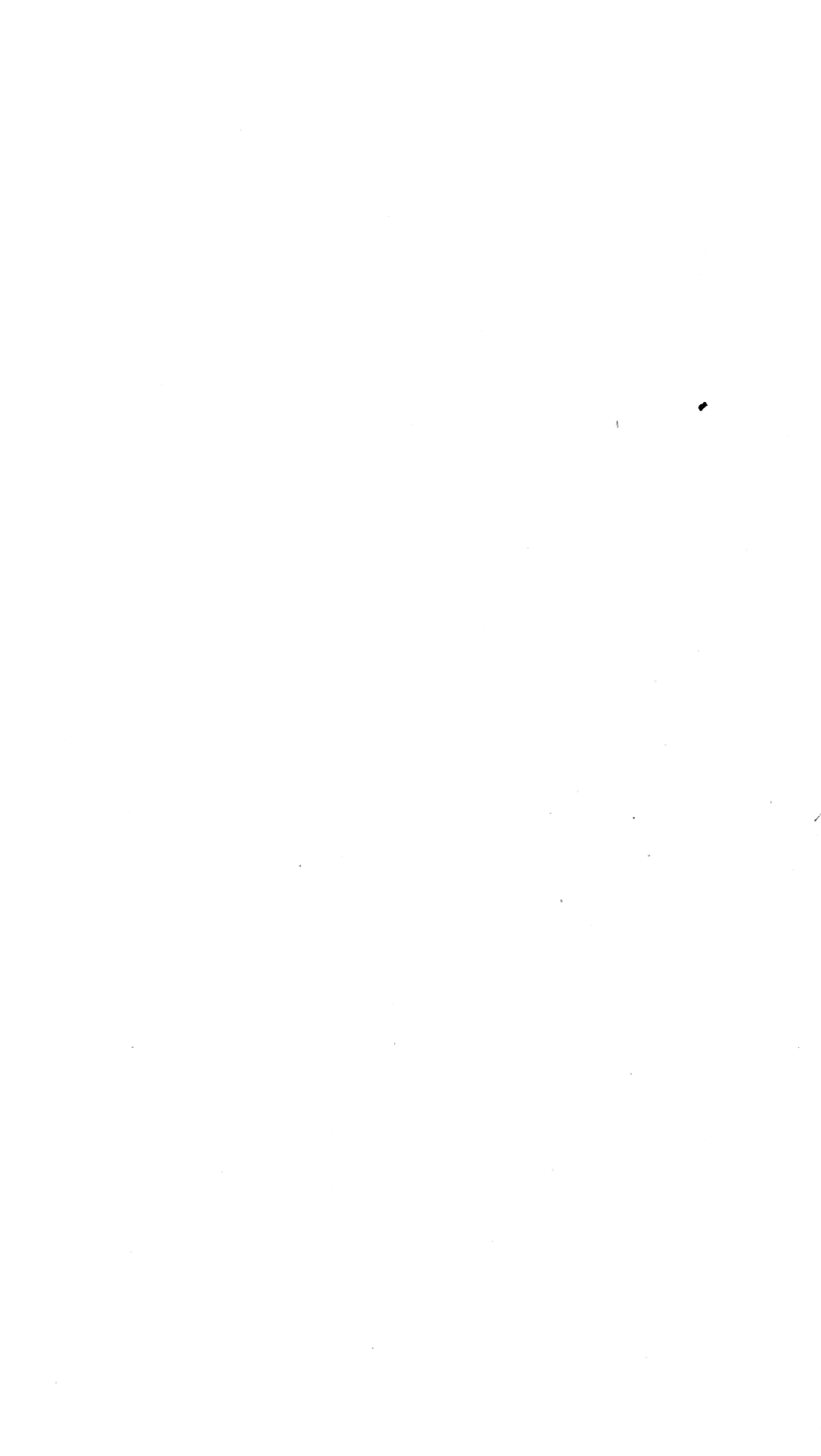


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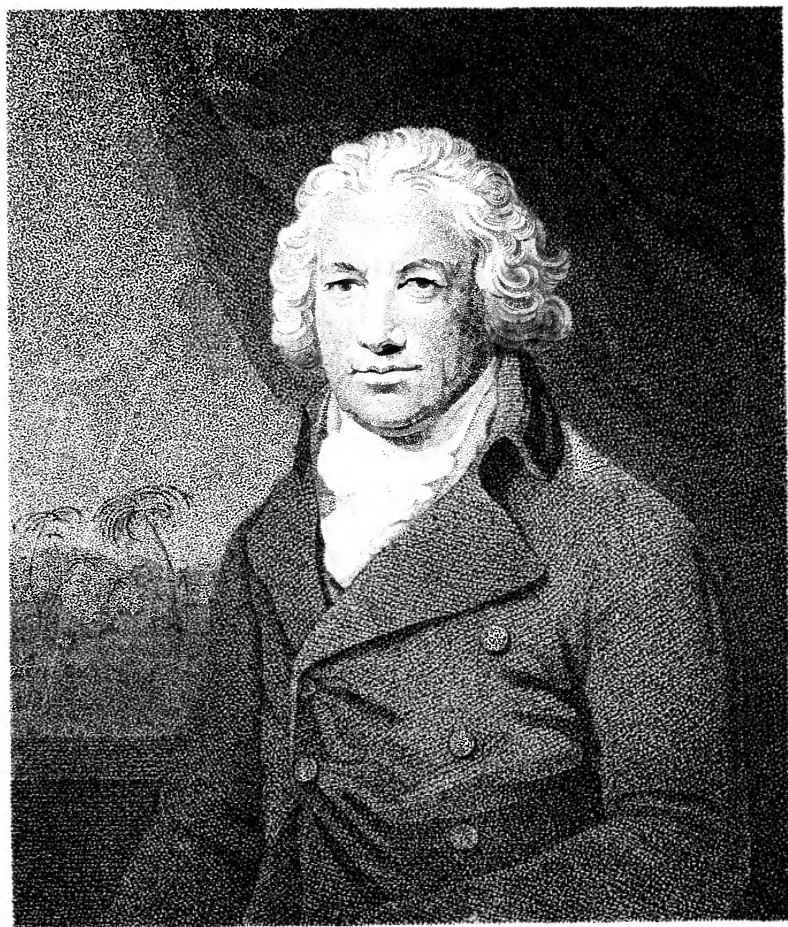
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BRYAN EDWARDS ESQ^r

THE HISTORY,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES
IN THE
WEST INDIES.

~~~~~  
By BRYAN EDWARDS, Esq. F.R.S. S.A.

~~~~~  
ILLUSTRATED BY AN ATLAS,
AND
EMBELLISHED WITH A PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR.

=====

TO WHICH IS ADDED A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE

BAHAMA ISLANDS,

By DANIEL M'KINNEN, Esq.

=====

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JAMES HUMPHREYS,  
*At the Corner of Second and Walnut-streets.*

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TO THE  
*KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,*

THIS  
POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL  
SURVEY  
OF HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS IN THE  
WEST INDIES;

WHICH,  
UNDER HIS MILD AND AUSPICIOUS  
GOVERNMENT,  
ARE BECOME THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF THE NATIONAL  
OPULENCE AND MARITIME POWER;

IS,  
WITH HIS GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST LOYAL AND DUTIFUL SUBJECT  
AND SERVANT,

BRYAN EDWARDS.



## PREFATORY ADVERTISEMENT.\*

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**T**O this enlarged and corrected Edition of the History of the West Indies, it was the intention of the Author to prefix a Preface, touching every source of additional intelligence, every rectification of error, and the general completion of his views, in furnishing every document of commerce, of policy, and of natural history, as connected