenge, they pursue it against one another with so much malevolence and cruelty, that the punishment exacted is generally beyond all proportion greater than the offence can possibly merit. It is therefore most prudent for a planter to wink at petty offences against himself, but to chastise all those who are found guilty of doing injury to the person, or property, of their fellow Blacks; by which means he will be the constant referee and umpire of their disputes; and, by accommodating them agreeably to justice and right, prevent his Negroes from having recourse to open violence, or secret vengeance, against each other; which are too often perpetrated with a blind and unrelenting hatred; in pursuit whereof many have been killed outright, others maimed, and not a few destroyed by the slower operation of some poison. ✓

The Creoles, in general, are more exempt from ebriety, that parent of many crimes! I have known several, who rejected every sort of spirituous liquor with loathing, and would drink nothing but water. If the Negroes could be restrained intirely from the use of spirits in their youth, they would probably never become very fond of dram-drinking afterwards. I have often thought, that the lower order of white servants on the plantations exhibit such detestable pictures of

drunkenness, that the better sort of Creole Blacks have either conceived a disgust at a practice that occasions such odious effects, or have refrained from it out of a kind of pride, as if they would appear superior to, and more respectable than, such beastly white wretches. Be this as it may, there is nothing surely can more degrade a man, than this voluntary rejection of his rational faculties; deprived of which, he sinks below the lowest rank of brutes. The Creole Blacks differ much from the Africans, not only in manners, but in beauty of shape, feature, and complexion. They hold the Africans in the utmost contempt, styling them, “salt-water Negroes,” and “Guiney birds;” but value themselves on their own pedigree, which is reckoned the more honourable, the further it removes from an African, or transmarine ancestor. On every well-governed plantation they eye and respect their master as a father, and are extremely vain in reflecting on the connexion between them. Their master’s character and repute casts, they think, a kind of secondary light upon themselves, as the moon derives her lustre from the sun; and the importance he acquires, in his station of life, adds, they imagine, to their own estimation among their neighbour Negroes on the adjacent estates. Their attachment to the descendants of old families, the ancestors of which were the masters and friends of their own progenitors, is remarkably strong and affectionate. This veneration appears hereditary, like clanships in the Scotch Highlands; it is imbibed in their infancy, or founded perhaps in the idea of the relation which subsisted between, and connected them in, the bond of fatherly love and authority on the one side, and a filial reverence and obedience on the other; nor is this effect, however it arises, unmixed with somewhat of gratitude, for the favours and indulgencies conferred on their predecessors; some fruits of which they themselves have probably enjoyed by devise; for, even among these slaves, as they are called, the black grandfather, or father, directs in what manner his money, his hogs, poultry, furniture, cloaths, and other effects and acquisitions, shall descend, or be disposed of, after his decease. He nominates a sort of trustees, or executors, from the nearest of kin, who distribute them among the legatees, according to the will of the testator, without any molestation or interruption, most often without the enquiry, of their master; though some of these Negroes have been known to possess from 50*l.* to 200*l.*



at their death ; and few among them, that are at all industrious and frugal, lay up less than 20 or 30/. For in this island they have the greatest part of the small silver circulating among them, which they gain by sale of their hogs, poultry, fish, corn, fruits, and other commodities, at the markets in town and country.

They in general love their children, though sometimes they treat them with a rigour bordering upon cruelty. They seem also to feel a patriotic affection for the island which has given them birth ; they rejoice at its prosperity, lament its losses, and interest themselves in the affairs and politics that are the talk of the day. Whoever has studied their disposition and sentiments attentively, will be of opinion, that, with mild and humane usage, they are more likely to become the defenders than the destroyers of their country. As a large share of vanity and pride may be observable among them, so the better sort appear sensible to shame. I have known a very considerable number of them on a plantation kept in due decorum for several years, with no other discipline than keen and well-timed rebukes ; and my observations have tended to confirm me in opinion, that our Creole Blacks (for I speak of them only) may, with a very moderate instruction in the Christian rules, be kept in good order, without the whip. Rash correction has often rendered them stubborn, negligent, and perverse, when they might have been influenced cheerfully to perform every thing required of them, by judiciously working on their vanity ; by bestowing seasonable rewards and encomiums on their praise-worthy conduct, and by stinging reproaches for their misdemeanors. There are many artifices to be practised with the greatest success ; such as, degrading for a while from some employment esteemed among them a post of distinction, and authority ; holding them up to the ridicule of their fellow Blacks, and the like. What they endure, upon these occasions, has nothing in it of that sense of vile abasement, which corporal inflictions are apt to produce ; and whenever corporal punishment is carried to extreme, it is sure to excite a hearty and indelible contempt and abhorrence for the inflictor.

The force of ridicule, on the contrary, brings upon them the cutting sneers of the other Negroes, and always turns the edge of their contempt and rage from their master, to themselves ; and hence they may smart more severely under such reprehension, than they would

under the scourge. Every overseer has not the patience, or talents, to qualify him for this mode of governing, but all should endeavour at it; and, for this purpose, it is necessary for each of them to study well the temper of every Creole Black under his particular command, to learn somewhat of their private history, and never betray any sign of heat or passion in his admonitions.

The first and chief requisite therefore is to know how to command his own temper; for, without having gained this advantage, he is totally unfit to be a manager of other mens; but having once gained this point, he need not doubt of passing through a successful administration.

It is certain, that the Negroes, so far from suffering any inconvenience, are found to labour with most alacrity and ease to themselves in the very hottest part of the day. The chillness of the morning air in this island seems to cast a damp upon their spirits, and renders them for a time feeble and torpid; one sees them creeping slowly out of their huts, bundled up with thick cloathing, shivering, and uneasy; but as the day advances, they grow more and more active and alert. The openness of their pores gives a free transpiration to bad humours; and they would enjoy robust health, under the hardest toils expedient here, if they were less prone to debauch, and venereal excess. They love warmth in the night, and never sleep without a fire in their hut; the watchmen too, in the open air, lay themselves upon a board, by a rousing fire, and sometimes so near, as to scorch their very skins; for it is to be observed, that these nocturnal guards, like those of London, after a comfortable repast in the evening, have no objection to amuse themselves, for the remainder of the night, with a dog's sleep. They account shoes and stockings very uselefs incumbrances; and the soles of their feet, by constant exposure, acquire the callosity and firmness of a hoof; but some, who are to take a journey over very rocky roads, prepare themselves with sandals, cut from an ox-hide, which they bind on with thongs. They dread rain upon their bare heads almost as much as the native Africans; perhaps, their woolly fleece would absorb it in large quantity, and give them cold. When they are caught in a shower, it is very common to see them pull off shirt and jacket, and sometimes their breeches or trowsers, all which they wrap up in a bale, and place upon their heads. They are fond  
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of covering this part of their bodies at all times, twisting one or two handkerchiefs round it, in the turban form, which, they say, keeps them cool, in the hottest sunshine. The same custom prevails among the Eastern nations, and probably from the like reason; even the free Mulatto women here think themselves not compleatly drest without this tiara, and buy the finest cambric or muslin for the purpose, if their pockets can afford it. The Creole white ladies, till lately, adopted the practice so far, as never to venture a journey, without securing their complexions with a brace of handkerchiefs; one of which being tied over the forehead, the other under the nose, and covering the lower part of the face, formed a compleat helmet. The Negroes use their heads, instead of their shoulders, or backs, for carrying all sorts of burthens; with a dried plantain leaf they plait a circular pad, which they call a *cotta*; upon this, the load rests, and preserves their wool from being rubbed off. This custom enlarges, and strengthens, the muscles of their necks, in an amazing degree; and it is really wonderful to observe, what prodigious loads they are able to carry in this manner, with the greatest apparent ease; inasmuch, that they will even run with them, and affirm, at the same time, with a laugh, that they feel no weight; perhaps, the perpendicular position of the load, and the equilibrium which, from habit, they know well how to give it, produce this facility of carriage, while the incumbent pressure is diminished in proportion to the velocity of their progressive movement under it; this, however, is no more than happens every day with the London porters, some of whom will carry 300 lb. weight. The *cotta* serves likewise for another purpose; on the voluntary divorce of man and wife, it is cut in two, and each party takes half; as the circle was a symbol of eternity, and the ring of perpetual love or fidelity, so this ceremony, perhaps, is meant to express the eternal severance of their mutual affection. Their diet consists generally of pulse, herbs, plantains, maize, yams, or other roots, prepared with pork, and fish, fresh or salt; salted beef, herrings, jerked hog, or fowls. Salt fish they are extremely fond of, and the more it stinks, the more dainty; they make likewise a kind of pudding, with pounded maize; and sometimes of the sweet potatoe, which they call a potatoe-pone; their broths, or pots (as they are termed), are well seasoned with the country peppers; *ochra* is a principal ingredient; and they are  
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extremely relishing, and nutritive; but they come doubly recommended by the cleanliness of preparation, their cooks usually washing their hands three or four times, whilst they are about it; I mean the Creole Blacks, and better sort of the Africans; for as to the rest, they feed with all the bestiality peculiar to the genuine breed of Guiney. Cane rats are much in esteem, and, when roasted and stuffed, are said to have a delicate flavour; but, to see them impaled before the fire with their goggle eyes and whiskers, is enough to turn an European stomach; the Creoles wash their mouths, as soon as they awake in the morning. About noon is their usual time of bathing, in some river open to the sun. They first wet their bodies all over, then roll in the sand, and plunge into the water; this method serves to cleanse their skins, as well as soap, or a flesh brush.

They are all married (*in their way*) to a husband, or wife, *pro tempore*, or have other family connexions, in almost every parish throughout the island; so that one of them, perhaps, has six or more husbands, or wives, in several different places; by this means they find support, when their own lands fail them; and houses of call and refreshment, whenever they are upon their travels. Thus, a general correspondence is carried on, all over the island, amongst the Creole Blacks; and most of them become intimately acquainted with all affairs of the white inhabitants, public as well as private. In their houses, they are many of them very neat and cleanly, piquing themselves on having tolerably good furniture, and other conveniencies. In their care for their children, some are remarkably exemplary. A Negroe has been known so earnest and sincere in the tuition of his child, as to pay money out of his own pocket for smith's work, to keep a truant son employed, during his apprenticeship to that business, that he might not become remiss in acquiring a proper knowledge of it, for want of work. They exercise a kind of sovereignty over their children, which never ceases during life; chastizing them sometimes with much severity; and seeming to hold filial obedience in much higher estimation than conjugal fidelity; perhaps, because of the whole number of wives or husbands, one only is the object of particular steady attachment; the rest, although called wives, are only a sort of occasional concubines, or drudges, whose assistance the husband claims in the culture of his land, sale of his produce, and so on; rendering

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to them reciprocal acts of friendship, when they are in want. They laugh at the idea of a marriage, which ties two persons together indissolubly. Their notions of love are, that it is free and transitory.

This is well known to their white gallants, for even the authority of a master must bend to the more absolute empire of Cupid; nor is the fable beauty (except a very common hack) to be won, without some previous address and courtship; in the progress of which the powerful charms of gold must generally lend their aid, to make the most passionate suitor successful; these belles allowing nothing more of their persons than their head, hands, and feet, to be at their master's disposal. Their propensity to laziness is chiefly conspicuous among the domestic servants, who are never more happy than when they can find a commodious post, pillar, or corner of a house, to loll against, whilst they are taking a nap. I have even seen them fall fast asleep, whilst attending at table, behind a gentleman's chair. Like some other animals, they are fond of caterwauling all night, and dozing all the day. If they indulge in sleep at night, one must suppose they are very little disturbed with anxious thoughts. Their repose is perfectly found; inasmuch that sometimes they are roused with the utmost difficulty; the loudest clap of thunder, or the report of a cannon at their ear, would not wake them. On the plantations I have seen some, but they are mostly Africans, so exquisitely indolent, that they have contracted very bad ulcers on their feet, by suffering multitudes of *chiegos* to nestle and generate there, rather than give themselves the trouble of picking them out.

Although some domestics are very trusty servants; the greater number are so, merely because they have no fit inducement to be otherwise, or no means of bettering their condition. But when occasion offers, of serving themselves by a roguish shift, adieu fidelity! You may confide a sum of money to a Negroe's charge, and he will deliver it punctually; but, beware of leaving any sum casually in his way, for he would not be able to resist the temptation of stealing it; his fidelity, in the former case, arises from his desire to impress you with the best opinion possible of his honest dealing, in order that you may afford him more convenient opportunities of pilfering from you, without immediate detection. It reflects no great honour on their disposition, that the freed Blacks and Mulattos are observed to treat their

their slaves with extraordinary harshness, and sometimes even barbarity; a sure characteristic of a vindictive, base, and cowardly mind.

The domestics are remarkably adroit in the negotiation of all intrigues, and affairs of gallantry; and shew a peculiar delight on being entrusted *plenipos*, to assist at these congresses of love. Upon these occasions, the brain of a Spanish enamorado, or an Italian cecisbeo, cannot be more fruitful of expedients. The superstition of these Blacks is carried to very singular lengths, although the more polished among them believe in a future state of reward and punishment; they do not consider certain acts to be criminal, which are usually reputed such among true believers.—Murder is with most of them esteemed the highest impiety.—Filial disobedience, and insulting the ashes of the dead, are placed next. But as for petty larcenies, affairs of gallantry, fornication, &c. they are reputed only peccadilloes, which are sufficiently punished in this world, with the bastinadoe, or the distempers occasioned by them. The greatest affront that can possibly be offered a Creole Negroe, is to curse his father, mother, or any of his progenitors. This generally provokes a speedy revenge on the aggressor, after every other mode of provocation has failed. They firmly believe in the apparition of spectres. Those of deceased friends are *duppies*; others, of more hostile and tremendous aspect, like our raw-head-and-bloody-bones, are called *bugaboos*. The most sensible among them fear the supernatural powers of the African *obeah-men*, or pretended conjurers; often ascribing those mortal effects to magic, which are only the natural operation of some poisonous juice, or preparation, dexterously administered by these villains. But the Creoles imagine, that the virtues of baptism, or making them Christians, render their art wholly ineffectual; and, for this reason only, many of them have desired to be baptized, that they might be secured from *Obeah*.

Not long since, some of these execrable wretches in Jamaica introduced what they called the *myal dance*, and established a kind of society, into which they invited all they could. The lure hung out was, that every Negroe, initiated into the myal society, would be invulnerable by the white men; and, although they might in appearance be slain, the obeah-man could, at his pleasure, restore the body to life. The method, by which this trick was carried

carried on, was by a cold infusion of the herb *branched colalue* [u]; which, after the agitation of dancing, threw the party into a profound sleep. In this state he continued, to all appearance lifeless, no pulse, nor motion of the heart, being perceptible; till, on being rubbed with another infusion (as yet unknown to the Whites), the effects of the colalue gradually went off, the body resumed its motions, and the party, on whom the experiment had been tried, awoke as from a trance, entirely ignorant of any thing that had passed since he left off dancing. Not long ago, one of these myal men, being desirous of seducing a friend of his to be of their party, gave him a wonderful account of the powerful effects produced by the myal infusion, and particularly that it rendered the body impenetrable to bullets; so that the Whites would be perfectly unable to make the least impression upon them, although they were to shoot at them a thousand times. His friend listened with great attention, but seemed to doubt the truth of it exceedingly; but, at length, proposed to the other, that, if he was willing to stand a shot, he should be glad to make the experiment; and, if it turned out as he pretended, he himself would then most readily consent to be a myal man. To this the other agreed, not imagining, perhaps, that matters would come to extremity; or else convinced in his own mind of the reality of what he asserted. Having prepared himself, he stood up to receive the shot. His

[u] This herb is a species of *solanum*, and is the *aquarazuia* of Brasil. Piso, 223. Browne, 174. It is very common in the lowlands of Jamaica. It is also called the *solanum somniferum officinale*. The Negroes make use of it daily for food in their broths; and it is found, by long experience, to be a pleasant and wholesome green. Barham says, he was surprized to see the Angola Negroes eat it as we use spinnage in Europe, without any prejudice, it has so strong a resemblance to the deadly nightshade. Piso says, "that the rind of it, bruised and steeped in water, intoxicates fish so, that they may be easily taken, but does not kill them." The juice is cooling and restraining; the leaves, applied to the head in phrenetic fevers, give ease. It is probable, its narcotic qualities are destroyed by the fire in boiling; but that the crude juice, or a cold infusion of the bark and leaves, would be found to possess them in a high degree; which agrees with Piso's account of the effects on fish. The myal gentry make the infusion with rum. In regard to the other infusion, which puts an end to its operation, we can only conjecture. It is possible, that, by frequent trials, the Negroes have found pretty accurately the length of time which the sleep may last, and so take care to proportion the dose. Besides, it has lately been discovered, that vegetable acids, such as lime-juice, vinegar, &c. are antidotes to the effect of opium, and all vegetable poisons, taken internally: their external application has not been tried; but might probably answer the same purpose, especially towards the decline of the sleepy fit; and I think it is not unlikely, that these Negroes use them to revive their myal men.

friend fired, and killed him dead. This accident, with the circumstances leading to it, were soon made known; and, for some time, brought the priests and their art into great disrepute among all their converts. The dexterity of these priests, or conjurers, in the preparation of poisons, has been mentioned by many authors. Kalm observes, that this art is known to the Negroes of North-America, in the province of Pennsylvania; and that they frequently practise it on one another. This poison does not kill immediately; for sometimes the sick person dies some years after: but, from the moment he receives the poison, he falls into a decline, and enjoys but few days of good health. Kalm says, they commonly employ it on such of their brethren who behave well; are beloved by their masters; and separate, as it were, from their countrymen, or do not like to converse with them. There are likewise other reasons for their enmity; but there are few examples of their having poisoned their masters. Perhaps, the mild treatment they receive keeps them from it; or they fear a discovery, and that in such case their punishment would be very severe [w]. Sir Hans Sloane gives one or two instances of this practice in Jamaica. And Dr. Barham tells us, that the savannah flower, which grows exceedingly common in all the lowlands of that island, has been made use of for this purpose. It is a species of dog's bane; the *apocynum erectum* of Sir Hans Sloane, p. 206; the *nirium* of Browne, p. 180. It is one of the rankest poisons in the world. Barham says, he saw but two drachms of the expressed juice given to a dog, which killed him in eight minutes; but that it may be so ordered, that it shall not destroy a person in many days, weeks, months, or years. Some call it the Spanish gilly-flower. Some years past (continues he) a practitioner of physick was poisoned with this plant by his Negroe-woman, who had so contrived it, that it did not dispatch him quickly; but he was seized with violent gripings, inclination to vomit, loss of appetite, and afterwards small convulsions in several parts of his body, a hectic fever, and continual wasting of his flesh. Upon application to Dr. Barham for advice, he gave him some *nbandiroba* kernels, to infuse in wine, and drink frequently; which cured him in time; but it was long before the convulsive

[w] Kalm's Travels into North-America.



of every sentence; after which, he drinks up the residue of the mixture, and may therefore be said literally to *swallow the oath*, which is to this effect. If I have (stolen this hog, fowl, corn, or—as it may happen to be the case), may the grave dirt make my bowels rot! may they burst and tumble out before my face! may my head never cease to ach! nor my joints to be tortured with pain! &c. Regularly, the oath ought to be administered by an obeah man; but their superstition makes them hold it in great reverence and horror, even when administered by any other Black, especially by an old man or woman: but they do not apprehend any ill consequence will arise from breaking it, when tendered by a white person.

They have good ears for music; and their songs, as they call them, are generally *impromptus*, without the least particle of poetry, or poetic images, of which they seem to have no idea. The tunes consist of a *solo* part, which we may style the recitative, the key of which is frequently varied; and this is accompanied with a full or general chorus. Some of them are not deficient in melody; although the tone of voice is, for the most part, rather flat and melancholy. Instead of choosing panegyric for their subject-matter, they generally prefer one of derision, and not unfrequently at the expence of the overseer, if he happens to be near, and listening: this only serves to add a poignancy to their satire, and heightens the fun. In the crop season, the mill-feeders entertain themselves very often with these *jeux d'esprit* in the night-time; and this merriment helps to keep them awake.

Their *merry-wang* is a favourite instrument, a rustic guitar, of four strings. It is made with a calabash; a slice of which being taken off, a dried bladder, or skin, is spread across the largest section; and this is fastened to a handle, which they take great pains in ornamenting with a sort of rude carved work, and ribbands.

The *goombah*, another of their musical instruments, is a hollow block of wood, covered with sheep-skin stripped of its hair. The musician holds a little stick, of about six inches in length, sharpened at one end like the blade of a knife, in each hand. With one hand he rakes it over a notched piece of wood, fixed across the instrument, the whole length, and crosses with the other alternately,

using both with a brisk motion; whilst a second performer beats with all his might on the sheep-skin, or tabor.

Their tunes for dancing are usually brisk, and have an agreeable compound of the *vivace* and *largetto*, gay and grave, pursued alternately. They seem also well-adapted to keep their dancers in just time and regular movements. The female dancer is all languishing, and easy in her motions; the man, all action, fire, and gesture; his whole person is variously turned and writhed every moment, and his limbs agitated with such lively exertions, as serve to display before his partner the vigour and elasticity of his muscles. The lady keeps her face towards him, and puts on a modest demure look, which she counterfeits with great difficulty. In her paces she exhibits a wonderful address, particularly in the motion of her hips, and steady position of the upper part of her person: the right execution of this wriggle, keeping exact time with the music, is esteemed among them a particular excellence; and on this account they begin to practise it so early in life, that few are without it in their ordinary walking. As the dance proceeds, the musician introduces now and then a pause or rest, or dwells on two or three *pianissimo* notes; then strikes out again on a sudden into a more spirited air; the dancers, in the mean while, corresponding in their movements with a great correctness of ear, and propriety of attitude; all which has a very pleasing effect.

In the towns, during Christmas holidays, they have several tall robust fellows dressed up in grotesque habits, and a pair of ox-horns on their head, sprouting from the top of a horrid sort of vizor, or mask, which about the mouth is rendered very terrific with large boar-tusks. The masquerader, carrying a wooden sword in his hand, is followed with a numerous croud of drunken women, who refresh him frequently with a sup of aniseed-water, whilst he dances at every door, bellowing out *John Conny!* with great vehemence; so that, what with the liquor and the exercise, most of them are thrown into dangerous fevers; and some examples have happened of their dying. This dance is probably an honourable memorial of John Conny, a celebrated cabocero at *Tres Puntas*, in *Axim*, on the Guiney coast; who flourished about the year 1720. He bore great authority among the Negros of that district. When  
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the Prussians deserted Fort Brandenburgh, they left it to his charge; and he gallantly held it for a long time against the Dutch, to whom it was afterwards ceded by the Prussian monarch. He is mentioned with encomium by several of our voyage-writers.

In 1769, several new masks appeared; the Ebos, the Papaws, &c. having their respective Connús, male and female, who were dressed in a very laughable style.

These exercises, although very delightful to themselves, are not so to the generality of the white spectators, on account of the ill smell which copiously transudes on such occasions; which is rather a complication of stinks, than any one in particular, and so rank and powerful, as totally to overcome those who have any delicacy in the frame of their nostrils. The Blacks of Afric assign a ridiculous cause for the smell peculiar to the goat; and with equal propriety they may well apply it to themselves. They say, "that, in the early ages of mankind, there was a she-divinity, who used to besmear her person with a fragrant ointment, that excited the emulation of the goats, and made them resolve to petition her, to give them a copy of her receipt for making it, or at least a small sample of it. The goddess, incensed at their presumption, thought of a method to be revenged, under the appearance of granting their request. Instead of the sweet ointment, she presented them with a box of a very foetid mixture, with which they immediately fell to bedaubing themselves. The stench of it was communicated to their posterity; and, to this day, they remain ignorant of the trick put upon them, but value themselves on possessing the genuine perfume; and are so anxious to preserve it undiminished, that they very carefully avoid rain, and every thing that might possibly impair the delicious odour." This rancid exhalation, for which so many of the Negroes are remarkable, does not seem to proceed from uncleanness, nor the quality of their diet. I remember a lady, whose waiting-maid, a young Negroe girl, had it to a very disagreeable excess. As she was a favourite servant, her mistress took great pains, and the girl herself spared none, to get rid of it. With this view, she constantly bathed her body twice a day, and abstained wholly from salt-fish, and all sorts of rank food. But the attempt was similar

to washing the Black-a-moor white; and, after a long course of endeavours to no purpose, her mistress found there was no remedy but to change her for another attendant, somewhat less odoriferous.

The labouring Negroes are all allowed, by their masters, a frock and trowsers for the men, and the women a jacket and petticoat of osinabrig, besides woollen stuff; but tradesmen, and the better sort, are generally supplied likewise with checks, handkerchiefs, hats, and caps; and the laws of the island oblige every owner to give his Negroes proper cloathing. What they receive annually in this manner composes their working-dress: but there are few of them who do not acquire sufficient profit, by their huckstering traffic, to furnish themselves with a wardrobe of better cloaths for holiday-wear; upon these they bestow as much finery as their circumstances will permit, invariably preferring the gaudiest colours.

They supply their ignorance of letters by a kind of technical memory. Few of them can ascertain their own age, or that of their children; but, when questioned about any event that has happened in the course of their lives, they recur to a storm, a particularly dry or wet season, and the like, and reckon by the number of Christmases they recollect since those periods. Thus, if you ask a Negroe how long ago it was that he left Africa, he answers, eight, ten, twelve Christmas, according as the case happens to be, or according to his remembrance. They have no computation for the fractional parts of a year; and consequently can never fix any fact or event nearer than about a twelvemonth before or after the time when it occurred. They reckon the ages of their children, their horses, and dogs, in the same manner. They give their dogs as many names as a German prince; or more frequently call them by a whole sentence, as, *Run-brisk-you-catch-'um-good*, &c. The Africans speak their respective dialects, with some mixture of broken English. The language of the Creoles is bad English, larded with the Guiney dialect, owing to their adopting the African words, in order to make themselves understood by the imported slaves; which they find much easier than teaching these strangers to learn English. The better sort are very fond of improving their language, by catching at any hard word that the Whites happen to let fall in their hearing; and they alter and misapply it in a  
strange

symptoms left him. This plant is an ever-green; and it is remarked, that no animal will meddle with it, although in the greatest drought, and when no other green thing appears. The root, dried and powdered, is purgative. The milky juice of the plant is a severe caustic, and takes away warts and ring-worms. Barham gives another instance of its deleterious effects. A Negroe, having some rum in a jar, ignorantly stopped the mouth of it overnight with some leaves gathered from this plant, one or two of which fell in, and so imparted their noxious quality to all the liquor. The next morning, he drank some of it himself, and distributed drams to several of his countrymen; but, in less than two hours, they were all seized with violent vomiting, and tremors all over their bodies. Upon the alarm being given, a surgeon was sent for; but, before he could arrive, three of them expired, and another lay at the point of death. Some Indian arrow-root was immediately got, bruised, and the expressed juice administered. The first glass revived the Negroe that appeared to be dying; the second brought him to the use of his speech; and, upon repeated doses, he continued mending till he was perfectly recovered. The *nbandiroba* is a climbing plant. Piso, p. 259, calls it likewise *acaricobo*, *ambuyaembo*, and *caapeba*; and thus describes it. It is a species of climbing ivy. Its leaves are disposed like the ivy; somewhat roundish; and, as it were, terminating in three points, green, smooth, and glossy; the flowers small, of a dusky pale hue; the fruit round, green, shining, about the size of a large apple, the upper part appearing with a circular indentation, and at the centre three lines uniting together at the extremity in an obtuse angle. The fruit on the inside is disposed somewhat like the walnut, but in three distinct cavities, appearing, upon taking off the rind, perfectly white, and containing an oily kernel, of a pale yellow colour, inclosed in a pellicle. From this kernel an oil is extracted, which may be used for lamps, and holds a long time in burning; but it is of no use for food, because it is extremely bitter, as well as the fruit. Barham says, the first time he met with this plant was in St. Thomas in the Vale; where he saw it climbing and running up to the top of very high trees. It happened to be in fruit. Its leaf much resembles the English ivy; but the fruit

is like a green calabash; only it has a circular black line round it, and two or three warts or little knobs. The inside of the shell is full of white, flattish beans, inclosed in a white membranous substance; and, when thoroughly ripe, the fruit turns of a brownish cast, like a ripe calabash. The beans or nuts are then of a lightish brown colour, covered with a thin, hard crust, in which is a whitish kernel full of oil, and excessively bitter. The nuts are generally ten or twelve in a shell, close and compressed; so that, after being taken out, they cannot be replaced. He says, the Spaniards call it *avilla*; and the Negroes, that he employed to gather it, called it *sabo*. It seems to be a species of the *sevillea foliis cordatis angulatis*, Linnæi, Sp. Pl. Angl. "antidote cocoon of Jamaica;" whose kernels yield a great deal of oil, of a bitter taste, and used here for burning. The Negroes infuse these kernels, when dried and scraped into a powder, in rum, to relieve pains in the stomach. They also esteem them antidotes to poison. But the pod seldom contains above three, or at most four, seeds; and therefore it cannot be the same as Barham's. Browne mentions very imperfectly, p. 373, a plant which he saw growing, on the windward part of Montserrat, at the side of Kaby's Gully; which bore white blossoms, succeeded by many large apples, containing a number of large compressed seeds, dispersed in the pulp of the fruit; which probably is the same as that described by Barham.

But to return. The Negroes wear the teeth of wild cats, and eat their flesh, as a charm for long life; for they hold the vulgar opinion, that a cat has nine lives. Thus, by assimilation of the cat's flesh and juices into their own, they imagine they can ensure longevity, and a power of sustaining great fatigues. Many a poor grimalkin has fallen a victim to this strange notion. Bits of red rag, cats teeth, parrots feathers, egg-shells, and fish-bones, are frequently stuck up at the doors of their houses when they go from home leaving any thing of value within (sometimes they hang them on fruit-trees, and place them in corn-fields), to deter thieves. Upon conversing with some of the Creoles upon this custom, they laughed at the supposed virtue of the charm, and said they practised it only to frighten away the salt-water Negroes, of whose depredations they are most apprehensive. Their funerals are the very  
 reverse

reverse of our English ceremony. The only real mourners are the husband, wife, or very near relations of the deceased; yet even these sometimes unite their voices to the general clamour or song, whilst the tears flow involuntarily down their cheeks. Every funeral is a kind of festival; at which the greater part of the company assume an air of joy and unconcern; and, together with their singing, dancing, and musical instruments, conspire to drown all sense of affliction in the minds of the real mourners. The burthen of this merry dirge is filled with encomiums on the deceased, with hopes and wishes for his happiness in his new state. Sometimes the coffin-bearers, especially if they carry it on their heads, pretend that the corpse will not proceed to the grave, notwithstanding the exertion of their utmost strength to urge it forwards. They then move to different huts, till they come to one, the owner of which, they know, has done some injury to, or been much disliked by, he deceased in his life-time. Here they express some words of indignation on behalf of the dead man; then knock at the coffin, and try to sooth and pacify the corpse: at length, after much persuasion, it begins to grow more passive, and suffers them to carry it on, without further struggle, to the place of repose. At other times, the corpse takes a sudden and obstinate aversion to be supported on the head, preferring the arms; nor does it peaceably give up the dispute, until the bearers think proper to comply with its humour. The corpse being interred, the grave is but slightly overspread with earth. Some scratch up the loose mould, with their backs turned to the grave, and cast it behind them between their legs, after the manner of cats which have just exonerated. This, they say, is done, to prevent the deceased person from following them home. When the deceased is a married woman, the husband lets his beard remain unshaved, and appears rather negligent in his attire, for the space of a month; at the expiration of which, a fowl is dressed at his house, with some messes of good broth, and he proceeds, accompanied by his friends, to the grave. Then begins a song, purporting, that the deceased is now in the enjoyment of compleat felicity; and that they are assembled to rejoice at her state of bliss, and perform the last offices of duty and friendship. They then lay a considerable heap of earth over the grave, which is called *covering*

*vering it*; and the meeting concludes with eating their collation, drinking, dancing, and vociferation. After this ceremony is over, the widow, or widower, is at liberty to take another spouse immediately; and the term of mourning is at an end.

The Negroe funeral calls to mind the *late-wake* of the highlands in Scotland, thus described by Mr. Pennant. The evening after the death of any person, the relations and friends of the deceased meet at the house, attended by bag-pipe and fiddle. The nearest of kin, be it wife, son, or daughter, opens a melancholy ball, dancing and greeting (*i. e.* crying violently) at the same time. This continues till day-light, but with such gambols and frolics among the younger part of the company, that the loss which occasioned them is often more than supplied by the consequences of that night. If the corpse remains unburied for two nights, the same rites are renewed. Thus, Scythian-like, they rejoice at the deliverance of their friends out of this life of misery. The *coranich*, or singing at funerals, is still in use in some places. The songs are generally in praise of the deceased, or a recital of the valiant deeds of him or his ancestors.

Cambden, in his account of the antient Irish, mentions their custom of using earnest reproaches and expostulations with the corpse, for quitting this world, where he (or she) enjoyed so many good things, so kind a husband, such fine children, &c. There seems a striking conformity between this antient rite and that in use among the Negroes.

The Negroes strew grave-dirt on the highway when any thing is stolen from them, intimating this curse: “ May the thief be reduced to the same state and condition as the corpse which lies buried in the grave whence this dirt was taken! may his existence be short! may he not live to enjoy his theft! but be crumbled and trampled under foot, like the soil of a public road!”

This dirt is a material ingredient in their solemn oaths, which are administered in the following manner. A small quantity of the earth is mixed with water in a calabash. The person who tenders the oath dips his finger into the mixture, and crosses various parts of the juror's naked body, repeating the following imprecation as he touches each part, the juror assenting at the close

of



strange manner; but a tolerable collection of them gives an air of knowledge and importance in the eyes of their brethren, which tickles their vanity, and makes them more assiduous in stocking themselves with this unintelligible jargon. The Negroes seem very fond of reduplications, to express a greater or less quantity of any thing; as *walky-walky*, *talky-talky*, *washy-washy*, *nappy-nappy*, *tie-tie*, *lilly-lilly*, *fum-fum*: so *bug-a-bugs* (wood-anths); *dab-a-dab* (an olio, made with maize, herrings, and pepper); *bra-bra* (another of their dishes); *grande-grande* (augmentative size, or grandeur), and so forth. In their conversation, they confound all the moods, tenses, cases, and conjugations, without mercy: for example; *I surprize* (for, I am surprized); *me glad for see you* (*pro*, I am glad to see you); *how you do* (for, how d'ye do?); *me tank you*; *me ver well*; &c. This sort of gibberish likewise infects many of the white Creoles, who learn it from their nurses in infancy, and meet with much difficulty, as they advance in years, to shake it entirely off, and express themselves with correctness.

Many of the plantation Blacks call their children by the African name for the day of the week on which they are born; and these names are of two genders, male and female; as for instance:

Male.	Female.	Day.
Cudjoe,	Juba,	Monday.
Cubbenah,	Beneba,	Tuesday.
Quâco,	Cuba,	Wednesday.
Quao,	Abba,	Thursday.
Cuffee,	Phibba,	Friday.
Quamin,	Mimba,	Saturday.
Quashee,	Quasheba,	Sunday.

There are some other words, that are remarkable for the different senses in which they are used; viz.

	Original Import.	Common Import.	Dialect.
Mungo,	Bread,	Negroes's name,	Mundingo.
Bumbo,	Alligator,	<i>Pudendum maliebre</i> ,	<i>Idem</i> .
Coffee,	Goodmorrow,	{ Name of a plant, the berries of which yield an agreeable morning repast to many of the Negroes, }	Fûli.
Guinnay, Guinee,	Devil,	Name of the slave country,	Jaloff, Fûli.
Sangara,	Brandy,	Sangree, or Strong Negus,	<i>Idem</i>
Tate,	The Posteriors,	Tête, the head in French,	Jaloff.
Kénne-kénne,	Small-land,	<i>Kéris</i> , Græc. <i>Cinis</i> , Lat.	Mundingo.
Buaw,	Devil,	Bullock (Negroe phrase),	<i>Idem</i> .

Some good persons have expressed their wishes, that the plantation Negroes might be all converted to the Christian faith. The planters would be the last to oppose such a scheme, if it were thought practicable; well knowing, that their becoming true Christians would work no change of property, and might possibly amend their manners. But few, if any, of the African natives will listen to any proposition tending to deprive them of their favourite superstitions and sensual delights. The Portuguese missionaries at Congo, perceiving, upon experience, that a religion, inculcating rigid precepts of morality, self-denial, honesty, and abstinence from women and drunkenness, was not at all relished, contrived to form a medley of Paganism and Christianity; which was more acceptable, and has gained them many converts; only the exterior ceremonies and sacraments being indispensably enforced; while, in other respects, they are left to the antient modes of their country. I have known some Creole slaves desire to be baptized; but they had no other motive than to be protected from the witchcraft of obeiah-men, or pretended forcerers; which affords a plain proof of the influence which superstition holds over their minds. But the mere ceremony of baptism would no more make Christians of the Negroes, in the just sense of the word, than a sound drubbing would convert an illiterate faggot-maker into a regular physician. The Rev. Mr. Hughes supports the same opinion. "To bring them," says he, "in general, to the knowledge of the Christian religion is undoubtedly a great and good design, in the intention laudable, and in speculation easy; yet, I believe, for reasons too tedious to be mentioned, that the difficulties attending it are, and I am afraid ever will be, insurmountable." This will appear less extraordinary, when we consider, that very few of the North-American Indians, who are far more civilized and enlightened people, have as yet been persuaded to embrace Christianity, notwithstanding the incessant and indefatigable labours of French and English missionaries for so many years. Not many of these pious men have crowned their apostleship with any other issue than by becoming enrolled in the honourable list of martyrs. No persuasion, I am induced to think, can wholly recall them from pursuing the favourite bias of their minds

minds towards their present system; which lays no penalty or penance on their sensual pleasures, imposes no restraint of decorum, and which tolerates their unlimited indulgence in those vices and delightful absurdities which are expressly reprobated by the Christian doctrines. The laws of Jamaica require the planters to do their utmost for converting their Negroes, and causing them to be baptized, so soon as they can be put into a fit capacity of sentiment to admit of it. But their general inappetency to become converts, together with their barbarous stupidity, and ignorance of the English language, which render them incapable of understanding or reasoning upon what is said to them, would foil the most zealous endeavours. Besides, the planters are averse to exert an authority and constraint over their minds, which might wear the appearance of religious tyranny. They do not think the cause of Christianity at all honoured by adding involuntary profelytes; they hold it rather for a shameful hypocrisy and insult to the true worship. But, when any of their Negroes have made request to be baptized, I never knew, nor heard, of a planter's having refused compliance with it. The Creole Negroes are the fittest subjects to work upon; and, with some pains (as they have better knowledge of the English tongue), they might probably be brought to retain some of the elements of Christianity. It would certainly be productive of good consequences, if the more sensible part of them were to be baptized, and occasionally instructed, as far as they can be made to understand, in the morality and fundamental points of our holy faith. In order to this, the baptismal fees payable for Negroes ought to be fixed, by the justices and vestry in each parish, at a very low rate; the present ordinary rate of 1 *l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*, paid by the owners, being enormously high. A Popish missionary would perform the ceremony *gratis*, and be happy at the occasion; but, in some other establishments, we too often find, that it is, *no fee, no holy water; no pay, no Swiss*. Bosman shrewdly observes, "that, if it were possible to convert the African Negroes to Christianity, the Roman Catholics would probably succeed much better than any other sect; because they agree in some points, such as abstinence from particular kinds of food on certain days, &c. and in their mutual attachment for ceremony and superstition." In fact,

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the vulgar herd is much more affected by those things which strike the eye, than what are directed to the heart. Negroes are the aptest subjects in the universe to be kept in subordination and discipline by the awful ceremonies, the indulgencies, injunctions, mummary, and legerdemain, of the Romish church and its ministers. Hence it is, that, in the French settlements, we find them as much, if not more, restrained by the superstitions of that communion, than by the rigour of edicts and codes. I have seen many of them provided with store of crosses, relicks, and consecrated annulets; to which they paid the most sincere veneration, though wholly uninformed of any thing more than the efficacy of these baubles, the necessity of adoring the Blessed Virgin and a few chosen saints, the power of their priest to absolve sins, and the damnable state of all heretics. They had also acquired a *Pater Noster*, a few *Ave Maria's*, and the right method of crossing themselves, and counting their beads, morning and evening.

I doubt not but that, in the French churches belonging to their islands, they have images of *black saints*, like the Portuguese at Madeira, for the particular devotion of these poor wretches. These arts our established church disdains and abhors, it being founded on the principles of reason, and therefore adapted only to rational minds; which, by their own natural strength, are capable to judge of its rectitude, and embrace it on account of its purity and refinement from that very grossness which pleases, while it enslaves, other minds, that are clouded with ignorance. Next to the Romish forms, perhaps those systems, which are set off with abundance of enthusiastic rant and gesticulation, would operate most powerfully on the Negroes; such as Quakerism, Methodism, and the Moravian rites. The Romish practices we find at least beneficial in the French islands, co-operating with state-policy, and contributing strongly to maintain their slaves in peaceable subjection. In our colonies, we are in want of so potent a co-adjutor to our municipal laws; and, from this cause, one should think, are more liable to be disturbed by insurrections, than the French islands; to which end also another local difference would seem much to conduce. The Negroes in the foreign colonies are habituated to the sight of a despotic frame of government, which controuls their  
masters

masters from highest to lowest, and assimilates their condition nearer to that state of servility under which they live themselves. But, in our islands, the word *liberty* is in every one's mouth; the assemblies resound with the clamour of, "liberty and property;" and it is echoed back, by all ranks and degrees, in full chorus. The Whites are nearly on a level; and the lowest can find the way of bringing the highest to public justice for any injury or oppression. The Negroes here grow habitually familiar with the term; and have that object ever obvious to their sight, which is wholly withheld from, or at least but dimly seen by, the French Blacks. To the same effect is the remark of Montesquieu: "The multitude  
 " of slaves has different effects in different governments. It is no  
 " grievance in a despotic state, where the political slavery of the  
 " whole body takes away the sense of civil slavery. Those, who  
 " are called freemen, are in reality little more so than they who  
 " do not come within that class. This makes it therefore a matter  
 " of indifference, whether, in such states, the slaves be few or nu-  
 " merous. But, in moderate states, it is a point of the highest im-  
 " portance, that there should not be a great number of slaves. The  
 " political liberty of those states adds to the value of civil liberty;  
 " and he, who is deprived of the latter, is deprived also of the for-  
 " mer. He sees the happiness of a society, of which he is not so  
 " much as a member: he sees the security of others fenced in by  
 " laws; himself, without any protection: he sees his master has a  
 " soul which can enlarge itself; while his own is constrained to  
 " submit to a continual depression. Nothing more assimilates a  
 " man to a beast, than living among freemen; himself a slave.  
 " Such people as these are the natural enemies of the society; and  
 " their number must be dangerous. It is not therefore to be won-  
 " dered at, that moderate governments have been so frequently di-  
 " sturbed by revolts of slaves; and that this so seldom happens in  
 " despotic states!"

It has been a matter of surprize to some, that the Negroes in our colonies do not increase in that natural proportion which is observed among mankind in other countries, and to a remarkable degree among the Blacks of Afric. Some writers, perceiving the large and continual importations made every year, and which are  
 found

found expedient for the carrying on our plantations in these parts; attribute this waste to the too severe labour and oppression they are forced to undergo. But this is an erroneous conjecture: the authors, not having resided in these colonies, were not sufficiently informed, to attend to other causes, which prove more destructive than the severest toil; nor to those which throw impediments in the way of a regular propagation.

It was computed formerly, that six new Negroes were required annually to every hundred, to keep up the stock in Barbadoes. The present import at Jamaica does not exceed, upon an average, six thousand *per annum*; which is about the rate of four to one hundred.

In the year 1761, when a draught of two thousand Negroes was made here, to be sent on the Havannah service, the whole number of slaves in the island, according to the account then taken, was

	146805
I do not exactly know the number that returned from that expedition. Several deserted, and some were killed; but I suppose the non-returned, from the best enquiry I can make, amounted to about eight hundred; which, being deducted from the above total, there remained about -	146000
In 1768, by an account taken, there were found	166904

So that the whole stock was augmented, in seven years, 20904

The import, at the average of 6000 <i>per ann.</i> [x], was	42000
From which deducting the augmentation,	20904

There appears a dead loss of 21096 which is equal to about 3000 *per annum*; and, at 35*l.* sterling *per* head, makes 105000*l.* annual loss in value; a most astonishing sum! Upon most of the old settled estates in this island, the number of births and deaths every year is pretty equal, except any malignant disorder happens. The deaths, which constitute the

[x] I have put the average at 6000, though perhaps it is too small a number, considering the briskness of the African trade during part of the time, and that a great many French Negroes were brought in from the conquered islands. The average for some of the years in this series was 9000; but others fell short. In the present computation, the greater the average is proved to have been, the higher must the loss appear. But I have chosen rather to be under than over.

major part of the above annual balance, are of native Africans. Hence therefore appears the mistake of the writers before-mentioned; for it is well known, that these new Negroes are always much indulged during the first two or three years after their arrival, being put to the gentlest work, that they may be gradually seasoned to the change of climate, and trained by a slow and easy progress to undergo the same degree of labour as the rest. If then all this care and preparation be necessary, and not only necessary, but actually attended to, it may be asked, by what means it comes to pass, that we observe so great a decrease among them? In reply to this, several reasons may be given.

These Negroes are few of them exempt from a venereal taint; and very many have, at the time of their arrival, that dreadful disorder, the *yaws*, lurking in their blood. It is said (I know not with what truth), that the surgeons on board the Guiney ships use methods to repel it, by a mixture of iron-rust with gun-powder and lime-juice, in order to remove all external symptoms of it before they are exposed to sale. There is some reason for believing that such wicked frauds have been practised; because it is no uncommon thing to see a whole parcel of new Negroes, within a few weeks after they are brought on a plantation, break out all together with this disorder, and especially if they have drunk the cane-liquor in the boiling-house, which is very efficacious in throwing the venom out of the habit.

The plantation surgeons have depended chiefly on mercurial preparations for a cure; but it is found, that such medicines break and impoverish their blood, and subject them to catch violent colds, which often strike the matter in upon the nobler parts, and bring on the joint-evil. Sometimes they fall into dropsies, which generally prove mortal; for this disorder requires a very nutritious diet; and experience proves, that, when left to nature, and the use of flour of brimstone, to keep the humour in a constant elimination towards the skin, it gradually wears off in about three years. Mercurials interrupt this natural crisis, and, instead of curing, generally either fix the disorder more rootedly in the habit, or give rise to others of the most dangerous kind.