with the countries and the people he describes. He had carefully revised and corrected the text of his book, preparatory to such essay, developing the scheme of its construction, and the philosophy of its contents. But death interrupted the design;—and ere the last sheet was revised from the press—BRYAN EDWARDS was no more! He had long suffered from the disorder which brought him to the

\* *By Sir William Young, Bart.*

grave, and seemed to foresee the hour of dissolution hastening on; as the Sketch of his Life, written by himself, clearly denotes. Rendered incapable, by weakness and disease, of completing his greater design of a Prefatory Discourse; yet, with a fond anxiety for honest fame, he roused the embers of his genius,—to claim a fair reputation with posterity for industry, integrity, and candid exposition of the talents and acquirements which introduced him to public notice. The firmness of his mind, and the cheerfulness of his temper, which throughout a long and chequered life, gave confidence to his friendships, and delight in his society, forsook him not, as he apprehended its last short hour before him: this he clearly shews, when turning from the awful consideration of futurity to look back on his past life, himself brings the retrospect to our view, and describes the scene in so pure and lively colours, with no gloom from discontent, and no shade from remorse, that we readily infer the nature of the light which so beamed on this his last work, and to his last hour;—and pronounce its emanation to be from the pure conscience of a benevolent and upright man. Under such impression, the editor has peculiar satisfaction in fulfilling the injunction of his departed friend,

and prefixing to this edition "THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF." The time at which it was composed, and the composition itself, impress the editor with every feeling of dear regard and of duty; and, (as a part of that duty), with the propriety of submitting some further remark on this last literary effort of his excellent friend. Those who knew and were intimate with Mr. BRYAN EDWARDS, will recognize in this short account of himself, the energy of mind, the industry, and the truth, which characterized his conversations and his life; but all must allow, and some must object, that much therein is omitted, which has usual and proper place in biography, and which the editor might be presumed, or be called upon, to supply. Some account might be required, of his literary essays, and legislative acts, so efficient in the cause of humanity towards the negroes, whilst a member of the assembly in Jamaica:—Some account might be demanded, of this good and independent man, whilst a member of the British parliament; and, especially in the posthumous life of a literary man, some accurate detail of his literary pursuits and writings might be expected.—Of BRYAN EDWARDS,—of his correspondence,—

of his essays, and of his conduct in the judicious compilation and elegant recital of the *Travels of Mungo Park*,—and specially, of the origin and progress of the great work herewith submitted to the public—to these, and other points, the recollection of the reader is thus awakened. The editor presumes no further. He cannot venture to alter, or add to, the sacred deposit committed to his charge,—and now gives it to the public, as its author left, and *willed* it, to be given.

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SKETCH

OF

*THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR;*

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

A SHORT TIME BEFORE HIS DEATH.

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# SKETCH

OF

## *THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,*

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

A SHORT TIME BEFORE HIS DEATH.

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**I** WAS born the 21st of May 1743, in the decayed town of Westbury, in the county of Wilts. My father inherited a small paternal estate, in the neighbourhood, of about £.100 per annum; which proving but a scanty maintenance for a large family, he undertook, without any knowledge of the business, as I have been informed, to deal in corn and malt, but with very little success. He died in 1756, leaving my excellent mother, and six children, in distressed circumstances.—Luckily for my mother, she had two opulent brothers in the West Indies, one of

them a wise and worthy man, of a liberal mind and princely fortune. This was Zachary Bayly, of the island of Jamaica, who, on the death of my father, took my mother and her family under his protection, and as I was the eldest son, directed that I should be well educated. I had been placed by my father at the school of a dissenting minister in Bristol, whose name was William Foot, of whom I remember enough, to believe that he was both a learned and a good man, but by a strange absurdity, he was forbidden to teach me Latin and Greek, and directed to confine my studies to writing, arithmetic, and the English grammar. I should therefore have had little to do, but that the schoolmaster had an excellent method of making the boys write letters to him on different subjects, such as the beauty and dignity of truth, the obligation of a religious life, the benefits of good education, the mischief of idleness, &c. &c. previously stating to them the chief arguments to be urged; and insisting on correctness in orthography and grammar. In this employment, I had sometimes the good fortune to excel the other boys; and when this happened, my master never failed to praise me very liberally before them all; and he would frequently transmit my letters to my father and mother.—This

excited in my mind a spirit of emulation, and, I believe, gave me the first taste for correct and elegant composition. I acquired, however, all this time, but very little learning; and when my uncle (on my father's death) took me under his protection, his agent in Bristol considered me as neglected by Mr. Foot, and immediately removed me to a French boarding school in the same city, where I soon obtained the French language, and having access to a circulating library, I acquired a passion for books, which has since become the solace of my life.