I have had occasion, in the course of several years, to mark the fate of many hundred new Negroes; and am positive, that a third part of them have perished, within three years after their arrival, by this disease, through a mistaken method of treating it, and the too eager desire of their owners, or an affectation of extraordinary skill in their doctors, to make a speedy cure of it by some mercurial *nostrum*. Another mistake has arisen, by judging from the appearance of an acrimonious humour, so copiously discharged, that the patients required to have their juices corrected by proper sweeteners of the blood, and a low, abstemious diet. This error has but served to hasten their death. Instead of oatmeal gruel, and such weakening messes, they ought to have their strength sustained, during the progress of the eruption, and whilst it continues, with hearty food, nourishing broths, and the like; which preserve the blood in a balsamic, vigorous state, and enable nature to throw out the latent *virus*. This distemper, there is reason to believe, holds a near affinity with the small-pox; at least, it has been remarked, that the natural small-pox, in those afflicted with the yaws, is commonly very mild.

Mercury has, in this climate, a great propensity to salivate; and most of the Negroes, by frequently taking mercurials for venereal complaints, have their fluids so impregnated with them, that the utmost caution is necessary in administering such medicines. For this reason too, they cannot bear frequent repetitions of strong purgatives; the consequence of such copious evacuations being, almost always, a tendency to a dropsy.

The small-pox has frequently made great ravage among them. Sometimes they have been landed with this disease upon them; and this has proved so fatal, that I have known seven in ten die of it, which is equal to seventy in a hundred, or fifty-six more than the computation made of those who die in England by this disorder taken in the natural way. The late method of inoculation, happily practised in this island, promises fair to put an end to such dreadful examples of mortality; and I therefore only mention this, as one principal source of depopulation which existed here before inoculation was brought into general use, which was not long ago.

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The removal of Negroes from a dry to a damp situation, from a South side to a North side parish, has often been fatal to many. New Negroes, sent into the mountains immediately after their importation, especially during a wet season, are almost sure of being afflicted with severe colds, pleurifies, fluxes, and other distempers, which prove their bane. Even the Creoles do not bear these removals from places where, perhaps, they have resided from the time of their birth. And it is inconceivable what numbers have perished, in consequence of the law for recovery of debts; which permits Negroes to be levied on, and sold at *vendue*. By this means, they are frequently torn from their native spot, their dearest connexions, and transferred into a situation unadapted to their health, labouring under discontent, which co-operates with change of place and circumstances to shorten their lives.

Some planters think it good policy to quarter their new Negroes among the old settled ones: but these hosts generally make their guests pay dear for their lodging and maintenance, forcing them to be their "hewers of wood, and drawers of water;" and, in short, imposing on their ignorance without measure or mercy, until they sink under the oppression; whilst the owner, a stranger to what passes, is surpris'd to see them continually on the decline, and gradually consuming, without any suspicion of the real cause.

The introduction of too many recruits at once has sometimes proved fatal to them. It is very evident, that a small number can be much easier and better provided for, lodged, fed, and taken care of, than a multitude. The planter therefore, who buys only eight or ten at a time, will in the end derive more advantage from them, than the planter who buys thirty; for, by the greater leisure and attention in his power to bestow upon them, he will greatly lessen the ordinary chances against their life, and the sooner prepare them for an effectual course of labour. The comparison, indeed, founded upon fact and observation, is, that, at the end of three years, the former may possibly have lost one fifth, but the other will most probably have lost one half, of their respective numbers.

The women do not breed here as in Africa; for, in short, it has never been the planter's care to proportion the number of females to males: upon some estates there are five men to one

woman. Now, the population of Afric, as has been shewn, is partly imputable to their larger proportion of women; insomuch that, although the greatest man among their provinces may have fifty, sixty, or more wives or concubines, yet the meanest man is sure of one at least. The women here are, in general, common prostitutes; and many of them take specifics to cause abortion, in order that they may continue their trade without loss of time, or hindrance of business; and, besides, their admitting such promiscuous embraces must necessarily hinder, or destroy, conception. We may add to this the venereal disease; which, together with the medicines taken, either to repel, or carry off the *virus*, frequently kills the *fœtus*, and sterilizes both men and women.

Worms are extremely fatal to children in this climate, and destroy more than any other disease. Others frequently perish, within nine or ten days of their birth, by what is called here *jaw-falling*; which is caused by a retention of the *meconium*: by not keeping the infant sufficiently warm; or by giving it rum, and aliment of hard digestion.

Most of the black women are very subject to obstructions; from what cause I will not presume to say; but, perhaps, they may be ascribed, in part, to their using restraining baths, or washing themselves in cool water at improper periods. Child-birth is not so easy here as in Afric; and many children are annually destroyed, as well as their mothers, by the unskilfulness and absurd management of the Negroe midwives.

Thus we find here are various causes which prevent the multiplication of Negroes on the plantations; not but that unseasonable work may sometimes be added to the list; yet, in general, as it is happy for these people, that the planter's interest concurs with the obligations of humanity in most cases that relate to the care of them; so it is unnecessary to say, that in the time of gestation, they are treated with more than common indulgence, to prevent any such accidents.

The knowledge of the cause of any disease conducts us to the method of cure. To augment our Negroes therefore by procreation, we must endeavour to remedy those evils which impede or frustrate its natural effect. And, to conclude, if the waste of these men should

should become less, the price of them would fall; and the same annual demand might be kept up, by extending our plantations, which is now produced by the mortality of these people; estates would be gradually well-stocked, and rendered more flourishing; and the circumstances of the planters totally changed for the better. The purchase of new Negroes is the most chargeable article attending these estates, and the true source of the distresses under which their owners suffer; for they involve themselves so deeply in debt, to make these inconsiderate purchases, and lose so many by disease, or other means in the seasoning, that they become unable to make good their engagements, are plunged in law-suits and anxiety; while, for want of some prudent regulations in the right husbanding of their stock, and promoting its increase by natural means, they entail upon themselves a necessity of drawing perpetual recruits of unseasoned Africans, the expence of which forms only a new addition to their debts and difficulties.

I will not deny that those Negroes breed the best, whose labour is least, or easiest. Thus the domestic Negroes have more children, in proportion, than those on pens; and the latter, than those who are employed on sugar-plantations. If the number of hogheads, annually made from any estate, exceeds, or even equals, the whole aggregate of Negroes employed upon it, but few children will be brought up on such estate, whatever number may be born; for the mothers will not have sufficient time to take due care of them; and, if they are put under charge of some elderly woman, or nurse, as the custom is in many places, it cannot be supposed that they meet with the same tenderness as might be expected from their parent. But, where the proportion of the annual produce is about half a hoghead for every Negroe, there they will, in all likelihood, increase very rapidly; and not much less so, where the *ratio* is of two hogheads to every three Negroes, which I take to be a good *mesure* proportion; agreeably to which, an estate, making, *communibus annis*, two hundred hogheads, ought to muster on its list, old and young, three hundred Negroes; and, if it makes three hundred hogheads, four hundred and fifty such Negroes: and so on. An estate, so handed, may not only, *ceteris paribus*, save the expence of buying recruits, but may every year afford some addition to the

first number, of which I have known incontestable examples in Jamaica; and although the nature of the soil here and there may cause some difference in respect to hard or easy labour, yet it will still hold for a good general rule. There are very few plantations, whose soil is uniform throughout; and, where the soil is most stiff and laborious, perhaps the yielding in sugar is equal on the whole; which works no objection to the rule. For example: if we suppose a North side estate of very stiff land, and compare it with one on the South side, whose soil is of a free texture, and that each of them yields, upon average, one hoghead *per* acre round; the South side estate contains three hundred acres in canes, yields three hundred hogheads, musters four hundred and fifty Negroes; and the North side estate, three hundred acres, yields three hundred hogheads, and musters four hundred and fifty Negroes. Although the North side land is far more laborious, yet the annual plant being far less, on account of the ratoon canes, which stand several cuttings, the *mesne* proportion of labour upon both, for a given number of years, may be found very even; the South side estate being obliged, perhaps every year, to hole and plant double the quantity of ground.

The proportion, according to the before-mentioned rule, is one hundred and fifty Negroes to one hundred hogheads. An estimate was made, not long since, on this subject, with reference to the produce of each distinct parish. I know not how far it may be depended on in regard to exactness; but, if it comes any thing near the truth, it proves that some have more, but very few less, than the rate proposed. For better comprehending the table, I shall class the different parishes according to the general condition of their soils. The first class contains those whose soil is, comparatively, the most stiff and heavy; the second, such as have the lightest; the third, those whose soil may be esteemed between both.

First Class.		Negroes to 100 Hhds.		
St. Mary,	—	150	at <i>par</i>	0
St. John,	—	168	exceeds by	18
Portland,	—	182	ditto	32
St. George,	—	158	ditto	8
			Westmoreland,	

First Clafs.		Negroes to 100 Hhds.		
Westmoreland,	—	141	lefs	9
Hanover,	—	142	ditto	8
Second Clafs.				
St. Catharine,	—	171	exceeds	21
St. Dorothy,	—	200	ditto	50
St. Thomas in the Vale,		180	ditto	30
Vere,	—	138	lefs	12
St. Anne,	—	200	exceeds	50
St. Andrew,	—	162	ditto	12
Port Royal,	—	250	ditto	100
St. David,	—	172	ditto	22
St. Elizabeth,	—	204	ditto	54
Third Clafs.				
Clarendon,	—	127	lefs	23
St. Thomas in the East,		120	ditto	30
St. James,	—	132	ditto	18

Thus, of the whole number, only fix appear deficient. I must own, that such general calculations are not entirely to be relied on; because, in any individual parish, upon a survey of the estates comprehended in it, some will appear to have more than their complement, and others to fall very short of it. Much likewise depends on favourable or unfavourable seasons, good or bad management. In regard to births, they are probably as many as can be expected, under the obstacles which I have before enumerated; and, when I say that any estate, having the just proportion of hands to the average quantity of its produce, may require no purchased recruits, I must be understood with an exception to some or other of those obstacles; for, if its women are not numerous enough, or if they are rendered unprolific by disease or their own bad practices, or their children precluded from reaching to maturity, no such population can of course ensue. It is worth every planter's attention, to encourage the mothers, by little helps, to take good care of their children. Some mark of distinction, or a reward, should always be allowed to those who have shewn the most assiduity in respect to their cleanliness and health. A premium might be assigned for every new-born child; and a small annuity to be con-

tinued

tinued until its attaining the fourth or fifth year. These politic gratuities would not only endear the owner to the parents, but prove a constant incitement to their care, and at the same time enable them to provide better, the several little necessaries wanted to keep their infants cleanly and decent. If these measures should operate, as probably they would, to the increase of their families, the expence attending them would be amply repaid.

I have observed, in several accounts of our West-India colonies, comparisons drawn between the condition of the slaves in them and in the French islands, very much to the disadvantage of the former. It is said, that the Negroes in the French colonies are not left so much to the planter's discretion; that their masters are obliged to have them instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; that there are methods taken, at once to protect them from the cruelty of their masters, and preserve the colony from any ill effects that might arise from treating them with a lenity not consistent with their condition; that the *Code Noir*, or set of regulations, purposely framed for the Negroes, and established by the royal edict, as well as other ordinances relative to these poor creatures, shew a very just and sensible mixture of humanity and steadiness; and that these regulations have given the French, in their colonies, a reputation for good discipline and clemency; which degrades the English planters, when their laws are brought into comparison. The French are thus held out as a pattern well deserving the imitation of the British owners, and very properly, if all these encomiums are founded in truth. But there is some reason to doubt their good effects; and to believe, that, however they may glow with humanity and maxims of prudence, they are not efficaciously obeyed. Mons. Bossu, a French officer, who was at Hispaniola in 1751, gives some right to draw such a conclusion; and I must say, that his testimony is of the greater weight, as the French are well known to be very cautious of revealing whatever can tend to dishonour their countrymen. He condemns the brutal avidity of some French planters; "who," he tells us, "force their wretched slaves to such hard labour, that they refuse to marry, in order to avoid generating a race of beings to be enslaved to such masters, who treat them, when old and infirm, worse than their  
" dogs

“ dogs and horses. I have seen, adds he, a planter, whose name  
 “ was *Chaperon*, who forced one of his Negroes to go into a heated  
 “ oven, where the poor wretch expired; and his jaws being shri-  
 “ veled up, the barbarous owner said, “ I believe the fellow  
 “ laughs,” and took a poker to stir him up. Since this event, he  
 “ became the scarecrow among all the slaves, who, when they do  
 “ amiss, are threatened by their masters to be sent to *Chaperon*.”  
 What are we to think of the edicts and ordinances of any country,  
 where so horrid a monster is suffered to live with impunity; and  
 of how little efficacy is the celebrated *Code Noir*, in giving pro-  
 tection to the French Negroes? Such acts of wanton, diabolical  
 cruelty, are a standing reproach to the laws of any country; the  
 fact might have seemed incredible, had it been related by any other  
 than a Frenchman; and, I think, we are fairly warranted to judge  
 from it, that what we have been told of their regulations is not  
 entirely true; for how does it appear that their Negroes are pro-  
 tected from the cruelty of their masters, whilst such atrocious ex-  
 amples of the contrary are to be seen in their colonies? This  
 question is impartially deduced, and proves, that so far as respects  
 the personal well-being of the Negroes, these boasted laws are spe-  
 cious perhaps in their complexion, but ineffectual and feeble in their  
 real operation. It is not enough to make laws; it is also necessary  
 to provide for their execution.

However, we are so fond of depreciating our own colonies, that  
 we paint our planters in the most bloody colours, and represent  
 their slaves as the most ill-treated and miserable of mankind. It is  
 no wonder therefore that Jamaica comes in for a large share of  
 abuse; and even our common news-papers are made the vehicles  
 of it. I read in one of them not long since, “ that the cruel usage  
 “ inflicted on Negro slaves in Jamaica by their masters, is the  
 “ reason why insurrections there are more frequent than in the  
 “ French or other sugar-islands.” The first enquiry to be made  
 in answer to so invidious a charge is, whether the fact here asserted  
 be really true? and, 2dly, whether this frequency may not have  
 been owing to some other cause?

Within a few years past, we have heard of them at Hispaniola, at Cuba, at the Brasils, at Surinam, and Berbice, and at the British islands of Tobago, Dominica, Montserrat, and St. Vincent. If they should happen oftener at Jamaica than in the smaller islands, it would not be at all surprizing, since it has generally contained more Negroes than all the Windward British isles put together; and its importations in some years have been very great.

For instance, in the year 1764, the importation was, 10,223. And from January 1765 to July 1766, one year and an half, 16,760. So large a multitude as 27,000 introduced in the space of two years and an half, furnishes a very sufficient reason, if there was no other, to account for mutinies and plots, especially as no small number of them had been warriors in Afric, or criminals; and all of them as savage and uncivilized as the beasts of prey that roam through the African forests.

A general accusation can only deserve a general reply. If the author of it had particularized any certain species of barbarity tolerated by law or custom, or in constant use at Jamaica, it would be incumbent on its advocates, either to disprove, or admit, the existence of such particular facts. But a charge, which involves a whole country, ought to be well founded, and supported by evidence taken from notorious practice, or the system of laws by which that country is regulated. If a foreigner, being told of a mother in England, so void of natural feeling, as to shut up her own children in a dungeon, starve and cruelly beat them; of others, who strangle their infants, cut their throats, or consume them in ovens; of masters and mistresses so brutal as to whip their apprentices to death; of daughters poisoning their fathers; nieces their uncles; wives butchering their husbands, and husbands their wives; with many other examples of barbarity, which the public chronicles have recorded from time to time; should we not think the foreigner extremely void of impartiality and good sense, if for this reason he was to charge all the people of England with being a most bloody, inhuman and unfeeling race? Yet there is full as much cause for it in this case, as in the former. The truth is, that ever since the introduction of Africans into the West-Indies, insurrections



insurrections have occurred in every one of the colonies, British as well as foreign, at times. But the calumniator has not been more erroneous in bringing the charge, than in the reasons assigned to support it; because a faulty indulgence has been one leading cause of the disturbances that have occurred in Jamaica; which is evidently proved by what is set forth in many of the laws passed in consequence of them, restricting several sports, and prohibiting certain festive assemblies, which the Negroes had freely enjoyed before, but were made subservient to the forming and carrying on of dangerous conspiracies. They were formerly allowed to assemble with drums and musical instruments; to dance, drink, and be merry. This was permitted, because it was thought an inoffensive mode of recreation for them. But when these games were afterwards converted into plots, they were with great justice suppressed, as riotous assemblies of people are in England, and for the like reason; that, being perverted from their original intention to wicked and unlawful ends, they became inconsistent with the peace and safety of the community. Such prohibitions (of which there are several) prove undeniably, the great latitude of indulgence, that has been given to the Negroes of this colony; and shew the propriety, and indeed necessity, there has been of laying them under restrictions, when that liberty was abused. The innocent, it is true, were unavoidably involved with the guilty in these restraints; but they have still sufficient pastimes and amusements to divert them, without offending against the public welfare. In every country under the sun the like commotions must happen, where licentiousness among the most ignorant and profligate of the people is not repressed by the discipline of laws, and the energy of good government; and where drunkenness and lust, those great incentives to violence among this order of men, are suffered, as in Jamaica, to reign without controul.

The heedless practice formerly of keeping large stands of fire-arms and cutlasses upon the inland plantations, having only three or four white men upon them, became a strong temptation to any disaffected or enterprizing Africans. It might well be expected, that throwing such magazines and stores of ammunition in their way, was a direct invitation to them to rebel. The turning so

many indefensible houses into arsenals for arming mutinous savages, was doubtless the very height of imprudence, tending not only to generate projects of hostility, but to afford the means of conducting them with probable hope of success. Add to this, that many shopkeepers, from a strange spirit of avarice, have been known to sell gunpowder privately to such conspirators, although they must have foreseen the use to which it might be applied; and, to gain a few shillings, even hazarded their own destruction; incredible as this may seem, yet it is certain that such a practice has been carried on, as two laws were passed, one in 1730, the other in 1744, to put a stop to it.

Another cause of conspiracy may have been, a remote hope of some Negroes, who, having heard of the freedom granted to the Marons after their obstinate resistance of several years, expected, perhaps, that by a course of successful opposition they might obtain the like terms in the end, and a distinct settlement in some quarter of the island.

The vulgar opinion in England confounds all the Blacks in one class, and supposes them equally prompt for rebellion; an opinion that is grossly erroneous. The Negroes, who have been chief actors in the seditions and mutinies, which at different times have broke out here, were the *imported Africans*; and, considering the numbers of them who were banished their country for atrocious misdeeds, and familiarized to blood, massacre, and the most detestable vices, we should not be astonished at the impatient spirit of such an abandoned herd, upon being introduced to a life of labour and regularity. The numbers imported would indeed be formidable, if they continued in a body; but they are soon dispersed among a variety of different estates many miles asunder, by which means they remain a long time ignorant of each other's place of settlement. They often find themselves mixed with many strangers, differing from them in language; and against others they hold a rooted antipathy. But they are chiefly awed into subjection, by the superior multitude of Creole Blacks, with whom they dare not confederate, nor solicit their concurrence in any plan of opposition to the white inhabitants.

The.

The ringleaders of conspiracy have been the native Africans, and of these the *Coromantins* stand the foremost. The Jamaica planters are fond of purchasing the Negroes who pass under this name, in preference to those of the other provinces; but the French, and some other West-India colonies, will not knowingly admit them; being sensible of their dangerous tempers and unfitness for the peaceable walk of husbandry.

As the insurrections which have happened in our island have been misrepresented, I shall give a summary account of them, which may serve to illustrate what has been advanced, and explain the motives of them not to have been founded in the manner they have been generally supposed, by persons ill informed, or but little acquainted with Jamaica.

The *Maron* or wild Negroes, of whom I have given the history, were improperly called *rebellious*. The compilers of the *Modern Universal History*, in their account of the island, have fallen into this mistake, and, giving a detail of the insurrection that happened in 1761, they speak of it as “a revolt of those Negroes, who, since the late treaty with them in Mr. Trelawny’s government, *not having been sufficiently watched*, had become so numerous and strong, that they now meditated no less than the extirpation of all the white men in the island.”

It is not an easy matter to discover what is meant by “their being coming too numerous and strong, for want of being *watched*;” nor how the watching of them could either thin their numbers, or weaken them: however, the whole is erroneous, and the very reverse is the truth; for these Negroes have, as far as we have any certain information, always adhered to the treaty, and were the principal instruments employed in suppressing that very insurrection. The Jamaica laws have from the beginning termed them *rebellious*; but they did not deserve the appellation, because they were the free descendants from the aboriginal Spanish Negroes, who had never come under any submission or allegiance to the British government. The rebellions (properly speaking) are confined to those Negroe slaves, who have at different periods renounced obedience to their British masters, and sought to rescue themselves from a life of labour by force of arms; and all these disturbances are extremely remarkable, in that they have been planned and conducted by the

*Coromantin.*

*Coromantin* Negroes, who are distinguished from their brethren by their aversion to husbandry, and the martial ferocity of their disposition. The first rebellion of importance, on record, happened in the year 1690, when between three and four hundred slaves, belonging to Mr. Sutton's plantation in Clarendon, forced their way into the dwelling-house, killed the white man entrusted with the care of it, and seized upon a large store of fire-arms, powder and ball, and four small field-pieces, with some provisions: at this time, the interior settlements, of which this was one, situated near the woods, were furnished in this manner with implements of defence to withstand the assaults of the *Marons*, who frequently sallied out in the night to attack them. The rebels, after this exploit, proceeded to the next plantation, and murdered the overseer, but were disappointed of being joined by the slaves belonging to it, who all betook themselves to the woods; upon this they returned to Mr. Sutton's house, where they put every thing into a posture of defence. By this time the white inhabitants of the neighbourhood, having taken the alarm, collected about fifty horse and foot, marched to beat up their quarters; and, being joined by the way with fresh succours, they increased to a formidable body. On the next day the militia began their attack, upon which the rebels withdrew to the cane pieces, and set fire to them, in order to cover their retreat; but a detachment of the militia having fetched a little compass, found means to assault them in flank, whilst the rest advanced upon them in front; unable to withstand this double fire, the rebels immediately fled, but were so briskly pursued, that many were killed, and two hundred of them threw down their arms, and begged for mercy; the rest were afterwards either slain, or taken prisoners; and the ringleaders of the conspiracy hanged. I find no rebellion of any consequence for several years subsequent to this; one reason for which cessation probably was, that the *Marons* were endeavouring, by every means in their power, to bring over the slaves in different parts of the island to their cause; such therefore as were discontented with their condition, deserted to the *Marons*; but, several who took this step, performed some previous act of outrage, by way of recommending themselves to their new friends; none was more horrid than what was committed on Mr.

B— of St. Anne; a gentleman distinguished for his humanity towards his slaves, and in particular to one of his domestics, on whom he had bestowed many extraordinary marks of kindness. Yet this ungrateful villain, at the head of a gang who were equally disposed to revolt, assaulted his master whilst he was in bed; Mr. B— defended himself for some time with his broad sword, but being overpowered by numbers, and disabled by wounds, he fell at length a victim to their cruelty; they cut off his head, sawed his skull asunder, and made use of it as a punch-bowl; and, after doing as much further mischief as they were able, they retreated into the woods.

After the pacification made with governor Trelawney, no insurrection of moment occurred for many years. Some trifling disturbances happened, and some plots were detected, but they came to nothing; and indeed the seeds of rebellion were in a great measure rendered abortive, by the activity of the Marons, who scoured the woods, and apprehended all straggling and vagabond slaves, that from time to time deserted from their owners. But in the year 1760, a conspiracy was projected, and conducted with such profound secrecy, that almost all the Coromantin slaves throughout the island were privy to it, without any suspicion from the Whites. The parish of St. Mary was fixed upon, as the most proper theatre for opening their tragedy. It abounded with their countrymen, was but thinly peopled with Whites, contained extensive deep woods, and plenty of provisions: so that as the engaging any considerable number heartily in the scheme, would depend chiefly on the success of their first operations, they were likely to meet with a fainter resistance in this parish than in most others; and should the issue of the conflict prove unfavourable to them, they might retreat with security into the woods, and there continue well supplied with provisions, until their party should be strengthened with sufficient reinforcements, to enable their prosecution of the grand enterprize, whose object was no other than the entire extirpation of the white inhabitants; the enslaving of all such Negroes as might refuse to join them; and the partition of the island into small principalities in the African mode; to be distributed among their leaders and head men. A principal inducement

ducement to the formation of this scheme of conquest was, the happy circumstance of the *Murons*; who, they observed, had acquired very comfortable settlements, and a life of freedom and ease, by dint of their prowess. On the night preceding Easter-Monday, about fifty of them marched to Port Maria, where they murdered the storekeeper of the fort (at that time unprovided with a garrison), broke open the magazine, and seized four barrels of powder, a few musket-balls, and about forty fire-arms. Proceeding from thence to the bay, which lies under the fort, they met with some fishing-nets, from which they cut off all the leaden sinkers, made of bullets drilled. These Negroes were mostly collected from Trinity plantation, belonging to Mr. Bayley; Whitehall, and Frontier, belonging to Mr. Ballard Beckford; and Heywood Hall, the property of Mr. Heywood. Mr. Bayley had been called up by one of his domestics, and, mounting his horse, rode towards the bay, in hopes that, by expostulating calmly with the rebels, he might persuade them to disperse and return to their duty; but their plan was too deeply laid, and they had conceived too high an opinion of it, to recede.

Upon his nearer approach, he perceived they were determined to act offensively, and therefore galloped back with great expedition; a few random-shots were discharged after him, which he fortunately escaped, and rode directly to the neighbouring estates, alarming them as he went, and appointing a place of rendezvous. In this he performed a very essential piece of service to the white inhabitants, who before were entire strangers to the insurrection, and unprepared against surprize; but this notice gave them some time to recollect themselves, and to consult measures for suppressing the insurgents. In the mean while, the latter pursued their way to Heywood-Hall, where they set fire to the works and cane-pieces, and proceeded to Esther, an estate of Mr. William Beckford, murdering on the road a poor white man, who was traveling on foot. At Esther they were joined by fourteen or fifteen of their countrymen. The Whites on that estate had but just time to shut themselves up in the dwelling-house, which they barricadoed as well as they could; unhappily they were destitute of ammunition, and therefore incapable of making any resistance. The rebels, who knew  
their

their situation, soon forced an entrance, murdered the overseer and another person, and mangled the doctor, till they supposed him dead; in this condition they drew him down several steps by the heels, and threw him among the other murdered persons: his limbs still appearing to move, one of the rebels exclaimed, that "he had as many lives as a *puss*;" and immediately discharged four or five flugs through his back, some of which penetrated the bladder. This gentleman was so dreadfully wounded, that the two surgeons, who afterwards attended him, were every day fatigued with the multiplicity of bandages and dressings, necessary to be applied upon almost all parts of his body; so that his recovery was next to miraculous.

After this exploit, they ravished a Mulatto woman, who had been the overseer's kept mistress; but spared her life, at the request of some of the *Esher* Negroes, who alledged, in her favour, that she had frequently saved them from a whipping, by her intercession with the overseer; considering the hands into which she had fallen, this was thought an act of very extraordinary clemency; and, in fact, not owing really to any merit on her part, as the overseer had only chose to let his forgiveness appear rather to come through the importunity of another, than from the lenity of his own disposition. The doctor, notwithstanding his wounds, recovered afterwards. Yankee, a trusty slave belonging to this estate, behaved on the occasion with signal gallantry; he was very active in endeavouring to defend the house, and assist the white men; but, finding they were overpowered, he made his escape to the next estate, and there, with another faithful Negroe, concerted measures for giving immediate notice to all the plantations in the neighbourhood, and procuring auxiliaries for the white inhabitants. The rebels, after this action, turned back to *Heywood Hall* and *Ballard's Valley*, where they picked up some fresh recruits, so that their whole party, including women, increased to about four hundred. The fatigues of the opening their campaign had so exhausted their spirits by this time, that they thought proper to refresh themselves a little before they renewed their hostilities; having therefore a good magazine of hogs, poultry, rum, and other plunder of the like kind, they chose out a convenient spot, surrounded with trees, and a little retired from the road, where they spread their provision, and began to carouze. The white inhabitants, alarmed by Mr. Bayley, had assembled in the mean

time about 70 or 80 horse, and had now a fair opportunity of routing the whole body; they advanced towards the place where the rebels were enjoying themselves, and luckily discovered them by their noise and riot, or they might have fallen into an ambuscade. The Coromantins did not exhibit any specimen of generalship upon this occasion; on the appearance of the troop, they kept close in the wood, from whence they poured an irregular fire, which did no execution. The drilled bullets, taken from the fishing nets, described an arch in their projection, and flew over the heads of the militia. After keeping their ranks for some time, it was proposed that they should dismount, and push into the wood; but on examining their ammunition, the militia found their whole stock, if equally divided, did not amount to more than one charge each man; they therefore held it more adviseable, for the major part to stand their ground on the reserve, while their servants, and some others well armed, advanced into the wood close to the rebels, several of whom they killed; a Mulatto man was said to have slain three with his own hand, and a brave North Briton about the same number. The rebels, intimidated with this bold attack, retreated; but it was not judged proper at that time to pursue them.

During all these transactions, two Negroes, belonging to Mr. Beckford, having taken horse at the first alarm, were on the road to Spanish Town, and traveled with such expedition through very bad ways, that they brought the intelligence to lieut. governor Sir Henry Moore, by one o'clock the same day, who immediately dispatched two parties of regulars, and two troops of horse militia, by different routs, to the parish; orders at the same time were sent to the *Masons* of Scot's-Hall Town, to advance by another road from the Eastward, and a party from the Leeward Towns were directed to enter by the West. All these detachments were in motion as early as possible, and no measures could have been more effectually taken. The lieutenant governor happily possessed, in addition to great abilities, uncommon presence of mind, prudence, and bravery, a most consummate knowledge of the geography of the island, and of every road and avenue in its several districts. By this means, he was enabled to take every fit precaution, and form the most proper disposition of the forces, as well for reducing the insurgents, as protecting the estates in those parts,



where the flame might be expected to kindle afresh. These detachments, by forced marches, soon made their appearance in St. Mary, and damped at once all the ideas of conquest, which at first had elevated the rebels. They kept in the woods, rambling from place to place, seldom continuing many hours on one spot; and when they perceived themselves close beset on all sides, they resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. The *Marons* of Scot's-Hall behaved extremely ill at this juncture; they were the first party that came to the rendezvous; and, under pretence that some arrears were due to them, and that they had not been regularly paid their head-money allowed by law, for every run-away taken up, they refused to proceed against the rebels, unless a collection was immediately made for them; several gentlemen present submitted to comply with this extraordinary demand, rather than delay the service; after which they marched, and had one engagement with the rebels, in which they killed a few. A party of the 74th regiment lay quartered at a house by the sea side, at a small distance from the woods; in the night the rebels were so bold, that they crept very near the quarters, and, having shot the sentinel dead, retired again with the utmost agility from pursuit. Not long after this accident the regulars, after a tedious march through the woods, which the steepness of the hills, and heat of the weather, conspired to render extremely fatiguing, came up with the enemy, and an engagement ensued, in which several of the rebels were killed, and lieut. Bevil of the regulars wounded. The different parties continued in chase of the fugitives, and skirmishes happened every day; but in the mean while, the spirit of rebellion was shewing itself in various other parts of the island, there being scarcely a single parish, to which this conspiracy of the Coromantins did not extend. In St. Mary's parish a check was fortunately given at one estate, by surprizing a famous obeiah man or priest, much respected among his countrymen. He was an old Coromantin, who, with others of his profession, had been a chief in counseling and instigating the credulous herd, to whom these priests administered a powder, which, being rubbed on their bodies, was to make them invulnerable: they persuaded them into a belief, that Tacky, their generalissimo in the woods, could not possibly be hurt by the white men, for that he caught all the bullets fired at him in his hand, and hurled them back with destruction to his foes.

'This old impostor was caught whilst he was tricked up with all his feathers, teeth, and other implements of magic, and in this attire suffered military execution by hanging: many of his disciples, when they found that he was so easily put to death, notwithstanding all the boasted feats of his powder and incantations, soon altered their opinion of him, and determined not to join their countrymen, in a cause which hitherto had been unattended with success. But the fame of general Tacky, and the notion of his invulnerability, still prevailed over the minds of others, as that hero had escaped hitherto in every conflict without a wound. The true condition of his party was artfully misrepresented to the Coromantins, in the distant parishes; they were told that every thing went on prosperously, that victory attended them, and that nothing now remained but for all their countrymen to be hearty in the cause, and the island must speedily be their own. Animated with these reports, the Coromantins on capt. Forrest's estate, in Westmoreland, broke into rebellion. They surrounded the mansion-house, in which Mr. Smith, attorney to Mr. Forrest, with some friends, was sitting at supper; they soon dispatched Mr. Smith and the overseer, and terribly wounded captain Hoare, commander of a merchant ship in the trade, who afterwards recovered. Three other Negroes belonging to this estate made their escape privately, and alarmed the neighbouring settlements, by which means the white persons upon them provided for their lives, and took measures which prevented the Negroes on three contiguous estates from rising. A gentleman, proprietor of one of these estates, remarkable for his humanity and kind treatment of his slaves, upon the first alarm, put arms into the hands of about twenty; of whose faithful attachment to him, he had the utmost confidence: these were all of them Coromantins, who no sooner had got possession of arms, than they convinced their master how little they merited the good opinion he had entertained of them; for having ranged themselves before his house, they assured him they would do him no harm, but that they must go and join their countrymen, and then saluting him with their hats, they every one marched off. Among the rebels were several French Negroes, who had been taken prisoners at Guadaloupe, and, being sent to Jamaica for sale, were purchased by capt. Forrest. These men were the more dangerous, as they had been in arms at Guadaloupe, and seen something of military operations; in which

which they acquired so much skill, that, after the massacre on the estate, when they found their partisans of the adjacent plantations did not appear to join them, they killed several Negroes, set fire to buildings and cane-pieces, did a variety of other mischief, and then withdrew into the woods, where they formed a strong breast-work across a road, flanked by a rocky hill; within this work they erected their huts, and sat down in a sort of encampment; a party of militia, who were sent to attack them, very narrowly escaped being all cut off. The men were badly disciplined, having been hastily collected; and falling into an ambuscade, they were struck with terror at the dismal yells, and the multitude of their assailants. The whole party was thrown into the utmost confusion, and routed, notwithstanding every endeavour of their officers; each strove to shift for himself, and whilst they ran different ways, scarcely knowing what they were about, several were butchered, others broke their limbs over precipices, and the rest with difficulty found their way back again. This unlucky defeat raised the spirits of the Coromantins in this part of the country, and encouraged so many to join the victorious band, that the whole number very soon amounted to upwards of a thousand, including their women, who were necessary for carrying their baggage, and dressing their victuals. This consequence shewed, how ill-judged it was, to make the first attack upon them with a handful of raw, undisciplined militia, without advancing at the same time a party in reserve, to sustain their efforts, and cover their retreat. In suppressing these mutinies, the first action has always been of the utmost importance, and therefore should never be confided to any except tried and well-trained men. The winning the first battle from the rebellious party, usually decides the issue of the war; it disconcerts the conspirators, not as yet engaged, and who keep aloof, irresolute whether to join or not; and it intimidates all that are in arms, and most commonly plunges them into despondency: the reverse is sure to follow a defeat of the Whites on the first encounter; and nothing can add greater strength to rebellion, or tend more to raise the authority of the priests and leaders who have set it on foot. These remarks have been fully verified, in course of the present, and every other insurrection that has occurred in this island. The insurgents in St. Mary, who opened the campaign, were repulsed in the first conflict, and from that time grew disheartened,  
and

and diminishing in their numbers; their confederates in that parish looked upon their rout as ominous, and would not venture to associate with them in the undertaking, whilst those of Westmoreland, who would probably have given up the cause, if they had met with a severe check at their first outlet, were now become flushed with a confidence in their superiority, and gathered reinforcements every day. However, they were not suffered to remain long in this assurance of success; a detachment of the 49th regiment, with a fresh company of militia, and a party of the Leeward *Marons*, marched to attack them. The regulars led the van, the militia brought up the rear, whilst the *Marons* lined the wood to the right and left, to prevent ambuscades. The rebels collected behind their fortification, made shew of a resolution to defend their post, and fired incessantly at their opponents, though with no other injury than wounding one soldier. The officer, captain Forsyth, who commanded the detachment, advanced with the utmost intrepidity, ordering his men to reserve their fire, till they had reached the breast-work; at which time, they poured in such a volley, that several of the rebels immediately fell, and the rest ran as fast as they could up the hill. A Mulatto man behaved with great bravery in this action; he leaped on the breast-work, and assaulted the rebels sword in hand. Having gained a lodgement, the troops declined a pursuit, and carelessly entered the huts, where they sat down to refresh themselves with some provisions, of which they found a large store; the rebels, perceiving this, discharged several random shot from the hill above them, which passed through the huts, and had very near been fatal to some of the officers: the *Marons*, upon this, penetrated the wood at the foot of the hill, and ascending it on the opposite side, and spreading themselves, suddenly assaulted the rebels in flank, who were instantly routed, and a great number killed, or taken prisoners. During the attack at the breast-work, Jemmy, a Negroe belonging to the late Mr. Smith, gave proof of his fidelity and regard to his master, whose death he revenged by killing one of the rebels, and other services, for which he was afterwards rewarded with his freedom, and an annuity for life, by the assembly. After this overthrow, the Westmoreland rebels were never able to act any otherwise than on the defensive; several skirmishes happened, in which they were constantly put to flight; their numbers were gradually reduced, and  
many

many destroyed themselves. About the time of their breaking out, several other conspiracies were in agitation: in the Vale of Luidas, in St. John's, the Coromantins had agreed to rise, ravage the estates, and murder the white men there; they fixed a certain day for commencing hostilities, when they were to break open the house at Langer's plantation, and seize the fire arms lodged there; after which, they were to slay all the Whites they could meet with, fire the houses and cane-pieces, and lay all the country waste. Three Negroes, who were privy to this machination, disclosed it to their overseer, in consequence of which, the ringleaders were taken up, and, upon conviction, executed; others, who turned evidence, were transported off the island: and thus the whole of this bloody scheme was providentially frustrated.

In the parish of St. Thomas in the East, a Negroe, named Cassée, who had been pressed by some Coromantins there to join with them in rebelling, and destroying the estates and white inhabitants, declined at first being concerned; but recollecting that some advantages might be gained to himself by a thorough knowledge of their intentions, he afterwards pretended to have thought better of their proposals, and, professing his zeal to embrace them, he associated at their private cabals from time to time, till he became master of the whole secret, which he took the first opportunity to discover, and most of the conspirators were apprehended.

Conspiracies of the like nature were likewise detected in Kingston, St. Dorothy, Clarendon, and St. James, and the partizans secured.

In Kingston, a wooden sword was found, of a peculiar structure, with a red feather stuck into the handle; this was used among the Coromantins as a signal for war; and, upon examining this, and other suspicious circumstances, to the bottom, it was discovered, that the Coromantins of that town had raised one Cuba, a female slave belonging to a Jewess, to the rank of royalty, and dubbed her *queen of Kingston*; at their meetings she had sat in state under a canopy, with a sort of robe on her shoulders, and a crown upon her head. Her majesty was seized, and ordered for transportation; but, prevailing on the captain of the transport to put her ashore again in the leeward part of the island, she continued there for some time undiscovered, but at length was taken up, and executed. These circumstances shew the great extent of the conspiracy, the strict correspondence which had been carried

on by the Coromantins in every quarter of the island, and their almost incredible secrecy in the forming their plan of insurrection; for it appeared in evidence, that the first eruption in St. Mary's, was a matter preconcerted, and known to all the chief men in the different districts; and the secret was probably confided to some hundreds, for several months before the blow was struck.

Some persons surmised, that they were privately encouraged, and furnished with arms and ammunition, by the French and Spaniards, whose piccaroons were often seen hovering near the coast; but there seems no just foundation for such an opinion: it is certain, the rebels found an easier means of supplying themselves with large quantities of powder, ball, lead, and several stands of arms, on the different estates where they broke out; on some of these, they found two or three dozen musquets and cutlasses, which were not guarded by more than two or three white men. The planters, as I have before remarked, very imprudently kept these magazines, which were by far too many for their necessary defence, and attracted the notice of the Coromantins, who are practised in the use of arms from their youth in their own country, and are at all times disposed for mutiny.

A fresh insurrection happened in St. James's, which threatened to become very formidable, had it not been for the activity of brigadier Witter of the militia, and lieut. colonel Spragge of the 49th, who dispersed the insurgents, and took several prisoners; but the rest escaped, and, uniting with the stragglers of the other defeated parties, formed a large gang, and infested Carpenter's Mountains for some time. Another party of twelve Coromantins in Clarendon, whom their master, from a too good opinion of their fidelity, had imprudently armed, at their own earnest intreaty, and sent in quest of a small detached band of rebels, of whose haunt he had gained intelligence, deserted to their countrymen, but were soon after surprized, and the greater part of them killed or taken. Damon, one of the Westmoreland chiefs, with a small gang, having posted himself at a place called Mile Gully in Clarendon, a voluntary party, under command of Mr. Scot and Mr. Greig, with three or four more, went in quest of them. They had a long way to march in the night, through the woods, and across a difficult country; but, having provided themselves with a trusty guide, they came up to the haunt about midnight, attacked the rebels without

lofs of time, killed the chief, and one of his men, wounded another, and took two prifoners; for which fervice, the affembly made them a genteel recompence, befides a good reward to the Negroes who affifted them in this enterprize.

The rebels in St. Mary's, under general Tacky, ftill maintained their ground. Admiral Holmes had difpatched a frigate to Port Maria, which proved of great ufe for the fafe cuftody of prifoners, who were too numerous to be confined on fhore, and required too large a party of militia to guard them; but after they were removed on board, where they were well fecured, the militia were ready to be employed on more active fervice: no meafure, therefore, could be more feafonable and judicious; and it was one good effect of the harmony then fubfifting between the commander of the fquadron and the lieutenant governor. The rebels now thought only of concealing themfelves, and made choice of a little glade, or cockpit, fo environed with rocky fteeps, that it was difficult to come at them; but, in this fituation, a party of militia and *Marons*, with fome failors, affaulted them with hand grenades, killed fome, and took a few prifoners. Soon after this, they fuffered a more decifive overthrow; the *Marons* of Scot's-Hall, having got fight of their main body, forced them to an engagement; the rebels foon gave way, and Tacky, their leader, having feparated from the reft, was clofely purfued by lieut. Davy of the *Marons*, who fired at him whilft they were both running a full fpeed, and fhot him dead. His head was brought to Spanifh Town, and ftuck on a pole in the highway; but, not long after, ftolen, as was fuppofed, by fome of his countrymen, who were unwilling to let it remain expofed in fo ignominious a manner. The lofs of this chief[y], and of Jamaica, another of their captains, who fell in the fame battle, ftruck moft of the furvivors of their little army with defpair; they betook

themfelves

[y] He was a young man of good ftature, and well made; his countenance handfome, but rather of an effeminate than manly caft. It was faid, he had flattered himfelf with the hope of obtaining (among other fruits of victory) the lieutenant governor's lady for his concubine. He did not appear to be a man of any extraordinary genius, and probably was chofen general, from his fimilitude in perfon to fome favourite leader of their nation in Africa. A gentleman, feveral years fince, having fet up in a conspicuous part of his plantation a bronzed ftatue of a gladiator, fomewhat larger than the natural fize, the Coromantins no fooner beheld, than they were almoft ready to fall down, and adore it. Upon enquiry, the gentleman learnt, that they had difcovered a very ftriking likenefs between this figure and one of their princes, and believed that it had been copied from him.

themselves to a cave, at the distance of a mile or two from the scene of action, where it was thought they laid violent hands on one another, to the number of twenty-five; however, the *Marons*, who found them out, claimed the honour of having slain them, and brought their ears to the lieutenant governor, in testimony of their death, and to entitle themselves to the usual reward. A few miserable fugitives still sculked about the woods, in continual terror for their fate; but at length, they contrived to send an embassy to a gentleman of the parish (Mr. Gordon), in whose honour they reposed implicit confidence, and expressed their readiness to surrender upon the condition of being transported off the island, instead of being put to death. This gentleman had a congress with their leaders unarmed, and promised to exert his endeavours with the lieutenant governor; on their part, they seemed well pleased to wait his determination, and gave assurance of their peaceable demeanour in the mean while. The lieutenant governor's consent was obtained; but under an appearance of difficulty, to make it the more desirable; and, upon intimation of it at the next private congress, they one and all submitted, and were shipped off, pursuant to the stipulation. The remains of the Westmoreland and St. James's rebels still kept in arms, and committed some ravages. In September therefore (1760) the lieutenant governor convened the assembly, and in his speech informed them, "That the various scenes of distress, occasioned by the insurrections which broke out in so many different parts of the country, would have engaged him sooner to call them together; but he was obliged to defer it, as their presence was so necessary in the several districts, to prevent the spreading of an evil so dangerous in its consequence to the whole island.

"That he had the satisfaction to acquaint them, his expectations had been fully answered, by the vigilance and bravery of the troops employed during the late troubles; that the many difficulties they had to encounter, only served to set their behaviour in a more advantage-

Two of the St. Mary's ringleaders, Fortune and Kingston, were hung up alive in irons on a gibbet, erected in the parade of the town of Kingston. Fortune lived seven days, but Kingston survived till the ninth. The morning before the latter expired, he appeared to be convulsed from head to foot; and upon being opened, after his decease, his lungs were found adhering to the back so tightly, that it required some force to disengage them. The murders and outrages they had committed, were thought to justify this cruel punishment inflicted upon them *in terrorem* to others; but they appeared to be very little affected by it themselves; behaving all the time with a degree of hardened intolence, and brutal insensibility.



ous light; and the plan now proposed for carrying on their operations, had the fairest prospect of totally suppressing, in a very short time, all the disturbers of the public repose.

“ That the ready assistance he had received from rear-admiral Holmes, in transporting troops and provisions, and in stationing his majesty’s ships where they could be of most service, enabled him to make use of such vigorous measures, and employ to advantage such a force, that, notwithstanding the formidable number of rebels which had appeared in arms, and the many combinations which were formed among the slaves throughout the island, *their projects were rendered abortive*, and tranquillity again restored, where total destruction had been threatened.