In 1759, a younger and the only brother of my great and good uncle, came to England, and settling in London, took me to reside with him, in a high and elegant style of life. He was a representative in Parliament for Abingdon, and afterwards for his native town.—Further, I cannot speak of him so favourably as I could wish; for I remember, that at the period I allude to, his conduct towards me, was such, as not to inspire me with much respect: he perceived it; and soon after, in the latter end of the same year, sent me to Jamaica.—This proved a happy and fortunate change in my life, for I found my eldest uncle the reverse, in every possible circum-

stance, of his brother. To the most enlarged and enlightened mind, he added the sweetest temper, and the most generous disposition. His tenderness towards me was excessive, and I regarded him with more than filial affection and veneration. Observing my passion for books, and thinking favourably of my capacity, he engaged a clergyman (my loved and ever to be lamented friend Isaac Teale) to reside in his family, chiefly to supply by his instructions my deficiency in the learned languages. Mr. Teale had been master of a free grammar school, and besides being a most accomplished scholar, possessed an exquisite taste for poetry, of which the reader will be convinced by referring to the Gentleman's Magazine, for August, 1771; the beautiful copy of verses, there first published, called "The Compliment of the Day," being of his composition. I dare not say, however, that I made any great progress in the languages under his tuition; I acquired "*small Latin, and less Greek;*" even now, I find it difficult to read the Roman poets in their own language. The case was, that not having been grounded in the Latin grammar at an earlier period of life, I found the study of it insupportably disgusting, after that I had acquired a taste for the beauties

of fine writing. Poetry was our chief amusement; for my friend, as well as myself, preferred the charms of Dryden and Pope, to the dull drudgery of poring over syntax and prosody.\* We preferred Belle Lettres.—We laughed away many a happy hour over the plays of Moliere, and wrote verses on local and temporary subjects, which we sometimes published in the colonial newspapers. Yet the Latin classics were not altogether neglected; my friend delighted to point out to me the beauties of Horace, and would frequently impose on me the task of translating an ode into English verse, which with his assistance, in construing the words, I sometimes accomplished.

Having made myself known to the public by my writings, it is probable that after I am in the grave, that some collector of anecdotes, or biographical compiler, may pretend to furnish some particulars concerning my life and manners. It is not pleasant to think that misrepresentation or malice may fasten on my memory; and I have therefore made it the amusement of an idle hour, to compile a short account of myself. My per-

\* *Vide* Armstrong.

sonal history, however, is of little importance to the world. It will furnish no diversified scenes of fortune, nor relate many circumstances of myself, worth remembering. Yet I feel the fond ambition of an Author, and am willing to hope, that those who have read my book with approbation, will be glad to know something further concerning me;

For who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey, &c.

For the satisfaction then of such kind readers (if such there are) and the information of my posterity, I have drawn up this paper, which I desire my Bookseller to prefix to the next Edition of my History of the West Indies.

*B. E.*

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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THE discovery of a new Hemisphere by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, and the progress of the Spaniards in the conquest of it, have been deservedly the theme of a long series of Histories in the several languages of Europe; and the subject has been recently resumed and illustrated by a celebrated Writer among ourselves.—It is not therefore my intention to tread again in so beaten a track, by the recital of occurrences of which few can be ignorant, if the noblest exertions of the human mind, producing events the most singular and important in the history of the world, are circumstances deserving admiration and inquiry.

My attempt, which I feel to be sufficiently arduous, is,—

To present the reader with an historical account of the origin and progress of the settlements made by our own nation in the West Indian islands;—

To explain their constitutional establishments, internal governments, and the political system maintained by Great Britain towards them;—

To describe the manners and dispositions of the present inhabitants, as influenced by climate, situation, and other local causes; comprehending in this part of my book an account of the African slave trade; some observations on the negro character and genius, and reflections on the system of slavery established in our colonies;—

To furnish a more comprehensive account than has hitherto appeared of the agriculture of the Sugar Islands in general, and of their rich and valuable staple commodities, sugar, indigo, coffee, and cotton in particular;—finally,—

To display the various and widely extended branches of their commerce; pointing out the relations of each towards the other, and towards the several great interests, the manufactures, navigation, revenues, and lands of Great Britain;—

These, together with several collateral disquisitions, are the topics on which I have endeavoured to collect, and convey to the public, useful and acceptable information. Their importance will not be disputed, and I have only to lament that my abilities are not more equal to the task I have undertaken.