“ That nothing had been omitted to render the martial law as little grievous as possible to the inhabitants, although the long continuance of it could not fail of being severely felt by the community in general; but the public security required it; and to that, every other consideration gave place.

“ That the care which had been taken to introduce a proper discipline among the militia, had now put them on so respectable a footing, that they only required the aid of legislature, to make them truly useful. The great defects of the last militia law were never more apparent than during the late misfortunes, when the private soldier was supported in disobedience of his commanding officer’s orders; and, when called upon for his country’s service, empowered, on the payment of an inconsiderable fine [s], to withdraw that assistance, for which he was enlisted.”

The latter part of the lieutenant governor’s speech alludes principally to the conduct of several privates in the militia, and particularly the Jews, who refused to turn out and appear under arms on their sabbath, and other festivals or fasts, making a religious scruple of conscience their pretext, though it was well known that they never scrupled taking money and vending drams upon those days; others wilfully absented themselves, and paid the fine, which came to much less than their profits amounted to by staying at home, and attending their shops. I must not here omit a little anecdote relative to these people: one of the rebel leaders, having been taken prisoner in Westmoreland,

[s] Ten shillings for non-appearance at muster.

was confined in irons, in the barrack at Savannah la Mar, to wait his trial. It happened that, on the night after his captivity, a Jew was appointed to stand centry over him: about midnight the rebel, after reconnoitering the person of his guard, took the opportunity of tampering with him, to favour his escape. “ You Jews, said he, and our nation (meaning the Coromantins), ought to consider ourselves as one people. You differ from the rest of the Whites, and they hate you. Surely then it is best for us to join in one common interest, drive them out of the country, and hold possession of it to ourselves. We will have (continued he) a fair division of the estates, and we will make sugar and rum, and bring them to market. As for the sailors, you see they do not oppose us, they care not who is in possession of the country, Black or White, it is the same to them; so that after we are become masters of it, you need not fear but they will come cap in hand to us (as they now do to the Whites) to trade with us. They’ll bring us things from t’other side the sea, and be glad to take our goods in payment.” Finding the Jew’s arguments, in objection to this proposal, not so difficult to surmount as he had expected, he then finished his harangue with an offer, that, if he would but release him from his irons, he would conduct him directly to a spot, where he had buried some hundred of pistoles, which he should have in reward.” The Jew was very earnest to know whereabouts this hidden treasure lay, that he might first satisfy his own eyes, that what he had been told was true, before he should take any further step; but the prisoner flatly refused to let him into the secret, unless he was first set at liberty; which condition the Israelite was either too honest or too unbelieving to comply with, but the next day reported what had passed, to his officers.

The lieutenant-governor recommended to the house, the putting the island into a better posture of defence, and the passing such new regulations for remedying those defects in the laws, which the late calamities had pointed out, as might best seem adapted to prevent future attempts of the like nature.

The assembly immediately addressed him, to proclaim martial law, in order to put an end to the rebellion still subsisting in the Leeward part of the island. They transmitted the thanks of their house to admiral Holmes for the assistance he had given; who returned a very polite

polite answer, and assured them, “ that his greatest pleasure would  
“ consist in the execution of his duty against his majesty’s enemies,  
“ and in giving the utmost protection in his power to the trade and  
“ commerce of the island.”

They likewise expressed their most grateful sentiments of the lieutenant-governor’s vigilance and conduct, which had so happily contributed to the reduction of the rebels in one part, and would, they hoped, very shortly effect their total suppression. For this end, they applied their deliberations, and received the proposals of William Hynes, a millwright by trade, who had been used to the woods, and very serviceable against the rebels in St. Mary’s. He proposed that he should be empowered by the lieutenant-governor to beat up for volunteers, and raise among the free Mulattos and Negroes a party of one hundred shot; with which he would march against the rebels in Westmoreland, and do his utmost to reduce them.

He desired to have two lieutenants and one ensign to be in subordinate command; that the reward for their service should be equal, and that his party should be furnished at the public expence with suitable arms and accoutrements, money to provide necessaries, and a stated premium for every rebel they should take or destroy. This scheme was approved of, and a bill passed for carrying it into immediate execution. At the same time seven companies, of thirty men each, were draughted from the militia, and fifteen baggage-Negroes allotted to each company, making in all three hundred and fifteen, who were stationed by the lieutenant-governor in the most advantageous posts; and troopers were disposed in such a manner, as to carry dispatches to and from them, with the best expedition. The assembly granted 450 *l.* to be divided among the Marons of Trelawny and Accompong Towns, in payment of their arrears due to them, and to encourage their future services. Captain Hynes, with his party, went in search of the rebels, and was four months on the scout; at last, after a tedious pursuit, he surprized them in their haunt, killed and took twelve, and the remainder were afterwards either slain or taken prisoners by other parties, or destroyed themselves, which latter was the catastrophe of numbers; for the parties of militia frequently came to places in the woods, where seven or eight were found tied up with withes to the boughs of trees; and  
previous

previous to these self-murders, they had generally massacred their women and children. The assembly ordered 562*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* to be paid captain Hynes, for his disbursements, and as a recompence for his services. Thus terminated this rebellion; which, whether we consider the extent and secrecy of its plan, the multitude of the conspirators, and the difficulty of opposing its eruptions in such a variety of different places at once, will appear to have been more formidable than any hitherto known in the West Indies; though happily extinguished, in far less time than was expected, by the precaution and judgement of the lieutenant-governor in the disposition of the forces, the prompt assistance of the admiral, and the alacrity of the regulars, seamen, militia, and Marons, who all contributed their share towards the speedy suppression of it. The lieutenant-governor, under whose prudent conduct this intestine war was so successfully brought to a conclusion, was a native of the island, and had a property in it at stake; but if this may detract any thing from the merits of his exertion, it proves at least, how much more may reasonably be hoped from the assiduity of a gentleman of the island, who is interested in its welfare, and in whom a perfect knowledge of the country is superadded to natural ability and public spirit, than from others, who, having nothing to lose in it, may be less anxious for its preservation. There fell, by the hands of the rebels, by murder, and in action, about sixty white persons; the number of the rebels who were killed, or destroyed themselves, was between three and four hundred. Few in proportion were executed, the major part of the prisoners being transported off the island [a]. Such as appeared to have been involuntarily compelled to join them, were acquitted; but the whole amount of the killed, suicides, executed and transported, was not less than one thousand; and the whole loss sustained by the country, in ruined buildings, cane-pieces, cattle, slaves, and disbursements, was at least 100,000*l.* to speak within compass.

[a] Most of them were sent to the Bay of Honduras, which has long been the common receptacle of Negroe criminals, banished from this island; the consequence of which may, some time or other, prove very troublesome to the logwood cutters; yet they make no scruple to buy these outcasts, as they cost but little. It is difficult to find a convenient market for such slaves among the neighbouring foreign colonies; but, if possibly it could be avoided, these dangerous spirits should not be sent to renew their outrages in any of our own infant settlements.

The assembly, upon the lieutenant governor's recommendation, proceeded to frame and pass an act, to remedy the evils arising from irregular meetings of slaves; to prevent their carrying arms, or having ammunition, or going from place to place without tickets; to prohibit the practices of *obeah* (or the arts of pretended conjurors); to restrain overseers from leaving estates under their management on certain days (Sundays and holidays); and to oblige all free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians, to register their names in the vestry books of their respective parishes, and carry about them a certificate, and wear (the cross) a badge of their freedom; and, lastly, to prevent any captain, master, or supercargo, of any vessel, from bringing back convict transported slaves. All these regulations were extremely prudent and necessary; but they explain the *defects* hinted in the lieutenant governor's speech to the house, and evince the abuse which has been made by the Negroes of the indulgencies hitherto allowed them. The assembly further voted, that the several slaves, sent out against the rebels during the late rebellion, should receive the same rewards for killing, or taking them alive, as the *Marons* were entitled to, upon producing a certificate to the commanding officer, of their having effected such service. They also passed an act, for purchasing from their owners, and granting freedom, to about twenty Negroe slaves, for their fidelity to the public; they settled upon each of them an annuity for life, and gave them a circular badge, or medal of silver, on which was engraved the date of the year, with the words, "*Freedom for being Honest,*" on one side, and on the reverse, "*By the Country.*"

As these insurrections and conspiracies had, for the most part, appeared upon estates belonging to persons resident in England, and the expences attending their suppression occasioned a very enormous sum to be levied in taxes, it was thought but equitable, that the proprietors, who, by their absence, had left their slaves in want of a due controul, and the personal influence of a master, and their estates to be defended by the personal services and hardships of other men, while they themselves were reposing in ease and affluence, beyond the reach of danger, ought to compensate for their non-residence, by paying a larger share of the public charges, incurred in some measure through their means. They accordingly resolved to double the deficiency tax for the year 1761; and allow every proprietor resident within  
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the island to save his own deficiency for 30 slaves, or 150 head of cattle; and all proprietors, under twenty-one years of age, sent off for the benefit of their education, to save half a deficiency. By this measure they threw an extraordinary weight of taxation, for that year, upon the absentees. They likewise addressed his majesty, that he would be pleased to give directions, that the company of the 49th regiment, stationed at the Mosquito shore, and four companies of the 74th, at the coast of Africa, might repair to, and join, their respective regiments in Jamaica. They represented, that many gentlemen, of large estates in the island, were non-residents, whose influence over their slaves, if resident, would, in all probability, contribute much to the prevention of the mischiefs arising from rebellious conspiracies and insurrections; and that they found themselves under indispensable necessity of soliciting his majesty for another regiment, for the better security of the island; and the rather, as they had passed a bill, obliging the inhabitants of the several parishes to erect barracks for the reception and accommodation of more troops. They voted a large sum for strengthening the fortifications, ordered a supply of stores for the forts, and directed a powder magazine to be built at Spanish Town.

On the 12th of October, 1761, the assembly met again; when the lieutenant governor, in his speech, informed them, that he had delayed their meeting beyond the usual time, in order that every measure might be enforced, which could tend to the preservation of the general tranquillity, at that time happily restored again, *by the total suppression of the rebellion*, and to give them opportunity of supporting, by their presence in their several districts, those resolutions, which were taken for the internal security of the island, and the prevention of future attempts, to involve them again in calamities of the like nature. That the advantages which must attend the erection of barracks in the different parishes, and the cantoning his majesty's troops according to the plan then laid down, were so evident, that no one, interested in the welfare of that community, could disapprove of so prudent a measure.

Thus, every measure that could be suggested, either for remedying the disorders under which the island had suffered so much, or for baffling the machinations of future insurgents, or putting the forts and fortifications into a respectable state of defence against foreign enemies,

was

was prosecuted as far as the lieutenant governor's authority could give it sanction, or the assembly second his recommendations. Mr. Lyttelton arrived as governor the following year (February, 1762); and the public tranquillity remained undisturbed by insurrections for some time. It was however well known, that several Coromantins, who had actually been in arms during the late commotion, whilst their cause wore a promising aspect, flunk away afterwards, and returned again to their duty, affecting great abhorrence at the behaviour of their countrymen, and even pretending that they had been exerting themselves in opposition to the rebels. With good reason therefore it was suspected, by many persons in St. Mary's, that these deserters, who had taken the *fetifhe*, or oath, which they regard as inviolable, would dissemble their genuine sentiments for the present, and wait a favourable opportunity to execute their bloody purposes. Some time in July, 1765, there was a private meeting in that parish, of several Coromantin headmen, who entered into a conspiracy for a fresh insurrection, to take place immediately after the Christmas holidays; they bound the compact with their fetifhe, according to custom, and received assurances from all or most of the Coromantins in the parish, that they would join. But the impatience of some among them to begin the work, hurried them on to rise before the day appointed, and disconcerted their whole plan; for, on the 29th of November, at night, a Coromantin, named Blackwall, belonging to Whitehall plantation, who had been tried formerly on suspicion of being concerned in the rebellion of 1760, and acquitted for want of sufficient evidence, having previously seduced to his party nine Coromantins on the same estate, but a little before imported from Africa, set fire to the works and trash-houses, with a view to decoy the overseer, and other white persons there, from their beds, to extinguish it; and then to cut off their retreat to the dwelling-house, secure the arms lodged there, and proceed to murder them, without fear of resistance.

Upon the first alarm of fire, the overseer and white servants repaired to the works, as had been foreseen; where they met with Blackwall (who held a post of some authority on the estate), bemoaning the sad accident, and shewing great alertness in fetching water to supply the Whites, whom he advised to get upon the roofs, where they

might throw it on the flames with the best advantage; the overseer, not having the smallest distrust of him, and wholly employed about extinguishing the fire, readily pursued his advice. In the dwelling-house were Mr. B——, and his sister Mrs. B——d, who had hastily slipped on their cloaths, and were standing in the piazza, at the front of the house, and looking towards the conflagration; when, all at once, the nine confederates broke through the back-door, all stark-naked, with the most hideous yells, and sharpened bills in their hands; Mr. B—— was unfortunately very infirm, and had no chance of escaping; while therefore he turned to expostulate with them, they surrounded and hacked him into a thousand pieces. The pleasure they enjoyed in mangling the body of this unhappy gentleman (who had only lodged here, by accident, in his way to Spanish Town) afforded Mrs. B——d an opportunity to jump out of the piazza, and run towards the bottom of the hill on which the house stood; but, before she could reach so far, she fell down; in this situation she was seen by two faithful Negroe men, her domestics, who flew to her assistance; upon their coming up to her, she concluded no less than that she was in the hands of the rebels, and destined for immediate butchery; but, whilst she was imploring for mercy, the servants seized her in their arms, and, with great presence of mind, hastened with her as fast as they could to the side of a neighbouring river, where they concealed her amongst the sedge and grass, that grew very thick, injoining her to lie close, whilst they were gone to look for more assistance. The rebels, in the mean time, dispatched another gentleman, who, upon the cry of fire, had come from the next estate, and fell into their clutches. But the overseer, and other Whites, on hearing the groans of Mr. B——, and the shouts of his murderers, fled to Ballard's Valley, which estate joins Whitehall; where they called up the white men to secure themselves, and prepare for their defence. The flames, which were seen at a great distance, served as a signal to other conspirators; so that their number was now augmented to fifty or sixty; who, with the most horrid acclamations, (having got possession of all the arms at Whitehall, with powder and ball) began their march, passed close by the place of Mrs. B——d's concealment, without perceiving her, and proceeded on to Ballard's Valley. When they were got to a sufficient distance, one of her trusty servants returned, with great caution,



caution, to the stable, where, finding a horse, he fixed on a pillion, and, coming to his mistress, carried her through bye-ways to another estate, and brought to the white people there the first intelligence of what had happened. Considering the great danger to which that lady was exposed, and that the most trifling noise, at the time when the rebels passed her retreat, might have betrayed it, her escape appears almost miraculous; and it seems as if the hand of Providence had interposed, to protect her life, and make her two servants the instruments of preservation, whose fidelity and address cannot be too highly extolled. The rebels, being arrived at the valley, laid close siege to the overseer's house, which was garrisoned with about ten white men. This house was erected upon a stone foundation, raised some height from the ground, and furnished with loop-holes. The little garrison made proper dispositions for defence, and placed some of their party at the loop-holes below. The rebels were joined by several of their countrymen on this estate; and, surrounding the house, began to use the most insulting language in their power, to provoke the Whites to come forth, that they might enjoy the satisfaction of killing them; but finding this ineffectual, they prepared for burning the house about their ears; for this purpose they collected a parcel of dry trash, which they fastened to the extremity of a long pole, and one of their leaders setting his back to a loop-hole, kindled the trash, and applied it to the wood-work of the roof. At that instant he was perceived by one of the centries posted below, who discharged his piece at him; the ball struck against the lock of a gun, which the rebel had in his hand, and recoiling into his body, killed him upon the spot. His fall threw the rest of the conspirators into dismay, for he was one of their chiefs; upon which the garrison, taking advantage of their suspense, sallied out with great spirit, killed two or three, and dispersed the rest, who immediately fled into the woods. Blackwall, the principal of the gang, finding how matters were likely to end, detached himself from his brethren, and a few hours afterwards presented himself before his overseer in seeming terror, pretending he had narrowly escaped being put to death by his countrymen; to avoid whose fury, he had crawled into a cane-piece, and there hid himself till that instant. Parties were speedily collected, who pursued the rebels into the woods, and reduced them with but little difficulty.

Suspicious arising, that this conspiracy was more extensive than at first appeared, and upon recollection that there had been a merry meeting of the Negroes at Ballard's Valley two nights preceding the insurrection, and that the Coromantins had separated from the rest, a strict inquiry was entered into; and upon examining some Coromantins, who were most suspected, they impeached several of their countrymen; fresh evidences produced further discoveries, and at length the plot was partly unraveled. It appeared that the Coromantins on no less than seventeen estates in that parish were engaged in the confederacy; that Blackwall was the principal instigator; and that the premature rising at Whitehall was owing to the impetuosity of one Quamin, belonging to their gang, who would not wait the appointed time; so that it is probable, if they had not met a repulse soon after their first outrage, the insurrection would have been general, from the encouragement their better success would have given to the rest of the conspirators. Some among them regretted exceedingly the precipitate eagerness of Quamin, and threw out insinuations that the *Marons* were in the secret, and that the insurrection was intended to have opened at once in three different places, at a certain day soon after Christmas; that three days previous notice was to be given of the exact hour of rising; and as they hoped to find the white people off their guard, and to get possession of sufficient arms and powder, in the several dwelling-houses, they had full confidence, that, by their precautions, and secrecy, they should carry all before them, and make amends for their former disappointment; they knew, that a large stock of fire arms and ammunition would be absolutely necessary; one of their first attempts therefore was to be, the surprize of the fort at Port Maria, which was garrisoned by only a small number of sickly soldiers, whom they supposed incapable of making any resistance; these they were to drive into the sea with their bill-hooks, and then proceed to massacre all the Whites in that neighbourhood. A second party were to ravage the Eastern quarter of the parish, quite down to the very coast; whilst a third band should take their route through the Southern district, and penetrate by the woods to Sixteen-mile-walk, where they pretended to have several associates in readiness; then, uniting their forces, they were to slaughter, or force the white inhabitants to take refuge on board the ships, after which they were to divide the conquered country

try with the *Marons*, who, they alledged, had made choice of the woody uncultivated parts, as being most convenient for their hog-hunting; the Coromantins were to enjoy all the remainder, with the cattle and sheep, and live like gentlemen; at least they flattered themselves, that the governor would apply to the king of the white men, to put the Coromantins upon the same establishment as the *Marons*, who, they said, were disgusted at the little respect shewn them, and wanted the Coromantins to be incorporated with them, in order to become of more consequence in the eyes of the white inhabitants.

This account of the defection of the *Marons* was so improbable, that the white people would not give any credit to it: in the first place, it appeared not at all likely that the *Marons*, who had always received the highest encouragement from the legislature and private persons, would hazard the loss of their liberty and lives, by a treasonable breach of the treaty; and upon the uncertain issue of an intestine war, by the event of which, if successful to them, they could gain nothing more than what they already enjoyed; secondly, they were to admit a dangerous set of confederates, distinct in interest, and superior to them in number, by twenty to one, who would undoubtedly give the law to, and hold them in perpetual subjection. The story was therefore supposed to be either the result of a deep-laid policy, to stir up a jealousy and difference between the *Marons* and white people, from which some advantage might accrue to the Coromantins in some future insurrection; or else, if the *Marons* did really associate in any such plan, they must have done so, from a wicked design of embroiling the Coromantins in fresh rebellion, in the suppression of which they might reap a considerable emolument, as they had heretofore experienced, by killing or taking prisoners. Something like such a project used to engage the frontier Indians in North America, who were never so happy as when the French and English were at war, because they were sure of employment and reward, on one side or other; and for this reason alone, many of their tribes were exceedingly out of humour with the last treaty of peace, which gave the finishing blow to these contentions for the mastery, and to their mercenary artifices. If therefore the *Marons* had any concern in the plot, it is most reasonable to believe that such must have been their true design. The importance of this evidence naturally made the  
prisoners

parifhioners defirous of examining ftill further, in order to get additional lights, and guard themfelves againft a repetition of thefe horrid attempts, which it appeared they had juft grounds to apprehend; but the number of their militia was fo inconfiderable, that, after providing the proper guards for the different eftates moft expofed to danger, they had fo few left to take charge of the Negroe prifoners, that the latter were treble their number; fo that the magiftrates, whilft they were fitting on the trial of the rebels, were not without fear for their own fafety, as they had no protection againft any fudden infurrection made in favour of the prifoners; and, from the teftimony already given, it was certain, that a very confiderable body of the Coromantins had enlifted in the confpiracy, befides thofe who were in cuftody. Remonftrances were repeatedly made upon this head, and the expediency ftated of fending round a fhip of war to Port Maria, as had been done in the former rebellion, to receive the prifoners, there being no gaol in the parifh, and only eighteen foldiers at the fort, who were in too feeble a condition to render them any fervice. At this time, there were no lefs than four companies quartered in Spanifh town, befides what lay in the different forts adjacent, fo that it was thought a detachment might very well have been fpared; but the commander of the fquadron fent no fhip, nor was a fingle man detached to reinforce the parifhioners, who were therefore left to take care of themfelves; and, defifting from further examination, through a regard to their own imminent danger, what remained to be known of this black affair was fmothered at once, to the no fmall joy of the confpirators [b].

A committee of the affembly, appointed to enquire into the rife and progrefs of this rebellion fome time afterwards, reported, That it had originated (like moft or all the others that had occurred in the ifland) with the Coromantins; whofe turbulent, favage, and martial temper was well known:

That their outrages had tended very much to difcourage the effectual fettlement of the ifland; and, as a remedy in future, they propofed “ that a bill fhould be brought in for laying an additional higher  
 “ duty upon all Fantin, Akim, and Afhantee Negroes, and all others  
 “ commonly called Coromantins, that fhould, after a certain time, be  
 “ imported, and fold in the ifland.”

[b] Thirteen were executed, thirty-three transported, and twelve acquitted.

Such a bill, if passed into a law, would doubtless have struck at the very root of the evil; for, by laying a duty equal to a prohibition, no more Coromantins would have been brought to infest this country; but, instead of their savage race, the island would have been supplied with Blacks of a more docile, tractable disposition, and better inclined to peace and agriculture; so that, in a few years, the island might in all likelihood have been effectually freed of all such dangerous combinations. Whether the conceit of some few planters, in regard to the superior strength of the Coromantins, and greater hardiness to support field labour, ought to outweigh the public tranquillity and safety, or should be thought to atone for the blood of murdered white inhabitants, the ruin of others, the desolation of estates, and the intolerable charges of taxation thereby thrown upon the public, not to speak of the obstruction of all trade and business during the martial law, must be left to the serious consideration of a dispassionate legislature; the suppression of the Coromantins, in 1760 and 1761, cost the island 15,000*l.* I have before estimated the expence of making good losses sustained, &c. at 100,000*l.*; and the erecting of parochial barracks, in consequence of that insurrection, cost as much more. In the whole, the island expended not much less on that account than appears from the earliest accounts to have been disbursed on the reduction of the *Marons*; for this was no more than 240,000*l.*

No bill however was passed, the measure was opposed, and it dropped; but the first fruits of this opposition burst forth the very next year (1766), in a fresh disturbance, that happened on a gentleman's estate in Westmoreland; where thirty-three Coromantins (for no other were concerned), most of whom had been newly imported, suddenly rose, and, in the space of an hour, murdered, and wounded, no less than nineteen white persons; but they were soon defeated, some killed, and the remainder executed or transported. So that the owner sustained a very considerable loss, and would himself have fallen a sacrifice, had he been on the estate; for they entered his dwelling-house, and hacked every thing they found in it to pieces. If such reiterated examples will not convince men of their errors, we must say, with an old Latin author, that,

*Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*

It

It is worthy our remark, that the ringleaders of the St. Mary's rebellion, in 1760, belonged to a gentleman distinguished for his humanity, and excessive indulgence towards his slaves in general, and those in particular; his lenity so far influenced him, that, upon their complaint, he never failed to discharge their overseer, and employ another more agreeable to them. No pretence of ill usage was alledged by any of the prisoners, in any of these insurrections, by way of extenuating their misconduct; the sole ground, and object of their taking arms, as they *unanimously* concurred in acknowledging, was, the vain-glorious desire of subduing the country; and they wanted neither ambition nor self-confidence, to doubt their ability, or success, in accomplishing this project. It must be allowed, that conspiracies so extensive could not have been conceived, methodized, and concluded upon, without various meetings of the conspirators, in different parts of the island; and hence, there must appear to have been a very culpable inattention among the white inhabitants, who neglected to keep a vigilant eye over the Coromantins in general, during their hours of leisure or recreation; for a seasonable regard to their private cabals and separate associations might have proved the means of detecting their plot, long before it was ripe for execution; and to prevent, is always better, as well as easier, than to remedy such evils. They should remember the dying words of one of the Coromantins executed in 1765, who repented his having been concerned in the rebellion, and cautioned the white persons present, "never to trust any of his countrymen." Much having been said of this class of Negroes, who have indeed been the heroes of my tale, it may not be unacceptable to give some account of their origin, and qualities.

The Negroes who pass under this general description are brought from the Gold coast; but we remain uncertain, whether they are natives of that tract of Guiney, or receive their several names of Akims, Fantins, Ashantees, Quamboos, &c. from the towns so called, at whose markets they are bought. That district is populous and extensive; and may therefore afford a considerable number of criminals every year for transportation; however, whether they are brought from some distance inland, or are the refuse and outcast of the several provinces whose names they bear; it is certain they are marked with

with the same characters, which authors have given to the natives of this part, who are said to be the most turbulent and desperate of any on the coast of Guiney; and that, were it not for their civil divisions, they would become dangerous neighbours to all the surrounding states. *Bosman* says, “they are bold, hardy, and stick at nothing, “where revenge or interest is concerned; they are lazy, rapacious, “cunning, and deceitful; much addicted to theft, drunkenness, “gluttony, lying, flattery, and lust; vain and haughty in their “carriage; envious and malicious in the highest degree, dissembling “their resentments, for many years, until a fit opportunity offers of “gratifying their thirst of revenge; they are the most treacherous “villains, and consummate knaves, yet known on that continent.”

War and contention are their favourite amusements; inured very early to the use of fire arms, they are good marksmen; they go naked, and their bodies by this means acquire a surprizing degree of hardiness, and ability to undergo fatigue; but they have an invincible aversion to every kind of labour, and particularly agriculture, which they leave to their women. Their priests, or *obeiah-men*, are their chief oracles in all weighty affairs, whether of peace, war, or the pursuit of revenge. When assembled for the purposes of conspiracy, the obeiah-man, after various ceremonies, draws a little blood from every one present; this is mixed in a bowl with gunpowder and grave dirt; the fetishe or oath is administered, by which they solemnly pledge themselves to inviolable secrecy, fidelity to their chiefs, and to wage perpetual war against their enemies; as a ratification of their sincerity, each person takes a sup of the mixture, and this finishes the solemn rite. Few or none of them have ever been known to violate this oath, or to desist from the full execution of it, even although several years may intervene. If defeated in their first endeavours, they still retain the solicitude of fulfilling all that they have sworn; dissembling their malice under a seeming submissive carriage, and all the exterior signs of innocence and cheerfulness, until the convenient time arrives, when they think it practicable to retrieve their former miscarriage. If at length their secret designs are brought to light, and that hypocrisy can no longer serve their turn, they either lay violent hands on themselves, or resist till they are disabled.

To their other illaudable qualities, they add those of ingratitude, and implacable anger. Not the mildest treatment, the most condescending indulgence, can make the smallest impression upon them, conciliate their friendship, or divert their avidity for revenge, after they have received what they think an injury; they are utterly incapable of forgetting or forgiving; the highest marks of favour produce in them no sense of obligation or gratitude. Prompted by these qualifications, and this infernal disposition, they are always foremost in plotting, and heading mutinies; and the same causes generating the same invariable effects, there is no doubt but they will ever support an uniformity of character, and be found, by repeated experience, the most unruly, insolent, stubborn, and disaffected set of labourers, that can possibly be introduced upon our plantations.

Their language is copious, and more regular than any other of the Negroe dialects; their music too is livelier, and their dances entirely martial, in which they resemble the North Americans; like them too they despise death (more through stupidity than fortitude), and can smile in agony [c]. Their persons are well made, and their features very different from the rest of the African Negroes, being smaller, and more of the European turn. Their dances serve to keep alive that military spirit, for which they are so distinguished; and the figure consists in throwing themselves into all the positions and attitudes, customary to them in the heat of an engagement. Is it not then a very injudicious and impolitic obstinacy in the planters, who persist, in defiance of reason and experience, to admit these dangerous spirits among them? Nature does not instruct the farmer to yoke tigers in his team, or plough with hyænas; she gives him the gentle steed, and patient ox: but it would be no less absurd for him to make use of wild beasts for these purposes, than it is for the planter so vainly to attempt the taming of such savage minds to peaceful industry, and humble submission to his authority. But, if he will perversely continue to employ them, some effectual regulations ought to be provided, in order to break that spirit of con-

[c] Barbarians always die without regret: what attachment have they to life? They feel not the pleasures of society, the ties of affection, or of nature; their faculties are in such a perpetual state of infancy, that the space between their birth and death is scarcely perceptible.



federacy, which keeps these Negroes too closely associated with one another. On many estates, they do not mix at all with the other slaves, but build their houses distinct from the rest; and, herding together, are left more at liberty to hold their dangerous cabals, without interruption. Their houses ought to be intermixed with the rest, and kept divided from one another, by interposing those of the other Negroes, who by this means would become continual spies upon their conduct. A particular attention should also be had to their *plays*, for these have always been their rendezvous for hatching plots, more especially whenever on such occasions any unusual resort is observed of their countrymen from other plantations; and very particular search should be made after their obeiah-men, who, whenever detected, should be transported without mercy. The employers of this detestable race owe these cautions at least to the public, who have suffered so much in times past from the total neglect of them. From the foregoing detail, which I have given upon the most credible and authentic testimonies in my power to procure, every candid person may judge, with how little regard to truth the insurrections, that have happened in Jamaica, are ascribed to extraordinary cruelties exercised over the slaves in that island; I think it will appear from incontestable proofs, that so impudent a calumny could have no other foundation than malevolence, complicated with ignorance.

## C H A P. IV.

## FRANCIS WILLIAMS.

I Have forborne till now to introduce upon the stage a personage, who made a conspicuous figure in this island, and even attracted the notice of many in England. With the impartiality that becomes me, I shall endeavour to do him all possible justice; and shall leave it to the reader's opinion, whether what they shall discover of his genius and intellect will be sufficient to overthrow the arguments, I have before alledged, to prove an inferiority of the Negroes to the race of white men. It will by this time be discovered, that I allude to *Francis Williams*, a native of this island, and son to John and Dorothy Williams, free Negroes. Francis was the youngest of

three sons, and, being a boy of unusual lively parts, was pitched upon to be the subject of an experiment, which, it is said, the Duke of Montagu was curious to make, in order to discover, whether, by proper cultivation, and a regular course of tuition at school and the university, a Negroe might not be found as capable of literature as a white person. In short, he was sent to England, where he underwent a regular discipline of classic instruction at a grammar school, after which he was fixed at the university of Cambridge, where he studied under the ablest preceptors, and made some progress in the mathematics. During his abode in England, after finishing his education, it is said (I know not with what truth) that he composed the well-known ballad of "Welcome, welcome, brother debtor, &c." But I have likewise heard the same attributed to a different author. Upon his return to Jamaica, the duke would fain have tried his genius likewise in politics, and intended obtaining for him a privy seal, or appointment to be one of the governor's council; but this scheme was dropped, upon the objections offered by Mr. Trelawny, the governor at that time. Williams therefore set up a school in Spanish Town, which he continued for several years, where he taught reading, writing, Latin, and the elements of the mathematics; whilst he acted in this profession, he selected a Negroe pupil, whom he trained up with particular care, intending to make him his successor in the school; but of this youth it may be said, to use the expression of Festus to Paul, that "much learning made him mad." The abstruse problems of mathematical institution turned his brain; and he still remains, I believe, an unfortunate example, to shew that every African head is not adapted by nature to such profound contemplations. The chief pride of this disciple consists in imitating the garb and deportment of his tutor. A tye perriwig, a sword, and ruffled shirt, seem in his opinion to comprehend the very marrow and quintessence of all erudition, and philosophic dignity. Probably he imagines it a more easy way of acquiring, among the Negroes, the reputation of a great scholar, by these superficial marks, which catch their eye, than by talking of Euclid, whom they know nothing about.

Considering the difference which climate may occasion, and which Montefquieu has learnedly examined, the noble duke would have

made the experiment more fairly on a native African; perhaps too the Northern air imparted a tone and vigour to his organs, of which they never could have been susceptible in a hot climate; the author I have mentioned will not allow, that in hot climates there is any force or vigor of mind necessary for human action, "there is (says he) no curiosity, no noble enterprize, no generous sentiment."

The climate of Jamaica is temperate, and even cool, compared with many parts of Guiney; and the Creole Blacks have undeniably more acuteness and better understandings than the natives of Guiney. Mr. Hume, who had heard of Williams, says of him, "In Jamaica indeed they talk of one Negroe as a man of parts and learning; but 'tis likely he is admired for very slender accomplishments, like a parrot who speaks a few words plainly." And Mr. Estwick, pursuing the same idea, observes, "Although a Negroe is found in Jamaica, or elsewhere, ever so sensible and acute; yet, if he is incapable of moral sensations, or perceives them only as beasts do simple ideas, without the power of combination, in order to use; it is a mark that distinguishes him from the man who feels, and is capable of these moral sensations, who knows their application, and the purposes of them, as sufficiently, as he himself is distinguished from the highest species of brutes [*d*]." I do not know, if the specimen I shall exhibit of

[*d*] The distinction is well marked by Bishop Warburton, in these words:

"1st, The MORAL SENSE: (is that) whereby we conceive and feel a pleasure in *right*, and a distaste and aversion to *wrong*, prior to all reflexion on their natures, or their consequences. This is the first inlet to the *adequate idea of morality*; and plainly the most extensive of all. When instinct had gone thus far, 2d, The REASONING FACULTY improved upon its dictates; for reflecting men, naturally led to examine the foundation of this *moral sense*, soon discovered that there were real, essential differences in the qualities of human actions, established by nature; and, consequently, that the love and hatred, excited by the *moral sense*, were not capricious in their operations; for that the essential properties of their objects had a specific difference." Hence arose a sense of moral obligation in society, &c. *Divine Legation, vol. I. p. 37.*

It is this instinct which discriminates mankind from other animals who have it not, whereas in other instinctive impulses *all agree*. But the question is, whether all the species of the human kind have this instinctive sense in equal degree? If the brutal instincts impel the African to satisfy his appetites, to run from danger, and the like; why does he not exhibit equally the tokens of this *moral instinct*, if he really possesses it? would it not insensibly have gained admittance into their habits of living, as well as the other instincts, and have regulated and directed their general manners? But we have no other evidence of their possessing it, than what arises from the vague conjectural positions, "that all men are equal, and that the disparity between one man and another, or one race of men and another, happens from accidental means, such as artificial refinements, education, and so forth." Certain however it is, that these refinements must necessarily take place, where the moral sense and reasoning faculty are most abundant, and extensively cultivated; but cannot happen, where they either do not exist at all, or are not distributed in such due portion, as to work the proper ascendancy over the more brutal species of instinct.

his

his abilities will, or will not, be thought to militate against these positions. In regard to the general character of the man, he was haughty, opinionated, looked down with sovereign contempt on his fellow Blacks, entertained the highest opinion of his own knowledge, treated his parents with much disdain, and behaved towards his children and his slaves with a severity bordering upon cruelty; he was fond of having great deference paid to him, and exacted it in the utmost degree from the Negroes about him; he affected a singularity of dress, and particularly grave cast of countenance, to impress an idea of his wisdom and learning; and, to second this view, he wore in common a huge wig, which made a very venerable figure. The moral part of his character may be collected from these touches, as well as the measure of his wisdom, on which, as well as some other attributes to which he laid claim, he had not the modesty to be silent, whenever he met with occasion to expatiate upon them. Of this piece of vanity, there is a very strong example in the following poem, which he presented to Mr. Haldane, upon his assuming the government of the island; he was fond of this species of composition in Latin, and usually addressed one to every new-governor. He defined himself “ a *white* man acting under a *black* skin.” He endeavoured to prove logically, that a Negroe was superior in quality to a Mulatto, or other cast. His proposition was, that “ a simple white or a simple black complexion was respectively perfect: but a Mulatto, being an heterogeneous medley of both, was imperfect, *ergo* inferior.”

His opinion of Negroes may be inferred from a proverbial saying, that was frequently in his mouth; “ Shew me a *Negroe*, and I will shew you a *thief*.” He died, not long since, at the age of seventy, or thereabouts.

I have ventured to subjoin some annotations to his poem, and particularly to distinguish several passages in the classic authors, to which he seems to have been indebted, or to have had allusion; there may be other passages which have escaped my notice; I have added an English translation in verse, wherein I have endeavoured to retain the sense, without wilfully doing injustice to the original.

Integerrimo et Fortissimo

Viro

GEORGIO HALDANO, ARMIGERO,

Insule *Jamaicensis* Gubernatori;

Cui,

Cui, omnes morum, virtutumque dotes bellicarum,  
In cumulum accesserunt,

C A R M E N.

DENIQUE venturum fatis volventibus annum [e]

Cuncta per extensum læta videnda diem,  
Excussis adfunt curis, sub imagine [f] clarâ

Felices populi, terraque lege virens.

[g] Te duce, [b] quæ fuerant malesuadâ mente peracta

Irrita, conspectu non reditura tuo.

Ergo omnis populus, nec non plebecula cernet

[b] Hæsurum collo te [i] relēgāsse jugum,

Et mala, quæ diris quondam cruciatibus, insons

Infula passâ fuit; condoluisset onus

Ni victrix tua Marte manus prius inclyta, nostris

Sponte [k] ruinosis rebus adesse velit.

Optimus es servus *Regi* servire *Britanno*,

Dum gaudet genio [l] *Scotica* terra tuo :

Optimus herōum populi [m] fulcire ruinam ;

Infula dum superest ipse [n] superstes eris.

Victorem agnoscet te *Guadaloupa*, suorum

Despiciet [o] meritò diruta castra ducum.

Aurea vexillis flebit jactantibus [p] *Iris*,

Cumque suis populis, oppida victa gemet.

[e] *Alpice venturo letentur ut omnia sæclo. Virg. E. iv. 52.*

[f] *Clara* seems to be rather an improper epithet joined to *Imago*.

[g] *Te duce*, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri

*Irrita*, perpetua solvent formidine terras. *Virg. E. iv. 13.*

[b] Alluding perhaps to the contest about removing the seat of government and public offices from *Spanish Town* to *Kingston*, during the administration of governor Kn——s.

[i] Pro *relēgāsse*.

[k] *Quem vocet divūm populus ruentis  
Imperi rebus. Hor. Lib. I. Od. ii.*

[l] Mr. Haldane was a native of North Britain.

[m] *Tu Ptolomæc potes magni fulcire ruinam. Lucan. Lib. viii. 528.*

[n] This was a promise of somewhat more than antediluvian longevity. But the poet proved a false prophet, for Mr. Haldane did not survive the delivery of this address many months.

[o] *Egerit iusto domitos triumpho. Hor. Lib. I. Od. xii.*

[p] *Iris*. Botanic name of the *fleur-de-luce*, alluding to the arms of France.

Crede, [q] meum non est, vir *Marti* chare! [r] *Minerva*  
 Denegat *Æthiopi* bella sonare ducum.  
 Concilio, cancret te *Buchananus* et armis,  
 Carnine *Peleidae* scriberet ille parem.  
 Ille poeta, decus patriæ, tua facta referre  
 Dignior, [s] altifono vixque *Marone* minor.  
 [t] Flammiferos agitante suos sub sole *jugales* [u]  
 Vivimus; eloquium deficit omne focis.  
 Hoc demum accipias, multâ fuligine fufum  
 Ore sonaturo; non cute, corde valet.  
 Pollenti stabilita manu, ([w] Deus almus, eandem  
 Omnigenis animam, nil prohibente dedit)  
 Ipsa coloris egens virtus, prudentia; honesto  
 Nullus inest animo, nullus in arte color.  
 Cur timeas, quamvis, dubitesve, nigerrima celsam  
*Cæsaris* cecidui, scandere [x] *Musi* domum?  
 [y] Vade salutatum, nec sit tibi causa pudoris,  
 [z] *Candida quod nigrâ corpora pelle geris!*  
 Integritas morum [a] *Maurum* magis ornat, et ardor  
 Ingenii, et docto [b] *dulcis in ore decor;*

[q] *Phæbus*, volentem prælia me loqui  
 Victas et urbes, increpuit lyrâ  
 Ne. *Hor.*

[r] Invitâ *Minervâ*. *Hor. de Art. Poet.*

[s] *Maronis altifoni* carmina. *Juv. Sat. xi. ver. 178.*

[t] *Flammiferas rotas* toto caelo agitât.

[u] I apprehend Mr. Williams mistook this for *jûbâã*, sun-beams.

[w] This is a *petitio principii*, or begging the question, unless with Mr. Pope,  
 " All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
 " Whose body nature is, and God the soul."  
 But,  
 " Far as creation's ample range extends,  
 " The *scale* of sensual *mental* powers ascends."

[x] Mr. Williams has added a *black Muse* to the Pierian choir; and, as he has not thought proper to bestow a name upon her, we may venture to announce her by the title of madam *Æthiopijsâ*.

[y] *Vade salutatum* subito perarata parentem  
 Litera. *Ovid.*

[z] See his apophthegms before-mentioned.

[a] *Maurus* is not in classic strictness proper Latin for a *Negroæ*,

[b] *Mollis in ore decor*. *Incert.*

Hunc,

Hunc, magè *cor sapiens, patriæ virtutis amorque,*  
 [c] Eximit è fociis, conspicuumque facit.  
 [d] Infula me genuit, celebres alucere *Britanni,*  
 Infula, te salvo non dolitura [e] patre!  
 Hoc precor; o [f] nullo videant te fine, regentem  
 Florentes populos, terra, Deique locus!

FRANCISCUS WILLIAMS.

*The same, translated.*

To

That most upright and valiant Man,  
 GEORGE HALDANE, Esq;  
 Governor of the Island of *Jamaica*;  
 Upon whom

All military and moral Endowments are accumulated.

AN ODE.

AT length revolving fates th' expected year  
 Advance, and joy the live-long day shall cheer,  
 Beneath the fost'ring law's auspicious dawn  
 New harvests rise to glad th' enliven'd [g] lawn.  
 With the bright prospect blest, the swains repair  
 In social bands, and give a loose to care.  
 Rash councils now, with each malignant plan,  
 Each faction, that in evil hour began,  
 At your approach are in confusion fled,  
 Nor, while you rule, shall rear their dastard head.  
 Alike the master and the slave shall see  
 Their neck reliev'd, the yoke unbound by thee.  
 Ere now our guiltless isle, her wretched fate  
 Had wept, and groan'd beneath th' oppressive weight

[c] Me *doctarum* edere præmia frontium

.....

*Secernunt populo.*

*Hor. Lib. I. Od. 1.*

[d] Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere. *Virg.*

[e] Hic ames dici *pater* atque princeps. *Hor.*

[f] Serus in cælum redeas, *diuque*

*Lætus intersis populo.* *Hor.*

[g] Lawn is used here in the sense given it by Johnson, viz. "an open space between woods," which has a peculiar propriety applied to the cane-fields in Jamaica.

J A M A I C A.

Of cruel woes; save thy victorious hand,  
 Long fam'd in war, from Gallia's hostile land;  
 And wreaths of fresh renown, with generous zeal,  
 Had freely turn'd, to prop our sinking weal.  
 Form'd as thou art, to serve *Britannia's* crown,  
 While *Scotia* claims thee for her darling son;  
 Oh! best of heroes, ablest to sustain  
 A falling people, and relax their chain.  
 Long as this isle shall grace the Western deep,  
 From age to age, thy fame shall never sleep.  
 Thee, her dread victor *Guadaloupe* shall own,  
 Crusht by thy arm, her slaughter'd chiefs bemoan;  
 View their proud tents all level'd in the dust,  
 And, while she grieves, confess the cause was just.  
 The golden *Iris* the sad scene will share,  
 Will mourn her banners scatter'd in the air;  
 Lament her vanquish'd troops with many a sigh,  
 Nor less to see her towns in ruin lie.  
 Fav'rite of *Mars!* believe, th' attempt were vain,  
 It is not mine to try the arduous strain.  
 What! shall an *Æthiop* touch the martial string,  
 Of battles, leaders, great achievements sing?  
 Ah no! *Minerva*, with th' indignant *Nine*,  
 Refrain him, and forbid the bold design.  
 To a *Buchanan* does the theme belong;  
 A theme, that well deserves *Buchanan's* song.  
 'Tis he, should swell the din of war's alarms,  
 Record thee great in council, as in arms;  
 Recite each conquest by thy valour won,  
 And equal thee to great *Peleides'* son.  
 That bard, his country's ornament and pride,  
 Who e'en with *Maro* might the bays divide:  
 Far worthier he, thy glories to rehearse,  
 And paint thy deeds in his immortal verse.  
 We live, alas! where the bright god of day,  
 Full from the zenith whirls his torrid ray:  
 Beneath the rage of his consuming fires,  
 All fancy melts, all eloquence expires.



Yet may you deign accept this humble song,  
 Tho' wrapt in gloom, and from a falt'ring tongue;  
 Tho' dark the stream on which the tribute flows,  
 Not from the *skin*, but from the *heart* it rose.  
 To all of human kind, benignant heaven  
 (Since nought forbids) one common soul has given.  
 This rule was 'stablish'd by th' Eternal Mind;  
 Nor virtue's self, nor prudence are confin'd  
 To *colour*; none imbues the honest heart;  
 To science none belongs, and none to art.  
 Oh! *Muse*, of blackest tint, why shrinks thy breast,  
 Why fears t' approach the *Cæsar* of the *West*!  
 Dispel thy doubts, with confidence ascend  
 The regal dome, and hail him for thy friend:  
 Nor blush, altho' in garb funereal drest,  
*Thy body's white, tho' clad in sable vest.*  
 Manners un sullied, and the radiant glow  
 Of genius, burning with desire to *know*;  
 And learned speech, with modest accent worn,  
 Shall best the footy *African* adorn.  
 An heart with wisdom fraught, a patriot flame,  
 A love of virtue; these shall lift his name  
 Conspicuous, far beyond his kindred race,  
 Distinguish'd from them by the foremost place.  
 In this prolific isle I drew my birth,  
 And *Britain* nurs'd, illustrious through the earth;  
 This, my lov'd isle, which never more shall grieve,  
 Whilst you our common friend, our father live.  
 Then this my pray'r—" May earth and heaven survey  
 " A people ever blest, beneath your sway!"

FRANCIS WILLIAMS.

There is, in this performance, a strain of superlative panegyric, which is scarcely allowable even to a poet. *Buchanan* is compared with *Virgil*, and Mr. *Haldane* made equal to *Achilles*; nay, exalted still higher, for he is hailed the *Cæsar* or emperor of *America*. The author has taken care, whilst he is dealing about his adulation, not to forget himself. His speech is represented erudite and modest;

Q q q 2

his

his heart is filled with wisdom; his morals are immaculate; and he abounds with patriotism and virtue.

To consider the merits of this specimen impartially, we must endeavour to forget, in the first place, that the writer was a *Negro*; for if we regard it as an extraordinary production, merely because it came from a *Negro*, we admit at once that *inequality* of genius which has been before supposed, and admire it only as a rare phenomenon.

“ What woeful stuff this madrigal would be  
 “ In some starv'd, hackney sonneteer, or me!  
 “ But let a *Negro* own the happy lines,  
 “ How the wit brightens! how the style refines!  
 “ Before his sacred name flies ev'ry fault,  
 “ And each exalted stanza teems with thought!”

We are to estimate it as having flowed from the polished pen of one, who received an academic education, under every advantage that able preceptors, and munificent patrons, could furnish; we must likewise believe it to be, what it actually was, a piece highly laboured; designed, modeled, and perfected, to the utmost stretch of his invention, imagination, and skill.

Should we, or should we not, have looked for something better from one, upon whom (to borrow his own phrase) *omnes artium, scientiarumque dotes Atticarum in cumulum accefferunt?* or, is it at all superior, in classic purity of style and numbers, in sentiment and propriety, in poetic images and harmony, to any composition we might expect from a middling scholar at the seminaries of Westminster or Eaton? It is true, *poeta nascitur, non fit*: but the principal forte and excellence of this man lay in versification; however, as I mean not to prejudge the cause, I shall leave it to the fair verdict of a jury of critics. The Spaniards have a proverbial saying, “ *Aunque Négros somos gente;*” “ though we are Blacks, we are men.” The truth of which no one will dispute; but if we allow the system of created beings to be perfect and consistent, and that this perfection arises from an exact scale of gradation, from the lowest to the highest, combining and connecting every part into a regular and beautiful harmony, reasoning them from the visible plan and operation of infinite wisdom in respect to the human race, as well as every other series in the scale, we must, I think, conclude, that,

“ The general *order*, since the whole began,  
 “ Is kept in *nature*, and is kept in *man*.  
 “ *Order* is heaven’s first law; and, this confess,  
 “ *Some are, and must be, greater* than the rest.”

## C H A P. V.

## S E C T. I.

An Abstract of the Jamaica *Code Noir*, or Laws affecting Negroe and other Slaves in that Island.—And, first of, PENAL CLAUSES.

*Anno*

- 1696 N<sup>o</sup> 1. Straggling slaves, apprehended without a ticket (or pass), are to be punished with *moderate* whipping.
2. Striking or doing violence to a white person (except by command of their master or employer, or in defence of his person or goods), punishable at discretion of two justices and three freeholders, according to circumstances.
  3. Stolen goods found in the custody of a slave—such slave on conviction of receiving, knowing them to have been stolen, to suffer death, transportation, dismembering [*b*], or other punishment, at the discretion of two justices and three freeholders.
  4. Wilfully returning from transportation, *death*.
  5. Compassing or imagining the death of a white person, and being attainted thereof by *open deed* (or *ouvert act*), before two justices and three freeholders, *death*.
  6. [*i*] On complaint made to a justice of any felony, burglary,

[*b*] This inhuman penalty is entirely obsolete, and never of late inflicted. It is, however, reproachful to the laws, and ought to be expunged. Fugitives were formerly punished here with amputation of their toes. This execrable barbarity hindered them from *running* away, but it prevented them likewise from rendering effectual service to their owner; and for this reason, perhaps, more than from a just sense of its impropriety, it was discontinued. Men are too often disposed to be cruel, of their own depraved hearts; and it becomes a Christian legislature not to inflame and encourage, but to repress as much as possible, this sanguinary disposition, by giving example throughout its penal ordinances, of *justice in mercy*.

[*i*] The reason of not allowing a jury, instead of this mode, probably was, the scarcity of Whites spread over the country, and that, in a time of insurrection and rebellion, the proceedings could not be too summary. The summoning twenty or thirty Whites, in order to make sure of 12 appearances on the panel, would have required too much time and delay, and have often been impracticable. Add to this, that the Whites never considered themselves as the *pars* of the Blacks. The present mode, by two justices, and three freeholders, five persons in all, of whom the party immediately interested can never be one, who are indifferent and unbiased, and upon oath to judge uprightly, according to evidence, is perhaps sufficient to answer all the ends of impartial judicature with respect to these people.

robbery,

robbery; burning of houses, canes; rebellions; conspiracies; or other capital offences; the justice is to issue his warrant to apprehend the offenders, and for summoning the evidence before him. The evidence of one slave to be admitted against another slave; and if, upon examination, it appears, *prima facie*, that the offenders are guilty, he is to commit them to prison, certify accordingly, and associate himself with another justice. These two are then to cite three freeholders, intimating the cause, and appointing a certain day and place for the trial to be held; and if, upon full and due hearing of the matter (the freeholders being first sworn, by the justices, to judge uprightly, and according to the evidence), they deem the culprits guilty, judgement is then forthwith to be given, of death, transportation, or other punishment, as they, in their judgement, shall think meet to inflict.

7. All *petit* crimes, trespasses, and injuries, committed by a slave, are to be heard and determined by any of his majesty's justices within the island.
- 1711 8. Slaves, destroying fish by poisoning, using nets of meshes less than one inch and a quarter, or destroying turtle eggs, or killing pigeons, in the months of May, June, or July, are punishable with [k] *thirty-one lashes* on the bare back, on conviction before a justice of the peace.
9. To put a stop to the wanton slaughter of old breeding cattle and marked young ones, with other abuses of the like sort, no slave to keep any horses, mares, mules, asses, or cattle, on penalty of forfeiting the same.
10. No slave to hire himself out to work to another, without consent of his owner, or employer. Penalty, upon conviction before a magistrate, whipping at the magistrate's discretion, not exceeding *thirty-one lashes* [k].
11. Hawking about and selling goods [l] (except provisions, fruits, and other enumerated articles) to be punished,

[k] By the Jewish laws, a wicked man, worthy to be beaten, was to be beaten before the judge, according to his fault: *forty* stripes might be inflicted; and not to exceed. Deut. xxv. 3. In another place, we are told, the punishment was *forty* stripes, *save one*. Num. xxv.

[l] This restraint is construed to extend only to beef, veal, mutton, and salt-fish; and to manufactures, except baskets, ropes of bark, earthen pots, and such like.

on conviction before a magistrate, by whipping, not exceeding *thirty-one lashes*. See N° 20.

12. Selling, or giving away, sugar or sugar-canes, without a ticket; on conviction, whipping as above.

13. Free persons, or slaves [*m*] buying such goods, to forfeit 10*l.*, and suffer punishment by whipping, not exceeding *twenty lashes*.

1749 14. [*n*] A slave of eighteen years of age, or upwards, being a native of the island, or resident in it three years from the time of importation, running away and absenting himself for six whole months, is to be tried as for a capital offence; and, upon due proof and conviction, is to suffer *death*, or such other punishment as the court shall think fit to adjudge; provided that prosecution be commenced within three months after his being taken or returned; and, further, that no owner shall be repaid for any slave so executed, but that the loss shall fall upon such owner [*o*].

15. A

[*m*] Some Jews, however, have been known to accumulate several casks of sugar in a year, purloined, in small quantities at a time, by the Negroes, who were handsomely rewarded for robbing their masters.

[*n*] There seems a great degree of hardship on the face of this clause, in subjecting slaves to the penalty of a capital crime, who perhaps may be ignorant of the penalty they incur. The policy on which it is founded is, that all penal laws are made *in terrorem*, and for prevention: so is this. If one slave might elope into the woods, there abide with impunity, and form a settlement; so might ten thousand, to the ruin of the colony. A law to the same effect, passed thirty-two years before, set forth, “that many crimes, committed by slaves, which were punishable with death, often remained undetected, by omission of their owners to prosecute.” The owner is necessarily the prosecutor; and the proviso, which subjects him to the entire loss of the value of his slave, if he prosecutes to conviction, effectually prevents such prosecutions from being commenced; for which reason, this clause is *filo de se*, and utterly non-effective. And, considering the severity which it breathes, it is best it should be so; or else be repealed, and the punishment altered to transportation: for to inflict *death* on a poor wretch, for a transgression, committed perhaps through mere ignorance of the law, or enormous ill usage, is highly tyrannical and cruel.

[*o*] It seems to be an imperfection in these clauses, that the punishment is, in many cases, left undefined and arbitrary. The plain meaning of the legislature in the structure of them, where an alternative is admitted, was to give room for a mitigation, or commutation of the penalty expressed, according to the circumstances of each case, and the greater or less degree of guilt that might appear. This was commendable, and consonant to the penal clauses which govern the navy and army of Great-Britain. But it is a great defect in them, not to require these restrictions, and penalties, to be duly promulgated among the Negroes; for how can they reasonably be condemned upon laws which they never see or know? Unless they are duly apprized of what they

15. [*p*] A slave, harbouring, concealing, or entertaining, a runaway slave, *knowing him to be such*, upon due conviction and proof before two justices and three freeholders, to suffer *death*, or be otherwise punished at the discretion of the court; provided that the prosecution be commenced within one month next after the discovery of such offence.
16. [*q*] Slaves, hunting cattle, horses, mares, &c. with lances, guns, cutlasses, or other instruments of death, unless in company with their master, &c. or other white person by him or them deputed, on conviction before two justices and three freeholders, to be adjudged guilty of felony, and be transported.
17. No slave to carry fire-arms about the island without a ticket from his owner or employer, under penalty of such corporal punishment (not extending to life or limb) as two justices shall think meet to inflict.
18. [*r*] A person killing a slave in the fact of stealing, or running away, or found in the night out of his owner's or employer's estate, or on the road, and refusing to submit, such person not liable to action or damage for the same.

they are to do, and what they are not to do, and are admonished of the certain punishment they will incur by doing so and so: these unlettered savages might as well be condemned on the laws of Japan or Crim-Tartary. I should, however, have excepted this particular act, which the *custos* of every parish is directed to take the most effectual methods for making public.

[*p*] So, Exod. xxi. 16, "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." This, I presume, extended as well to stealing another Jew's slave, as stealing a fellow-Jew, in order to sell him for a slave to a Gentile nation. By ver. 8, it appears, that a Jew might sell his own daughter for a slave, except to a Gentile or strange nation; Deut. xxiii. 15. "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee." "He shall dwell with thee." This must be understood of a slave belonging to a stranger, or Gentile, and not to a brother Jew; for, otherwise, it would be repugnant to the sense of the preceding statute.

[*q*] By act 14 George II. cap. 6, stealing of sheep and cattle is made felony without benefit of clergy. And 15 George II. cap. 34, explaining the former act, declares sheep and cattle to extend to any bull, cow, ox, steer, bullock, heifer, calf, and lamb. So horse-stealers are excluded from clergy.

[*r*] So, Exod. xxii. 2, 3, "If a thief be found breaking-up" in the *night*, "and be smitten that he die, there shall no blood be shed for him." But, if in the *day-time*, such killing is murder. The penalty on the thief, in this case, is restitution of the things stolen, or the value; or, having not wherewithal to pay the value, then to be sold for a slave.

19. A slave, *maliciously* giving poison to any free person, or slave, and being convicted thereof before two justices and three freeholders, to be adjudged guilty of murder, and to suffer death.
20. A slave, selling in any public place, or market, any other goods than such as properly belong to his owner, or for his owner's use, and that are not expressed in a ticket, upon complaint and conviction before a justice, to be *whipped* by order of such justice. See N<sup>o</sup> 11.
- 1760 21. [s] *Obeiah-men*, pretended conjurors, or priests, upon conviction before two justices and three freeholders of their practising as such, to suffer death, or transportation, at the discretion of the court.
22. Slaves, convicted before two justices and three freeholders of having in their custody fire-arms, gun-powder, bayonet, sword, or other military offensive weapon (except in company with, or under the direction of, a white person, or having a ticket, or licence, in writing, from their owner, overseer, or employer), to suffer *death*, or other punishment, at the discretion of the court.
- 1768 23. Slaves, attempting to desert from the island in any ship, boat, &c. and being convicted before two justices and three freeholders, to suffer *death*, or other punishment, at the discretion of the court.
- 1769 24. Slaves, taking stones or ballast from the *Pallisadoes*, *imprisonment*, not exceeding three months.
25. Slaves, found selling fresh-fish in any part of Kingston, except at the fish-market, within the market-hours of eight in the morning and two in the afternoon, punishable at the discretion of any of the magistrates in that parish; and such fish to be forfeited, and distributed to the poor.

[s] Many of these incendiaries, called marbûts, or marabouts, on the coast of Guinea, are banished from their own country for mal-practices.

## S E C T. II.

*Distributive and Munerary.**Anno.*

- 1696 1. Male slaves are to have jackets and drawers; and female slaves, jackets and petticoats; supplied them once a year, under penalty of five shillings, to be paid by the owner or master for every default [*t*].
2. Constables are to present all such defaulters every year to the justices; and such constables to be charged on oath, by the justices, to do their duty herein.
3. All masters, owners, &c. are to have [*u*] one acre of ground, well planted with provisions, for every *five* slaves belonging to them, under penalty of 40*s.* for every such acre deficient.
4. Gaol-keepers, having custody of run-away slaves, are to supply them with convenient food, water, and dry lodging, on penalty of 40*l.* for every default.
5. A slave, taking up a run-away, and bringing to the owner or to the next gaol, shall receive one shilling *per* mile for the first five miles, and eight-pence *per* mile for every other, so that the whole does not exceed 40*s.* And any person, depriving or defrauding the slave of such reward, shall forfeit *treble* the value.
6. A slave, taking prisoner or killing a rebellious slave, to receive 40*s.*, and a coat with a red cross upon it. By a subsequent act, the reward is raised to 10*l.*
7. Female convicts, pregnant, to be respited from execution until after their delivery.

[*t*] On every well-regulated plantation they are allowed, besides a suit of warm woollen cloaths, hats, caps, checks, handkerchiefs, working aprons to the boilers, beads, needles, thread, knives, scissars, pipes, tobacco, iron pots, salt, sugar, rum, &c. As to holiday-fuits and finery, the settled Negroes are very able to afford them out of their own profits. Tradefmen and chief Negroes receive a slated weekly allowance of beef, herring, or salt-fish; the rest occasionally. Every such estate has a convenient hospital for the sick; where they are duly provided with medicines, nurses, and suitable diet, and necessaries.

[*u*] In England one acre of good land is deemed sufficient to maintain four persons, or three oxen, or two asses, or twelve sheep. The superior fertility of the West-India land makes a considerable difference.



8. All masters, mistresses, owners, employers, &c. are to endeavour, as much as possible, the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion; and facilitate their conversion; and do their utmost to fit them for baptism; and, as soon as convenient, cause all such to be baptized as they can make sensible of a Deity, and the Christian faith [w].
9. The justices, at their first session in every year, are to appoint the number of holidays to be given to slaves at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide [x].

1735

[w] All the Creole slaves ought to be baptized, under a high penalty on their owners for neglecting it; and the baptismal fees should be fixed by law at a low rate; for example, at six-pence each; which, supposing there are now one hundred thousand unbaptized Creoles in the island, would bring in to the clergy there 2500 *l*.

“ In all civilized states two things may be observed, which may be considered as the great foundation and support of political society: the first of these, the ceremonies that accompany the union of a man with a woman, which fix and regulate the ties of marriage, and the state of children; the second, the ceremonies of public worship solemnly paid to the Deity. These two have been found, by legislators, the wisest and most effectual means for the support and good government of states.” Gouquet.

[x] The Negroes are so sensible of their right to these, and their leisure-hours of each day in the intervals of work, that they call them emphatically *their own time*. Nor is it ever borrowed from them but in some very particular emergency, when they are either paid for it, as may be agreed upon, or allowed an equal portion of time on some other day. They generally begin work at six in the morning, and leave off at six in the afternoon, having half an hour at breakfast, and on most estates two hours at noon. Thus their day's work is nine hours and a half in general. Their leisure-times, on most estates, are Saturday afternoon, except in case of very urgent business; every Sunday throughout the year; three days at Christmas, two at Easter, and two at Whitsuntide; and, at some estates, a jubilee-day, on finishing crop: so that the whole number of days, they have to themselves in the course of the year, is about eighty-six. The Jews allow their slaves Saturday (which is their sabbath), and Sunday (which is the Christian's): their slaves have therefore about one hundred and eleven holidays in the year at least; which amount to more than three months out of the twelve. The usual gross value of a Negro's labour, hired *per diem*, being about two shillings; a Christian's Negro (supposing him not more conscientious than barbers, tavern-keepers, inn-keepers, stable-keepers, and many shop-keepers, are on the Lord's-day in England) gains for himself 8*l*. 12*s*. in value of his labour, and a Jew's slave 11*l*. 2*s*., *per annum*. But it is well known, that many of them gain infinitely more, since the produce of one day's labour for themselves will turn out more worth than a fortnight's hire.

An ingenious writer observes hereupon, “ The principal time I would have reserved, for indulgence to the slaves, is Sunday, which is profaned in a manner altogether scandalous in our colonies. On this day some pains should certainly be taken to instruct them, to the best of their comprehension, especially the children, in some of the principles of religion and virtue, particularly in the humility, submission, and honesty, which become their condition. And, if one whole day in the week, or two half-days at proper distance, were allowed for their private labour in their grounds, in lieu of Sundays, they would more cheerfully bear fatigue during the other

- 1735 10. Slaves may carry about, and sell, all manner of provisions, fruits, fresh fish, milk, poultry, and other small stock of all kinds, having a ticket from their owner, or employer.
11. No slave to be dismembered at the will and pleasure of his owner, master, or employer, under penalty of 100*l.* payable to the informer.
- 1751 12. To prevent the bloody, inhuman, and wanton killing of slaves, any person, so offending, to be adjudged, for the first offence, on conviction, guilty of felony, and have benefit of clergy; and suffer the further punishment of imprisonment, as the court shall award, not exceeding the term of twelve months; and, for the second offence, such person to suffer death, but not to work corruption of blood, nor forfeiture of lands, chattels, &c. [y].

## S E C T.

“ five days; and, by means of these intervals, have time to recruit their strength, so as, on the days appropriated to their masters labour, to go through more work, and perform it better, than they commonly are able to do under their present regulations; for it is easy to conceive, that, with moderate intervals of rest, any man will better, and with less hurt to his body, execute a given quantity of work, than he can possibly perform without them; so that, at the week’s end, the same quantity of labour, at least, would be gone through, with no injury to their healths, nor waste of spirits, which is now possibly performed with injury to both. With a tincture of religious precepts, as far as can be adapted to their capacity, they would grow more honest, tractable, and less of eye-servants; unless it can be proved (contrary to universal experience), that the sanctions of religion, and doctrines of morality, and all the habits of an early instruction, are of no advantage to mankind.” These opinions are founded in policy and truth; but difficulties would attend the adoption of them in practice, although far from being insurmountable. It is certain, that the sabbath-day, as at present it is passed, is by no means a day of respite from labour: on the contrary, the Negroes, either employing it in their grounds, or in traveling a great distance to some market, fatigue themselves much more on that day, than on any other in the week. The forenoon of that day, at least, might be given to religious duties; but I think it rather desirable than otherwise, that the after-part of it should be spent in their grounds, instead of being uselessly dissipated in idleness and lounging, or (what is worse) in riot, drunkenness, and wickedness. If such an alteration should take place, Thursday might be assigned for the market-day, instead of the sabbath, and prove of great advantage to all the Christian shop-keepers and retailers; the Jews now engrossing the whole business of trafficking with the Negroes every Sunday, at which time there is a prodigious resort of them to the towns, and a vast sum expended for drams, necessaries, and manufactures. This alteration would therefore place the Christian dealers upon an equal, fair footing, which they do not at present enjoy. The whole number of Negroe holidays in the year would then amount to one hundred and eleven, which is no more than the Jews at present allow to their slaves; and, by this division of the time, they would probably grow improved in their behaviour, as well as in their ability and willingness to serve their Christian owners.

[y] So, Exod. xxi. 20, 21. “ If a man smite his servant with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished.” But in what manner the text does not explain; though it is evident

## S E C T. III.

*Remarks on the Negroe Regulations.*

THE Negroe code of this island appears originally to have copied from the model in use at Barbadoes; and the legislature of this latter island, which was the first planted by the English, resorted to the English *villainage* laws, from whence they undoubtedly transfused all that severity which characterizes them, and shews the

evident no *capital punishment* is here meant. But, "If he continue a day or two" *alive*, "he shall not be punished; for he is his money." Strange (says Montefquieu), that a civil law should thus relax the law of nature!

One Lockwood (who was afterwards proved to be a lunatic) inhumanly butchered his slave; which gave rise to this act. I remember one instance of a man convicted upon it; and, it being his first offence, he was burnt in the hand.

By the law of Pennsylvania, a white owner, who kills his Negroe slave with malice prepense, is liable to suffer *death* for it. There is not, however, any example there of an owner having been executed for this crime. A few years ago, a master murdered his slave; upon which, his friends, and even the magistrates, secretly advised him to leave the country, as, otherwise, they could not avoid apprehending him; in which case, he must be adjudged to die, according to the law, without any hope of saving him. This lenity (says Kalm) was employed, that the Negroes might not have the satisfaction of seeing a master executed for killing his slave; for this would lead them to dangerous designs against their masters, and to set too high a value upon themselves. I must beg leave here to differ a little in opinion from this writer. An impartial execution of justice, and the law, upon those who wantonly shed innocent blood, must inevitably attract a high veneration to such a law from the Negroes, and induce them to regard *murder* in the most atrocious light, when they see it punished with such exemplary severity without respect of persons; for, surely, no pretence can justify such execrable deeds: the guilty person puts himself out of all protection of human law, when he commits the crime; he ceases to be considered as a man; he becomes a savage beast; and, whatever may be his complexion, the good of society and sound policy require he should suffer *capitally*, as an example of terror to Black as well as White. At present, a Negroe sees only what may justify him in retaliation. The law of the Whites plainly tells him, "If a white man murders a white man, he ought to *die* for it; but, if a white man murders a black man, he ought to be *acquitted!*" Is not the Negroe led to espouse the very same principle and creed *ex converso*? "I believe," he may say, "that it is a very great crime for a Negroe to murder a Negroe; but for a Negroe to murder a white man is no crime at all; at least, I infer as much from the law of the Whites, which measures the extent of guilt, not according to reason, but according to the tincture of the skin; they favour the White, and we the Black, with equal propriety and justice."

It was, I think, very much to the honour of government, that the following instructions were given to some of the first commanders in chief of this island:

"You shall endeavour to get a law passed for restraining of any inhuman severity, by reason of ill masters or overseers, that may be used towards their Christian servants, or other slaves. And you are also, with the assistance of the council and assembly, to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of Negroes to the Christian religion."

"And"

the abject slavery which the common people of England formerly laboured under. In the 34th of Edward III, for example, a labourer, or slave, fleeing from his master's service into any town or city, the chief officer of the place was required to deliver him up to his master; so, if he eloped into another country, he was to be burned in the forehead with the letter F. Whoever served in husbandry till the age of twelve, was to continue in that station ever after; and not be bound or put out to any trade, or artifice. By another act, 12 Richard II, *anno* 1388, no artificer, labourer, or servant, was allowed to pass from one hundred to another, without a permit under the king's seal, unless sent on business by his lord, or master, on pain of being set in the stocks, and compelled to return. But the most remarkable badge of servility was imposed, in the 1st of Edward VI, by the statute against vagabonds; which adjudges them absolutely and expressly slaves; inflicts several violent punishments, by beating, chaining, &c. to force them to work for their owner; punishes run-aways, for the first offence, by branding on the cheek with a red-hot iron; and, for the second offence, by *death*. This law likewise empowers the master to put an iron ring about his slave's neck, arm, or leg, for safer custody; and lays a penalty of 10*l.* on any person taking it off without the master's consent. A man, detaining or harbouring another's run-away slave, knowing him to be such, is made liable to an action of trespass, and 10*l.* damages. The service of such slaves might be hired out, sold, or bequeathed, as any other moveable goods and chattels. And any such slave, conspiring to murder, kill, or maim, his master or mistress, or to burn their houses, barns, or corn, lying in wait with a weapon, or committing any overt act leading to such effect, was to suffer death as a felon. If the father, mother, nurse, or bearer about, of a child

“ And whereas, amongst other laws passed in Jamaica the 5th of April, 1683, an act for regulating slaves was transmitted unto his late majesty, who did not think fit to confirm the same, by reason of a clause therein contained, whereby such, as wantonly and wilfully kill a Negroe, are only liable to a fine and three months imprisonments; which penalties, not being equal to the guilt, might encourage the wilful shedding of blood; for which it is necessary some better provision be made, to deter all persons from such acts of cruelty; you are therefore to signify the same unto the next assembly, and further propose to them the enacting a stricter clause in that behalf, which may be fit for our royal confirmation.” The law is certainly not yet severe enough in this respect.

adjudged

adjudged a slave, should steal, or entice, away such child from its master; such father, mother, &c. were to be adjudged slaves to such child's master for ever. I think the word *slave* occurs no less than *thirty-eight* different times in the course of this statute. But this is not the only instance of legislative barbarity at home. In the 13th of Elizabeth, 1571, upon reading a bill then before the house for suppression of vagabonds, Mr Sandys endeavoured to prove the above-mentioned law of Edward VI. to be too sharp and bloody, standing much on the care which is to be had for the poor. Wilson, master of the requests, argued thus: that poor, of necessity, we must have; and as true it is, that beggars by God's word might not be among his people, *ne sit mendicans inter vos*; that it was no charity to give to a stranger; and that even as thieves did the Greeks judge of them. In the following year, the law passed which enacted, "that every person above the age of *fourteen*, "being taken begging, or going about as a vagrant, should, for the "first offence, be grievously whipped, and burned through the "gristle of the right ear with an hot iron of an inch compass; "and, if of *eighteen* years of age, if he afterwards fall into a "roguish life, to be adjudged a *felon*." A statute of 8 Elizabeth, c. 3, enacted, that persons, bringing, delivering, sending, receiving, or taking, or procuring to be brought, &c. into any ship, or bottom, to be carried out of the kingdom, any ram, sheep, or lamb, alive, should, for the first offence, forfeit all their goods for ever, suffer a year's imprisonment, and at the year's end have their left hands cut off in a market-town, to be there publickly nailed up; and, for the second offence, should suffer death. The modes of punishment in these statutes, and the general provisions contained in the statute of Edward VI, have so near an affinity to the Barbadoes law respecting Negroe slaves, as to leave scarcely any doubt but that the legislature of that island transcribed from these precedents, which they found in the mother state. At the time we first entered on the settlement of Barbadoes, the idea of slavery could hardly be extinguished in England; the first emigrants to the West-Indies, it is natural to think, carried with them some prejudices in favour of the villeinage system, so far as it might seem to coincide with the government of Negroe-labourers. They perceived

perceived very strong traces of it in the before-cited statutes; and the expediency and propriety of rigorous penalties, were pointed out to them, from time to time, after the reign of Elizabeth, by the star-chamber judgements. Many other vestiges besides remained still fresh in the mother-country, which were supported by law; in the regulation, discipline, and punishment (for example) of vagabonds, of labourers, of apprentices, of soldiers, teamen, the workers in coal and saltmines; all which favoured much of the antient coercions under which they had lain, and which indeed to the present hour have been little more relaxed, except by mitigating the cruelty of some punishments, and giving a protection in life and limb against wanton violences, which in truth is no contemptible triumph over the extreme severity of their primitive bondage. The penal laws in England were always sanguinary, and still retain this savage complexion; which has given occasion to an ingenious author to assert, “that they seem rather calculated to keep *slaves* in awe, than to govern *freemen*; “they seem to contradict all notions of justice, and confound all “distinctions of morality. By the ignominy they impose in many “cases, they bend the mind to the lowest state of servitude; by the “rigour they indiscriminately inflict, they adopt the principles of “despotism, and make *fear* the motive of obedience [z].”

One of the greatest imputations against the Negroe laws is, that, in many cases, they leave the punishment to be inflicted arbitrarily by their judges. This is precisely adopted from the law-martial, enacted for the discipline of the fleet and army, which leaves the punishment to be invented, as well as proportioned, by the court. The Negroes in our colonies might, perhaps, have fared better, if their masters had taken the Athenian slave code for their guide, instead of ransacking the statute-law of England for modes of judging and chastizing them. But the idea of assimilating to the practice of the mother-state influenced them to this conformity in those points, which perhaps less merited their imitation than any other. It was a further disadvantage, that the first form of government, exercised in these colonies, was of the military kind; whose sanctions did not tend in the least to diminish their judicial aspe-

[z] Considerations on Criminal Law.

riety. The Africans, first imported, were wild and savage to an extreme: their intractable and ferocious tempers naturally provoked their masters to rule them with a rod of iron; and the earliest laws enacted to affect them are therefore rigid and inclement, even to a degree of inhumanity. By what means it happened, that, from the first colonization in the West-Indies, this race of men were so degraded as we find them, is not entirely clear. The English, probably, did no more than follow the steps of the Portuguese and other nations, who had begun, long before, to trade in Negroes as a commodity, and to hold them as mere chattels and moveables. Perhaps the depravity of their nature, much more than their colour, gave rise to a belief of their inferiority of intellect; and it became an established principle to treat those as brute beasts, who had so little pretensions to claim kindred with the human race, except in the shape of their bodies, and their walking upon two legs instead of four. However it might be, certain it is, that the planters of that age thought it no greater crime to kill a Negroe, than to knock a monkey on the head.

So soon as the African trade became a national concern, from its importance, the parliament of Britain fell in with the general idea, and considered Negroes, purchased from that continent, as a lawful commercial property; and this in so strong a sense, that the greatest oppression, under which our Negroes in the islands at present labour, arises materially from the ordinance of that statute [a], which declares them to be as houses, lands, hereditaments, assets, and personal estate, transferrable, and amenable to payment of debts due to the king or his subjects. Since the *major* part of these Negroes, especially in the older colonies, by having been born and trained up in them, have appeared more humanized than their ancestors, the laws in these places have worn a milder aspect: yet, as thousands are every year introduced from Guiney, who differ not at all from the earliest imported in barbarity of manners; so the severity of the first institutions has still been retained in several respects, which chiefly affect the Blacks of this class, although all are equally bound by them without exception. This observation leads me to enquire, whether some distinction might not be taken,

[a] 5 Geo. II. c. 7. and likewise 13 Geo. III. c. 14.

by our colony-laws, between the native or Creole Blacks and the imported savages; and whether the laws might not be mitigated in favour of the former class, and (without a weak or effeminate indulgence) be so tempered, as to make their servitude approach near to a well-regulated liberty. This would consist in giving them such a security for life and limb, and such an attachment to the place of their birth, as may serve to sweeten their toils, and engage them by the strongest ties to be faithful servants and defenders of the country. All punishments by *mutilation* should be utterly abolished and prohibited, because they are scandalously cruel, not warranted by necessity, nor justified by utility; for it cannot be proved, that they are more effectual than more humane methods; and, when the laws of any country either dictate such inhumanities, or connive at them, they lend encouragement for individuals to feed a bloody and vindictive spirit, which is disgraceful to the members of a civilized society.

The punishment by *whipping* should be brought within some limit; so that overseers might not with impunity transgress, through the heat of rage, a fit degree of just correction; and as the degree, so the *instrument*, should be ascertained, and none permitted which may lacerate or disfigure the body.

A white person, found guilty of wantonly *murdering* a Negroe, should be adjudged a felon, and suffer *death*. If convicted of wantonly maiming or dismembering (death not ensuing), and the owner be the offender, the slave so maimed should be adjudged to enjoy his freedom, besides a compensation for his maintenance, if he should be so disabled as to be incapable of earning a livelihood. But, if the offence should be committed by another person, fine and imprisonment, with an adequate satisfaction in money to the owner, may be thought no inequitable punishment.

The penalty of *death* for *running away*, or absenting for a certain space, should be commuted to some milder for the first offence; and, for the second, transportation: but the inveigling, harbouring, and concealing, such fugitives, might remain under the same rigorous penalties as at present.

The severest punishments ought, in justice and policy, to fall on rebels, murderers, conspirers against the public tranquillity, incendiaries,



cendiaries, and rioters; runaways, found carrying unlawful weapons; and such as stubbornly and wilfully refuse to labour; for it is inconsistent with the general welfare, that any should be rebellious, guilty of outrage and violence, idle, or vagrant.

Lenity in some points, rigid severity in others, protection to the well-disposed, and discouragement to the abandoned and disaffected, might prove the means of polishing their manners, inciting them to industry, and ensuring their voluntary obedience. But nothing would more effectually operate to these purposes, than the admitting some alteration in the present laws for recovery of debts.

I have already pointed out, that making Negroes liable to be seized for bond and simple contract debts, and hurried from one part of the island to another, constitutes the chief oppression under which they labour; renders their servitude more bitter, and intolerable; and produces a very great annual loss to the public, by the mortality which it occasions.

I am sensible, that the exigency of commercial contracts, and the mixt nature which the laws of commerce have assigned to Negroes, combat strongly against an alteration. But the law of humanity, and the general interest of the island, plead more forcibly in favour of it; and since the utmost a creditor can desire, is the payment of his debt, or as good security for it as his debtor can give, no injury is done him, by changing an oppressive mode, for one that is not so.

If, for example, Negroes were made *glebio adscriptitii*, affixed to the soil, and only liable to pass with it; it is evident, they still might pass in descent, or payment of contracts, or in sale. If bonds and simple contracts were left to take their remedy solely against other personal assets, or against the produce of the Negroes labour; or, these proving deficient, that then the whole estate, land, and Negroes, were liable to be sold collectively, for yielding full satisfaction; would the bond or simple contract creditor be put into any worse situation than a mortgagee, who has at present identically the same remedy? Perhaps no scheme might answer the intention better, than the committing debtors estates *in trust*, as I have proposed in the course of this work: a variety of plans indeed might be formed, for saving the creditor harmless; none however could be

carried into execution, unless the act of parliament, before cited, was first new modeled, and Negroes, more especially the natives of our islands, distinguished some degrees above sheep and oxen. To make this improvement in the system of our colony laws, were surely not unbecoming that liberal spirit, which dignifies the present age: but the reform should begin *at home*; and doubtless would without difficulty be assented to by parliament, if the provincial assemblies were, upon the conviction of its utility, to facilitate their concurrence, by substituting an equivalent security to the creditor. The circuitry of action and delay, that attend recovery of mortgage debts, might probably be abridged, and mortgage deeds be made as negotiable in commerce, and as summary in their process, as common bonds; nor is there any just reason to be assigned, why that mode of security should not then be given for a debt of fifty pounds, as well as for five hundred pounds; in the colonies, many obstacles, that prevail in the mother country, are removed at once by the office where such contracts, and their assignments from hand to hand, are duly registered. So long as Negroes are severable from the land, every colony is retarded in its progress; for, as I have before remarked, it matters not (in a general view) how often the ownership of a West-India estate changes hands, *provided the Negroes pass with the land*; but it is their severance from it, which is essentially a depreciation of both, and extremely hurtful to the progress of industry and settlement in these islands, particularly in Jamaica, where property

“ puncto mobilis horæ

“ Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc morte supremâ,

“ Permutat dominos, et cedit in altera jura [b].”

“ Shifting every hour,

“ By gift, by purchase, force, or fate's commands,

“ Changes its lord, and falls to other hands.”

To ascertain the Negroes who should pass in this manner, would not be difficult; since every planter and landholder might be compelled to deliver annually to the justices and vestry upon oath, a list of the Negroes *bonâ fide* belonging to, and settled upon, his respective lands; and where any doubt or dispute might arise, the *onus probandi*

[b] Hor. lib. II. Epist. ii.

might lie on the landholder. It is true, it may be said, that every landholder has the remedy at present in his own hands; he has only to make his contracts by mortgage, instead of bond or note; but the prolixity of mortgage deeds, which enumerate all the parcels of property, and contain a multitude of covenants and clauses, make them less convenient for ordinary transactions in borrowing and lending, especially for small sums; perhaps such deeds might be shortened without losing their efficacy; but, if this be impracticable, we must then turn back to the first proposition, in regard to bonds and give them effective operation against the planter's cattle, furniture, and implements, or (these failing) against the annual produce, by sequestration, until they are fully satisfied. The iniquitous advantages which have been taken of the laws, as they now stand, are innumerable: among the multitude of planters, some will be found, whose hearts are petrified with avarice, and rapacity; whose views all center in self; and who soar around with the keen appetite of vultures, seeking whom they may devour. I remember one of these harpies, who, in order to stock his estate with seasoned Negroes, went systematically to work. He engaged the deputy marshal in his interest, and having bought up judgements, extant against several inferior settlers in his neighbourhood, caused their slaves to be levied on, and sold; he himself was the underhand purchaser, and thus found means to advance his own fortune, upon the certain ruin of many industrious settlers, who threw up their lands after being stripped of their labourers; and this furnished him with a further opportunity of driving advantageous bargains, by engrossing the contiguous acres at a cheap rate.

The fallacy of their opinion, who suppose, that no harm is done by the shifting of property, may be demonstrated in numberless instances more than I have already given; and they all tend to prove these maxims: "That changing the property of lands from one owner to another, can be of no injury to this island, in hindering the settlement and improvement of those lands, supposing the skill in husbandry pretty equal at an average.

"But changing the property of labouring Negroes from one owner to another, living in different places, obstructs the settlement of lands; turns those already settled into ruinate; lessens the  
" number

“ number of planters, diminishes the stock of labouring Negroes, “ and produces a certain loss to the community in various ways.”

There is every year a certain number of these negroes, whose labour (if I may so express myself) is in *abeyance*, from the time of heir being taken upon a writ of *venditioni*, to the time of their being brought to a regular course of work again, at the place to which they are removed by their purchaser. The number of slaves so levied on, one year with another, I compute, upon the best grounds, four hundred; and that their loss of labour is equal at least to one month each in the year, without taking into account the time frequently spent in their concealment, to prevent their falling into the marshal's hands. In seven years the account will therefore stand thus:

Levied	} Negroes	2,800	} Value of loss, com- puted at least at 84,000 <i>l.</i> currency.
Loss of labour;			

Of these Negroes, it is not easy to discover how many perish by change of place, nor the loss on the sale sustained by their owners; but the latter must be considerable; for, at an average, the Negroes, thus sold, have not yielded above 26 *l.* to 30 *l.* trett, which probably was not more than one third of their real worth, or what they would have been appraised at, upon their sale with the land.

To conclude; since Negroes are the sinews of West-India property, too much care cannot be taken of them; and it well becomes a Christian legislature, at the same time that it conforms its policy to what may respect their health, and ability for labour, to soften by every reasonable means the obduracy of their servitude, so as to make them forget the very idea of slavery; together with this, I acknowledge that strict justice and equitable institutions ought to guarantee all legal contracts entered into either by the planter, or the merchant, or other individuals: but if the rigorous exactions of payment can admit of any alleviating measures; if lands can be made more transferable by writ of *elegit*, or other scheme of *extent*, or bonds and simple contract debts be payable by other means, than hauling the Negroe labourers from one part of the country to another, tearing them from their settlement and family, aggravating the hardship of their condition, and obstructing the population and culture of the island; it well deserves the interposition of legislative wisdom and humanity, to amend the law, to let justice flow in a smooth easy current,

current, or to restrain, where it transgresses its bounds. It has been the opinion of very sensible writers, that the interest of our colonies demands, that the Negroes should be better treated, and even raised to a better condition; this, however, must be understood with some exceptions against the imported Blacks, whose savage manners render them incapable of those benefits consistent with the safety of the colonies, which perhaps might be granted to the natives or Creoles, to a certain limit, without any ill consequence. Some *medium*, it is said, might be struck, between liberty, and that absolute slavery which now prevails; in this *medium* might be placed *all Mulattos*, after a certain temporary servitude to their owner; and such *native Blacks*, as their owners, for their faithful services, should think proper to enfranchise. These might have land allotted to them, or some sort of fixed employment, from either of which they should be obliged to pay a certain moderate rent to the public. Whatever they acquired beyond this, to be the reward of their industry. The necessity of paying a rent, would keep them employed; and when once men are set to work through necessity, they will not stop there; but will gradually strive for conveniencies, and some even for superfluities. All this must add to the consumption of manufactures, and the cultivation of lands; and the colonies would be strengthened by the addition of so many men, who have an interest of their own to fight for.

It becomes the gentlemen of Jamaica to set the example, and raise their island to the same rank of superiority in the wisdom and mildness of its laws, as it already enjoys in its extent and opulence, above the other British territories in the West-Indies; let them boldly pursue every measure, which will tend to multiply their people, or to strengthen their country against foreign enemies; let them, in order to prevent domestic ones, conciliate the attachment of their Negroes by protection and encouragement, rather than seek to exact an involuntary obedience by austerity and terror. In the distribution of our gratitude, we are bound to bestow some share on those, whom God has ordained to labour. The just subordination, within the line of which our Negroes must be kept, does by no means dispense with our loving, and treating them humanely. We are obliged to it, both from reason and self-interest; bodily strength,

and their adaptation to the climate, would enable them to pass from the lowest to the highest stations, and give the law to their masters, if they were willing unanimously to attempt it; but when those who fill the lowest rank, are used with equity and benevolence, so far from becoming dreadful, by flocking together in order to trample upon us, they comply with whatever we require of them; they offer themselves willingly to be our defenders, and are themselves the instruments made use of to restrain one another within the bounds of their allotted condition. Among all the nations of antiquity, slaves were no where treated with greater humanity than at Athens, so celebrated for the wisdom of its laws, and the refined manners of its inhabitants.

Their slaves had an action against their owners, for acts of outrage and ill usage; if the fact was proved, the owner was obliged to sell his slave, who while the process depended, might retire into an asylum appointed to secure him from all intermediate violence [c]. The liberty of which the Athenians were so jealous was not interdicted to their slaves; the latter were authorized to purchase their freedom, in despite of their owners, whenever they had amassed the sum which the law had fixed for that purpose. It was not even unusual for a patron, who was content with the services of his slave, to grant him his liberty for a reward; this was a state of servitude so mildly regulated, that it differed but little in essentials from absolute freedom. Let the planters copy from this bright example, as far as prudence, and the disposition of Negroes, can admit; if the native slaves in our colony can with safety be brought under an enlarged degree of protection, and secured by rational provisions from violence and barbarity; or be permitted to redeem themselves from perpetuity of servitude, with the fair and honest earnings of their private industry; it seems highly just, humane, and politic, to favour them; that their allegiance to the country and white inhabitants, may be more firmly engaged; after obtaining their freedom, it still remains by legal regulations to enforce their employing themselves in some honest course of livelihood; they will then contribute largely not to the strength alone, but to

[c] This resembles the process under the ancient English writ *de libertate probanda*, pending which, the villein, laying claim to freedom, was protected from the vexation of the suitor who challenged him.

the wealth and prosperity of the island, and to the profits of Great Britain.

## C H A P. VI.

REGULATIONS for preserving HEALTH in JAMAICA.

## S E C T. I.

PLACE of HABITATION and AIR.

**O**BSERVATION of the effects which the change from a cold to a hot climate produces on hard inanimate substances, such as wood, iron, and the like, must naturally teach us to expect, that the human body, a system of tubes and glands, or matter delicately organized, cannot pass rapidly from the one to the other, without being affected in a proportionate degree.

As the heated air between the Tropics acts upon metals by expansion; so, when it acts upon the human body, it relaxes the solid parts, and rarefies the fluid, increases the velocity of the blood's circulation, causes an unusual discharge of the bile, and a regurgitation of it into the stomach, violent acute pains in the head, loathing of food, and sickness; hence feverish disorders may ensue, which would be soon and easily cured, if no other predisposing causes supervened.

The authors, who have treated on this subject with most discernment, agree pretty uniformly, in ascribing the malignancy of West India fevers to a vitiated air, either at sea, or on shore.

At sea, occasioned by noxious exhalations, raised during long continued calms, when the water, not being agitated as usual by the trade winds, is subject to become corrupt near the surface, where it is less charged with salt, to preserve it from stinking.

On shore, by the like exhalations, excited by the heat of the sun, from foul, oozy shores, the nauseous stagnant water of lagoons, and the fetid mud or soil of low, swampy grounds.

This morbid air, admitted into the lungs and circulation, may induce a disposition to putrescency, and render those disorders of the frame malignant, which otherwise, perhaps, the efforts of nature alone, or but slightly assisted, might have thrown off.

Such an air may therefore be considered truly poisonous to the human constitution; for which reason, a first and principal caution is, to avoid it as much as possible; or, at least, to correct its baneful quality, or tendency, as much as may be, by suitable antiseptic remedies.

As we remark, that water, whether on shore, or in the ocean, will grow corrupt in this climate, if, for any length of time, it is not put in motion; so the fluids in the human body will become putrescent, if due exercise is too long neglected: hence we may conclude, that habitual indolence and inactivity are likewise to be reckoned among the predisposing causes of bad fevers, in a hot climate. There are practical irregularities in regard to the rest of what physicians have called the *non-naturals*, which may tend either to generate or exasperate such fevers, and which I shall occasionally advert to. Men who commit these, sin with their eyes open: but from the evils of a noxious atmosphere; numbers cannot fly, by reason of the duties of service, and the exigencies of business. I shall therefore give a first attention to the injuries deriveable from this source; and, bringing together such general remarks on the means of shunning or counteracting them, as gentlemen of the faculty, the most eminent for their skill and knowledge in the subject, have beneficently given to the public, apply them more particularly to this island. In this detail I shall endeavour to second the humanity of their design; claiming indulgence, at the same time, for those supplemental precepts and strictures which may be interspersed, and meant to correspond to the same view.