But, before I proceed to investigations merely political and commercial, I have ventured on a retrospective survey of the state and condition of the West Indian islands when first discovered by Columbus; and I have endeavoured to delineate the most prominent features in the character and genius of their ancient inhabitants. I was led to a research of this nature, not merely for the purpose of giving uniformity to my work, but because, having resided many years in the countries of which I write, I presume to think, that I am somewhat better qualified to judge of the influence of climate and situation, on the disposition, temper, and intellects of their inhabitants, than many of those writers, who, without the same advantage, have undertaken to compile systems, and establish conclusions, on this subject. I conceive that, unless an author has had the benefit of actual experience and personal observation, neither genius nor industry can at all times enable him to guard against the mistakes and misrepresentations of prejudiced, ignorant, or interested men; to whose authority he submits, merely from the want of advantages which those who have possessed them have perverted. He is liable even to be misled by preceding authors, who have undertaken, on no better foundation than himself, to compile histories and form systems on the same subject: for when plausible theories are deduced, with ingenuity and elo-



quence, from facts confidently asserted; he suspects not, or, if he suspects, is cautious of asserting, that the foundation itself (as it frequently happens) is without support; that no such facts actually exist, or, if existing, are accidental and local peculiarities only,—not premises of sufficient extent and importance whereon to ground general conclusions and systematical combination.

I have been induced to make this remark from perusing the speculations of Mons. Buffon and some other French theorists, on the condition and character of the American nations. Whether from a desire to lessen the strong abhorrence of all mankind at the cruelties exercised by the Spaniards in the conquest of the New World, or from a strange affectation of paradox and singularity, falsely claiming the honours of philosophy, those writers have ventured to assert, that the air and climate, or other physical phenomena, retard the growth of animated nature in the New Hemisphere, and prevent the natives from attaining to that perfection at which mankind arrive in the other quarters of the globe. Notwithstanding the variety of soil, climate, and seasons, which prevail in the several great provinces of North and South America;—notwithstanding that the aboriginal inhabitants were divided into a great many different tribes, and distinguished also by many different languages; it is pretended that all those various tribes were uniformly inferior, in the faculties of the mind and the capacity of improvement, to the rest of the human species; that they were creatures of no consideration in the book of nature;—denied the refined invigorating sentiment of love,—and not possessing even any very powerful degree of animal desire towards multiplying their species. The author of a system intitled '*Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*', declares, with unexampled arrogance, that there never has been found, throughout the whole extent of the New World, a single individual of superior sagacity to the rest. And the scope of his treatise is to demonstrate, that the poor savages were actuated not by reason, but by a sort of animal instinct;

that nature, having bestowed on the whole species a certain small degree of intellect, to which they all individually attain, placed an insurmountable barrier against their further progress:—of course, that they are not (properly speaking) *men*, but beings of a secondary and subordinate rank in the scale of creation.

Although our own learned Historian\* is much too enlightened to adopt in their fullest extent, these opinions;—which cannot, indeed, be read without indignation;—yet it is impossible to deny, that they have had some degree of influence in the general estimate which he has framed of the American character: for he ascribes to all the natives of the New World many of those imperfections on which the system in question is founded; and repeatedly asserts, that “the qualities belonging to the people of *all* the different tribes may be painted with the same features.”† With this bias on his pen, it is not wonderful, that this author is sometimes chargeable with repugnancy and contradiction. Thus we are told, that “the Americans are, in an amazing degree, strangers to the first instinct of nature (a passion for the sex,) and, *in every part of the New World*, treat their women with coldness and indifference.”‡ Yet we find soon afterwards, that, “*in some countries of the New World*, the women are valued and admired, the animal passion of the sexes becomes ardent, and the dissolution of their manners is excessive.”§ It is elsewhere observed, that “the Americans were not only averse to toil, but incapable of it, and sunk under tasks which the people of the other continent would have performed with ease; and it is added, that “this feebleness of constitution *was universal, and may be considered as characteristic of the species.*”|| It

\* Dr. Robertson.

† History of America, Vol. I. p. 280 and 283.

‡ P. 292.

§ P. 296.

|| P. 290.

appears, however, in a subsequent page, that “ wherever the Americans have been gradually accustomed to hard labour, their constitutions become robust enough to equal any effort of the natives either of Africa or Europe.”\* Personal debility, therefore, could not have been the peculiar characteristic of the American species; for the human frame, in every part of the globe, acquires strength by gradual employment, and is comparatively feeble without it.