The ingenious Doctor Lind remarks, that every country has its healthy and unhealthy situations; and he instances, in respect to the former class, the island of Portsea, near Portsmouth, and the town of Brading, in the isle of Wight; he might have added the marshes of Kent, Essex, Lincolnshire, and Cambridgeshire, and perhaps some other spots in England. In the West Indies such low swampy spots are still more fatal; and they are infested with muskeetos, which seem as if placed there by the hand of Providence, to assault with their stings, and drive away, every human being, who may ignorantly venture to fix his abode among them. It is most dangerous to pass the night in such places, and it is at such time that these insects collect in swarms, and make war on every daring intruder. In some parts of the



South American continent the torments they inflicted were so intolerable, that many houses, and even whole villages, were obliged to be deserted by the Spaniards and Indians; of which Ulloa gives an account, who, in his passage from Guayaquil to Caracol, suffered inexpressibly from the multitudes which infested the marshy banks of the river of Guayaquil, insomuch that their stings penetrated through all his cloathing, and would not permit him to take one moment's repose. Such places in Jamaica are to be deemed unfit for residence; but, in so extensive an island, we meet with few of them in proportion, nor does it abound with situations that can be justly stigmatized for a natural insalubrity.

There are various reasons to be assigned, why the inhabitants of this island were formerly afflicted with frequent visitations of epidemic sickness. When Europeans resorted hither in great numbers, they were crowded into two towns, and inconveniently accommodated. A buccaneering intercourse subsisted with the baleful coasts about Carthage and Porto Bello. In 1671, when the fleet commanded by Sir Henry Morgan returned from that coast, his crews brought with them the malignant fever of Porto Bello, and the greater part of them died of it; the contagion spread to those on shore, where it produced a terrible mortality. In 1741, a very great sickness prevailed here from a similar disorder, imported by the troops, on their return from the Carthage expedition; and the like had happened before in 1704, when admiral Neville's squadron was on this station. The houses were inconveniently built, the diseases of the West Indies were very little understood, and such contagious distempers were often fatal, for want of those remedies which were afterwards invented. Many lives must have been lost, by these putrid fevers, before the Jesuits bark was brought into general use, or copious bleeding exploded; hundreds perished by the ravages of the small pox, before the art of inoculation grew into practice; multitudes have been formerly stifled to death in this climate, by confinement in close hot rooms, under loads of bed-cloaths, and poisoned with their own atmosphere, while the fresh air, which was their best remedy, was most industriously excluded. Nor is Jamaica singular in having suffered great depopulations by pestilential maladies, imported into it from other parts. In 1691, the island of Barbadoes was invaded with a contagion, brought by an English

fleet, which continued to rage there more or less for twelve years, and swept off above a third part of the white inhabitants. In the year 1740, the South Sea galleons, having touched at Guayaquil, in order to secure their treasure, on account of the war between Spain and Great Britain, brought with them a putrid malignant fever, which had never been known at that place before, and numbers died of it: it is needless to multiply examples of what must have happened to every country carrying on any considerable trade; this cause is very distinct from local maladies, excited and nourished by something pernicious to human health, in the soil or atmosphere. In regard to the latter, a foreigner, says Lind, who fixes his abode on a sickly spot in England, as for instance at *Hilsea Barracks*, must not call the climate of England unhealthy, because he suffers from the disadvantages of a bad situation; so, to apply this remark to Jamaica, an European, who fixes his residence at Greenwich near Kingston, or in the near neighbourhood of a lagoon, ought not to reckon the climate of this island unhealthy, because he has suffered by an injudicious choice. The fact really is, as before has been stated, that healthy as well as unhealthy situations are to be found in all countries; but that the English, for the convenience chiefly of their trade, and sometimes through ignorance, have generally fixed on the most unwholesome spots, for the situation of their towns in the West Indies. The healthy air of Barbadoes is owing to that island's being entirely cleared of wood; but the principal town there is fixed on a swamp, and therefore perhaps incurably unhealthy. Bassé-Terre in St. Kitts, St. John's in Antigua, are not less so, and, as I am informed, from the like reason [a].

The

[a] In the year 1766, sixteen French Protestant families, consisting of sixty persons, were sent, at the expence of government, to *West Florida*; the ground allotted for their residence was on the side of a hill, *surrounded with mosses*, at the mouth of the river *Scambia*. These new settlers arrived in winter, and continued healthy till the sickly months, which in that country are those of *July* and *August*; during these two months the annual fever of that climate proved so fatal to them, that, of the sixty, only fourteen survived; and even this small remnant were all in a bad state of health in *September*, and most of them died in a few months afterwards. Such catastrophes are shocking; especially when we consider, that if these industrious people had been fixed on a healthy spot, not incommoded with the malignant vapours of a swampy soil, they might have lived many years, and covered a large district with their offspring. *Kalm* gives another instance of such fatal situations, in the little town of *Salem*, in *Pensylvania*, adjacent to which are some very low swampy meadows. They who come hither from other parts acquire a very pale sickly look, although they enjoy

The general proofs of an unhealthy situation, in this climate, are,

First, Sudden alterations in the evening air, from stifling heat, to a chilling cold; this is perceived soon after sunset, and is accompanied with a very heavy dew, which indicates a swampy unwholesome soil.

Secondly, Thick noisome fogs, arising after sunset, from mud, slime, and other impurities, having something of the scent of a new-cleaned ditch.

Thirdly, Innumerable swarms of large muskeetos, flies, and other insects, which attend putrid air and low unventilated places, where they delight to breed.

Fourthly, Where butchers meat is soon corrupted, and in a few hours becomes tainted and full of maggots; and where wounds, nearly brought to heal, suddenly break out afresh, attended with great putrefaction of the parts.

Fifthly, Where a dead corpse becomes intolerably offensive in less than six hours.

Sixthly, Where, by the subsidence of the water in dry weather, the channel of any river is left bare to the sun, and emits a disagreeable smell, by night as well as by day, from putrid slime, dead fish and insects, and other corrupted substances.

In summer nights, the body is most liable to fevers, because of the alterations of the air; for, in the beginning of the night, it is sultry; in the middle, more temperate; and, towards the morning, cool: by which, the accustomed flow of perspiration is checked in time of sleep, by throwing off the cloaths. This is confirmed by all who travel in hot climates; sudden cold, after warmth, makes a change in the habit, by repelling the transpiring steams, which were copiously rising; in these climates, therefore, it may be necessary to cover the body, when the nocturnal dews happen, lest the pores should be too suddenly closed, which might produce fevers of the worst kind.

The dew, which is most unwholesome and dangerous, is that which rises imperceptibly from the earth after sunset. This may easily be enjoyed ever so perfect health, and lively colour, at their first arrival. In the month of May a most disagreeable stench annoys it from the swamps; the putrid vapours are wafted upon the inhabitants, and are inhaled into their bodies together with the air which they breathe. At the end of every summer they are sure to be afflicted with intermittent fevers. A young couple, who came passengers with *Kalm*, went, soon after their arrival at Philadelphia, in perfect health to *Salem*; but in a few weeks they both fell sick, and died before the winter was half over. A hot atmosphere, so impregnated with putrid particles and watery vapours, cannot fail of producing diarrhoeas, dysenteries, and various kinds of putrid and malignant fevers.

collected, by inverting a bowl, or glass tumbler, and placing it on a stick, with the mouth about half an inch from the surface of the ground. After fixing it thus at sunset, if it be examined about midnight, it will be found entirely covered within with watry globules, like the cover of a boiling kettle, while the outside perhaps is barely moist. But if suffered to remain the whole night in this position, the condensed vapour of the earth precipitating towards morning, in the cool hours before sun-rise, will cover the outside also with the like appearance.

I have frequently observed, that, in Kingston, there is sometimes no dew at all perceptible in the morning; at other times, after heavy showers in the Liguanea mountains, and a brisk land wind, it has been very copious. In the former case, which happened in dry weather, there either was no reek or perspiration from the earth of the streets, or the atmosphere above continued in too warm a state during the night to condense any vapours which might ascend. In general, I think it may be concluded, that it is not wholesome to be much abroad in this climate after dark, at least without due precaution of putting on additional cloathing.

The best preservative against the mischievous impressions of a putrid fog, a swampy or marshy exhalation, is a close, sheltered, and covered place, such as the lower apartments in a ship, or a house which has no doors nor windows facing the swamp. If, in such place, a fire be kept either at the doors or other inlets, as is practised in some unhealthy countries during their rainy or noisome foggy season, these fires, together with the smoak, prove an excellent safeguard to those within, against the injuries of a vitiated atmosphere.

The custom of the Negroes in this respect, perhaps, may conduce as much as any thing to their enjoying health in such marshy soils, when white persons are affected by the malignant effluvia, and contract sickness; few of their huts have any other floor than the bare earth, which might possibly transmit noxious exhalations in the night, if they did not keep up a constant fire in the center of their principal room or hall; the smoak of which, though intended to disperse the muskeetos, has another good effect, the correcting the night air, and disarming it of its damp and chill, which might be prejudicial to their healths [b].

In

[b] Doctor *Trapham* speaks to the same effect: "Though water is a most necessary convenience, and its plenty and goodness a great accommodation to these settlements; yet, as the air itself is very moist, we ought to covet as dry a living as may be, and therefore not to lodge  
" ourselves

In such low spots, even in this climate, the chill and density of the air is such, as to render the breath visible early in the morning, a circumstance which is not observed in other parts of the lowlands.

Unwholesome fogs in Jamaica are, such as emanate from lagoons and marshy soils; but they are not common. The fogs of Sixteen-mile-malk, and some other places among the mountains, are not unhealthy, nor have they any ill smell. Those who inhabit places where salt or unwholesome marshes are formed by frequent inundations of the sea, or where the shores are lined with stinking ooze or mud, and aquatic plants of a noxious quality, ought, during the sickly seasons, to retire into the country at some distance. The safest retreats are to be found on the sides of hills or mountains, where there are no morasses within three miles; preferring also those situations which are not affected by vapours springing from the circumjacent valleys, at least in their perpendicular ascent. Experience confirms the fact, that in such elevated situations, where the soil is dry, and clear from wood and stagnant water, Europeans enjoy good health, in the very hottest climates, during all seasons of the year: but, if persons will obstinately run the hazard of their life and health, by remaining all night, or sleeping in unhealthy places, they cannot expect to reap the benefit of safety and security from a healthy air in their neighbourhood.

In every island, perhaps, such asylums may be found, where the air proves healthy, and restorative to European constitutions.

The island of Dominica is in most places woody and unhealthy; yet there were several French families in it, who, by fixing their residence on the sides of hills, lived exempted from the attack of agues and fevers, the diseases common there; and thus enjoyed as good a state of health and constitution, as if they had been in France.

The best situation for a change is, where the heat of the day seldom exceeds 70 on Fahrenheit's thermometer, and where the cold of the night is not more than 16 degrees lower on the same scale,

“ourselves or servants receptive of additional water from ponds or rivers; for I have observed it in matter of fact, where such care hath been omitted, more lives than elsewhere have been flooded into *Styx*. Besides its great preservation in this respect, a dry lodging, *removed at least one story from the ground*, is approved the best security of our white servants; as for the Negroes, though their lodging be near the ground, they force off the moisture of the earth by their constant fires, and thereby become healthy.” P. 27.

or at 54; where the ground is cleared from wood and bushes; has no stagnating water upon or near its surface; where the soil is fertile, and favours the cultivation of European plants, and the health of European animals; and, lastly, where sheep, brought from England or North America, still retain, without inconvenience, a fleecy covering. There are spots of ground, in all the mountains and hills adjacent to the towns in Jamaica, which, by industry and cultivation, might be converted into the most healthy and delightful rural retirements. In such places, on those eminences where at present the chillness of the evening renders a fire comfortable, and requisite to an European constitution, the improvement of the soil would gradually mend the quality of the air. Gentlemen, who can afford to keep a horse or carriage, after doing business in Kingston, or other maritime towns, might, before sunset, return to such a healthy and pleasant country seat as is here recommended, taking the precaution of never sleeping elsewhere during a sickly season. Those, whose circumstances and business will permit, should retire, especially in the night-season, to such places for health, until they grow inured to the climate; and others, who cannot afford this precaution, or whose affairs will not admit of it, should be immediately removed thither when taken ill. Should the change of air not produce an instantaneous recovery, it will at least mitigate the symptoms of the disorder; and, the use of medicines being attended with more efficacy, a patient will more speedily regain a vigorous state of health. When a person is seized with a fever, proceeding from the bad air of any place, his illness, whilst he continues there, is daily, nay hourly, aggravated, and reinforced, by a constant application of the morbid cause. In this situation, the best medicines, even the bark, have been ineffectual in relieving the patient, whilst thus incessantly exposed to the sources of his disease. They who labour under fevers, fluxes, and other diseases of the like violent nature, may be removed with the greatest safety for change of air. Such, therefore, as are taken ill during the rage of any epidemic sickness, should be carried immediately into a purer air, to some distance beyond the reach of infection; and frequently, in these cases, this is a certain and immediate cure of itself: so in 1765, when a mortal sickness raged on shore at Pensacola, the crews of the

the men of war, lying at a mile's distance from the town, enjoyed the most perfect health; and such patients, who, after their being seized with the fever on shore, were carried on board ship, presently recovered; the disorder, by change of air, soon lost its alarming symptoms, and was easily subdued; nothing is more certain, than that the sea air, and sea breezes, in this part of the world, are specifics for the removal of malignant disorders contracted from a vitiated atmosphere on the land. I shall now apply these remarks more particularly to Jamaica. The situation of Spanish Town is healthy; it has no marshes about or near it; and the rain water that falls upon it is drained into the river by a pretty rapid descent. Nothing more is needful to preserve this natural salubrity of its air, than a well-regulated police, under the controul of the magistrates, who should provide, that the streets and environs be kept clear from filth, and all putrid substances, which might breed annoyance. The air of all the Tropical countries is most impure, *immediately* before and after the periodical seasons; and, at such times, the greater caution must be used to avoid catching colds, which may produce intermittent, or sometimes remittent, fevers. At such times, or when any epidemic distemper of a contagious nature is by accident brought into the town, the adjacent hills afford a convenient and secure retreat. The town of Port Royal, being almost surrounded with the sea water, is justly commended for the salubrity of its air, a certain proof of which is the longevity of its constant inhabitants.

The town of Kingston, lying on a gravelly slope, and open to the sea breeze, would probably be a healthy place, if it was not exposed to infectious disorders, brought into it from the shipping; yet, when any such malady begins to rage, the sick might always find a salutary retreat among the Liguanea Hills. I have already spoken of the barrack at *Stoney Ridge*, in St. Andrew's; the neighbourhood of this place would doubtless be very well adapted for a retreat from contagion, or for the recovery of convalescents; nor might it be a losing project perhaps for a builder to purchase land here, and erect a certain number of commodious houses, to be lett for this purpose. Society might allure those to try the experiment, who would otherwise be averse to it, from a dislike to solitude; and, indeed, nothing more alleviates the distress and dejection incident to

fevers of the putrid class, than cheerful company. The situation of the other towns is but indifferent; but the inhabitants of all have their places of retreat, if they could but resolve to make use of them. For Old Harbour there are the Goat Islands, and the Hills of St. Dorothy. Savannah la Mar is at no great distance from hills and rising grounds; Lucea and Montego Bay are surrounded with high lands; at the latter place, in particular, the flat space for building is so circumscribed, that, as the town enlarges, the houses must be built on higher ground, along the sides of the contiguous hill; which circumstance will one day contribute to render it populous and flourishing. The lower part of Kingston, next the harbour, having been founded upon soil recovered from the water, is too much pent up with the shipping that lie near the wharfs, and with warehouses and goods, to be eligible for passing the night. Besides, the mud near this quarter, whenever it is disturbed, either by the violence of the surge in high breezes, or by the oars, poles, or boat-hooks of navigators, is apt to emit a very putrid and unwholesome stench; such situations may either generate bad fevers, or exasperate the symptoms of those disorders which otherwise might easily be conquered.

Throughout this island, wherever we turn our eyes, it appears so crowded with hills and rising grounds, ventilated always with a free and salubrious air, that we cannot but condemn those persons, who chuse low, damp, and sultry hollows, for their constant residence; and who often suffer from the ill effects caused by such situations, without discerning the real source of their bad health: but in time, perhaps, when the importance of this matter comes to be more seriously attended to, the planters will allow more weight to those particulars in the œconomy of health; which reason and experience combine to recommend.

Those whom fortune has blest with abundance, should be studious to preserve the lives of their dependents, whose poverty perhaps is their greatest crime. The cruelty of exposing the lives of men to sickness or death, by restricting them to dwell in wretched hovels, and on unhealthy spots, needs only to be pointed out, in order to be relieved. The natural generosity, and benevolent disposition, of the planters will immediately lead them to administer the certain remedy, although



although it may be attended at first with some extraordinary expence to them. The habitations of their white servants should be fixed on airy, dry, and elevated, spots, raised some feet above the surface of the earth, floored, and constructed either of timber and plaister, or brick, but never (if possible to avoid it) of stone; which is a very improper material in this climate for dwelling-houses, on account of the damp and chill which it strikes in rainy weather; but, whenever it is unavoidably used for such buildings, the effects may be rendered less pernicious, by surrounding them with a shed or piazza, or lining the walls with boards, or lath and plaister, set off to such a distance as to let the air circulate between.

The like precautions must be used in the establishment of white families, if the spirit should ever revive of introducing and settling them in the island. The place allotted for their habitation should be stony, gravelly, or at least dry, open to the wind, and remote from the annoyance of vapourish swamps, or stagnant waters.

It may happen, that many persons, from the urgent nature of their employment and circumstances, may be obliged to remain in unhealthy situations; in this case they must use the best means in their power to guard themselves from the local mischiefs to which they may be occasionally exposed. Such persons should sleep in the highest apartments of their house, whose doors and windows ought to be so contrived as not to front or open towards a damp soil or marsh. At those seasons of the year when swampy exhalations are most to be dreaded, as after heavy rains, and great heats succeeding, fires made in the evening, and early in the morning, with lignum vitæ, cascarilla, candlewood, and other resinous woods, or substances, would be very serviceable. A Guiney merchant of Kingston, whose Negroes were seized with the small-pox, then raging malignantly in the town, put them all into a warehouse, in which was lodged a considerable quantity of pimento, for exportation, whose odour was so powerful as to subdue the offensive stench of the disorder, and refreshed the patients so much, that they all got through it safely. But of all *antiseptic* vapours, none is so powerful as the acid steam of burning brimstone, for correcting putrid air, and checking contagion.

In many parts among the mountains I have known houses upon elevated spots not unhealthy, though surrounded with woods. The

greater coolness of the air, in such places, and their distance from any stagnant water, or fetid ooze, may contribute to their salubrity; the clearing away such woods, which screen the lower situations, and increase their fultriness, by excluding the free air from them, will render them more habitable, but perhaps not add much to the healthiness of the former; for the reason why the mountain woods are less injurious than the close thickets of the low lands, is, that the trees stand further asunder, so as to give a freer passage to the winds and vapours; and consist, for the most part, of the aromatic kinds, which serve to correct any noxious exhalations, with their fragrantcy and perfume. Their leaves in general are thick and firm; their pores extremely minute, and filled with a resinous or glutinous juice; by which means they perspire less, and are enveloped with a less baneful atmosphere, than the trees of moist and low grounds. Pimento walks are remarkably healthful for residence. Persons, obliged to reside upon or near marshy, unhealthful spots, should avoid exposing themselves, when fasting, to the chills of the morning and evening air, and never go abroad with an empty stomach; but, previous to their labour, or amusement abroad, they should take either a glass of wine, with a slice of bread, or drink a small quantity of chamomile or bark tea, or of an infusion of garlic, bark, and rhubarb in brandy; which may be taken either alone, or diluted a little with some water, before they venture out in the morning.

In all such humid situations smoking tobacco is beneficial; as also a more plentiful diet of flesh, with wine, and the peppers of the country. The pit of the stomach, the feet, and the back bone, are more particularly to be guarded by coverings of flannel or cotton; a square piece of thick dimitty, with a tape strap to put round the neck, may be worn next the skin, to cover the chest and stomach. This has been experienced very conducive to health, in such places, and a good preventative against those colds and rheumatisms, which are apt, in these climates, to fall on the bowels, and cause the belly-ach; and, to these precautions the daily use of bathing may be added, in the forenoon, when the stomach is empty. Strangers newly arrived at such places, or those who are constitutionally subject to agues, should, during the sickly seasons, take, every other night, two or three spoonfuls of *tinctura sacra*, or a few grains of *pilulæ rufi*, not sufficient to  
 purge,

purge, but only to keep the body gently open; and, for further prevention, a wine glass of the [c] infusion of bark and orange-peel, in water; or a table spoonful of a strong [d] tincture of bark, in spirits, may be taken, diluted with water, occasionally, in a morning before breakfast. When a person is attacked with a fit of shivering, or the chills of an ague, he ought to go to bed; and, mixing about two ounces of white-wine vinegar with a quarter of an ounce of finely powdered chalk, should drink them immediately, while in the state of effervescence. This draught generally shortens the cold fit, brings on a profuse sweat, and may be repeated in the subsequent paroxysms. A mixture of salt of wormwood with lime or lemon juice, taken in its effervescent state, is administered for the same intention; but the best cure for an ague is the preparation subjoined in the note [e], which has rarely been found to fail in carrying it off.

For persons on the recovery from these and other debilitating maladies in the West Indies, no food whatever contributes more or sooner to the restoration of strength, than a turtle, or fish-diet, or nourishing fish-soup, warmed with the spices of the country; and, if necessary, rendered more palatable by the addition of a little juice of ripe limes.

It has been a received opinion, that, upon change of air from a cold to a hot climate, the first fever or fit of sickness alters the constitution of the body, so as to season it in the change; and that such a sickness is absolutely necessary to season and accommodate an European to it. But this is fallacious.

Sickness, though often primarily caused by the alteration of climate, does not always adapt the body, nor season it; nor is it absolutely necessary for that purpose. For many persons, either from some constitutional ailment, some latent predisposing source in their habit, as a scorbutic taint, may suffer reiterated fits of illness, without perceiving themselves better reconciled to the change, than they were after

[c] ℞. One ounce of bruised bark, half an ounce of four orange peel, half a pint of boiling water; infuse these ingredients, and, after suffering them to settle for some time, pour off the liquor so long as it runs clear.

[d] ℞. One ounce of pounded or bruised bark, eight ounces of French spirit of wine; let it stand in a warm place four days, then strain off, and bottle it for use; it may prove more efficacious with a slight addition of rhubarb; or, in hot temperaments, a very little nitre. Linde.

[e] ℞. Three drachms of bark, finely powdered, one drachm and half of Venice treacle, the juice of one and half common-sized lemons, and six table spoonfuls of sound red Port wine; mix the ingredients well, and divide into three equal parts; one whereof to be taken at morning, noon, and evening, of the well day, on an empty stomach. This dose is for a grown person, and may be proportionably lessened for those of tender years.

the first attack; many others suffer no illness at all from the change, but bear it well; which proves, that sickness or a fever was not required to prepare or adapt them to it. The thorough and proper seasoning to such a climate is brought about effectually by remaining in it for some length of time; and all *sudden changes* from cold to heat, or heat to cold, produce nearly similar effects. Thus, if 500 seamen or soldiers pass from England to the West Indies, setting out in very cold weather, and arriving there after a quick voyage, many of them will be seized with a diarrhoea, and with violent and mortal fevers, if they indulge, soon after their arrival, in *rum newly distilled*. But, if the same men are kept at sea, and the ship does not put into any unhealthy port, during the sickly season of the year, these men, after being twelve months in the West Indies, will become perfectly seasoned to the climate, and enjoy as good a state of health, as if they were in England.

So, if the same men, after being some years in the West Indies, are relieved, and arrive on the English coast, in the winter time, they will be again seized with diarrhoeas; the cure and removal of which will intirely depend on keeping the patients *warm*. On their change to the hot climate, the humours, unable to pass off fast enough by the outlets of perspiration, fall on the bowels. On their return from a hot to a cold climate, the outlets by perspiration being suddenly closed, the humours are repelled, and driven again upon the same parts; and the keeping the patients warm is no more than recalling their bodies to the same glow to which they had lately been accustomed, and thereby promoting a free discharge by the skin.

It has been observed, that muskeetos are intolerably numerous in those places in the West-Indies, which are least adapted to human habitation. They are found in the greatest swarms among lagoons, and swamps on the sea coast, and in little creeks sheltered with mangrove trees; in gullies which contain any stagnant water; in puddles on the flat country after the rainy seasons, and in river-courses in dry weather, where the water rests in detached hollows, and becomes corrupted from the fermentation of aquatic weeds, and subsided scum. Sometimes, I have known them driven from their skulking holes, by the violence of strong sea breezes, to a considerable distance up the country; but in general among the mountains,

tains, they are scarce, very diminutive and feeble. They are principally troublesome, and in swarms, after the periodical rains, when the lowlands are drenched with water, and full of little puddles, where these insects deposite their eggs, and multiply the breed.

They are therefore no positive harbingers of unhealthy spots, except where they are found at *all seasons of the year*, in the *greatest abundance*; such are the places, where they can enjoy a warm atmosphere, and water undisturbed by rude winds. They are found in the most healthy situations; they swarm in all the provinces of North America, and even in Canada in the summer time; but it is very certain, that in those countries, as well as the West-Indies, they are most numerous in the least healthful parts; and that the summer season is the most sickly time of the year in North America. These insects cannot exist long, nor propagate their species well, without stagnant water. Dry weather, dry exposures, and a cool air, are equally obnoxious to them; their favourite haunts therefore, and such as seem most to promote their multiplication, are to be rejected as the least fit (in proportion) for mankind to inhabit, at least during those months in the year when they appear most vigorous and numerous.

Butchers meat does not ordinarily grow tainted, in the lowlands of Jamaica, under 30 to 36 hours (unless exposed to the sun). When hung up in an airy shaded place, and protected from flies, it will keep longer. In the mountains, I have eat beef corned and boiled, very good and sweet, after five or six days keeping; and pork pickled here of a twelvemonth old. Corpses are kept, on the South side of the island, in general, twenty-four hours or more, according to the nature of the disease, and season of the year, before interment, without becoming offensive.

The effects observed here on metals exposed to the air, is no criterion of an unhealthy state. This rusting, or corrosion, particularly remarked on iron or steel, is thought to be occasioned by a muriatic acid, or by nitrous particles, with which the air of this island is impregnated. I have seen iron work upon one of the highest ridges of the mountains, in as healthy a situation as any on the globe, corroded in as great a degree as in any part of the lowlands. I observed, on a large iron scale beam suspended close by the  
sea,

sea, that the side next the water was cankered with rust in the course of a few weeks after being hung up; but the opposite side remained perfectly sound, and the paint as fresh as at first.

Transient showers here, though sometimes very heavy, do not leave the air affected with moisture; and these metals rust least here during rainy weather.

May not such irrigations dilute, conduct, or carry off, those particles floating in the atmosphere, which at other times act as *menstrua* upon iron? or, may they not render them less active?

Fixible or mephitic air acts very powerfully upon iron but has not any effect upon copper. But copper is corroded in this climate, though not so violently as iron. The volatile vitriolic acid dissolves both; this latter substance has been conjectured to be plentifully distributed throughout the universe, in the subterraneous regions, and even in the atmosphere; it is constantly present in the *electrical fluid* which is diffused in such great abundance between the Tropics; and from the supposed existence of it in the air, it has been called, the *sal acidum vagum universale* [*f*]. We may therefore venture, perhaps, to ascribe the effect observed to this cause, until some more probable, or powerful, agent shall be discovered.

Having now laid down general rules for distinguishing a good from a sickly situation I proceed to another essential article, which merits attention from all Europeans, coming to reside in this climate, viz.

## S E C T. II.

### C L O A T H I N G.

Fashion and custom, says Dr. Hilary, are two prevailing things, which enslave the greater part of mankind, though often in opposition both to reason and convenience, and particularly in our *dress*; for no doubt but the loose, cool, easy dress of the Eastern nations, their gown or banyan, is much easier and better fitted for use in a hot climate, than the English dress, which is close and tight. All who have tried both, find it so: but, such is the influence of fashion and custom, that one may see men loaded, and half melting under a ponderous coat and waistcoat, richly bedaubed with gold lace or

[*f*] Falconer.

embroidery on a hot day, scarcely able to bear them, and little considering how much they injure their constitutions by a sweltering load of garments, of whose inconvenience they cannot but be sensible; and under whose pressure, they cannot but feel the most uneasy sensations.

A banyan is the dress of the mandarins at the courts of China and Japan, of the nobility and gentry at Indostan and Persia; and why it should not be adopted in other hot countries, can only be attributed to the tyranny of custom, which is ever perverse, and whose councils resemble the laws of the Medes and Persians, which altered not. If a Chinese mandarin was to be crammed into a suit of English cloaths, he would look like a hog in armour, and feel as much distress. But wrap an Englishman, under the torrid zone, in a Chinese banyan, and he would esteem it luxuriously delightful; custom arbitrarily forbids him to enjoy so much bliss, and commands him to dress in the modes of London and Edinburgh. It is not however unwise to borrow so much from the fashions of other nations, as we may practise ourselves with equal advantage. To come nearer therefore to Jamaica, let us observe a little the management of our Spanish neighbours. All their cloaths are light; their waistcoat and breeches are of *Bretagne* linen, and their coat of some other thin stuff. *Wigs* are not much worn among them; only the governor and chief officers appearing in them, and that mostly on public occasions. *Neckcloths* are likewise very uncommon; instead of these, the neck of their shirt is adorned with large gold buttons, or clasps, and these are suffered to hang loose. On the head, they wear a cap of very fine, thin, and white linen. Others go entirely bare headed, having their hair cut from the nape of the neck upwards. *Fans* are very commonly worn by the men, made of a thin branch of the *palmeto*, in the form of a crescent, with a stick of the same wood in the middle for a handle. Their *women* wear a kind of a petticoat, which they call a *pollera*, made of thin silk, without any lining; and on their body a very thin white jacket; but this is only put on, in what they call their winter, during the rainy season; for, in the hot months, they think it insupportable. Although this attire is so simple and loose, yet it is decent; for they

always lace in such a manner as to conceal their breasts. When they go abroad they wear a mantlet or short cloak. The richness of their dress does not consist, as with the English ladies, in a multitude of things piled one upon another; but in the finest linen, laces, and jewels, so disposed as to add very little to inconvenience, and to produce the most ornamental effect.

On the head, they wear a cap of fine linen covered with lace, and worked into the shape of a mitre; which, being plentifully starched, terminates forward in a point, not easily discomposed. This they call *panito*, and it is worn by the ladies, and other native Whites, as an undress; nothing can be more becoming, and, having used themselves to it from their infancy, it fits upon them with a better air. Our English belles in Jamaica differ very widely from these madonas. They do not scruple to wear the thickest winter silks and fattins; and are sometimes ready to sink under the weight of rich gold or silver brocades. Their head-dress varies with the *ton* at home; the winter fashions of *London* arrive here at the setting in of hot weather; and thick or thin caps, large as an umbrella, or as diminutive as a half crown piece, are indiscriminately put on, without the smallest regard to the difference of climate; nay, the late preposterous mode of dressing female hair in *London*, half a yard perpendicular height, fastened with some score of heavy iron pins, on a bundle of wool large enough to stuff a chair bottom, together with pounds of powder and pomatum, did not escape their ready imitation; but grew into vogue with great rapidity, and literally might be affirmed, *to turn all their heads*; for it was morally impossible to avoid stooping, and tottering, under so enormous a mass. Nothing surely can be more preposterous, and absurd, than for persons residing in the West-Indies, to adhere rigidly to all the European customs and manners; which, though perhaps not inconvenient in a cold Northern air, are certainly improper, ridiculous, and detrimental, in a hot climate. How perverse is an attachment to thick bushy periwigs (the fit antidotes to frost and snow), under a vertical sun; or complete suits of thick broadcloth, laced from top to bottom, in a country where there is not the least occasion to force a sweat! The proper coats for this climate are of the lightest English broadcloths, commonly known

by



by the name of *kerfeymeres*, made without any lining or lace, easy and loose. The waistcoat and breeches should be of cotton (corded or India dimity for example), in preference to linen, as it prevents catching cold; a circumstance not well to be avoided in a linen dress, which is no sooner moist, than it strikes a very sensible chill, so as frequently to obstruct perspiration. The same substance is also proper for stockings. Most men however, in this island, wear linen drawers in preference to linings, for the sake of cleanliness; and prefer the Russia drab for breeches, as it is very durable, and has a neat look.

White hats are best adapted to this climate, on account of their being light and cool. The black hats absorb the sun's rays, and are sometimes extremely inconvenient. All white servants therefore, soldiers, and others, whose employments may necessarily oblige them to be often exposed to the sun in the heat of the day, should be furnished with white hats instead of black; the former repelling, the latter imbibing, the heat [f]; and experience convinces, that light-coloured cloathing is by far the coolest in this part of the world, and black or dark-coloured the hottest; for the same reason a full mourning, or black suit, is improper here; because, in such cloaths, the body is more heated by the sun in walking abroad, and heated at the same time by the exercise; which accumulated fervour may occasion dangerous illnesses. They are prudent, who, instead of this, wear a scarlet, with black cuffs and button holes, by way of mourning; for nothing is more likely to subject a person to catch cold, and a fit of sickness, than a sudden change from an habitual light and cool dress, to one twice as hot; and as sudden a return again, after a time, to his former mode. On the same principle, the ladies hats or bonnets should be lined with black, as not reverberating on their faces those rays of the sun, which are reflected upwards from the earth and water, and occasion freckles, or tan. And hence also it appears, that putting a bit of white paper *within*

[f] This is illustrated by Dr. Franklin's experiment, who took a number of little square pieces of broadcloth of various colours, and laid them all out upon the snow, in a bright sun-shiny morning. In a few hours, the *black cloth*, being most warmed by the sun, sunk so deep as to be below the action of the solar rays. The dark blue, almost as deep. The lighter blue not quite so much as the dark. The other colours still less, in proportion as they were lighter; and the white remained on the surface of the snow, not having sunk at all.

the crown of a black hat will not keep out the heat, though it would, if placed *without* [g].

Travelers in this climate should be careful always to change their cloaths after getting wet by riding in the rain. It is a common practice here, as in the East-Indies, to cool bottled liquors by wrapping cloths dripping-wet round the bottles, the warmth which the liquors had contracted evaporating with the water as it passes from the cloths; and the operation is greatly facilitated by setting them in a shaded place, where they are accessible to the wind [b]. A traveler, caught in rain, is much in the same situation as one of these bottles, and, by the quick evaporation of his natural warmth, perceives his body chilled and aguish. It is usual here to strip, and rub all over with rum, and then put on dry cloaths; which prevents any ill consequence.

Having nothing more material to add on the subject of drefs, I shall next speak of,

### S E C T. III.

#### DIET *and* GENERAL REGIMEN *of* LIFE.

A LEARNED physician [i] has given it as his opinion, that, as the time approaches for seamen to enter hot climates, their diet should, by positive institutions, be varied from what is usual at land, or at sea, in Europe; that instinct has taught the natives between the Tropics, and in all hot climates, to live chiefly on vegetable diet and subacid fruits; for which reason, devouring large quantities of flesh-meats, and using the same hard indigestible food as might pass off in cold weather, or more Northerly regions, must alone have proved the cause of the destruction of many English lives. He, therefore, recommends for trial, in hot climates, that the seamen on board men of war should not have salt meat of any kind above once a week, or twice; beef and pork alternately; and that every other species of allowance should be provided in much greater abundance than is commonly done for sea-voyages:

[g] Franklin.

[b] If these cloths were wetted with rum; query, if they would not render the liquors still cooler?

[i] Brocklesby.

by which regulation, he thinks, many of the ordinary mischiefs, attending the constant use of putrescent salted meats, may be prevented.

The example of some people in the Eastern part of the world has been quoted, by many writers, to shew that vegetables are the natural appropriated food for hot climates; but there are some circumstances attending it, in those Eastern climes, which escaped observation, or were not known. The truth seems to be, that the animal food, in some of those Eastern parts, is naturally unfit for food; of which Mr. Osbeck mentions instances. The Gentoos at Surat eat nothing but milk, butter, and vegetables. They have flesh in great plenty, but such as probably is not very wholesome, especially to those who come on shore after a voyage, and indulge their appetites. They are subject to vomitings and diarrhœas, and are in danger of losing their lives. On this account, Mr. Osbeck is of opinion, that Brama, or whoever at first gave law to these people, had discovered that these meats were very unwholesome to the Malabarians. "If all the Malabaric oxen (continues he) were like those which we got, it is no wonder that the Gentoos will not eat their flesh; the meer description of them would make the most hungry lose their appetites." And he attributes to this meat, that many of the Swedish sailors were afterwards exceedingly tormented with intolerably bloody ulcers. This gentleman's conjecture on the origin of their total vegetable diet seems, therefore, well-grounded; especially as the Jewish law-giver prohibited the use of swine's flesh, which in Palestine, perhaps, had a particular ill quality, and was thought to have first produced that horrid disease the leprosy, with which the inhabitants were so much afflicted.

It is by no means certain, that a total vegetable diet is proper in hot climates, at least not in all of them, nor at all times indiscriminately. Although vegetables in these climates are better concocted and matured by the heat of the sun, and therefore more nutritious, and in general wholesomer, than in Europe; yet, after violent rains, the vast quantity of water that descends upon the earth renders all sorts of roots, plants, and fruits, for some time, crude and unwholesome. This more especially happens, if a course

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of hot dry weather has preceded; for the heaviest rains always follow such weather; and all vegetables then imbibe the water in a prodigious quantity, till they are saturated. At such times, they are very improper food, and often cause very dangerous fluxes among such of the Negroes as make too free with them. A vegetable diet, from its extreme flatulence, occasions other disorders, inflates the body into an immoderate size, and may thus give an appearance of fatness; as Mr. Osbeck observed of the Gentoos. Some of the Negroes have the like tumefactions, which would more frequently occur, if they did not use salt and the country peppers very liberally. The flesh of fowls and cattle comes sooner to maturity here than in Europe. The texture of it is looser, and the muscular and tendinous parts less rigid. Their flesh, therefore, is not so gross, heavy, and hard of digestion, as in Northern climates; but approaches nearer to vegetable food in its nature. A total abstinence from animal food, in Jamaica, would probably increase the relaxation already promoted by the climate, and debilitate the bodily vigour to a very dangerous excess. Even the Gentoos, we find, do not wholly abstain; for they use milk and butter (perhaps no small portion of their meal), which are nutritive, and help to qualify the deleterious effects of their vegetables.

The most appropriated diet, in my opinion, for the West-Indies, is a constant mixture of animal and vegetable food, (if any thing) inclining to the vegetable; that is, if an equal proportion be exceeded, it ought to be in favour of the vegetable [k]. And such is the variety and multitude of this class, most of which are adapted to

[k] It is certain, that, so long as men have plenty of vegetables, and will use them, they are never troubled with the scurvy, whether they live in moist, warm, or cold climates. On the contrary, where there is a total want of them, all writers agree, that this disorder (or tendency of the animal juices to putrefaction) is the immediate consequence.

Dr. Falconer has a very judicious remark in respect to the preparation of flesh-meats in hot climates. "Meats *little done*," says he, "are certainly easiest soluble; but they are, at the same time, exceedingly *alkalescent*, and run quickly into putrefaction; so that it is much to be questioned, whether they are to be chosen for those who eat a large proportion of animal food, as such diet would be apt to induce a habit of body highly scorbutic, or tending to putrefaction, except taken with a large proportion of vegetables." On this account, he suspects, that the French (who, for a warm climate, eat a large quantity of animal food) eat their meat so much roasted, or boiled, from a kind of natural instinct, in order to obviate its septic tendency, which is much augmented by the greater heat of the climate.

nourish, or refresh the body, that the daintiest person need not be at a loss in selecting such as are most palatable to him. The olios, or pepper-pots, here (which constitute the ordinary food of the Negroes, were the most esteemed dishes among the Spaniards, and are equally relished by our natives or Creoles) confirm the propriety of such a diet as I have proposed; for they consist of flesh or fish, greens, roots, plantains, okra-pods, and pulle, differently mingled and prepared; so that there is a great variety in their preparation and flavour; and every change in succession of the ingredients presents some novelty, which is certainly no small recommendation; for they can be so altered in taste, by putting in some vegetable or animal ingredients, and omitting others, as to seem entirely a new dish; and they are unquestionably a most wholesome kind of food for Europeans newly arrived, provided they are not too highly seasoned with pepper.

Instead of attending to what reason points out, most Europeans, after their arrival here, persist in devouring vast quantities of animal food, with very little (if any) mixture of vegetable: they indulge in bad butter, cheese, salt-beef, ham; and wash them down with deluges of porter, ale, bad cyder, and all sorts of wines. The butter imported hither is often in a state of putrescence when it arrives; in general, it is rancid. So acrimonious an ingredient in diet is noxious to health, disorders the stomach, and, oftener than is suspected, gives rise to those terrible fevers, whose source is a vitiated bile [7].

[7] The nourishment is extremely hurtful which is drawn from substances difficult to be dissolved, which tend to putrefaction, and cannot easily be assimilated; such as dried-fish, and particularly cheese, which is often putrid, bacon, and old oil. Butter, in warm climates, by being kept a short time on board ship, grows rank and fetid; for it frequently happens in ships, particularly those bound to the West-Indies in a warm season, that it melts away, like oil, in the firkins, by which it loses great part of its salt; and, the intestine motion being increased by the heat, it becomes bitter and stinks. Such gross food not only resists the powers of digestion very much; but the juices, drawn from them, are of a very acid nature.

Roupe.

Many particles of flesh, though carefully salted, will in time grow putrid, as appears from Dr. Addington's experiment; who put a small piece of salted beef into water, and at the same time a like piece of fresh, unsalted beef into another like quantity of water, and found the salted flesh to sink first; which proves the tendency of it to putrefaction, though the salt keeps it from offending the taste or smell: so that salted flesh, as well as putrid air, has a tendency to occasion the scurvy, as well as other putrid distempers.

Chocolate.

Chocolate is wholesome, and well-adapted to repair the loss sustained by liberal perspiration; but it ought not to be too freely used by Europeans at their first arrival at least, unless it is well diluted with milk and water, in which way many of the Creoles prefer it.

All those substances should be cautiously shunned which dispose the blood to putrefaction. Such are all rancid fats and oils; tainted flesh or fish; a flesh or fish diet, diluted with simple water alone; and excess in all spirituous liquors. Instead of this, such a diet should be observed as tends to aescency; for this intention are all the varieties of vegetables, combined with sound fresh meat of flesh and fish; and the subacid fruits, as lemons, oranges, shaddocks, &c. and wine, particularly Madeira, which, diluted with water, is one of the wholesomest drinks in the West-Indies; it is highly antiseptic, strengthens the stomach and organs of digestion, and far preferable to the French wines. Next to this is weak punch, made with ripe fruit, and rum of at least a twelvemonth's age. The vast abundance of mild, vegetable acids, as well as the various species of peppers, distributed to these climates by the hand of nature, is a most benevolent provision. The moderate use of them, considering the tendency of the solids and fluids to be relaxed, and contract a putrescency, is absolutely necessary; and we find the natives, white and black, covet them with a singular avidity.

The biscuit and flour, imported from North-America, are very apt to harbour weevils, especially when they are kept for any length of time. These insects have such a caustic quality, that, when applied to the skin in form of a poultice, they will raise a blister like *cantharides*. How baneful then must their effects be on the tender coats of the stomach and bowels! The best means of driving them away, or destroying them, is by exposing the flour, or biscuit, to the sun, in the heat of the day, before it is used, or heating it in a hot oven: the former method compels these insects to shift their quarters; the latter kills them, and takes away the musty smell they have occasioned: care, however, must be used to pick out all the dead, which ought never to be mixed with food.

Disorders of the putrid class are the most to be dreaded by Europeans in this climate. Persons, indeed, living in England and  
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colder climates, are not exempt from these maladies; and they happen in both, most commonly, from irregularity of diet, want of proper exercise, or from debauched habits of life.

An European, on arriving in Jamaica in good health, must resolve, immediately after he is landed, to pursue a regimen of diet, somewhat different from what he had been accustomed to at home. He should eat less flesh-meat, and increase his allowance of vegetables. This diet requires wine; but even wine should be moderately taken, and chiefly considered as a mixture necessary to qualify and counteract the putrefactive tendency of plain water. On the voyage to this island, he should not gorge in salt-meat; but, laying in a stock of European vegetables, particularly onions, pickled-cabbage, and the like, establish some or other of them as a part of his daily meals. It is perhaps much owing to the constant diet upon onions, that the Portuguese at Madeira enjoy such good health and vigour. What these men eat through necessity, others may by choice; since the object to be obtained is worthy their pursuit, sound health, and the possession of strength and faculties.

But as an Englishman, who has been used to a plentiful diet of flesh during the former part of his life, might suffer by a too sudden or unlimited abstinence from it; so it is most adviseable for them to change and qualify it gradually, abating a little of their flesh-meat every day, until they can bring themselves to a due proportion of animal and vegetable dinners, without suffering any sensible inconvenience. Their greatest danger is, that, on first landing, they find their appetite unusually keen, after the *tedium* of ship-fare, for five or six weeks at sea, and stimulated by the sight of several dainties they have been before unacquainted with; thus strongly sollicit to gratify their palates, they may fall into hurtful excesses, if they are not on their guard. A proper diet, with exercise in moderation, and the avoiding excesses in eating and drinking, particularly the former, will procure and preserve a good state of health; and a man, who regulates his life by a due conformity to this regimen, need not doubt of enjoying it in as great a degree here, as he might have done in other parts of the world.

Inflammatory fevers are not common in the West-Indies; nor a buffy appearance of the blood. The reasons assigned for this ex-

emptions are, the warmth and moisture of the climate, copious perspiration, and acidulated drinks. Excess in eating, drinking, and exercise, between the Tropics, neither corroborates the solids, nor increases the density of the blood: these errors in the non-naturals may render the West-India blood acid; but they certainly render the bile *peccant* both in quantity and quality. This is the passport to all the fevers in the West-Indies; for it may well be doubted, whether ever the blood is the primary seat of a fever, unless in persons newly arrived in the Torrid Zone. Of course, the impropriety of frequent bleedings, as always practised by the French, and too often by the English surgeons, must be obvious; and the necessity of carrying off the *peccant* matter by vomit and stool, no less apparent. This opinion is strengthened by experience of the almost constant success which attends the treatment of them in this way; and the great mortality which has followed the free use of the lancet: and hence likewise appears the great efficacy of antimonial preparations, and of James's powder in particular, which operate in the manner recommended, and seldom fail of making a cure, if resorted to in time [*m*].

Fevers in the West-Indies seldom put on the appearances of inflammation beyond the first twenty-four hours; after that, they become putrid, or malignant, and nervous. In the first stage only of the disease, blood may be let, and even then in a very small

[*m*] The first change, caused by the transition from a cold into a hot climate, is a rarefaction of all the humours in the body, and of the blood among the rest; and, when the containing vessels do not expand sufficiently to give it a free circulation, the consequence must necessarily be a feverish heat, anxiety about the *precordia*, a difficulty of breathing, violent pains in the head, and uneasiness. These symptoms are sometimes relieved by a spontaneous bleeding at the nose, which answers the end of venesection: and it is to be understood, that I do not mean to condemn bleeding in all cases, because, where the party is young, vigorous, and contracts a fever immediately after his coming to the West-Indies, moderate bleeding, in the beginning of the disorder, may often be not only safe, but necessary; and, for this, the particular symptoms are the best indication. But it should be used in the West-India fevers with great caution, and strict regard had to the age and habit of body, the time that the patient has resided in the West-Indies, his general diet, and such other circumstances as may lead to the forming a competent judgement whether opening a vein be proper or not. Where there is a very strong pulse and great heat, which is often observable in young, florid persons, newly arrived from a cold climate, venesection is often found serviceable, to check the too rapid motion of the fluids, and gain more time to treat the disorder properly. But such symptoms rarely occur, after an European has been a twelvemonth in the West-Indies; unless it may happen in Jamaica, by a sudden check of the perspiration, on the first setting-in of the cold Northerly winds.

quantity.



quantity. When the bilious matter has once entered the blood (which it will soon do, if sweats are incautiously used at first), vomits and acid purges become less useful; and the morbid matter must be thrown out upon the skin by wild-sage tea, weak punch, or other liquors which promote a slight diaphoresis. In this disorder it often happens, that a weak purgative, or emetic, will produce uncommon evacuations. This should not alarm; and the patient's strength should be well supported with Madeira whey. This fever often subsides into a remittent, and then into an intermittent, whose best remedy is the bark, which not only produces a wholesome bile, but invigorates the whole habit. Fluxes and dysenteries proceed often from the same cause, a corrupted bile, and sometimes from a suppressed perspiration, or too free indulgence in crude, watery vegetables. Of all the substances known, the bark, and ripe orange or lemon juice, deserve, for their excellence, the name of specific against putrefaction. I knew an European gentleman in Jamaica, who regularly drank every day a small tumbler full of sweet or sour orange juice, using them indifferently, immediately after dinner, and enjoyed constant health. I remember another who cured himself of a bilious putrid fever with no other remedy than the juice of ripe Seville and other oranges. And so many instances have been noticed of their antiseptic quality in these cases, that the utmost confidence may be reposed in their salutiferous effects.

Much more might be added on the subject of these distempers, their causes, symptoms, and method of cure; but, as I mean not to enter into an elaborate and medical investigation of them, I refer to the writings of Pringle, Huxham, Lind, Biffet, Hilary, Rouppe, and De Monchy, who have treated of them with the greatest ability.

Most Europeans, on first coming within the Tropics, are affected with an eruption upon their skins of small red pimples, which goes by the name of the *prickly heat*. This is looked upon to be salutary, unless it is repelled; and it is remarkable, that it returns periodically every year, about April or May, on persons who have resided a long time in the West-Indies[z]. It is, probably, caused

[ ] At least in Jamaica.

by an extraordinary flow of perspiration, and the current of the humours towards the skin, promoted by the heat of climate. It must not be unnoticed, that the peristaltic motion of the bowels being here perhaps more languid than in Europe, persons newly arrived are often subject to constipations; and sometimes the *faeces* are so hardened, as to be excreted with great difficulty. The retention of them too long may therefore not only cause an acrimony to lodge in the intestines, productive of belly-ach, or other spasmodic complaints; but give rise to bad fevers, by the absorption of such an acrid and putrid humour into the veins. It is necessary, therefore, to keep the body always open. Chocolate tends to this effect; and it is observed by Ulloa, that, at Carthage, where it is to be had extremely cheap, there is not a Negroe slave but allows himself constantly a regale of it after breakfast and dinner; but they never use it *fasting*, nor without eating something with it. I have, in another place, cautioned Europeans, newly arrived, from indulging too much in it, especially when made thick. I alluded to the costlier sort of chocolate, manufactured here with cinnamon, and other hot spices, which are the ingredients that render it improper for them. But the common sort, chiefly used among the free Negroes, and others of the natives who love it plain, is mixed up with maize; and this may be safely used by such Europeans, diluted with milk and water: in this state it will be found rather cooling than heating; and the addition of sugar makes it the more aperitive. *Sedes figuratae* are seldom observed in this climate; which may be ascribed to the weaker peristaltic motion above remarked, as well as to the diet pursued by most of the inhabitants, consisting chiefly of vegetables and soluble substances.

In all hot countries it has been observed, that healthy people generally perspire very much; and this (from the greater disposition of the humours to putrescence) may be accounted one of the principal conservators of health. It is therefore surprizing to find Mr. Reaumur assert, “that perspiration impairs the longevity of all animals, by discharging, not only the useleſs, but nutritious, parts of the animal fluids; and that an excess of perspiration seems to be the reason why the inhabitants of hot climates live a shorter term than those who inhabit the temperate zones;” for, in fact, this

this effect, by a waste of actual substance, can only happen when the body is kept unreplenished, by supplies of nutriment, to repair the loss of what may be carried off by this means. Hence those, who are most healthy, are known to dilute more frequently and plentifully than others; their perspiration chiefly eliminates aqueous particles, which are speedily replaced; they do not grow emaciated, but plump; and gain, instead of losing, weight; which would not be the case, if the fact was as Mr. Reaumur supposes. Neither is it proved, that the native inhabitants of hot climates are shorter-lived than those of the temperate zones; since there are many instances to the contrary, both in the islands, and on the continent of South-America.

The reapers in Pennsylvania, who work in the open fields, in the clear, hot sun-shine, common in their harvest-time (about the end of June, or beginning of July), find themselves very able to go through that labour, without being much incommoded by the heat, while they continue to sweat, and while they supply matter for keeping up that sweat, by drinking frequently of a thin, evaporable liquor, water mixed with rum; but, if the sweat stops, they drop, and sometimes die suddenly, if a sweating is not brought on again by drinking that liquor, or (as some rather chuse in that case) a kind of hot punch, made with water mixed with honey, and a considerable proportion of vinegar. Hence Dr. Franklin very properly concludes, that the quicker evaporation of perspirable matter from the skin and lungs of Negroes, by cooling them more, enables them to bear the sun's heat so much better than the Whites can do; though, abstracted from this, the colour of their skins would, otherwise, make them more sensible of that heat [o]. From the same cause, perhaps, it is, that they do not bear cold weather so well, and are more apt to have their limbs frost-bitten in the Northern parts of America; their greater evaporation contributing to chill them more severely. However this hypothesis may be, it is certain, that Europeans, coming to reside in the West-Indies, are never known to enjoy their health and spirits, unless they perspire freely; and those, who continue to do so, are not afflicted with sickness so long as it continues: that regimen therefore of diet,

[o] Franklin's Papers on Philosophical Subjects.

of exercise, and cloathing, which answers best for supporting this regular flow, without carrying it to extreme, is the most salutary for European strangers to pursue. The natives, black and white, are not subject, like Europeans, to bilious, putrid, and malignant fevers: they are not only habituated to the climate, but to a difference in respect to diet and manners; which works no small change in mens constitutions. A Creole, if he was to addict himself to that kind of diet which is known to have a tendency to produce putrid disorders, or an acrid, corrupt bile, would no more be exempt from them, than an European. I knew a Creole boy, of about six years of age, who, being restrained by his mother from eating any sort of fruit or vegetables (the former, lest they should generate worms; and the latter, through fear of acidities and gripes) made his principal meal every day on butchers meat, fowl, or fish, without salt, seasoning, or any bread, except now and then a very small quantity, and washed it down with plain water. The boy, after persisting for some months in this regimen, was seized with a very violent, bilious, remittent fever, accompanied with a *delirium* and other bad symptoms, that threatened his life; but, by administering the bark inwardly, applying poultices of it externally to the stomach and abdomen, and often soaking his feet in a strong warm decoction of it, he at length recovered, and doubtless owed his life to this noble specific, thus thrown into his body by so many different ways. But the acrimony in his blood was apparent, from the vast abundance of boils, which broke out afterwards from head to foot. I think it probable, that the luxuriant flesh-diet of Englishmen at home, together with some scorbutic taint in their blood, may be assigned partly as an occasional cause of their being more obnoxious, generally speaking, to bad fevers in the West-Indies, than many other Northern nations. This, however, is not the sole cause, because we find that English women, who are also equally flesh-eaters, and liable to the same scorbutic taint in a degree, are not so often seized with these dangerous fevers; nor are they attacked so violently, nor to such a degree of malignancy. Perhaps, we may impute this diversity to the more cool and temperate regimen of the women, their less exposure to heat and hard exercise in the sun, less addiction to intemperance, and late hours.

There

There may be other reasons suggested for the difference observed between the English men, and those of other countries. First, their excessive indulgence in a promiscuous commerce on their first arrival, with the black and mulatto women; and this, with so little prudence and caution in their amours, that they are almost morally sure of being very speedily infected. The facility with which the milder symptoms of the *virus* are removed, in this warm atmosphere, serves only as an incentive to these persons, and renders them indifferent and careless about consequences; for a *gonorrhœa simplex* yields in a very few days to gentle medicines. Encouraged, therefore, to persevere in this unheeding course, they in due time attain to the highest honours this impure contact is qualified to confer, as a reward for their temerity; the consequence of which is, their being laid under absolute necessity of praying to their god *Mercury* for relief. Not a few also arrive here, who have already passed through many of these fiery trials in London, and other seats of debauchery. It has been remarked by several of the most eminent physicians, and stands confirmed by repeated experience, that *mercurial* medicines are attended with the most pernicious effects upon scorbutic habits, and on such as are disposed to *putrid fevers*. These gentlemen all agree in opinion, that the power of mercurials chiefly consists in weakening and relaxing the solids, and in attenuating and dissolving the fluids; a human body therefore, which has recently undergone a mercurial regimen, is already on the very brink of putrefaction, and very ill prepared to resist the assault of a putrid fever. Thus in the *scurvy*, a very small quantity of mercury is sufficient to bring on a salivation. When this disorder raged among the imperial troops in Hungary, four-hundred soldiers, who took mercury contrary to the advice of their physician, all died to a man in a salivation. *Pringle* observes, that persons who have lately undergone a salivation, and whose blood is consequently in a state of dissolution, are much sooner infected by noxious *effluvia* than others; and, that malignant fevers, and the *scurvy* also, are rendered more severe and dangerous in such circumstances. To the same effect is the remark of *De Monchy*, who found, that, after using mercury in *venereal* disorders,

ders, the *Peruvian bark* loses a great part of its efficacy, in the most virulent cases. Thus, that admirable medicine the bark, which in sound habits proves a sovereign antidote against putrid and malignant fevers, is robbed of its virtue by the putrefactive counteraction of mercurials; these noxious effects therefore, conjunctly with any morbid disposition of the humours, or with a bad air, and improper diet, or too violent exercise in the sun, may easily and naturally either hasten the attack of a putrid distemper, or promote the exacerbations of it, if already formed; and, such being allowed the predisposing causes, it is easy to admit, that a common fever may soon degenerate into a putrid, and even one of the most malignant species. The female slaves, and even free Blacks, in our plantations, are few of them exempt from this *virus*; but they conceal it by every artifice in their power, that no delay may happen in their business; for a hindrance in this respect would be a certain loss of profit to them. What *Ulloa* mentions of the Spaniards at *Quito*, is applicable to these traders: he tells us, “ The  
 “ venereal disease is there so common, that few persons are free  
 “ from it; even *little children*, incapable by their age of having  
 “ contracted it actively, have been known to be attacked with it  
 “ in the same degree as persons who have acquired it by their  
 “ debauchery; the chief cause of its prevalence, is negligence in the  
 “ cure. This disease must naturally be thought in some measure  
 “ to shorten their lives; though it is not uncommon, to see per-  
 “ sons live to seventy-five years or more, who have never been en-  
 “ tirely free from that distemper, either hereditary or contracted,  
 “ from their early youth.” It is probable, that the Scotch and Irish, who come over with sounder constitutions, less impaired perhaps by scorbutic and venereal taints, are, for this reason, more healthy than the English; besides, the Scotch, in particular, if not more chaste, are at least in general more circumspect in their amours.

I knew an European gentleman, who, by imprudent connexions of this sort, was infected not only by the *lues venerea*, but with the *gæus* at the same time; under these two distempers (than which there are few in *Pandora's* box more loathsome), he lingered for a long

long time; the remedies proper for the one, only served to exasperate the other; and therefore not being able, by the powers of mercury, to obtain relief, he was obliged to leave the island, in the hope of receiving some benefit from the advice of physicians in Great Britain. Another, a young man of a lively but lascivious turn, for several months after his arrival, was scarcely ever free from venereal infection, having not patience to wait the cure of one taint, before he contracted another; by this insane conduct, a salivation became necessary; debilitated with this, and his preceding excesses, he was suddenly, upon some little irregularity, seized with a fever, so slight at first, that, had not his constitution been worn down, and his whole habit degenerated, it would have been easily removed; but, being aggravated by the tabid state to which his body was then reduced, it turned by degrees to a highly putrid distemper, and carried him off.

Catastrophes of this nature, it is to be feared, have but too often occurred in the island, to the untimely destruction of many an improvident youth; nor are our surgeons wholly to be excused, who are but too fond of prescribing mercurials upon all occasions, without adverting to their fatal operation on some habits.

*Ardent spirits*, particularly brandy, and fresh distilled rum, *in excess*, are no less injurious in all cases where the humours have a disposition to putrescence; although, when used with due moderation, and not too frequently, they are antiseptic, or antiputrescent. What chance have those men for longevity, who act as if they were engaged in a perpetual conspiracy against their own health; who are incessantly inflaming and irritating their blood and juices with an acrimony, that is productive of mortal distempers; who indulge beyond measure in fiery spirits; carelessly hurry about, and use violent exercises in the hottest part of the hottest days [p]; sit up late at night, deprive their bodies of refreshing sleep, and expose them to the night air; and lastly, who plunge

[p] From a great increase of corporeal motion, and a want of repose and sleep, the same consequences are to be expected as from fevers; the nature of which consists in an accelerated circulation of the blood, attended of course with an excessive heat; whence proceeds an ensuing putrescency of the humours: just as a *hare*, killed after being hard run for a considerable time, becomes sooner tainted than one that has been killed upon its form. DE MONCRIF.

headlong into venereal debauches, and a mercurial regimen! ought the premature fate of such men, to be charged on climate? They who follow such improper courses, must count on their natural consequences; and unless, by the perversion of their intellectual faculties, they can be acquitted as lunatics or idiots, they must expect, in the award of divine justice, to be deemed guilty of self-murder; having willfully, wickedly, and, I am sure, I may add *wantonly*, put themselves to death, by means as effectual, as if they had used arsenic, or a dagger.

*Early-rising*, which has been spoken of with the greatest encomiums by medical-writers, for its contributing very eminently to the health, vigour, and activity of animal life, as well as rational, is particularly necessary in Jamaica; and no man ever attained to longevity here, who was not an early riser; nor are any so healthy, as those who religiously addict themselves to this practice. It is necessary here, because nothing more relaxes the body than the warmth of a bed, more especially if sleep is indulged at a time when the sun has ascended to some height above the horizon, and renewed the heat of the atmosphere [g]. The morning air is here delightfully cool; and the most agreeable time for exercise is before, or just about, sun-rise; they who exercise at this hour, feel their bodies refreshed and vigorous, so as to suffer no inconvenience from heat during the remainder of the day. The bed should be forsaken by six o'clock at furthest; many there are who rise at five; this supposes an early retreat to rest, the preceding evening; the more common bed-time at night, is from ten to eleven. They who lounge till eight or nine in the morning, and make it an habitual practice, cannot be long free from distemper; it is not only,

[g] It is a curious, although not a new remark, that the inhabitants within the Tropics sleep less than those who dwell in the cold, Northern climates; I believe, the difference in this respect, between a healthy person in Jamaica, and another in Britain, may, on a fair calculation, amount at least to thirty days *per annum*. If an inhabitant of England sleeps eight hours a night, at an average the year throughout, the inhabitant of Jamaica will be found to sleep not more than seven; consequently, the latter possesses thirty days, or upwards, of conscious existence more than the former; and, at the end of twelve years, may be said to have outlived the other by a full twelvemonth. How far this difference may tend to free the West-Indian from some distempers, incident to Northern drowsiness, or to irritate his animal spirits, or enliven his faculties, has not yet been examined; but it is probable, that it may obviate, in some degree, the relaxing effects of a warm atmosphere, and sweep away that gloom from the soul, which Northern weather is so apt to cast upon it in England.

that



that an excess of sleep, instead of nourishing and refreshing, enervates and emaculates, the human frame, but the body gains not a moment's respite from heat, or relaxation; it is heated during the day, it is heated again by sitting up late; and, after retiring to bed, it is plunged into a kind of hot bath; and lies stewing in its own vapours: while, as the sun draws nearer the meridian, the air grows more fervid every moment. So beneficial indeed is the custom of early rising in this climate, that it fortifies the organs against the invasion of sickness, and is of more importance than any other branch of regimen; more especially, if joined to moderate exercise.

It is difficult to say, what degree of exercise a man may use here without danger; it must perhaps be considered relatively to mens different constitutions, and strength. The weakest are strengthened by it, and the strongest become weak without it. In general, I believe, the inhabitants, especially Europeans, use it to a greater degree every day, than men in general do in England, and with seemingly less fatigue. I have myself traveled frequently fifty miles in a day on horseback, without suffering any lassitude, and always found such journies most supportable, the earlier I set out in the morning [r]. But, considering the expence of perspiration and spirits, which the body undergoes here daily, especially in the Southern districts, we ought to infer, that a less degree is requisite here for health, than in colder climates; for it seems reasonable to suppose, that we should endeavour here, rather to refrain, than promote, all violent motions of the blood and humours, and preserve them calm and temperate, at the same time not suffering absolute inaction and sloth to possess us so far, as to cause a stagnation; extraordinary exercise is less hurtful than such an indolent, motionless habit of life. The best exercise in this climate is gestation, either in a wheel-carriage, or on horseback; but the latter is to be preferred, except in long journies. But walking is too laborious, and attended with too great a waste of substance and spirits. The common practice of many in the towns, who are continually in agitation, and take the same liberty of bustling about on foot, at all hours of the day, as if they were in London, is evi-

[r] Sixty miles are usually reckoned here a day's journey; on horseback.

dently absurd. It seems probable, that so much hurry, which increases the *momentum* of the blood, and throws the whole body into violent heat, which is augmented by the intense ardour of the sun at noon, may bring on fevers of the most fatal kind. This practice is equally injudicious and unnecessary; the former, because it may be productive of severe illness; the latter, because, by rising early, much cooler hours might be found for transacting all the business, which any man who values his health can, or at least ought to, go through in this climate, during the forenoon. When business demands attendance abroad, they ought to choose the morning and afternoon for dispatching it, and keep within doors, or in the shade, at that time of the day when the solar rays are felt with most force and inconvenience; but, if they cannot avoid exposing themselves, they ought to walk slowly, and use some other precautions, to guard against any bad effects. The Negroes arm their heads with a load of handkerchiefs, carefully twisted about them, in form of a turban. The Eastern nations use the turban, which is not more calculated for ornament, than as a preservative against the violent action of the meridian sun upon the delicate, capillary vessels in the head; the obstruction of which occasions obstinate head-achs, and sometimes that fatal apoplexy, called by the French, *coup de soleil*. In the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, umbrellas are in general use, and found extremely serviceable to protect the head and body from this unwholesome fultriness. But our brave countrymen, despising all these precautions, as too ridiculous, or too effeminate, courageously face the sun at high noon; and will suffer death rather than put on any armour for their defence. It is not therefore without just reason, that the Spaniards, who sit calmly within doors, whilst honest John Bull is anxiously trotting about his business, all besmeared with dust and sweat, say proverbially, that, “no animal, except a *dog* and an *Englishman*, is to be seen walking the streets in the middle of the day.”

Doctor Hilary exclaims most profanely against *dancing*: “It is, says he, too violent an exercise for a hot climate, and many injure their health very greatly by it; I have known it fatal to some; neither is it used in the Eastern hot countries. But most

of

“ of the ladies are so excessively fond of it, that, say what I will, *they*  
 “ *will dance on.*”

The doctor very rightly concludes his soliloquy, in despair of prevailing on his fair audience to desist from an amusement so delightful to them, and, in my opinion, so innocent, if not carried to excess. I fear the doctor forgot his reading, when he asserted that no such diversion was in use in the Eastern hot countries; there are none of them, perhaps, where it is not in use: we find it in Asia, in Africa, and every part of America. The Indians of South America are particularly fond of it; even the grave Spaniard here is melted into an affection for it, and capers in *farabands* and *faldangos*; the natives of Jamaica are dancers from their infancy. The domestic life of women, which prevents them from exercising abroad as much as the other sex, naturally inclines them to love those active amusements which may be followed within doors; dancing therefore, considered as an exercise, is healthy and proper for them, promotes the circulation of the blood, and refreshes the spirits in the most agreeable manner, by the cheerfulness and gaiety which it inspires. In Jamaica, indeed, it is scarcely to be called an exercise *within doors*; the windows are all thrown open, and the dancers enjoy a constant succession of fresh air. It is very different here in its effects from what it is in cold countries, where the heat, and offensive smell of fires and lights, and the atmosphere of a close apartment, from which the external air is carefully excluded, and which is further vitiated by the breath and copious perspiration of a multitude of persons crowded together, make it productive of no salutary consequence. It has rarely been prejudicial in Jamaica, except where common prudence was wanting afterwards, and the parties have carelessly exposed themselves, when in a profuse perspiration, to the damp and chilling midnight air. They, who are more cautious, cloathe themselves properly on going home, put on dry, well-aired linen, take a little draught of some warm liquor at getting into bed, and seldom feel any bad effect, even after what some may think an excess; the principal reason for which may be, that the pleasure and vivacity, inseparable from it, in some measure counteract the lassitude which so much motion (mechanically considered) would naturally bring on, and prepare the body for a sound and undisturbed sleep, which restores very speedily the waste of spirits; insomuch, that I have known in this island,

a regular dancing-bout persisted in for a whole week, not intermitting a single night, without any ill consequence to the parties concerned. However, it is certainly more adviseable to use it in moderation; and, thus used, it will prove, in my humble opinion, a healthful recreation, an excellent antidote to cares, and a happy promoter of nuptial unions.

The utility of *bathtub* need not be insisted on, where we find it practised by the White and Negroe natives so universally, and constantly. Frequent washing the body with water, cleanses the perspiratory ducts from that foulness that is continually falling upon them from their own condensed, dewy atmosphere; the middle of the day is fittest for this operation, in water which has been placed some hours in the sun-shine, so as to acquire a tolerable degree of warmth. The Negroes wash in the open rivers at that time, and find it most wholesome, by experience; they have a different opinion of *cold-bathtub*; and indeed it seems not proper for this climate, except at a very early hour before sun-rise, and in the cooler mountainous or Northside parts, rather than the Southern: in the latter, I have known three or four fatal accidents which have followed plunging in cold water in the heat of the day. It should seem therefore more eligible to follow that usage, which experience shews to be not only healthy, but necessary to cleanliness, than to try experiments which have proved unsuitable to the climate, and are condemned by the native inhabitants, whose judgement has originally been founded upon trials, of what custom was hurtful, and what harmless.

The influence of the *passions* upon health, has been the subject of many dissertations from medical pens; in this country it must operate with double force, where men are more *feelingly alive* to joy or inquietude; where the nervous system is far more irritable than in a Northern climate. Men of lively imaginations and great vivacity (and such are the natives of this island) are more liable than others, to sudden and violent emotions of the mind, and their effects; such strong and sudden transports may actually throw men into acute diseases: but the slow and durable passions, solicitude, grief, stifled repentment, and vexation, are more often dangerous and mortal. These confusing enemies to health disturb the functions of the stomach, and vitiate its juices, so that no wholesome chyle or nourishment can enter the blood; the patient languishes under a bad habit of body, contracted from this cause,

pinæ with atrophy, and want of refreshing sleep; hence a complication of diseases succeeding each other, from bad to worse; and, unless he can subdue his anxiety, and restore peace to his mind, he gradually sinks under it, and dies, as it is said, of a *broken heart* [s].

Anxiety affects men in this country in proportion to their sensibility, and to its duration. When once it has taken a firm hold, it is generally productive of mortal consequences. Multitudes have expired here under the pressure of this fatal cause. Hurried by levity of disposition, or want of thought, into an expensive way of living, or imprudent schemes and pursuits; distress has poured in upon them at once like a deluge. Fretted, and wearied out at length with the conflict, and closely beset on all sides with implacable creditors, they have yielded passively to their fate, and sunk down into the grave, under a load that was too grievous for their mind to support. In such desperate circumstances, a slight indisposition is soon converted into one more formidable; the symptoms become more and more dangerous, and the malignancy increases every day, till, in the end, it has destroyed those, who required the aid of good spirits and cheerfulness, to second the efficacy of medicine; every drug has lost its usual virtue; the organs refuse to perform their functions; and thus, the disease in the mind has led the way to a sure conquest over the body. The life of an industrious planter is one continued scene of activity, both of body and mind. He is necessarily engaged in many public duties, as well as private affairs. His slumbers are often disturbed with corroding cares, the failure of seasons, the casualties to which his property may be liable, and the importunity of creditors. The day is often insufficient for the multiplicity of business which he finds himself obliged to allot to it. He ought, therefore, to arrange his various occupations, and make them conform to a certain orderly train and method, that he may proceed in them with the greater ease and dispatch; and, by this means, retrench great part of the perplexity, which must otherwise ensue. The like regular method he should enforce throughout all the inferior departments of his plantation; and, weighing well the uncertainty of all human possessions, and the frequent vicissitudes of fortune, he should determine with himself to confine his annual expences of living within certain positive bounds, so as not to exceed, if possible, *one*

[s] Cadogan on Chronic Diseases.

*third part* of his clear income, computed upon the average of five or seven years preceding. Some caution may likewise be requisite in his dealings with mankind; but there is one, which particularly merits his constant recollection; which is, that more persons in this country have been made unhappy, and even ruined, by *other mens debts*, than by their own. Let him therefore, above all things, keep a strict guard over the liberality or credulity of his own temper, and resolve inflexibly, *Never to be bound for any man*, and to consider *debt* as one of the most substantial evils in life. By a course of even moderate œconomy, he may have some little overplus at the year's end; and let this be applied (if necessary) to supply the wants of his friend, or his dependant. Men are not injured here so much by what they lend, or give away to the necessitous, as by setting their hands and seals to paper too often, and for too considerable sums; which unexpectedly rise up in judgement against them, or their family, after many years have elapsed. By engaging as *collaterals*, they have made themselves *principals*; destroyed their peace of mind; involved their estates, and beggared their children; without essentially benefiting their pretended friend: for such is the strange disposition of a sinking man, that, like one who is in danger of drowning, he catches at every straw within his reach; thinks of nothing but temporary expedients; and, between hope and despair of extricating himself from distress and ruin, he will, even when he knows it will turn out wholly unavailing to his own affairs, infiduously draw his best benefactor into the same abyss, to perish with him.

Misfortunes here, in planting and in trade, are necessarily very frequent, where men often adventure without limits; give, and take credit; are subject to be hurt by misplaced good-nature and confidence; and liable to various calamities and losses. It is difficult for men to reason themselves into a calm composure under afflictions, or vexatious circumstances, by all the arguments that philosophy or religion can furnish:

“ Durum: sed levius *patientia*,

“ Quidquid corrigere est nefas.”

“ 'Tis hard: but *patience* must endure,

“ And soothe the woes it cannot cure.”

This is the remedy which philosophy suggests, as the best means of alleviating those ills, that vexation only serves to render more sharp and

and intolerable. The heathen moralists called it, for this reason, “*portus miserationum*; the asylum of miseries:” but *Christian* patience brings infinitely more comfort and support. This instructs us to believe, that nothing befalls us, except by the permission, or the direction, of Divine Providence; it attracts our dependence upon that Being, who can enable us to bear what, otherwise, the frailty of our nature must sink under; it informs us, that diseases, pain, loss of friends, ingratitude, disappointments in our affairs, and *all the various ills that flesh is heir to*, fall to the lot of the good, as well as the wicked: the Divine Being exercises our virtue with such trials; corrects our vices and mistakes by these examples; leads us to soberer pursuits and councils; and excites us to repose our future thoughts on his care for our happiness, by submitting to his wise and provident dispensations, with serenity and fortitude. These trials, in a greater or less degree, every mortal must expect to meet with, in the course of his life; he sees continual instances of them, if he will but turn his eyes to view what befalls the rest of mankind; he ought then to prepare to meet them himself; never to be too confident under good fortune, nor too depending under the common mischances to which all are equally liable. Instead of giving way to those corroding thoughts, which keen sensibility, when too much indulged, is sure to aggravate with fresh tortures every moment, he should apply himself to meditate on the means of lessening his torment, by submission to the Father of all men, and frequent supplications to him for assistance and relief: books, exercise, business, chearful society, any innocent amusements, should be resorted to, for unbending the mind, and breaking the iron chain of sorrowful reflection. Too many have flown to the bottle, or to *laudanum*, to quaff the sweet oblivion[t]; such men are cowards, who have neither courage to bear up against their misfortunes, nor to end a painful existence

[t] I cannot avoid taking some notice of the abuse committed by many persons here, male as well as female, in their daily potations of this baneful mixture; several of both sexes love to become inebriated with it, and make their boast, that, of all liquors, it is not only the speediest and cheapest, but the pleasiest, to get drunk with. This vice (for a notorious vice it is) has ruined, and still ruins, the beauty of many a fine woman in this island, both in complexion and constitution; for it so poisons the whole corporeal mass, as to render the lips of a deadly pale or livid hue, and the face cadaverous. After frequent repetitions of it, so importunate and strong are its solicitations, as to admit of no denial, till, in the end, it constrains even its debauchees to abuse it. One morning I paid a visit to an elderly gentleman, whom I had frequently seen, and talked with be-

ence by one bold stroke; to end it indeed in such a manner, were but a temporary cure, for this world only; and the means, perhaps, of making that misery eternal, which otherwise would have been, at the worst, of short duration. To combat with steadiness against adversity, and resolve

fore, at other places. I found him sitting in a chair in his hall, and, accosting him as usual in as civil a manner as I could, I perceived that, contrary to his former polite and friendly manner, he sat regardless of me, and every thing else about him, except that his eyes were fixed upon me with a ghastly stare. Upon this, I appeared to take no further notice of him, but, addressing myself to the other company present, sat down, and discoursed on different subjects. Soon after, he withdrew into an adjoining room, and, staying there not half long enough for me to be informed what his disorder was, he returned alert and chearful, with a bottle and a spoon, and kindly asked me if I would take a cordial with him; which I declined doing, as I did not know the liquor; but he frankly told me, it was liquid laudanum of his own preparing, of which he had just drunk one spoonful, and should at least twice repeat the draught in course of the day, according to a custom he had practised for some years past. It was surprizing to me, to see how suddenly and powerfully it had operated upon him; for, instead of the torpid, spiritless creature, whom I first saw, he was, in the space of five minutes, flushed in his countenance, gay, talkative, animated throughout, and universally changed in mind and body.

This puts me in mind of the account which travelers have given of the Persians, who, like other Eastern nations, take pills of solid opium, which some of them gradually increase to a dose that would destroy half a dozen Europeans. Within half an hour after taking the pill it begins to operate, and a thousand vagaries delight their imagination; they laugh, sing, and talk extravagantly, like men in a delirium, or *maddened* with wine; but, after the effect is gone off, they find their spirits exhausted, and grow pensive and melancholy, till they repeat the dose again: by this means, some make it so necessary to them, that they cannot live without it.

I have known a whole company of men in Jamaica, at table, pledge one another in this liquor. The women, in general, are more moderate in the quantity they take at once; but, although they sip it drop by drop, it is repeated so frequently, that the whole they take in a twelvemonth is pretty near as much, as what others drink, who recur to it seldom, but in larger doses at a time; and its effects, in both cases, are equally fatal. Some ladies are never without a bottle of it in their pocket, with some lumps of sugar; and swallow it with great privacy, and by stealth, twice or thrice every day, increasing the dose so high, as to eighty or one hundred drops. They pretend it is their "*curarum dulce levamen*," and absolutely requisite for their comfort and happiness.

- " Their only labour is to kill the time,
- " And labour dire it is, and weary woe.
- " They sit, they loll, turn o'er some idle rhyme;
- " Then rising sudden to the *dram* they go,
- " Or faunter forth with tottering steps, and slow;
- " This soon too rude an exercise they find;
- " Strait on the couch their limbs again they throw,
- " Where hours on hours they, sighingly reclin'd,
- " *Embrace* the vapoury god, soft-breathing in the wind."

THOMSON.

The Turks, and other disciples of Mahomet, betook themselves to this mode of inebriation, because their religion forbade the use of wine. The Asiatic Indians are said to indulge in it, not so much to make them sleep, as from a notion, that it is a great provocative, and qualifies them the better for libidinous exercises.

Sottishness



resolve to conquer it, is the highest test of a good mind, true courage, and sound understanding; in other things, men will persevere through every difficulty, and succeed in defiance of every obstacle; nothing more is required, than the like spirit of perseverance and fortitude, to surmount the greatest ills of life, and trample upon those distresses, which cease to be burthenfome, when we have learned to bear them; but ever redouble their pressure upon us, when we bear them with impatience and timidity.

Sottishness then and lust being the chief founders of its use among these Eastern people, what opinion are we to form of those ladies in our Western hemisphere, who are bewitched to the same detestable custom? If drunkenness is so disgraceful to the fair sex in particular, they surely ought to reflect, that it makes not the least difference, in point of dishonour, whether they fuddle themselves with laudanum, or with brandy; nevertheless, there are too many among them, who, if a dram was to be offered them in public company, would consider it a high affront put upon them, and yet take the first convenient opportunity to beastialize themselves with their favourite liquor, till they are deprived of their reason, and driven into the most incoherent ravings in their conversation, and the wildest extravagancies in their conduct; thus sacrificing sense, beauty, health, fame, and even virtue, to this pernicious habit. All physicians agree, that it is exceedingly hurtful to those of weak and delicate habits, and brings on prematurely the infirmities of old age; for, among the Eastern nations, it has been observed, that scarcely any, who begin this practice while they are young, live to be above fifty. It produces paralytic disorders, and palsies; hinders digestion, and palls the appetite. It likewise is charged with causing a relaxation of the lower jaw, and a stammering speech; in regard to the latter bad effect, I am morally sure, we may ascribe the drawling, faltering pronunciation of many women and men in this island, to their excessive use of laudanum.

In some cases, and in the hands of a discreet physician, it is a noble remedy, and particularly in the distemper called the locked jaw, so frequent in the West Indies; and not seldom, as a palliative in the colic, and belly-ache: but those persons, who make it a part of their daily diet, receive all the injury it is capable of producing; and preclude themselves from all hopes of relief from it, in those maladies, where it might otherwise have proved their certain friend.

The firm hold which so horrid a fashion has taken in this island is really unaccountable, unless we suppose that the force of example, and the alluring persuasion of inveterate female tipplers, have combined with the deluding charms of this *Circæan* draught:

“ Offering to every weary visitor  
 “ Their *magic* liquor in a crystal glass,  
 “ To quench the drought of Phœbus; which as they taste,  
 “ (For most do taste through fond, and *curious* thirst)  
 “ Soon as the potion works, their human count’nance,  
 “ Th’express resemblance of the gods, is chang’d  
 “ Into some brutish form of wolf, or bear,  
 “ Or ounce, or tiger, hog, or bearded goat,  
 “ All other parts remaining as they were;  
 “ And they, so perfect in their misery,  
 “ Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,  
 “ But boast themselves more comely than before,  
 “ And all their friends, and native home forget,  
 “ To roll with pleasure in a sensual styë.”

MILTON.  
 S E C T.

## S E C T. IV.

## Of SUGAR, considered Medicinally.

There is no better preservative, perhaps, against those diseases which owe their rise to a putrescency of the humours, than the juice of the sugar-cane, and its various preparations. The effects they produce on debilitated Negroes, and on brute animals, whom they restore to health and vigour, rendering the most emaciated plump and lively, are extremely remarkable. There cannot be a stronger recommendation of any substance proper for aliment, than to say, that it is eagerly devoured by all animals, and offensive to none; more especially, as they, who are governed by unerring instinct, are never known to delight in any species of food, which is inimical to their health: but human reason and experience correspond with this instinct, in recommendation of these mild, nutritious, and salutary effects.

It has been observed, that, since sugar and acescent substances have come into vogue, all putrid diseases, the scurvy no less than putrid malignant fevers, the dysentery, and even the plague itself, are much abated. The ablest writers on these diseases mention sugar or melleas as necessary ingredients in the diet of patients afflicted with them; and that their virtue consists in the efficacy with which they resist, and counteract, all putrid humours. The Spaniards in the West Indies, sensible of this effect by long experience, use it universally; it forms a part of all their collations, and they never drink even a glass of water without previously eating some conserve, or sweetmeat. In the putrid yellow fever, Doctor Mc Bride recommends very strenuously the juice of the *sugar-cane* before it is thoroughly ripe, diluted and acidulated with the fresh juice of limes or Seville oranges. Let our men (says he) in the navy be as well clothed as in the army, and let them be allowed, whilst at sea, a daily portion of *sugar*; and, I will venture to promise that, in a time of war, we shall annually save some thousands of very useful lives.

To the use of this, and fresh vegetables, which now make up so great a part of the diet of the European nations, it is to be ascribed, that we at this day so seldom hear of the dreadful putrid diseases which formerly swept off such multitudes, every thirty or forty years, under the name of plagues.

The.

The diet most fit to preserve health in hot climates must consist (for the greater part) of vegetables, and of those substances, which produce the greatest quantities of air, in order to afford a sufficient quantity of antiseptic vapour, to make up for the extraordinary waste of air, which is carried off from the fluids by insensible perspiration; and those persons must inevitably fall into putrid diseases, who eat much animal food, which produces but little air; who drink much of spirituous liquors, which contain no air in themselves scarcely, and prevent the ready extrication thereof from the aliment, during the digestive process; and who incautiously expose themselves to a moist atmosphere, which hinders any thing but the ærial part of the perspirable matter from being carried off.

The great efficacy of vegetables consists partly in their containing a large quantity of this fixed antiseptic air or vapour, and their impregnation with a very sweet juice, or mixture of saccharine oil and salt, which doctor Tissot observes is highly salutary. All the culinary roots, even in Europe, are full of this kind of sugar, which may easily be extracted from them. Experiments to this effect have been tried on several; and, in particular, eight ounces of the juice of skirret yielded one ounce and an half of sugar [u]. This saccharine juice predominates in most of the fruits and esculent roots in Jamaica in a very surprising degree, as if the Divine Being had meant peculiarly to adapt them as necessary correctives of those putrescent humours, which a diet on animal food is apt to generate in this climate. Thus we find, that the Irish potatoe, when transplanted into this soil, acquires a sweetish taste, which shews its impregnation with saccharine principles; the sweet potatoe, the native of this climate, is largely supplied with the like impregnation; so are the yams, eddos, cocos, most of the different sorts of pulse, and almost all the fruits. The plantain, when ripe, and dried in the sun, is a perfect conserve, without the aid of any more sugar, than what is naturally contained in it; the banana is still more luscious, but with a slight astringent quality, which has made it extremely remedial in fluxes; correcting the putrid humour by its antiseptic virtues, sheathing the acrimony with its balsamic oil, rendering the bowels gently soluble, and yet strengthening their tone by its mild astringency. The China oranges here, when full ripe, and in a good.

[u] Margraff's Mem.

foil, are frequently incrufted over with a palpable integument of white fugar, concreted on their rind, and hardened by the fun. How benevolent and gracious is this ample provision of fo wholefome and neceffary a fubftance, which is fo copioufly lodged in the foil, to be imbibed, prepared, refined, and duly adapted, by all thefe vegetable productions, for the ufe, fuffentation, and health, of the inhabitants! The fugar prepared from the cane contains thefe virtues in abfttract, which are found lefs copioufly diftributed to the culinary roots, and efculent fruits; it therefore presents itfelf as a portable remedy, always at hand, to fupply the occafions of thofe perfons who are not able to procure other vegetable productions, endowed with the like properties; or to be mixed with thofe aliments, which contain too little, or none at all, of them; it feems therefore peculiarly of ufe, as a neceffary part of fea-ftore, for the ready fervice of thofe, who are too diftant from the land to come at frefh vegetables, and the nature of whole flefh diet requires fuch a constant corrector. The warrant and petty officers on board a fleet are fcarcely ever feized with *acute* putrid difeafes, excepting by meer infection; and they are very feldom known to become fcorbutic in any violent degree, unlefs the general caufe (exceffive moifture) be of a remarkably long continuance. The diet of this clafs of men is, in general, the fame with the reft of the crew, but they are well clad for the moft part, and never want a little ftore of *fugar*.

The expence of allowing fugar, or melaffes, as a part of fea provisions, even taking it at the higheft, is too trifling, when put in competition with preferving fo valuable a part of the community as our feamen, at leaft, for all that they might have occafion for, when at fea.

The efficacy of this medicine, in preferving the health of feamen, is far from being a recent difcovery; fo early as the reign of Charles the Firft fugar had been found eminently ufeful in fcorbutic cafes, as appears by *Woodall's* Treatife, re-published in 1639. But Great Britain had at that time no colonies to fupply her with a fufficient quantity of it; and it is worthy remark, that the plague almoft uninterruptedly raged in London till towards the Revolution, when confiderable remittances of fugar began to arrive from Barbadoes, Nevis, Jamaica, and other iflands, belonging to Britain. This affluence rendered

rendered it much [w] cheaper than ever it had been before; consequently the use and consumption became far more extensive, particularly in London, than in preceding times; and the visitations of the plague gradually became less frequent, till at length they ceased entirely. Those medical writers, who have entertained very sanguine expectations from new wort in the cure of the scurvy, seem nevertheless to be of opinion, that sugar is equally efficacious; the same reasons which lead to expect success from the one, holding good, in most essential circumstances, in regard to the other; and their opinion is founded on this doctrine, that such vegetable fermentable substances are discovered, by experiment, to have the power of preserving animal fluids from corruption, and of even restoring them after having undergone some degree of putrefaction.

The hot liquor taken from the *tache*, or last copper, in the West India boiling houses, during crop, and mixed to a sufficient dilution with water, makes a most agreeable drink, having somewhat of the taste of new wort, but more pleasant; of this both the Negroes and Whites in general are extremely fond, and it ought to be the principal drink of Europeans newly arrived. From this cause it happens, that the imported Negroes, purchased during the crop, are more likely to do well than those who are introduced at other times of the year; for they are freely indulged with a daily allowance of this liquor, and it is found to recover the languid and distempered, and make them grow fat, sleek, and vigorous. In its operation it is cooling, gently moves the body, and throws any latent acrimony or putrid humour, which may be lurking in the blood and juices, upon the surface of the skin, as many Europeans experience on drinking it; but, on perceiving boils, or cutaneous eruptions, about the lips, or other parts of the body, to follow the use of this beverage, they ignorantly fancy, that these salutary symptoms are a real disorder, caused by some noxious quality in the liquor; and some have discontinued it

[w] When the Portuguese supplied England with sugar, the price of this commodity was from 7*l.* to 8*l.* sterling *per* cwt. a most exorbitant rate in those days. As the English plantations increased, they reduced the price to 3*l.* and 2*l.* 10*s.*; and, since that period, to 2*l.* and 1*l.* 10*s.* *per* cwt. But the merchants were obliged to bring it down as low as even to seven or eight shillings, before they could force the Portuguese out of the market.

for this reason, at the very time, when it has been doing such essential service, by driving out such foul and corrupt humours, which, when retained in the habit, produce fevers, and other dangerous maladies. Nor are its good effects confined to the human race. It is the common practice, on the plantations in Jamaica, to feed the working horses and mules in crop-time with chopped cane-tops, and the skimings of the boiling-house liquor, which answer better than corn, in preserving them plump, strong, and healthy. Hogs, poultry, and, in short, all the animals belonging to a plantation, thrive on this juice. Even the dogs in this island, although qualified by nature not only to relish, but to digest, putrid food, are not less fond of sugar. I have known a well-fed animal of this species, who was commonly dieted from a plentiful table, and never tasted carrion by way of *bon bouche* without suffering severely for it; on these occasions he used a quantity of what is called here *dog-grafs*, sufficient either to make him disgorge, or compose, his stomach, probably, by the fixed air contained in that plant; at other times he would greedily devour the avogato pear, clammy cherry, ripe plantains, yams, bananas, &c.; but, when introduced to the boiling-house, he never failed to regale himself without intermission; and, from being in a state of miserable leanness, was sure to become plump, and full of life and agility.

I have seen the good effects of it on Negroes afflicted with the yaws, even after the disorder (by catching colds after a mercurial regimen) had fallen upon their joints; it threw the venom out on the surface in a plentiful eruption, and thus brought on a crisis, which no other known remedy could have produced so desirably.

In worm disorders there is not a more powerful remedy than the juice of ripe canes, to expel these vermin [x]. The Negroe children (as if prompted by instinct) suck them with the utmost avidity, and are always relieved. When powders and other vermifuge medicines are administered, melasses or syrup usually forms a part of the composition, and perhaps contributes more than is generally imagined to

[x] Doctor Grainger observes, that sugar is commonly supposed to favour worms; that, however, he knows this, from repeated experiment, to be a *vulgar error*. That perhaps no one thing in the *pharmacia medica* is more deadly to worms than *cane-liquor*, unless we except *myricoradæ*, mixed with an equal quantity of sweet oil, especially what is made by expression from the cocoa nut.

their fucces. I have known many old white persons in this island, extremely fond of the refined sugar, eating it frequently in a morning, and with a singular *gout*, from a firm assurance (established by long experience) of its mild, balsamic, and salubrious, operation.

Some (says Brookes) are great enemies to sugar, and affirm, that it produces I know not what bad effects; but, as those who have used it very freely have never received any detriment from it, we may conclude, that it is intirely harmless. It does not produce consumptions, as some pretend, because an apothecary, who had that distemper, almost lived upon sugar of roses, and was cured by it. Some have affirmed, that it produces the scurvy, and was the original cause of it; whereas it is well known, that the scurvy appeared long before sugar was in use: besides, the poorest people, who eat much less sugar than the rich, are most afflicted with the scurvy. This is likewise true of common sailors, who eat more salt provisions, and less sugar, than their officers. Some assert, that it turns sour upon the stomach, but give us no argument to prove it. An acid may indeed be extracted from sugar, and so there may from all sorts of corn, as well as wine; but then it must be performed by art, and turned into an ardent spirit first, by fermentation. Besides, sugar is a natural soap, and will readily mix with any sort of liquor; and therefore it is not probable that it should turn sour on the stomach [y]. The officinal compositions of sugar are allowed on all hands to be good in disorders of the breast; and, mixed with oil of sweet almonds, it is good in coughs, hoarsenesses, and the like. Externally applied, it is a very great vulnerary, especially when mixed with a little brandy, whose styptic quality, joined to the balsamic virtues of the sugar, makes a composition, which will heal wounds, cleanse ulcers, and *prevent putrefaction*. Doctor James concurs in the same opinion. When duly used (says he) it is not so offensive to the blood as is vulgarly

[y] I am apt to suspect, that the other ingredients, such as rancid butter, and other grease, unfermented flour, and crude fruits, &c. with which sugar is generally combined by pastry-cooks and confectioners, may occasion such effects, and deserve the whole blame, which has been wrongfully ascribed to the sugar alone, from ignorance of its principles. This probably is the only wholesome ingredient belonging to such compositions, and may prevent much of the bad consequences they would otherwise produce, especially in the weak stomachs and bowels of children, who are the principal sufferers.

thought. It is daily taken to a degree of excess by some, who, instead of being injured by it, live in a sound and perfect state of health. It is a mild and sweet salt, which is far from being unfriendly to the mixture of the fluids, because it *corrects acid, bilious* humours, and renders the body soluble.

Every testimony, in short, agrees in pronouncing it to be one of the best adapted preservatives of health in cold as well as hot climates, from its nutritious, healing, and antiseptic qualities. Those who reject punch, from an opinion that lime or lemon-juice is offensive to their bowels, which often is the case in gouty habits, would do well to mix sugar and syrup with their rum and water; at the same time being very moderate in the use of that spirit; they may be assured, that such a beverage will be far wholesomer for them than the liquor called *grog*, which is a mixture of rum and water only; for, although rum is far preferable to any other simple distilled spirit, yet it may be advisable in the West Indies to mix it with some fermentative ingredient; and none is more proper than sugar or melasses.

For the same reasons on which the cause of the plague's decrease in many parts of Europe has been supposed, it may be justly concluded, that putrid and malignant fevers neither originate so frequently, nor (when brought by infection) ravage so extensively in the West Indies now as formerly they did. A proof of this declension is not only the comparative healthiness of Jamaica, formerly deemed a sickly island, but the greater health of the seamen employed in this trade, who still drink as hard, and expose themselves to all extremities of the climate as much, as they did one hundred years ago. Yet the merchant ships seldom lose any of their crew by these distempers, and most of them lose none. Some will attribute this to the more extensive cultivation of the country, the cutting down its thick woods in several parts, and melioration of its atmosphere; but there is superadded to all this the much greater quantity of sugar manufactured throughout the island, and the greater facility which the seamen have found in getting at supplies of it for their private use, whilst they wait in port the loading of their ship, as well as during the voyage home; for, when they cannot procure it *gratis*, they either buy of the Negroes for a little tobacco, or other trifling consideration, or get it by theft. There is now near sixty times as much sugar made in the island,



island, as there was an hundred years ago; and a large quantity falls to the share of the Negroes, not only in what is given to them, but what they steal, which it is impossible to prevent, as they are the conductors of it to the shipping-place, as well as manufacturers. The superfluity, or what they do not reserve for their own use, is chiefly disposed of to the sailors, and poorer Jews; the sailors likewise, who come ashore to the wharfs, find many opportunities to fill their hats or pockets from the packages that lie there. Besides this, they are generally allowed sugar on their voyage home, to mix with their tittle; and, when it is denied them, they make no ceremony in purloining it; and, by this means, establish a pretty regular article in the British factor's account with the planter, which goes under the name of *plunderage*. From this cause we do not hear of the crews of West India men swept off, or indeed hardly afflicted at all with the scurvy, or those malignant diseases, which so commonly depopulate the East India ships in their passage homewards; although some of the former, in wet and severe winter voyages to England, are often, by contrary winds and bad weather, detained at sea for a space of eleven or twelve weeks, and without any difference to their crews in point of diet from those employed in other trades, except that they have the use of sugar and melasses; and rum, instead of brandy.

These facts seem to be confirmed by the consent of the ablest of the faculty, who acknowledge this change to have been actually wrought; and some among them have thrown further light on the cause of it, by insisting, that the very *same preservatives*, in *West India* voyages, answer as well against *malignant, remittent, and intermittent, fevers*, as against the *scurvy*. Grounding our judgement therefore on the concurrent evidence of observation, and the opinions of so many learned and intelligent physicians, who have adopted their sentiments, upon certain experience, and most accurate enquiry, we are well supported in recommending the plentiful use of the cane-liquor, and its preparations, to all those who pass from Europe to reside in Jamaica; and may venture to assert, that it is perfectly inoffensive in its principles, and singularly conducive to health in its effects on the human body in that climate. The Spaniards in our neighbourhood are very liberal in their use of sugar and honey; their sweetmeats they eat chiefly with wheat bread, which they reserve for these and chocolate only. The

honey they spread on cassava cakes; the affinity between these two sweet substances need not be insisted on.

That malignant and terrible disease, called the *black vomit*, was unknown at Carthagena (as it is said) till about the year 1729. It was suspected to have been first brought thither from Porto Bello. It made its appearance in that year on board the guarda costas and galleons lying in the harbour, and destroyed almost the whole of their crews. The Spanish physicians attributed it to the salt meat on which the seamen were fed, as it was observed to rage more among them, than those who had been able to live on more wholesome food; they considered salt meat as tending to bring on this distemper, and that the humours it generated, together with the labour and hardships of duty, inclined the blood to putrefaction; but it is certain, that the sailors alone were not its only victims; for even passengers, who had not tasted any salt meat during the voyage, felt its effects; it was therefore, with more appearance of truth, imputed to the pestilential air of Porto Bello. It is remarkable, however, that the *natives* of Carthagena, and those who had lived there some time, were not, nor ever are, affected by it; but enjoy an uninterrupted health, amidst the dreadful havoc it makes among others; it seems rational to suppose, that this disorder has its source at first in a high degree of the scurvy, which, from the baleful influence of the swampy *effluvia* at Porto Bello, degenerates into a putrid fever of the worst species. This is consonant to the idea of our English writers on the subject, who assert, that such as have any *scorbutic* symptoms are in proportion more subject to the *dysentery*, and *malignant putrid fevers*; and likewise are the most severely handled by these distempers. A proof of this theory, was the memorable destruction of the seamen belonging to admiral *Hofier's* squadron, at the *Bastimentos*, which began with the scurvy, and was completed by a malignant putrid fever, and dysentery, contracted from the fatal air of that place. The diet of the *native* Spaniards, and others, who naturally fall into their customs at Carthagena, preserves them free from any scorbutic acrimony, or disposition in their humours to breed or admit the entrance of putrid diseases. The same good consequence would probably ensue at *Kingston* in *Jamaica*, if the inhabitants of that town would adopt a diet, and regimen of life, similar to those of the Spaniards at Carthagena. For although this disease

disease has made but little ravage, at any of our Jamaica sea ports, of late years, in comparison with anterior times, which is to be ascribed to the greater abundance of vegetable food, sugar, and fruits, in common use; it seems likely, that the inhabitants would be equally proof against its attacks, as the Spaniards are found to be, if they would but depart a little more from a too plentiful flesh diet, and strong liquors, and regale more frequently on chocolate, and sugared preparations; use none but rum of due age, with the subacid fruits, not green, but thoroughly ripened; with such other materials, in their ordinary refreshments, as, by the consent of experience, and medical precepts, appear best calculated to resist the venom of this, and such like putrid distempers. That *Carthagena* is not a very unhealthful climate (though in a low situation, and intensely hot), is manifest from the good old age which several of its inhabitants attain, many of whom enjoy so confirmed a state of health, as to reach their 80th year. This, indeed, is not an extraordinary thing in Jamaica, which is much cooler, and where there are now, and have at all times been, several persons exceeding that period; but, in order to make this longevity a more universal blessing, those means and habits of life must be practised, and resolutely attended to, which are found to be the most conducive and favourable to the end proposed. I shall next consider, as another ingredient in the common diet of persons in the West Indies, the article of

## R U M.

## S E C T. V.

I do not know of any author, who has treated this subject in a manner so scientific and elaborate, as the ingenious Mr. *Doffie*; as his positions, relative to the analysis and properties of this spirit, have not been controverted, and appear to be the result of experiments, joined to an eminent degree of chemical knowledge, I shall readily adopt, and endeavour to illustrate their truth, by other observations. From these, a judgement may be formed, why rum in some circumstances is to be considered an unwholesome article of diet; why under others it is quite the reverse, when used in moderation; why it is to be preferred to other simple-distilled spirits, whether it be drank in moderation or to an excess; and hence will appear the means most certain,

to difarm it of noxious qualities, and adapt it with greateft safety to common ufe.

1. Ardent fpirits, in their pure ftate (*i. e.* not dulcified by union with fome corrective), have a violent aftringent action upon the folid parts of animals, coagulate the fluids, and diminifh the power of the nervous fyftem.

From thefe caufes they produce fuitable effects :

A tabidnefs, or wafting of the extremities,

A nervous weaknefs, or tendency to palfy,

Deftruy the appetite and fecretions,

Render the liver fchirrous, and occafion dropfies.

On diflecting the bodies of perfons, who have died of exceffive dram-drinking, the whole liver has been found converted into a fchirrus of peculiar hardnefs, fo as to be altogether incapable of its office, of *fecreting the bile*; and the mefentery fometimes aftonifhingly enlarged and tumefied.

§ To this may alfo be added, Doctor Macbride's pofition, that fuch fpirits contain little or no air *per fe*; and that they prevent the ready extrication of it from alimentary fubftances during the digeftive procefs. From all which caufes it is evident, that perfons, who indulge in fuch drink, generate nothing but crudities in the ftomach: and are fubject to dyfenteries, wafting of the flefh for want of nourifhment, all forts of nervous diforders by the continual irritation of acrid matter, and to dangerous fevers; from the want of that aërial principle, which is neceffary to ferment and prepare the aliment for concoction. Rum is therefore leaft wholefome, when it comes neareft to fuch pure ardent fpirit in its properties; and hence, new or frefh diftilled rum, which is in this predicament, appears to be in its moft unwholefome ftate.

2. The fubftances, which, by uniting with pure ardent fpirit, counteract its noxious qualities, are, *volatile oils*, generated either in the fermentation or diftillation; and *acids*, either fuch as were natives in the particular vegetable matter which was the fubject of fermentation, or fuch as are generated in the courfe of the fermentation.

3. Thefe corrective fubftances are, in part, combined with the fpirit before diftillation, and rife united with it; and, in part, uncombined with

with it before the distillation, but, rising with it then, unite themselves gradually with it *afterwards*.

4. It is from the *latter* union, which takes place *after the distillation*, that rum is so much improved by time, and especially in a cask. Where a large quantity of it is kept together, the intestine motion being greater, and at greater liberty to act, than in a small confined space, the particles are more speedily brought within the sphere of each other's attraction, and the union more quickly completed. Hence, when kept in bottles, a very great length of time is required to perfect it; but when kept in casks, the spirit becomes gradually milder, and loses that violent astringency, which manifested itself before this change, in a fiery sensation in the mouth and throat of those who have drunk it.

§ I have tasted rum in Jamaica, which had been bottled 30 years, but still retained this pungent, fiery quality, and a most disagreeable twang; which shewed, that the oil was not thoroughly united with the spirit. But, when it is kept in a cask six or eight, to twelve months time, is generally sufficient to perfect it; those planters who keep their stock rum in large butts, which hold three or four hundred gallons, find this union perfected in a still shorter time; and the rum so packed is of a far superior quality to what is stowed in small casks.

I am apt to suspect, that there is likewise, in all fresh distilled rum, a certain ethereal volatile spirit, of a very caustic and pernicious quality, which *evaporates* by keeping for some time in casks, but cannot entirely escape when such fresh rum is put into bottles well stopped, and laid on their sides.

It should be the practice, on all the plantations in this island, to lay up one or more puncheons of rum every year, that they might supply their white men with what is of due age, instead of poisoning them with that fiery, unwholesome spirit, just drawn from the still. A neglect of this humane œconomy, either through a pitiful avarice, or a brutal indifference, has destroyed many hundreds. The like caution may be offered, in respect to the soldiers and seamen on this station. The way to have it wholesome, and potable, is to lay up, in large tight butts, a sufficient stock to serve two years; the one-half new, the other at least a year old; by this method, there would be a constant

stant supply of good spirits; and whatever superfluity might remain, upon leaving the island, would certainly produce much more than the prime cost, whether it should be disposed of at that market, or brought to Great Britain.

5. Where an *acid* abounds, the spirit gains by time, in consequence of this dulcification, a grateful flavour and odour.

Where *volatile oil* abounds, the seeming rankness of smell and taste gradually goes off, or is converted into a species of perfume.

6. The wholesomeness is also improved by time, as it causes a privation of those ill qualities, which render the fresh distilled spirits so noxious.

7. The melasses spirit, distilled in *Britain* and *North America*, is so defective in the *volatile oil*, which is the great corrective, and gives the characteristic to rum, that it is most palpably different from it in taste and flavour, as well as in its most salubrious qualities.

§ For this reason the North American spirit is better than the British; the former being made from the first-drawn melasses, which generally contains a portion of sugar, and a large share of this oil. The French melasses indeed is impoverished very much, by their boiling it over again, to make their *paneel* sugars; but in Jamaica this piece of œconomy not being practised, the melasses sold here to the North Americans is twice as rich as what they purchase at the French islands; and their distillers probably find it so in the yielding.

In Britain the melasses is proportionably jejune, and deprived of its richness; as the muscovado sugars, by the time they fall into the *baker's* hands, have been pretty well drained; so that what is drawn in the refining process, and afterwards sold to the distillers, must be very much impoverished.

Some distillers buy up the dark uncured sugars, which yield a spirit of better quality; but it is impossible for them to produce the same spirit as Jamaica rum, where the liquor for distillation is compounded of various mixtures, not to be obtained by the British distiller.

This liquor, for example, consists of

1—part skimmings,

1—part washings,

1—part cool lees.

To these variously compounded, according to the particular judgement of the manufacturer, and other circumstances, the melasses is added during their fermentation in the cisterns, and in the proportion of about six gallons of melasses to every hundred gallons of liquor.

Sometimes it is made wholly of crude cane-liquor and melasses, run into fermentation together.

So that not only the ingredients are various and differently compounded; but the melasses, which is the principal or only substance used in Britain and North-America, bears in Jamaica but a very small proportion to the other ingredients, being only as 6 to 100, or thereabouts.

8. The spirit, when meliorated by union with these corrective substances, and by age, is reduced to a mild and gentle state; and, when taken *in moderation*, is not only safe and wholesome, but even in some cases salutary and medicinal.

Its astringency, when duly restrained, renders it invigorating and cordial; and its power of checking the animal ferments, renders it opponent to a putrid disposition. In hot countries, therefore, it prevents that extreme relaxation which is generally so incommodious and debilitating; and, by its antiseptic power, that tendency to a putrid habit, which induces the most fatal diseases.

§ The essential points, to make it become medicinal and wholesome, are then, 1st, the keeping it to a due age; 2dly, the using it in moderate quantity. The use of it in the West-Indies, under these precautions, is so far from being injurious, that it adapts the body to sustain the heat of the climate with less inconvenience, and checks the humours from running into putrescency. This seems confirmed by observation, and the customary practice of the inhabitants in hot climates.

Among the Spaniards at Carthagena, the use of spirits is so common that the most regular and sober persons never omit drinking a small glass every forenoon about eleven o'clock, alledging that it strengthens the stomach, weakened by copious, constant perspiration, and sharpens the appetite. *Hacer las once, To do the eleven*; that is, to drink a glass of spirit, is the ordinary invitation. But this custom, which is not esteemed pernicious when used with *moderation*,

has degenerated into vice; many being so fond of it, that they do nothing the whole day but *Hacer las once*. Persons of distinction use Spanish brandy, but the lower sort a kind of rum distilled from the sugar-cane.

Jobson remarks, that the common people in Guiney eat only *once* a day, which is after sun-set. They hold, that eating seldom, and in the cooler part of the day, is a good preservative of health. He adds, that the natural moisture being drawn outwards to refresh the external parts when parched by the sun's heat, the stomach is then cold, and fitter to receive a dram than to digest solid food; in proof of which opinion, he asserts to have found by experience, that he and his men could drink as much brandy in the middle of the day, at a time, as in England *would have burnt out their very hearts*; that is his expression.

The sweating, which happens in consequence of overmuch relaxation in *some* hot climates, seems to be of the colliquative kind, resembling that which accompanies putrid distempers in their advanced stage, when there is an utter prostration of strength, and when the blood is hastening into a total dissolution; a moderate dram of some spirituous liquor, at such times, operates by its bracing or astringent quality, and suppresses the immoderate flow of perspiration; hence those persons who drink this liquor moderately, when they are almost overcome with the debilitation of heat and moisture, perceive a sensation of coolness, and cease to sweat so profusely. But the wholesomer way of using it would probably be with a due mixture of water, like the reapers of Pennsylvania, mentioned by Mr. Franklin. In this way likewise admiral Vernon, when he was at Jamaica, caused the crews of his squadron to be served, and it caused a wonderful change in their health; for with this caution they became less subject to bad fevers, and were able to go through the fatigues of their duty without inconvenience.

The most wholesome proportion of rum to water, in this climate, is as 1 to 16, or half a pint of rum to a gallon of water, and the allowance to soldiers, seamen, and white servants, should rarely or ever exceed it, for their ordinary beverage; the price of half a pint of rum is seldom above  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  Jamaica currency, or  $1\frac{1}{4}d.$  sterling; the navy allowance of beer is one gallon to each common



seaman *per diem*, the price of which cannot be rated lower than 3*d.* whence it appears, that, without any extra charge to government, the seamen on this station might be supplied with a daily allowance of sugar or melasses, *viz.* a pint of melasses, or half a pound weight of muscovado sugar, the cost of either of which would not exceed one penny sterling, and in general it would be found to fall short of the expence of beer, about  $\frac{3}{4}$  *d.* sterling *per* gallon, and conduce infinitely better to keep the men in good health.

The liquor called *grog*, or a mixture of rum and water, is often rendered noxious by putting in an over-proportion of rum. For although the drinkers of it set out at first with a moderate quantity of the spirit; yet, as by habit it grows more and more tasteless, they are induced gradually to add a little and a little more, till they bring their mixture to equal parts of half rum, half water, and sometimes three parts spirit to one of water, for their common dilution at meals, and in the heat of the day. I have known several persons destroy themselves in this manner, who at first were extremely sober and temperate; but it was a work of some time before they arrived at that degree of excess which was necessary to bring on a dropsy, or other bad habit of body. Without a large proportion of water, or the correction of a subacid, as the juices of fruits, melasses, sugar, *cremor Tartari*, tamarinds, and the like, it promotes, instead of allaying, thirst; and every draught, that is swallowed, serves but to provoke the swallowing another, till the faculties are stupified.

After being heated in this climate with exercise in the sun, I know not a more excellent remedy than a basin of warm green tea, sweetened with sugar or syrup, with the addition of a spoonful of sound old rum. This presently restores the perspiration, takes off the sensation of fatigue, and is cooling and refreshing. But cold liquors, as punch, &c. drank at such a time, are apt to suppress the perspiration, increase heat, and bring on violent pains in the head, and sometimes a fever.

9. The saccharine matter fermented in order to the making rum, produces in hot climates a copious quantity of *volatile oil*, which unites with the spirit *during fermentation*.

Part of this oil then combines with the spirit, and comes over in the course of distillation united with it.

The other part rises uncombined, but unites by *slow* degrees *afterwards*. A proportion of volatile oil is likewise produced in the process of distillation, by the action of the fire upon that saccharine matter in the distilling liquor, which has continued unchanged by fermentation, and adheres to the still, *in form of what is generally called dunder*.

10. The volatile oil, which comes over uncombined, imparts to fresh distilled rum that rankness of smell and taste, which are almost always found in it. And the astringent quality of the pure spirit, as yet not united in due proportion with this oil, causes that fiery pungency, which it remarkably possesses at that time.

11. But the union being afterwards perfected and matured, by due age, the rank taste, smell, and acrid pungency, are then converted into such as are grateful. The astringent and coagulating powers of the spirit, of course, are materially corrected, insomuch that they cease to be detrimental to those persons who drink it in fit moderation.

12. This dulcification is verified by an easy experiment. A piece of raw flesh being steeped in brandy, another in rum, it is found, that the plumpness and softness of the flesh is much longer retained under the action of rum, than under that of brandy. Although brandy will harden it still less than rectified spirit of wine, or alcohol.

13. Brandy is united with some portion of *acid*, but no *volatile oil*. It comes therefore nearer to *pure* ardent spirit, has not its noxious qualities corrected, and consequently is very inferior to rum in salubrity.

14. There are instances where the fresh distilled rum has all the sensible good qualities that, in general, are only to be gained by the improvement of time and long keeping. This peculiarity has its cause in the volatile oil being of such a nature, that the whole of it unites immediately with the spirit in the processes of fermentation and distillation, and thus renders the rum perfect at the first.

§ This must be understood only in a certain degree. For the best spirit that can be made, when first drawn, is not without that fiery, pungent, acrid taste before described, though it becomes divested of it in a much shorter time.

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15. This materially depends on the right management of the distilling process, taking care never to draw off the spirit or *runnings* too low; for whenever this happens, the concreted matter at the bottom of the still will be apt to burn, and an *empyreumatic oil* comes over, which requires great length of time to make it unite with the spirit, and sometimes it cannot be cured of this depravity by the longest keeping.

§ The best method for preventing such an effect will be, to keep up an equal, and not too violent, fire, and to draw off the runnings for marketable use not a moment longer than while they continue perfectly limpid, colourless, or clear from any whitish cloud or tinge; a small quantity of which is sufficient to spoil the flavour of a whole puncheon of the spirit.

§ This milky tinge is the sure criterion, to shew that a burnt or nauſeous empyreumatic oil is rising, and that the rum is what is commonly called *still-burnt*. It ascends commonly towards the end of the operation. Some planters draw the runnings too long, from a mistaken thirst of making the most they can, and thus perhaps depreciate the whole of their distillation. What first comes over is always the best, and, when diluted to the standard proof with pure spring water, it makes the finest rum. In Jamaica, they generally mix the whole of the first runnings together, and distil or rectify them over again, reserving also the low wines, or latter runnings, for the same purpose.

16. This empyreumatic oil is apt to disagree with some stomachs, and cause the heart-burn. But the effect is rather an inconvenience than any injury. It only gives rise to an unpleasing sensation, but does no real prejudice to the health.

17. No spirituous liquor digests more kindly, or assists digestion more efficaciously, than *good rum*, sufficiently diluted with water, and drank in *proper quantity*. The use of it has even been found effectual in some chronical cases of bad digestion, where all other means of relief have failed.

The comparative effects of rum and brandy on the health have been noted at sea, where they are particularly distinguishable; when it has happened, that, in failure of being able to procure the former,  
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the latter has been substituted. The decline of health that has followed has been exceedingly conspicuous on this change, from the use of rum to that of brandy; numbers of seamen contracting disorders they were free from before.

§ Mr. *Kalm* mentions, that, in the North-American provinces, rum is esteemed much wholesomer than brandy; and he was told by *Major Rutherford*, that, being upon the *Canada* expedition, he had observed that such of his men as drank brandy for some time, died of it; but those who drank rum were not hurt, though they got drunk with it every day, and oftener than the others.

The cause of this great difference is obvious from the foregoing remarks.

19. It is proper however that this spirit should always be drunk in moderation. Whatever quantity infringes on sobriety, and brings on any disorder, ought to be diminished. It is always proper likewise, that in the daily constant use of this spirit, it should be diluted with water or other small liquor, which will render it more mild and inoffensive in its action on the stomach, and organs of secretion.

The too copious use of those very astringent acids, the juice of limes and lemons along with spirits, has greatly promoted the injury done to the health of those who have drunk them to excess, and in most habits they are apt to do mischief. But the juice of oranges, and milder fruits, taken with such spirits, is less noxious. Lemons and limes ought always to be admitted sparingly and with the greatest caution.

§ It is a very wrong and injudicious custom in Jamaica, in taverns as well as private houses, to use green limes in making punch; for lemons or Seville oranges are seldom made use of. The juice of green limes is of a very corrosive nature; and hence its efficacy in cleansing foul ulcers. There is strong reason to believe, that this most noxious ingredient is often productive of cramps and other spasmodic complaints; and that its bad effects would be more severely felt, if it were not that they are in some measure corrected by the sugar which makes a part of the composition. The acid of this unripe fruit is so sharp, that it excoriates the intestines, and causes

causes bloody stools, if swallowed without any corrector [y]. But when they are ripe, their juice, having been thoroughly concocted by the sun, becomes mild and inoffensive, if used with a due proportion of sugar; and experience shews, that all fruit may be more safely eaten, the more sugar it contains.

The safer way is, to substitute the Seville orange, which grows wild in every part of this island, and might easily be propagated in sufficient quantity on every plantation, or in the neighbourhood of the towns, for supplying the inhabitants.

It is a question whether the addition, of the cashoo fruit, which possesses an highly styptic acid, be proper in punch? It communicates a pleasant flavour, and perhaps the roasting before it is used for this purpose may abate much of its astringency, which is so great in the crude fruit, that it has often performed a cure in dropical complaints, occasioned by the immoderate use of spirituous liquors; I shall not therefore hastily condemn, what may possibly operate as an antidote in some degree to the bad effects of those spirits.

It was a long time a vulgar prejudice, that the disorder called the belly-ache was caused by drinking rum mixed with dark uncleaned sugar in punch. But it is morally certain that this was an erroneous opinion, and that the juice of unripe fruit, which was supposed the most harmless ingredient, was in fact the primary cause of this mischievous consequence in *many cases* [z].

[y] If a fowl just killed, or a piece of butchers meat just slaughtered, is steeped before it is put on the spit, in the juice of unripe limes for some little time, or if the juice of three or four is squeezed into the water wherein such flesh is intended to be boiled, it will become so softened as to be thoroughly dressed in an hour's time. The Negroe cooks, who are to dress what is called here a *surprized fowl*, or one which is required to be roasted or boiled with great expedition immediately after it is killed and plucked, pour lime-juice down the throat, and at the vent, to make the flesh tender and eatable. The same effect is caused by the juice of the unripe papaw fruit, which is known to be highly caustic. An eminent physician for this reason advised, that the limes used for making punch should be sliced thin, and boiling water poured on them, to extract mucilage out of the seeds, which may prevent the acid from shutting up the neck of the gall-bladder; and he affirmed that it might be drunk with much more security by being so blended.

[z] Dr. Cheyne declares it the *sole* cause. " In the *West-Indies* (says he) where, from the necessity of drinking much, and from the want of proper liquors, they are forced to drink much rum, though lemons and oranges be in their full perfection, they are *universally* afflicted with nervous and mortal dry belly-aches, palsies, cramps, and convulsions, which *cut them off in a few days*, entirely owing to this *poisonous* mixture." The doctor was sadly mistaken in these positions, and so he was told by a cotemporary writer. " If the West-Indians are *universally* afflicted with these disorders, and are *cut off in a few days*, how can any inhabitants remain alive? But if  
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This disorder is a spasmodic affection of the bowels, which may proceed from the irritation of such a corroding acid, or from a sudden repulse of the perspiration after the body has been violently heated

“ the *punch-drinkers* alone are meant, the doctor has been misinformed; for the people in the West-Indies have plenty of wines from all the countries producing that commodity, and ale and cyder from England, and are under no necessity of drinking punch for want of other liquors. They make Madeira wine and water serve the common purposes of drinking, as we do small beer in England; nor is it to be supposed that an opulent people, whose commerce obliges them to have dealings with almost every country in Europe, would want any conveniency that Europe can afford; nor can we imagine, without insulting the good sense of these people, that they would indulge themselves in a liquor so poisonous and destructive to them, as the doctor describes punch to be, when they have so great a variety of other liquors that answer all the ends of drinking. The dry belly-ache, which is so peculiar to that part of the world, attacks the women as well as the men; yet the women there are particularly remarkable for their temperance, and abstinence from strong liquors; and many of both sexes, who never tasted punch, or indulged in any strong liquor in their lives, are afflicted with this distemper. Nor is it true that it is mortal; going to a colder climate never fails to produce a cure, without taking any other remedy; and this disease is so far from cutting them off in a few days, that they who live soberly, when they are so afflicted, generally recover in a very little time; and it will hold those who continue the excessive use of strong liquors many months, and even years, before they are either killed by it, or cured of it.” The last point is in regard to the fruit, lemons and oranges, which, the doctor says, are found in the utmost perfection in those places; and of course he supposed, they were used only in that state: but herein he was greatly mistaken again; for whatever mischievous effects these fruits have produced, have been owing entirely, either to the eating too large a quantity of them at a time, or to the use of such as were not half ripe, and consequently not in that state of perfection which he has supposed. Dr. Trapham, in remarking on this disorder, ingeniously observes, that the East-Indians, though living under much the same temperament of climate, are not afflicted with it; which exemption he ascribes to their constant use of baths and unctions; by which the cutaneous pores are kept open for a free discharge of the perspirable matter, and the origin of these spasms thus set loose, instead of being locked up. And upon this principle he strongly recommends the use of warm and refreshing baths, sweetened with orange-flowers and the aromatic leaves of the country; more particularly after a journey, or other hard exercise; to which may also be joined dry-rubbing with flannel or a coarse towel. This advice is strongly supported by an observation which every one here must have made, *viz.* that the Negroes, and the white natives, who bathe every day, are rarely or ever subject to this disorder; and that warm bathing has generally procured relief and ease to patients labouring under it, when other remedies have failed. Trapham mentions a specific for it, which had been proved efficacious by a vast number of trials; this is a species of *tibymalus*, Br. p. 234. called by Piso, *Cajacia*, p. 102. snake-weed, or creeping-hairy-spurge. It is a small, creeping, milky plant; its leaves not unlike those of mint, but longer and narrower, of a dark-green colour; its stalk inclining to a reddishness, with small fibres or hairy radicles; between its leaf, at the joints of the stalk, the flowers come out in small bunches, and of a green colour. It is common in all the dry savannahs of Jamaica.

A drachm of the dried herb is given powdered in any convenient liquor, and repeated once in three or four hours till the usual symptoms abate; or it may be made into a syrup, and given from one ounce to three, *pro re nata*; likewise in decoctions and clysters. He recommends it also to be infused or boiled in the medicated baths prepared for cases of this nature.

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with motion or hard drinking, by which some acrimonious humour is lodged upon them. Sailors who tope half rum, half water, till they are sweating at every pore, and tumble almost naked on the open deck, or in a street, and there sleep, exposed to the damps of the night air and dew; or white servants on plantations, who follow the like sottish practice; or others who are obliged to travel in the night, and after riding hard till a sweat is excited, come on a sudden to a steep hill, or a river, which constrains them to walk their horses a gentle pace; or those who are chilled by a sudden rain; or who are too careless after violent dancing; all these persons are liable to be afflicted with such a spasmodic disorder. Hence it appears, that it may proceed from a variety of causes, and affect even the most sober and temperate persons, as is well known it does in Jamaica; and the *oleum ricini*, or *nut-oil*, which is used with so much success in giving relief to those afflicted with it, owes perhaps its efficacy to the opening, soothing, lubricating nature of its operation, by which it sweeps away the acrid matter that was perpetually stimulating, supplies the want of *mucus*, to the abraded parts, and recomposes the nerves, in consequence of which the spasm or convulsion ceases.

Let me now just recapitulate, for it cannot be repeated too often, the destructive effects of spirituous liquors *immoderately used*; for rum, though less pernicious than any other, is not less noxious in the end, when drank in excess for any considerable time.

When drank in this manner, they render the fibres of the body too rigid and tense. They communicate an acrimony to the animal fluids, and, not mingling freely with them, thicken, coagulate, and obstruct their circulation, especially in the smaller vessels. They cause the liver and mesenteric glands to become schirrhous, render the bile tenacious and viscid, destroy the appetite, hinder the excretion of the urine, and produce diseases that terminate in untimely death [a]. The dropsy was formerly so common in Jamaica,

[a] Their corrosive action on the stomach and bowels may be imagined, from the effects observed on the hogs in Germany fed with the distillers wash; their guts are so rotted, that the inhabitants cannot make hogs-puddings with them. To the same cause it is owing, that the flesh of such hogs becomes so tender that it will not keep by salting.

It is a known observation of expert dealers in hair for wigs, that they can distinguish the drunkards hair by the touch, finding it dry, harsh, dead-ended, and unfit for use: and in the same

maica, that it went by the name of the *country disease*; it drew its origin from the practice of inebriating with raw rum, which in those days was almost the only spirituous liquor the inhabitants were able to procure. It is now grown uncommon; the inhabitants are not only more temperate, but provide themselves with Madeira wine, and a variety of other vinous liquors; drink less rum, and more diluted; perhaps too they are much improved in the art of distillation, and have produced some amendment in point of quality.

One of the best of all drinks for this climate is good water, mixed with a moderate quantity of sound wine, as I have had before occasion to remark; but as some cautions are necessary to direct the choice of such water as is best accommodated to health and digestion; or to instruct the means of purifying and correcting it, when impregnated with noxious mineral or other particles; I shall consider them in a separate section.

#### WATER.

manner it is that it spoils the stomach and bowels, the liver and lungs, and the whole body, of those unhappy persons. Their stomachs are contracted into half the common natural size, and hardened like leather that has been held to the fire; the consequence of which is a loss of appetite, and a wasting consumption.

The rage of mankind is such for these liquors, that it is almost dangerous to say any thing in their behalf, lest it should be mistaken for an encouragement to persevere; and indeed it avails but little to preach up moderation in the use of them, to those who will set no bounds to their sottish habits from any sense of their ill consequence to health; such beasts must be restrained by meer force and authority, and debarred from the means of procuring so much as may do them injury, for they cannot or will not judge for themselves within the line of common prudence.

It appeared from admiral *Knowles's* orders, when he commanded a fleet at *Boston*, that his men got drunk with New-England rum at the rate of a *thousand in a day*; and that 1400 New-England men were killed by it in two months; and in New Jersey, where it is sold very cheap, the people are so attached to it, that in harvest-time they make it their bargain to have every man a *pint* a day, besides wages.

Those commanders therefore cannot be too much applauded, who have the prudence and humanity to oblige their men to drink spirits largely diluted with water; which, as I have before taken notice, was practised with the happiest effect by admiral *Vernou*. Captain *Ellis* attributed to the same wise precaution, the uncommon success he had in bringing home, in the years 1753 and 1755, all his white men, which were thirty-four, and thirty-six in health, from a *Guiney* voyage of fifteen months. Hales on Ventilators.

The same precaution should be used by the commanders of the regular troops, and the overseers of plantations in Jamaica. Nothing can more plainly evince the fatal effects of these excesses, than the general appearance and untimely end of most of the white men and Negroes employed in the distilling-houses, who, as they can supply themselves freely and without restraint, so they will immoderate quantities of fresh distilled rum, piping hot from the worm; for they cannot



## W A T E R.

## S E C T. VI.

*Water*, in its natural state, is no where to be found entirely simple and pure; but it is generally treated of by authors, under two heads, common, and mineral. Common water admits of all those various impregnations, which are not obvious to the smell or taste, and have no sensible action on the human body. The impregnations in mineral waters will affect the body, and health, according to the properties of the substances dissolved, or contained in them; and in proportion as the quantity of such heterogeneous particles be greater or less. But it is to be observed, that this definition is not compleatly satisfactory: there is a middle class of water, which is uncompounded with any mineral or fossile substance, and yet may contain particles imperceptible to the eye or taste, different from what are usually found in common water. It may, for example, contain the subtile *ova*, or *exuviae*, of various insects, or a volatile gas, so well procure any better. They are bloated, pallid, emaciated, without appetite, and generally die of dropsies or consumptions.

The overseer should never deliver an allowance of rum to the white servants to use at their pleasure, unless he can rely on their discretion and sobriety; it ought to be served to them every day ready mixed with water; at least this might be the constant sure penalty of their being ever found inebriated.

The best way of leaving off a habit of dram-drinking is, by degrees to mix water with the drams; to lessen the quantity of spirit every day, and keep to the same, or an increased quantity of water, till, in about the course of a week, no spirit, or but very little, is used.

By this means the party will suffer no inconvenience, but reap great benefit, as has been experienced by many.

If any gnawing is left in the stomach, a little warm broth is a good remedy.

The appetite always increases after leaving off this custom of swilling raw spirit, unless by too long a continuance the tone of the stomach is destroyed.

In this melancholy state,

Take One ounce of elixir proprietatis.

Three drachms of elixir of vitriol.

One drachm of Minficht's elixir of steel: mix together.

A teaspoonful of this mixture in a small wine-glass of white-wine, or a cup of carduus or chamomile tea, every morning and evening taken fasting, is recommended \* for the benefit of those who have wisdom or resolution enough left to desist from a pernicious *Excess* in these liquors, which cannot be long persisted in, without the greatest mischief to health; for such persons only it is meant; and not for those infatuated wretches, who are blind to self-preservation, and wilfully rush into their grave.

\* Hales.

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injurious

injurious to health. It is of consequence therefore, to have some *criteria*, whereby to distinguish any noxious qualities contained in water, that such may be chosen as is best adapted to preserve health. Philosophy and experiment have instructed us in the means of making the discovery, in most respects; and likewise have pointed out those waters, which deserve a preference before others, for their lightness and salubrity.

Of all waters the atmospherical, or rain water, is the most light and simple; yet even this is found to contain some impregnations, discoverable by a chemical process. Next to this, is spring water; which varies in purity and goodness, according to the nature of the soil through which it percolates; what rises amidst a rocky, gravelly, or chalky *stratum*, is generally most esteemed. The water of wells, if fed by a subterraneous current, comes next in order; and improves, by standing for some time exposed to the air before it is drank. River water is not much to be recommended, unless some previous cautions are used in depurating, and preparing it for use; but of all waters, such as is stagnant, found in lakes, ponds, or ditches, is the very worst. I shall now apply these distinctions more particularly to Jamaica. The rain water here is experienced to be extremely light, pure, and wholesome, collected in these mountainous places where no springs are at hand; provided it is carried in clean gutters, into some reservoir, or shaded place, which is not exposed to the sun at any time, nor open to insects for depositing their eggs. When I was at St. John's Town in Antigua, some years ago, I observed most of the houses were provided with cisterns, for receiving the rain water which fell on the roofs; this water, from the multitude of muskeetos which bred in it, the lizards, cockroaches, and other animals, that had fallen in, and the dirt washed down from the house tops, was feculent, and almost putrid. Such water, even boiling can scarcely accommodate to health. The water of many of the rivers in Jamaica is turbid, from the frequent heavy showers that fall in the uplands, and flood them; in general therefore, their water ought to be kept for some days, until the clayey and other impure particles are entirely subsided, or that it is otherwise purified. The water of lagoons is  
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fo fetid, that the fenfes will fufficiently caution againft the admitting any of it into the ftomach.

The moft common impregnations in the Jamaica waters are,

On the South fide — a foſſile muriatic falt, terrene particles, and particularly lime-ftone.

! On the North fide — Terrene, argillaceous, ftalactite matter, and chalk.

There are likewise, of the mineral claſs, ſuch as are known to be impregnated with iron and fulphur; and others, that are ſuſpected to contain copper, lead, or allum.

1. BRACKISH, or Water impregnated with a Muriatic Salt,

Is diſcovered, by letting fall two or three drops of ſolution of ſilver (in *aqua fortis*) into a glaſs of it; when, if there is ever ſo ſmall a quantity of that falt, it will unite with the *aqua fortis*, and cauſe it to ſeparate from the ſilver, which will fall ſlowly in the form of a white cloud; and if the proportion of the falt be large, the cloud will have a curdled appearance, and a cœrulean caſt.

2. TERRENE Impregnation.

A few drops of oil of tartar will diſcover a ſuperabundance of earthy matter, by cauſing it to precipitate to the bottom of the glaſs, in a whitith cloud or ſediment.

3. CALCARIOUS and STALACTIC Matter.

Syrup of violets detects alkaline as well as acid particles; communicating to the water a greenith tinge, if an alkali, and red, if an acid predominates.

4. VITRIOLIC, CHALYBEATE, or IRON.

The milder acids, as vinegar and lemon-juice, poured into a chalybeate water, give it a ſweetith taſte. But the principal teſt of the iron impregnation, is the black colour it ſtrikes with a vegetable aſtringent, as tincture of galls; and the purple caſt when an alkaline falt, or lime water is added to the aſtringent; and which is of deeper hue in proportion to the larger mixture of the alkali. The galls of which the tincture is made, for purſuing this experiment, ſhould be blue, of the ſtrongeſt kind, freſh and ſound.

5. SULPHUR

is diſtinguiſhed by the taſte, and inflammability of the ſediment; and by the waters ſtriking a black colour, with a few drops of ſolution.

folution of *saccharum saturni* in water; or folution of lead in the nitrous acid; by its fudden tarnifhing of filver; and by the fetid fmell refembling a rotten egg, or fcoverings of a foul gunbarrel, on dropping in folution of alcalis.

#### 6. COPPER.

This is difcovered by fpirit of fal ammoniac, made with quicklime; which, if the fmalleft particles of copper are prefent in the water, caufe it to affume a very beautiful blue colour. Iron precipitates this metal. A plate of iron laid in water, impregnated with copper, will foon be covered with an incruftation of it.

#### 7. LEAD

is not a native impregnation of mineral waters; it is generally found in the earth united with fulphur in form of an ore. Waters, impregnated with its ruft or mineral vapour, ftrike a pink or red colour with *aqua fortis*, and are highly poisonous; for which reafon, on liquor fhould ever be kept in leaded cifterns or other veffels, either for drink or preparing food. That lead, when diffolved by fire, or corroded by an acid, emits poisonous *effluvia*, is fufficiently fhewn by the difeafes incident to plumbers and painters. But much lefs heat than is required for melting lead, is capable of detaching fuch pernicious *effluvia*. The heat in the bowels of the earth in this climate may be juftly fufpected, efpecially in Liquanea, and other parts where lead ore has been found to work this effect; fo far at leaft as to impregnate any fprings of water, which circulate among this ore. Water alone, if not perfectly pure, is a fufficient agent to caufe a folution of the metallic poifon; and has been found by experience to imbibe it largely. The noted colic of Amfterdam, which for a long time eluded the fearch of phyficians with refpect to its caufe, took its rife from this poisonous impregnation of the rain water, which was collected in leaden refervoirs, after firft lodging on flat leaded houfe roofs, upon which the leaves of trees had fallen in great abundance about autumn. Thefe excited a fermentation, which corroded the lead, and contaminated the water. *Trenchin* relates that whole families were feized with this dreadful colic: eleven perfons fell ill with it at once in one houfe; who, upon new covering the roof with other materials, and changing their water, recovered. Dr. Baker fufpects, that the lead ufed about the works

works in our plantations, where sugar and rum are made, is a principal cause of the West-India colic, or belly-ache. But in this conjecture he seems to be greatly mistaken; for, if this was true, the effects would always be certain and invariable; and those only would be subject to that malady, who swallowed rum and sugar in the largest quantities, which does not agree with observation or experience; since many are subject to it, who never drink any rum, and eat but very little sugar. The drinkers of new rum are the most subject to it, the reason of which I have endeavoured to explain. Besides, the cause is not proportioned to the supposed effect. It is true the mill-bed is covered with lead; but the metal suffers no abrasion, as in a Devonshire cyder-mill, to which the Doctor's idea perhaps compared it. The cane liquor does not rest upon it long enough, or with pressure enough, to act upon the metal; it falls in small quantities, and keeps on its progress, in a gentle smooth current to the gutter, which is commonly made of solid wood hollowed; and where one gutter joins another, the joint is sometimes covered for the space of two or three inches with a piece of lead, though more generally with clay. Two or three such gutters at most are commonly long enough to reach the receiver in the boiling house, which is made entirely of wood; and there the liquor remains to settle, till it is wanted for the copper. If any ill effect can be supposed to arise from this metal in the process, it can only happen from what is laid round the rim of the coppers, where it undergoes a constant great heat; and might possibly communicate its *effluvia* to the liquor, whenever it is suffered to boil so high as to come in contact with it. This the boilers in some measure prevent, by beating it constantly down with their skimmers; however it might be advisable, never to lay the lead low in the coppers. In the distilling house, this metal is never used in any shape; and, therefore, the rum cannot be suspected to be impregnated with any of its *effluvia*, except what may come in the skimmings, which are but a small part of the liquor used in distilling rum. Whether the skimmings have any such impregnation, is a fact very questionable, and not very probable; but against a partial degree of impregnation, the oleaginous and laxative principles of sugar appear to be a sufficient preservative; and hence it is found, that they who

eat *pan sugar*, which is the hard crust formed about the mouth of the *tache*, and which cannot well be taken off without scraping at the same time into the very substance of the lead, do not suffer any of those spasmodic symptoms in their bowels after eating it, which the rust or *effluvia* of this metal are apt to cause, when combined with things which are not qualified to correct their natural effects. Dr. *Cremér* observed, that the potters at Osterhout near Breda, though constantly employed in glazing earthen vessels, were rarely affected with any disorder in their bowels; which exemption he attributes to the large quantities of butter and fat bacon, which are their ordinary food; so experience has taught the labourers in lead mines, to fortify their stomach, and intestines, with fat broths, and such like unctuous aliments, which are antidotes to this poison.

The vapour arising from the smelted ore at the mines in Mendip Hills, in Somersetshire, is so poisonous, that if it sweeps the ground adjacent, it affects the grass in such a manner, as to destroy cattle or sheep that browse on it. There is a *flight*, or light substance, which floats in the smoak; and this, if it chances to mix with the water in which the ore is washed, and carried away with the stream, is said to have destroyed cattle, that have drunk of it after a current of three miles.

The disorders to which the workmen are subject, are pains in the stomach, violent contorsions of the bowels, obstinate costiveness, asthmas, and shortness of breath, vertigos, paralytic affections, loss of appetite, sickness, and frequent vomitings.

The soil about these mines is red and stoney; and the stones washed by the brooks and springs, are of a reddish cast and very ponderous: I cannot precisely answer, whether the soil about the Liguanea lead mines has a conformity in this respect. It seems, from the foregoing account, that a strong degree of heat is required to disengage this pernicious fume; the subterraneous heat is sufficient for such an effect in some places, where there are *strata* of particles qualified to produce it by their fermentative action. No doubt too, but stones containing this mineral, if lying upon and very near the surface exposed to a Tropical sun, may cause this poisonous vapour to be emitted or perspired in some degree; and, mixing with the air, may render it unwholesome; but we have no certain proof, that

any such effect happens about the lead mines of Liguanea. This merits a further investigation; and likewise the springs, or streams, which pass among them, ought to be carefully examined. It appeared, from Mr. Muschenbrock's experiment, that lead is the soonest rarefied of all metals; its expansion with the single flame of a lamp being (compared with iron) as one hundred and fifty-five to eighty: which is nearly double; so that its parts are evidently liable to be affected by a very small portion of heat. And we find, that milled lead, when exposed to the action of the sun in Jamaica, by being improperly made use of, instead of sheet-lead, for covering gutters and valleys on the roofs of buildings, very soon blisters, cracks, and becomes leaky.

#### §. ALLUM.

Waters which contain it discover themselves, on evaporation, by their austere, astringent taste. They change vegetable blues (as syrup of violets fresh-made) to a red colour; but, if the syrup is old, to a green. An addition of lime-water deepens the green. They also coagulate milk. Bricks harden the softest water, and give it an alluminous impregnation. The practice therefore of lining wells with brick is supposed improper.

But, on the other hand, about a quarter of an ounce of allum, powdered, and thrown to every six or seven gallons of turbid, muddy water, will, in about an hour or two, render it perfectly pure and transparent. Nor does any inconvenience result from the allum. It is not only an excellent purifier of such water, but is thought, in hot climates, to cool the body, and brace up its relaxed fibres.

There are other methods likewise recommended for purifying water. In Jamaica, the people of Spanish Town keep their river-water in several large jars, where it settles and deposits a sediment in about twenty-four or thirty-four hours. Some families have three, or more; which, being taken in turn, well cleansed, and replenished regularly, supply them with a very pure and light water inferior to none.

Very foul water may be purified by letting it percolate through sand stowed in half-puncheons, or tubs made on purpose; with small holes two or three inches above their lower end, guarded with a piece of hair-cloth, doubled on the inside, to prevent any

of the sand from dripping out with the water, which may be collected in a receiver placed underneath. The sand used for this purpose should be shifted now and then, perfectly clear from dirt, and free from all mixture of sea-sand. Several of these sand-strainers might be provided where a large supply is required. And thus any person may have no bad substitute, where a natural spring is not to be met with. Brackish water might be very much depurated, if not wholly corrected, by this method: but, should this fail, a very pure element may be obtained with a common still, even from sea water; and, for this process, Dr. Hales advises powdered chalk, in the proportion of half an ounce to a gallon of water, to be from time to time put in at a hole in the upper part of the still, below the head, to prevent the rising of the spirit of the bittern, which would cause a disagreeable taste; this hole to be immediately closed, to prevent any abatement of the quantity distilled. The same ingenious gentleman invented the tin air-box, full of holes; by blowing through which, with a pair of common bellows, the most stinking water may be sweetened; the fresh streams of air thus thrown in, and dispersed throughout the ventilated water, causing the putrid vapour to ascend, and escape from it: and, by this method, a whole butt of stinking water has been corrected in the space of an hour. Nothing is more likely to dispose the body for the reception of disorders, than water filled with putrid particles. It is worth the experiment, whether even lagoon water may not be rendered potable, after being first well strained, by transmitting showers of fresh air through it. The sailors, belonging to the merchant-ships which load at this island, will very frequently, out of meer laziness or ignorance, fill their casks with brackish water, taken up at the mouth of a river, or even with lagoon water; rather than be at the pains to procure what is sweet and wholesome. There is scarcely a harbour in the island, indeed I do not know of above one, where a supply may not be had of good water. This careless practice, and the want of cleansing their casks before they are filled, may probably have often bred fluxes and other disorders among the crews of these ships.

The lagoon water, being the constant seminary for muskeetos, is loaded with the eggs and dead bodies of these insects. It swarms, besides,



besides, with numbers of other *animalcula*; and is further corrupted with stinking aquatic plants and filthy ooze [r]. It is difficult to exclude muskectos from water reserved for use, without keeping the mouth of the jar covered with a piece of osnabrig, or other cloth, which may hinder them from penetrating, at the same time not wholly excluding the admission of fresh air. They deposite their eggs in river-water, and in cisterns. I have even known them hatch in lime-water: but, when the eggs are hatched, the young ones are very conspicuous to the eye, and appear like little tad-poles. Whenever the water is suspected to contain them, it is carefully strained, for drinking, through a clean linen cloth three or four times doubled. The Spaniards generally made use of percolating stones; and, indeed, many persons now use them in Jamaica. They transmit an exceeding pure, and very cool water; but the process is rather tedious, where a large quantity is every day wanted. Most people here put out of doors, in a shaded place (the more open to the wind, the better), several small unglazed jars, with water; which is always coolest in those whose texture is so loose as to admit part of the water to penetrate through, and appear in a constant moisture on their outside; the evaporation, no doubt, contributing greatly to the coolness of the fluid within, by carrying off the heated, rarefied particles incessantly.

Cool water may justly be regarded in this climate as medicinal, and necessary either to preserve health or restore it. Many persons, afflicted with putrid fevers, have even recovered by no other remedy; and, in these disorders, it is remarkable with what eagerness and pleasure the patient will drink cold water in preference to subacid liquors, or any other. The natives drink it almost universally. Sir Hans Sloane mentions it as the custom, when he was here, to take a glass of it every morning at getting out of bed; and he judges it extremely conducive to health, as it not only may cool the inflamed blood, creating a rheumatism (very often taken for, and almost always joined with, the belly-ach), but it may also clear the bowels of some sour or sharp matter, which may happen to lodge in their cells. He therefore esteems good water to

[r] A dead lizard being put into a tub of fresh rain-water, the water became putrid in about twelve hours.

be the most wholesome drink of any ; observing, very justly, that spirits, wine, beer, ale, cyder, and all other vinous and fermented liquors, inflame the blood, and load the stomach with phlegm, causing hiccoughs with their sharpness, and disordering the head. It must be understood, however, that, when water is used as the only beverage in a hot climate, it ought to be as pure as possible ; and that acceſcent substances, such as vegetables, should make a constant part of the water-drinker's food, in order to avoid that putrefcency of the bodily humours which a total water and flesh diet, without the correction of vinous acids, or the antiseptic air of vegetables, would probably generate. We find, accordingly, that although the natives in this climate seldom drink any other liquor, except cool, pure water ; yet they make their principal daily meal consist chiefly of vegetables in their pepper-pots ; eat plantains, yams, and cocos, instead of bread ; and are fond of fallads, fruits, and sugared preparations.

The great axiom of health among the natives of the West-Indies (as Rouppe well observes) is, “ to keep the body open, to drink “ water, and not to indulge in excessive venery.” But I must remark, that, of these three cautions, the last is the least attended to.

## S E C T. VII.

HAVING now considered the best means of preserving health in this climate under the several general heads proposed, it may be necessary, perhaps, that I should make some apology for having trespassed thus far upon the province of physicians. Some, who observe that I have founded the rules prescribed on the opinions of many among the ablest of the faculty, will acknowledge the weight of authority from whence they come recommended. Others will, at least, have the candour to allow, that any inaccuracy, or error, betrayed in the affording of them, may be pardoned, for the sake of their utility, and the object in view, which is no other than that of promoting the health and happiness of this colony. For the rest, I shall gratefully be one of the foremost in offering my thanks and applauses to any gentleman of the faculty resident here, who shall bend his thoughts to this important subject, and give the public a more elaborate and useful detail of the means whereby the

disorders,

disorders, incident to the climate, may best be prevented, or remedied. For what can be a more praise-worthy talk, than the God-like dispensation of health to the sick, life to the dying, relief to the miserable? It is not a little extraordinary, that, among all the gentlemen eminent and learned in the medical profession, who have practised in this island, not one of them should have published his sentiments on its diseases, and the remedies found most efficacious in the cure of them, at least not within these sixty or seventy years past. The only treatise, I ever saw, was composed by Dr. Trapham, who resided here long ago. Dr. Patrick Brown, who printed a natural history of the island in the year 1756, gave his subscribers assurance of a second volume, which was to contain dissertations upon climates, atmospheres, and diseases, the yellow and remittent fevers, and worm-disorders; with a particular application of these subjects to Jamaica: but this gentleman has not hitherto thought proper to comply with his engagement. Is it because several celebrated physicians, as Hillary, Bisset, Lind, and others, have published their opinions already, that our Jamaica professors of the healing art have, through modesty, been silent? If it be a modest reluctance, we may deservedly call it a *pudor malus*, a blameable diffidence, which brings some reproach on their understanding, if not on their humanity; for,

*Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.*

And although these learned precursors mentioned may have handled the subject with much skill and accuracy; yet it cannot be denied but much still remains to be said: for the science of physic, like other human studies, is far too complex in its nature, and admits too comprehensive a variety of observation and experience, to derive more than a partial, progressive improvement from the practice of many physicians, even applying their thoughts to it incessantly during their lives. After a series of ages, it is perceived still very short of perfection; but it may be gradually brought nearer and nearer to that state, by the concurrent observation, practice, and experiment, of a *multitude* of intelligent men, rather than of two or three. Besides, although the *genera* of the diseases, most mortal in the West-Indies, may perhaps be well defined and distinguished; yet, in the extensive range of atmospheres, and countries comprehended

hended within that part of the globe, there must necessarily happen a diversity in the species, a deviation of symptoms, and a consequential obligation to treat them differently, according to the various seasons and situations.

Thus, for example, the putrid fevers of the West-Indies may appear with different symptoms at Jamaica, than have been observed at Barbadoes, at Tobago, at Surinam, at Porto Bello, or the Havannah. It may be requisite, according to the season of the year, to vary the precautions in avoiding, as well as the precepts for removing, them. In the Northernmost parts of the Torrid Zone, these and other diseases may differ from, and call for a mode of treatment materially altered from what might be absolutely proper in, situations under or very near to the Equator. That such a publication is much wanted is, in no respect, more conspicuous than in the ill success (too often the child of ignorance) which, to the destruction of many inhabitants every year, has accompanied the practice of some *homicides* in this country.

If every physician here, of good education and ability, was to publish the fruits of his knowledge and practice, his work would fall into many hands, and prevent much of the mischief likely to happen from those, who, wanting such a guide, are continually in error. But, instead of this, we observe with regret, that, when an experienced gentleman of the faculty has died here, or removed from the island, his treasure of experimental knowledge has been buried with him, or passed away to another country, where, from difference of climate, it becomes useless.

If to rescue one man only from impending death can yield unspeakable pleasure to a benevolent heart; how infinitely superior must be his satisfaction, who, whilst he communicates the means by which thousands, perhaps, of his fellow-creatures may be saved from extremity of torture and distress, reflects a moment, that, by so doing, he builds a monument that will transmit his name with eulogy to future generations! that the happy result of his skill does not perish with him! but that, after his body ceases from existence, he may continue still the author of health, life, and ease, to latest posterity!

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To lay the foundation of unceasing benefit to mankind in this way, is a work of the noblest ambition that can inspire the human mind. How applauded is the patriotism and benevolence of those princes, who have erected bridges, formed roads, cut navigable canals, made secure harbours, and executed other plans of great public utility! They are deservedly styled the fathers and friends of their country. Nor less so the physician; who is really a father to those who enjoy their life through his means.

*Opifer per orbem dicor* was thought an epithet the most honourable of any to be conferred on the fabulous god of physic; and not undeservedly; for, if there is a being upon earth to whom divine honours could, without impropriety, be offered, it is a learned, virtuous, and communicative physician.

To describe the state of physick in this island, would be an invidious task. It is happily supplied with several men of great ability. But, as every plantation requires what is called *a doctor*, it is needless to observe, that there are too many pretenders to the science, as in other countries, the practice not being as yet put under any regulation by law. It may be some amusement to my reader to be presented with the history of a Jamaica *quack*; not that he is to regard it as an epitome of all the practitioners. *Qui capit, ille facit*. To a few it may be applicable; but, for the credit of human nature, I declare it is not applicable to any considerable number. Mr. *Apozem*, the hero of my narrative, was the son of a house-carpenter in London. At the age of twelve, he was put to a grammar-school; and, at fifteen, removed from thence, and apprenticed to an apothecary, of mean circumstances, and very little business; but he was an old acquaintance of the father, and a member of a weekly porter-club, where they had regularly met each other for twenty years, and contracted a strict friendship. During the first three years of apprenticeship, Mr. Apozem had no other employment except to *scrape and sweep out* the shop every morning, *clean his master's shoes*, and *go on errands*; and, when he had just attained his nineteenth year, his master unfortunately dying by one of his own nauseous compositions, inadvertently swallowed, he returned to his father's house, where he continued perfectly idle for about a twelvemonth; when an opportunity offered.

ferred of getting him provided for, that he might no longer lie a burthen on his father's hands, who was extremely poor, and had a numerous family to maintain. This was effected through the good office of another member of the club (which shews the utility of such institutions); who, on being appointed captain to a Guiney trader, readily offered to take Apozem with him, in quality of surgeon. This being cheerfully assented to, the young *doctor* was properly equipped for the occasion, and soon after entered on the voyage. They took in three hundred slaves, and sailed from the coast, bound to the Jamaica market. The first great exploit, performed by Mr. Apozem, was in diminishing the number of *mouthis* on board; and so effectually did he exercise his skill, that, by the time they had reached their destined port, he registered no less than eighty Blacks, and nine white seamen, on his dead list. This wonderful dispatch made the captain extremely anxious to look out for something on shore more proportioned to his great abilities; for he wisely apprehended, that a longer continuance on board might probably leave the ship without hands to navigate her. He therefore gained the interest of the merchant to whom he was consigned. The merchant had a proper regard for the ship-owners, and soon found means to engage Mr. Apozem in the service of an honest planter who dealt with him; and who, conceiving the highest opinion of Mr. Apozem's skill and knowledge, from the many encomiums that were lavishly given both by the captain and merchant, stipulated so handsome a salary, that Apozem quitted the sea without the smallest hesitation.

Mr. Apozem, soon after his entering upon this new scene of business, disdained to confine his carnage merely to the family with whom he resided. The first step he took, after looking about him a little, was to extend his practice, as much as he could, among other families and plantations; some of which were not less than thirty miles distant from his employer's habitation: so that, in about six or eight months, he was continually upon the high-trot, riding post, and spreading depopulation far and wide. His principal instruments of death were mercury and *opium*, ever mistakenly applied, and injudiciously combined. Liquid laudanum was his ready help in time of need, and stood his ignorance in great stead.

Whenever

Whenever at a loss to find out the cause, or nature, of a distemper (which generally was the case), a dose of laudanum was the first piece of artillery he brought into the field, to begin the attack. If the symptoms still left him doubtful, *repetatur dosus!* laudanum again, either *per se*, or jumbled with a new mixture, to raise the credit of his skill, and prevent detection. Thus the siege went briskly on, with laudanum, to the end of the campaign, until the patient's life, or constitution at least, was fairly sapped, and compelled to surrender at discretion. As *opium* was his grand specific for all hysterical and nervous ailments, as well as others where the symptoms puzzled the doctor's imagination; so mercury was lugged in by the head and shoulders, to save his credit, in all cases of cuticular eruptions, belly-achs, and topical inflammations. If mercury failed, after a bill of one or two hundred pistoles, "The devil's in this obstinate disease!" cried Apozem; "it is not, sure, in the power of physic to conquer it! There's no remedy left, Sir, but to flee to Bath, or change the climate!" This was the last resource of his art; for he reasoned thus: "I should be a consummate blockhead, indeed, to put the finishing stroke to this business, and so blow myself up at once. No! let my patient perish at Bath, or on the road thither! or sail for Britain, and die in his hammock! If death should lay hold of him, after he is discharged out of my hands, *thou canst not say I did it!*" Thus argued Mr. Apozem; and thus did he extricate himself from many a troublesome scrape. It was a great misfortune to the public, that his father had not kept him long enough at school to acquire a smattering of Latin: it was, indeed, no less inconvenient to himself, and multiplied his difficulties on many occasions. But true genius leaps over every stumbling-block; and, what he could not construe with the help of Cole's dictionary, he always guessed at as well as he was able. No man, surely, could have done more. It is needless to say, that he never boasted his skill in decyphering a common *formula*, or Latin prescription. He condemned the folly of writing receipts for health in an unknown tongue; and one might as well have sent him an inscription taken from one of the ruins at Palmyra. After puzzling his brain for half an hour in vain, to discover the meaning, he usually mixed up some horrid

*hotchpot* of his own invention, in order to comply with vulgar prejudice, and leave no room to suspect that he had not completed a grammatical and classical education. It was enough for him, if he could but luckily explain the last words of a prescription, to distinguish a *fiat bolus* from a *fiat haustus*. Under the auspices of these qualifications, the following escape of a patient may be considered as almost miraculous. A certain gentleman was troubled with an eruption on his skin; and, having a smattering of medical knowledge, he took upon him to be his own physician, wrote a Latin prescription for a liniment, in which *sulph. vivum* was the principal ingredient; and dispatched it to be made up by Mr. Apozem. Our hero pored over it for some time with great attention; and, concluding at length that *sulph. vivum* and *argent. vivum* were cousin-germans, compounded a mercurial ointment; with which the patient unthinkingly besmeared himself from head to foot: but, in a short time, he became convinced of his error; the eruption struck in; he gave himself up for a dead man; and, indeed, did not come off without a violent fit of illness, which had nearly cost him his life. I cannot, without horror, reflect on the multitudes who have quietly descended into their grave, leaving the frauds imposed upon them undetected. It was always a maxim with Mr. Apozem, “that the dead tell no tales.”—“My reputation,” (thought he) “is safe, under the authority of a distemper which is often known to be mortal. But, if that won’t serve my turn, I’ll say the patient was *sulky*, and determined not to live; or that he was *faint-hearted*; or had a bad habit of body; or had lived too free in his youth; or wanted a *flamen*; or that *some-thing* broke within him; or—any other reason why.” Under such prudent *salvos* did Mr. Apozem, “not having the fear of God before his eyes, but moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil,” go on to ravage and destroy the human species, with as little remorse and shame as Alexander the Great, or the greatest slaughterers of antiquity. His utmost dread was the decline of such bloody business; his principal wish, the quick sale and consumption of his drugs, which were rotten or sophisticated: though, bad as they were, he generally made a profit of one thousand *per cent.* upon them in the retail way. The sale of these poisons formed



formed the most gainful part of his business; though he was, occasionally, a physician, apothecary, surgeon, man-midwife, dentist, phlebotomist, farrier, &c. He professed every branch, knew as much of one as of another, understood none: and, thus accoutred, he was ready at all calls, and engaged in the cure of distempers, whose names he had never heard before. He had a happy manner of discussing the *rationale* of any disease, of which I shall give a specimen that does him honour. He was sitting one day by the bed-side of his patient, whom the hero had over-dosed with a purgative, which caused fifteen evacuations in a few hours; and, the irritation still continuing, the very *mucus* of his bowels came away. The patient, alarmed at this appearance, languid and almost spent, having taken no sustenance all the day, for want of some respite from his agony, requested the doctor to inform him of the cause of the last mucilaginous discharge. "Oh," quoth Apozem, with an air of most solemn sagacity, "it is nothing more than the superfluous juices of the blood, Sir, which are following the operation of the *bolus*, Sir; 'tis a sure diagnostic that the medicine has worked critically, and that the morbid acrimony of the *primæ viæ* is depurated from the abdominal emunctories." Mr. Apozem continued in this strain till he had talked his patient fast asleep by dint of hard words; in which comfortable state he softly left him, to recruit his wasted spirits.

Mr. Apozem was a professed enemy to regular physicians, because none, who valued their good name and reputation, would be concerned with him; for they never could have the satisfactory assurance, that a single ingredient of their prescriptions would ever enter into Mr. Apozem's manufactures. It was impossible they could meet with success; for, when they prescribed one thing, Apozem was sure to compound and administer something very different: so that, in despite of all their learning and assiduity, the patient was morally sure of dying. When the manner of the death came to be the subject of conversation, Apozem laid it, with a shrug of his shoulders, at the physician's door: "the poor man died *regularly!*" After a few such examples, the prescriber lost his business; and Apozem was sent for in his stead. I have often thought, that, considering the desolation which Apozem spread

through the country, and the many hundred victims which he sacrificed every year, there arises a very strong evidence of the falubrity of the climate, which of itself is pregnant with but few endemial diseases; and these are pretty well understood by physicians of any tolerable education and experience; so that, had it not been for the activity of Mr. Apozem, the proportion of such as might have owed their *exit* fairly and truly to the climate, during the time he flourished here, would have been too insignificant to cause the smallest surprize.

Mrs. Apozem (for our hero thought meet to take unto him a wife, in hopes of making some reparation to society for the thousands he had sent out of the world) was a religious, good sort of a woman, and would very often give him wholesome admonition. “ I would advise you, my dear Mr. Apozem, said she, to turn from your evil ways, and honestly confess your ignorance, by refusing to prescribe for disorders, to which you know you are as much a stranger as myself. Surely this would be more humane in you, than to go on at this rate, wilfully and consciously administering your slops to the destruction of your fellow creatures. Ignorance is never criminal, except when it does mischief; and then, if it is unchecked, God only knows where it will stop. It is true, you think to suppress your qualms of conscience by alledging, that you do not dispense your stuff with a downright direct intention to wound or kill; but, if the effect is generally hurtful, what does your intention signify in the sight of God? If you was to stand in the middle of a crowd with a loaded gun in your hand, and discharge it with your eyes shut, would this acquit you of the damage that ensued; you might say, I took no aim, I positively did not fire at any particular person, and therefore did not intend to kill the poor man who happened to be struck with the ball: but, I am afraid, this excuse would not satisfy a jury, they would most undoubtedly call it *murder*, and, after all the logic of your distinction, you certainly, my dear, would be hanged, which heaven forbid! for in short, although you did not positively intend to kill Dick or Tom, yet you consciously did an act, which, your own mind must have suggested, was not perfectly innocent, considering the fatal effect it would in all human probability occasion.” Mr. Apozem used to hear these harangues pretty frequently, and sometimes he would even promise amendment; but so

flinty was his breast become by inveterate habit, that the dying groans of a patient never cost him a single pang; and he grew more hardened in proportion as he suffered no loss, either in business or character, from such misfortunes; so fertile was his invention, in shifting the blame from his own hands. Thus, like a skilful archer, he dealt his arrows from behind a bush, whilst,

“ Sæviti atrox *Volsens*, nec teli conspicit usquam

“ Auctorem.”

“ *Volsens* storm'd, nor found

“ The daring author of the distant wound.”

He never voted the calling in a physician, till his patient lay at the very last gasp, drenched with his deadly potions beyond the salvation of medicine; and hence always drew the advantage of proclaiming, “ that death and the physician generally came into a sick room together.” His rule for visiting, is not the least curious part of his œconomy: whenever he was sent for, his maxim was, to measure the delay of setting out, and the length of the visit, “ according to the strength and length of the patient's purse.” If he saw reason to expect a handsome gratuity, or a long bill, he used to scud upon the wings of the wind, and was at the patient's wrist in a trice. He held, that “ putting any interrogatories to sick persons, was only perplexing their minds, already too much discomposed with illness; and impeached the dignity of those who are born doctors, and comprehend every branch of the art, by natural intuition.” Any enquiry therefore, into the past habits of living, diet, exercise, irregularities, and the general state of health and constitution, “ were utterly superfluous to a man of true penetration.” Apozem was satisfied to say no more, than “ I'll send you something directly;” and he never was known to break his promise; phials, boxes, and gallipots, followed by dozens, whilst, reposing in his elbow chair, he sat down to enter *£. s. d.* His visits were repeated three or four times *de die in diem*, more or less, according to the patient's rank and fortune. If his applications were unable to interrupt the laborious efforts of nature, and the disease began to lose ground, it was very well; there was, however, no want of regular supplies, of pectorals, emenagogues, febrifuges, and vermifuges; paregories, and sudorifics; laxatives, and alteratives; fomentations, and embrocations; drastics, and epispastics, to be swallowed, or applied,

applied, every fifteen minutes, night and day ; none of which, we may be sure, were unnoticed in Mr. Apozem's manuscript, commonly called a Journal.

To conclude my narrative ; since the best precautions cannot at all times guard the most temperate and careful ; since all flesh is subject to pay the debt of nature, and even doctors themselves are not exempted from the common lot of mortality ; so it fell out, that Mr. Apozem was taken, by surprize, with a malignant distemper, which laid hold of him with so much violence, that he was very near calling out for help of the faculty, if he had not been restrained by a riveted opinion, that such auxiliaries were like the Saxons and Normans, who (upon invitation) first drove out the intestine enemy, and then fell upon the intestines themselves : consigning himself therefore to despair, he soon fell a victim to his own drugs, which had inflicted the same fate on many a worthier man. Such were the life and opinions of Mr. Apozem, who might boast of having sent more souls to the banks of Styx in one year, than the yellow fever ever did in ten.

The science of physic, when taken out of the hands of such poison-mongers, is truly noble. We find the Saviour of mankind employed himself in this godlike office ; his miracles were medicinal, he “ went about doing good,” and his divine power was exerted in healing the sick, restoring sight to the blind, and vigour to the infirm. It certainly merits the greatest encouragement in all inhabited countries, but more especially in colonies and new settlements, where unusual diseases are observed. This exalted art, if duly cultivated, is capable of producing very important effects in such places. If nothing more was to be expected from it, than the augmentation of commerce, this alone is a sufficient motive for a trading people to give it the most honourable distinctions among them ; since commerce stands so largely indebted to physic, and its sister botany, not only for materials of import and export, but the abilities of men employed in collecting those materials.

Nor must we pass over the happy consequence accruing to a new settlement, from having its endemial diseases thoroughly understood, and the lives of the settlers preserved or prolonged, by medical skill and sagacity.

The number of hands in such a place is generally so inconsiderable, that a sudden mortality, and the loss of a very few inhabitants, may nip the  
the

the most hopeful project in the bud, and deter other adventurers from going to reside in it; for, if once the character of any remote settlement is established for unhealthiness, it is always found a very difficult task, and a work of long time, to dispel the popular prejudice, and convince mankind that such a place is habitable. Besides, it may happen, that the persons first carried off by the attacks of sickness in such a country, for want of proper medical assistance, have been the chief promoters or undertakers of the settlement; they may be men of the most capacity and ability among the inhabitants; and, in such case, the loss is irreparable.

But, in a colony already formed and provided with a legislative power, it is the highest reproach, it is even an impiety, that a tribe of *Apozems* should be tamely permitted to over-run and depopulate it, preying on the purses and lives of innocent men, with an impudence, ignorance, and rapacity, that is unparalleled. If the woods were pestered with tigers or rattle-snakes, like the forests on the American continent, with what terrors should we not reflect on the destruction they might cause! with what zeal and solicitude would not the legislature promote rewards and encouragements to extirpate them! Yet, in some colonies, they have been known to suffer with impunity a much more lethiferous race of savage animals in human shape, who have stifled the emotions of humanity and conscience, whilst they poisoned, and tortured to death, the bodies of their very friends and benefactors.

The dignity of the science of healing (not of *murdering*) ought surely to be placed on the firmest basis in such a country; that, whilst the inhabitants confide their very existence to the physician's care, he may be enabled, by proper regulations, to assure himself, that his patients will not be forced to swallow any other mixture than what he has prescribed; and that the varying, or adulterating, his prescription, will be punished by the laws, in the severest and most exemplary manner; and surely, if we consider a moment, that such deceit is no less than a clandestine attempt against the life of one party, and the reputation of another, it must appear an offence of the most capital nature, and worthy of capital punishment.

As a foundation for this, we may recommend the plan, which that good man colonel Codrington found means to carry into execution, from the opulence of his fortune, and liberality of his sentiments. He,

no doubt, had long deplored the calamitous circumstances of Barbadoes, unprovided with a sufficient stock of practitioners, regularly trained to the knowledge of physic. He was sensible, that a colony, surrounded with enemies, and liable to internal insurrections of slaves, required a constant supply of white inhabitants; and that, if the proportion of those annually imported did not counterbalance the number annually swept off by distempers, the colony must inevitably decline; for, it is the multitude of useful hands which constitutes the vigour and prosperity of every settlement; and the greater the mortality is, the greater, and heavier, must be the labour that falls upon the survivors: if 500 men only are employed to garrison a country, which, from its extent and circumstances, requires 2000, the insufficient body may harass themselves to death, and yet be unable to maintain their ground against an enemy; so if, by judicious practice, only 500 lives *per annum* are retrieved, which, by erroneous practice, would have infallibly been lost to the community, no man surely will deny the importance of such an acquisition to a West India colony; the saving those lives may introduce, perhaps, an increase of many hundred more to the stock by procreation; add to this, that the death of a principal planter, on whose well-being twenty white persons are probably dependent for bread and employment, is equal to the loss of twenty-one persons; because these discarded servants, who have attained to no fixed property, may remove to some other country in search of a provision. Nor does the loss entirely rest here; if he was a virtuous man, sustained a public employment with integrity, and diffused happiness and utility from the greatness of his station, his ability, and benevolent spirit, such a chasm becomes still more extensive, and difficult to be repaired. Colonel Codrington, who enjoyed the government of Barbadoes, devised by his will in 1710, two plantations in that island, and likewise a part of Barbuda, another of the Carribbee islands, in value about 2000*l. per annum*, or upwards, to the society *de propagandâ fide*, for the purposes of instructing Negroes belonging to Barbadoes, and the other Carribbees, in the Christian religion, and for erecting and endowing a college in Barbadoes, in which the liberal arts should be taught, particularly *physic and surgery*. A college was accordingly erected there, the good effects of which may be traced, not only in the greater number of white inhabitants in proportion to the other British islands,

islands, but in the superior skill of the physicians residing in it; for, it has been in no small degree owing to the practitioners of Barbadoes [s], that we have any tolerably scientific account of diseases incident to the West Indies, their treatment, and method of cure. We must not expect, perhaps, to see a tolerable performance on this subject, composed by a Jamaica physician, until the legislature, in commiseration of the sufferings, and loss of inhabitants, shall take vigorous and effectual measures, for excluding all those from commencing physicians, who do not bring with them authentic and sufficient credentials, certifying their qualification for so arduous a business.

It is true, a diploma from Glasgow does not always confer sense, neither should the want of that *venal honour* deprive any man of the esteem and deference due to real merit. If a surgeon or apothecary has got the education and knowledge required in a physician, he is a physician to all intents and purposes, and ought to be respected accordingly [t]; but some line should be drawn, in order to rescue the practice out of the hands of low and illiterate persons, who are a scandal to the profession. The diseases of the human body are so intimately combined, that it is impossible to understand some of them perfectly, and be entirely ignorant of the rest; and equally impossible to understand any of them without a proper knowledge of *anatomy*, and the *animal œconomy*, both in its sound and morbid state. To excel in this profession, requires a greater compass of knowledge than is necessary in any other art. A knowledge of the mathematics, at least of the elementary parts of them, of natural history, and natural philosophy, are essentially connected with it; as well as the sciences of anatomy, botany, and chemistry, which are deemed its immediate branches. There are likewise some pieces of knowledge, which though not absolutely necessary to the successful practice of medicine, are yet such ornamental acquisitions, as no physician, who has had a regular education, is found without; such is, an acquaintance with the Latin, Greek, and French languages; to which may be added, some knowledge of the world, of men, and manners [t]. All these qualifications we look for in a regular-bred physician; but when the three branches, of the prescriber or physician, the surgeon, and the apothecary, all mix in one man,

[s] Viz. Towne, Warren, Bruce, Hillary, and others.

[t] Gregory's Lectures.

which is more generally the case in Jamaica, we may dispense with many of these attainments, so requisite in an accomplished physician, provided such a practitioner is well acquainted with the sciences of anatomy, botany, and chemistry; for, without a competent knowledge in these, he cannot understand properly the principles of any drug or medicine, nor in what manner to apply it to a diseased body. The animal machine will be, in his hands, like a watch in the hands of an Indian; he will see it move without knowing the cause; and when it is disordered, he may break it to pieces by his unskilful attempts to rectify it. Perhaps, no scheme might be apter to establish the practice on a proper footing in Jamaica, than the erection of a college, endowed with a library, lecturers on physiology, pathology, anatomy, botany, and the *materia medica*; with licensed inspectors of apothecaries shops and drugs. Testimonials of a regular apprenticeship should be required from every apothecary, surgeon, or man-midwife, and an oath for the honest and conscientious discharge of his respective function, before he could be admitted to open shop, or practise in the island.

From such an institution might be hoped the best effects, in respect to the health of the inhabitants, the triumph of ability and learning over impudent empiricism, and a large fund of information to guide future practitioners; here is the noblest field for botanical enquiries, and the readiest helps to anatomical knowledge. In process of time, the commerce of the island might expect to participate the advantages resulting. The spices of the East, the bark tree of Peru, the balsam trees of Mexico, and many other valuable plants and productions, might be introduced under the auspices of a learned society, and propagated in this fertile soil.

Providence has accommodated every region with specific remedies for its endemial distempers: but the medicinal virtues of the Jamaica plants are as yet but little known to any of its practitioners. It is attended with less trouble to find a medicine in the next drawer, or gallipot, than ramble into woods for it, or enter upon a laborious course of experiments. And, in truth, very few here understand any thing of botany, or chemistry. Yet as the American diseases differ in many respects from those of Europe, so they seem to require a different *materia medica*; and none can be so appropriated, as the native productions



productions of the country to which those diseases are endemial. The practice of physic then, where necessarily deviating from the European (respect being had to the distinctions occasioned by climate) would become established upon more rational, and certain grounds; many lives would annually be saved, and the profession, which is now disgraced by illiterate dabblers, would reside in hands, from whose skilfulness the inhabitants might expect more security to their life and welfare, whilst the island, thus relieved from one principal cause of mortality, would see its people multiply, its trade and exports enlarge, its strength and opulence augment. From the necessary connexion of causes with effects, it is reasonable to think, that all these advantages would happen, in consequence of a thorough *purgation* of abuses from the practice of physic in this island.

A moderate share of industry, with health, has laid the foundation of many a great fortune in Jamaica; this place is, therefore, justly an object of attention to those, whose slender patrimony, or indigent circumstances, render them unable to gain a competent provision in their native country. It is the asylum of the distressed and unfortunate, where all may enjoy sustenance, and where a beggar is unknown. They who arrive now have an advantage, unknown to our ancestors, of coming to an established society, which, from the number of towns and settlements, has every accommodation and convenience that can be desired. Here is still ample room for many young beginners, since much of the best land has hitherto, by reason of its central situation, lain neglected and uncultivated. The daily improvements that are making in the roads will soon (with the public aid) render these lands of the middle districts extremely valuable, and convenient for settlers; the chief difficulty which always attends new settlements, in hilly or woody countries, being the want of good carriage roads, affording an easy communication with towns and sea-ports. It is a further inducement, that these districts are as healthful as any part of Great Britain; which circumstance seems fully evinced by the undisturbed lives of those persons who have already resided in them. The purity and mild cool temperature of their air, at all times of the year, are propitious to human health, whilst the fruitfulness of the soil is inexhaustible, and affords abundant supplies of food more than answerable to the labour bestowed upon it. What may be further conducive

to population, must depend on wise laws and fit regulations, calculated for the protection of property, the encouragement of industry, the abolition of tyranny, the discountenancing of selfish monopolies, and the *conservation of health*. These demand assistance, from a legislature influenced by public spirit, a liberal judgement, and perfect knowledge of their country's best interest. Such a legislature need not to be informed, that the advantages of a thorough population and settlement are of such vast importance to this island, as to be well worth their purchase, by every suitable provision and encouragement in their power to frame or bestow. Convinced of this truth, the means are obvious.

APPENDIX *in the* SECOND VOLUME.

*JAMAICA is divided.* p. 1.] My opinion in regard to the Indian origin of the name of this island, as hinted in the former volume, p. 353, is strengthened by the account we have from Peter Martyr, in his *Decades*; who says, that it was called Jamaica by the Indian inhabitants when the Spaniards first discovered it.

*Indian natives, who fell victims to the barbarity of their Spanish conquerors,* p. 153.] Peter Martyr mentions, that it was exceedingly populous; and the Indian natives far more lively, acute, and ingenious, than any the Spaniards had met with in the other islands.

*Known by the name of Curtin's spring,* p. 138.] This water, I am informed, has been examined, with still greater accuracy, by Dr. Turner; but I have not been fortunate enough to meet with his ingenious remarks upon it.

P. 207. To the account of Westmoreland parish I am enabled to add the following particulars:

Its metropolis was formerly Queen's Town (now Cross-Path), which contained a church and many inhabitants. But, in the year 1729, shipping began to resort to the harbour of Savannah la Mar; and, in the following year, the parochial meetings were removed thither, and houses began to be built. These changes brought on a speedy declension of the old town. The structure of the fort was first begun in 1733; and it was judiciously situated for commanding the several channels leading into the harbour; but the town, instead of the low, swampy soil on which it now stands, might have been placed, with far greater advantage, about a mile more to the Eastward, on an elevated, dry spot, through which a rill of good water constantly runs. This site would likewise have been more commodious for carrying on mercantile business; not only because there is a greater depth of water near the shore, but that small vessels may pass to and fro with any wind. The inhabitants of Savannah la Mar lie under the further inconvenience of being obliged to fetch their water, for domestic uses, from a great

distance across the bay; except immediately after the rainy seasons, when, by the flooding of some gullies, they gain a temporary supply in their neighbourhood. The sum of thirteen hundred pounds has been lately expended on repairs to the fort, which the parishioners intend to furnish with cannon.

The town contains near one hundred houses: Beckford-town consists of about thirty; and the remainder of the savannah has about as many more. The number of vessels loaded here, at an average of the last four years, amounts to about eighty *per annum* (not including coasters, or droguers); and their burthen has been computed at eleven thousand five hundred and eighty-five tons; which calculation allows about one hundred and forty-five tons to each vessel. Hence some opinion may be formed of the consequence and value of the trade carried on at this port. And, that an estimate may likewise be made of the improved state of the plantations in this parish, the following may suffice.

<i>Anno.</i>	Negroes.	Hhds. of Sugar.	Number of Sugar Estates.
1770,	17237	7915	72

which the reader may compare with the state I have before given of it for the year 1768.

Manning's free-school maintains only six or seven boys. This is attributed to some inattention in the trustees; for it is asserted, that the fund is improveable, and very capable, if judiciously managed, of supporting many more. I know not what truth there may be in this charge; but, if it is fairly adduced against the trustees, there is evidently some defect in the law which was passed for regulating this foundation.

#### MINERAL WATERS.

The chalybeate spring at Ricketts Savannah has been already found of singular benefit in obstructions, and other disorders accompanying a lax fibre. It appears to contain volatile-vitriolic-acid, felenitic-earth, and a portion of fixible air. This spring, if it was properly attended to, and guarded from the access of rain and other mixtures, might prove highly serviceable to the inhabitants. There is also a hot-spring lately discovered in the mountains lying between this parish and Hanover; in all probability it is sulphureous, and has affinity in its principles and operation to the hot bath of  
St. Thomas

St. Thomas in the East. As yet it has not undergone any analysis: But there is every reason to believe, that it will prove, upon experiment, not to differ much from the Eastern medicinal stream; and, in this event, that it will be of the utmost utility to the parishioners, and indeed deserving of every public and private encouragement in order that its salutary effects may be rendered more accessible and diffusive.

*The other articles proportionably, p. 229.]* Dr. Campbell, in his Political Survey of Great-Britain, &c. vol. II. p. 666, has favoured us with a list of the exports from this island in the year 1770, with their value. The latter, however, is rated arbitrarily; which must always be the case in such calculations, though probably not varying much from the truth. If the rates should be judged too high, it will be at the same time considered, that the articles of

Indigo,  
Tortoiseshell,  
Zebra-wood,  
*Lignum-vitæ*,  
Brafiletto,  
Fustic,  
Logwood, and some few others, besides  
Bullion,

are not enumerated, though a large allowance is due to them.

Exported from Jamaica, *A. D.* 1770.

	£. Sterling.
2249 bales of cotton, at 10 <i>l.</i> per bale,	22,490
1873 cwt. of coffee, at 3 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> per cwt.	6,068
2753 bags of ginger, at 2 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> per bag,	6,194
2211 hides, at 7 <i>s.</i> per hide, — —	774
15,796 { hhds. of rum, for Great-Britain, } { at 10 <i>s.</i> per hoghead, — — }	157,960
679 ditto Ireland, at 10 <i>s.</i> per hoghead,	6,790
<hr/>	
16,475	
15,675 } pieces, } Mahogany, — —	50,000
8,500 } feet, }	
2,089,734 lb. wt. of pimento, at 6 <i>d.</i> per lb.	52,243

61,970 hhd. of sugar, at 17*l.* 10*s.* *per* hhd. 1,086,620  
 205 bags of farfaparilla, at 10*l.* *per* bag, 2,250

Total exports to Great-Britain and Ireland, 1,391,408  
 Ditto to North-America, ———— 146,322  
 Ditto to other parts, ———— 1,000

£ 1,538,730

In 1763, the exports to Great-Britain and Ire- } £ 1,076,155  
 land were rated at ———— }

The advance therefore in seven years, *i. e.* to 1770, is — £ 315,253

In the above detail, the export to North-America is certainly put a great deal too large; and the export to other parts, as disproportionably too small; the reason for which is very obvious: and, besides, it is probable, that many vessels, which were destined to other parts, took out clearances for North-America. I shall add to the foregoing the estimated value of exports in the same year (1770) from the other British sugar-islands, and state their aggregate in comparison with that of Jamaica, omitting fractions, as in the former example.

	£	
Grenades, ———	506,709	
Antigua, ———	465,990	
Barbadoes, ———	436,013	
St. Kitt's, ———	427,454	
St. Vincent, ———	110,501	
Montserrat, ———	102,540	
Tortola, ———	71,828	
Dominica, ———	62,856	
Nevis, ———	57,982	
Anguilla, ———	5,857	
Total from the Windward Isles, ———	2,243,730	£
Total from Jamaica, ———	1,538,730	
Grand total, ———	3,782,460	

## CORRIGENDA.

## V O L. II.

Page.	Line.	Page.	Line.	
26	23	r. which prevent.	319	(Note, 3d from the bottom) r. or <i>Broth</i> .
31	(penult.)	r. <i>acacia</i> .	323	11 del. <i>to</i> (after) <i>than</i> .
33	13	del. <i>and</i> (before) " the Conflux."	325	5 r. <i>could</i> be.
39	20	r. and <i>fastnesses</i> of.	328	5 place a full stop (after) <i>Mistress</i> .
45	15	r. were <i>even</i> known.	339	5 r. <i>had</i> taken.
49	1	r. or <i>Echinite</i> .	343	34 del. <i>were</i> .
50	25	r. <i>Montano</i> .	353	7 place a <i>comma</i> (after) <i>been</i> .
15	22	r. <i>Cudjee</i> .	360	10 r. <i>Loango</i> .
61	19	r. <i>have</i> encouraged.	403	21 r. and <i>Lave</i> .
63	17	r. quite dry, <i>although</i> at.	407	25 r. the Trace.
65	18	r. <i>Indian</i> .	414	17 r. in <i>as many</i> different.
69	28	r. in <i>width</i> .	458	19 (after) <i>Stipulation</i> place the † reference to the Note.
Id.	(4th from the bottom)	r. the channels dangerous to.	465	29 r. persons <i>thither</i> .
75	29	r. <i>is</i> extremely.	468	3 r. <i>making</i> at.
80	1	after <i>St. Anne</i> , place a <i>comma</i> .	470	19 r. <i>those that</i> lay.
87	2	r. <i>detainer</i> .	473	27 r. <i>horrid</i> rite.
107	11	after <i>dry</i> , place a <i>comma</i> .	475	5th of Chap. IV. r. to the <i>opinion of my readers</i> .
115	33	r. exhalation.	484	5th from the bottom, r. <i>through</i> an exact.
118	21	del. <i>Men</i> .	Id.	3d Id. r. reasoning <i>then</i> .
138	5	place a <i>comma</i> (after) <i>acid</i> .	494	(4th Note) r. <i>Imprisonment</i> .
149	7	r. 30,900 lb. wt.	499	25 r. <i>Glebe</i> .
197	7	r. <i>Commissious</i> .	502	18 r. 30 <sup>l</sup> . <i>nett</i> .
202	26	r. <i>surely</i> opulent enough.	527	(8th Note) r. from <i>it</i> .
223	9	r. <i>cultivable</i> .	542	26 r. <i>they</i> must.
226	18	r. <i>Morse's</i> .	562	1 r. <i>a vice</i> .
227	15	r. <i>Burthen</i> , fifty thousand.	Id.	29 r. <i>produced</i> a wonderful.
233	(penult.)	r. transmission of.	569	21 r. <i>they</i> cannot.
236	35	r. supposed in <i>this case</i> .	574	14 r. <i>no liquor</i> ,
238	24	place a <i>comma</i> (after) <i>Governor</i> .	Id.	20 <i>et sequent</i> . r. <i>Lignumæa</i> .
250	10	r. <i>are</i> barely.	576	29 r. it <i>should seem</i> .
261	2	r. <i>en el Ayre</i> .	577	13 r. <i>Alum</i> .
294	7	(Note) r. after seven years, <i>and 10 s. on every Patent of Naturalization</i> .	589	21 r. persons, <i>only peopled</i> .
298	31	r. for <i>Instance</i> .	593	5 r. see <i>any equal</i> performance.
299	3	r. <i>to make</i> .	*599	Appendix. r. in two places — <i>ic l. per hoghead</i> .
305	22	r. <i>may</i> be,		



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