Again: among the qualities which the Historian considers as universally predominant in the Americans, he ascribes to them, in a remarkable degree, a hardness of heart and a brutal insensibility to the sufferings of their fellow creatures.† “ So little (he observes) is the breast of a savage susceptible of those sentiments which prompt men to that feeling attention which mitigates distress, that in some provinces of America the Spaniards have found it necessary to enforce the common duties of humanity by positive laws.”‡ Neither is this account of their inflexibility confined to the ferocious barbarian of the northern provinces, or to the miserable outcast of Terra del Fuego. The author extends his description to all the uncivilized inhabitants of the New Hemisphere. It constitutes a striking feature in his general estimate; for he establishes it as a fixed principle, that “ in every part of the deportment of man in his savage state, whether towards his equals of the human species, or towards the animals below him, we recognize the same character, and trace the operations of a mind intent on its own gratifications, and regulated by its own caprice, without much attention or sensibility to the sentiments and feelings of the beings around him.”§

Certainly the learned Author, while employed in this representation, had wholly forgotten the account which he had be-

\* History of America, Vol. I. p. 294.

† P. 405.

‡ P. 406.

§ P. 407.

fore given of the first interview between the Spaniards and the natives of Hispaniola, when a ship of Columbus was wrecked on that island. "As soon (says the Historian) as they heard of the disaster, they crowded to the shore, with their prince Guacanahari at their head. Instead of taking advantage of the distress in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune *with tears of sincere condolence*. Not satisfied with this unavailing expression of their sympathy, they put to sea a vast number of canoes, and under the direction of the Spaniards, assisted in saving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the united labour of so many hands, almost every thing of value was carried ashore. Guacanahari in person took charge of the goods, and prevented the multitude not only from embezzling, but even from inspecting too curiously what belonged to their guests. Next morning this prince visited Columbus, *and endeavoured to console him for his loss by offering all that he possessed to repair it.*"

Thus exceptions present themselves to every general conclusion, until we are burthened with their variety;—And at last we end just where we began; for the wonderful uniformity which is said to have distinguished the American Indians, cannot be supported by analogy, because it is not founded on nature.

Of the other branches of my work, great part, I presume to think, will be new to many of my readers. I have not met with any book that even pretends to furnish a comprehensive and satisfactory account of the origin and progress of our national settlements in the tropical parts of America. The system of agriculture practised in the West Indies, is almost as much unknown to the people of Great Britain as that of Japan. They know, indeed, that sugar, and indigo, and coffee, and cotton, are raised and produced there; but they are very generally, and to a surprising degree, uninformed concerning the method by which those and other valuable commodities are cultivated and brought to perfection. So re-

markable indeed is the want of information in this respect, even among persons of the most extensive general knowledge, that in a law question which came by appeal from one of the Sugar islands a few years ago, the noble and learned earl who presided at the hearing, thinking it necessary to give some account of the nature of rum and melasses, (much being stated in the pleadings concerning the value of those commodities), assured his auditors with great solemnity, that "melasses was the raw and unconcocted juice extracted from the cane, and from which sugar was afterwards made by boiling!"\*

On the subject of the slave trade, and its concomitant circumstances, so much has been said of late by others, that it may be supposed there remains but little to be added by me. It is certain, however, that my account, both of the trade and the situation of the enslaved negroes in the British colonies, differs very essentially from the representations that have been given, not only in a great variety of pamphlets and other publications, but also by many of the witnesses that were examined before the house of commons. The public must judge between us, and I should be in no pain about the result, if the characters of some of those persons who have stood forth on this occasion as accusers of the resident planters, were as well known in Great Britain, as they are in the West Indies. What I have written on these subjects has at least this advantage, that great part of my observations are founded on personal knowledge and actual experience: and with regard to the manners and dispositions of the native Africans, as distinguished by national habits, and characteristic features, I venture to think, that my remarks will be found both new and interesting.

After all, my first object has been truth, not novelty. I have endeavoured to collect useful knowledge wheresoever it lay, and when I found books that supplied what I sought, I

\* I give this anecdote on the authority of a Jamaica gentleman who was present; a person of undoubted veracity.

have sometimes been content to adopt, without alteration, what was thus furnished to my hands. Thus extracts and passages from former writers occupy some of my pages; and not having always been careful to note the authorities to which I resorted, I find it now too late to ascertain the full extent of my obligations of this kind. They may be traced most frequently, I believe, in the first and last parts of my work: In the first, because, when I began my task, I had less confidence in my own resources than I found afterwards, when practice had rendered writing familiar to me; and in the last, because, when my labours grew near to a conclusion, I became weary, and was glad to get assistance wheresoever it offered.

From *living* rather than from *written* information, however, have I generally sought assistance, when my own resources have proved deficient; and it is my good fortune to boast an acquaintance with men, to whom, for local and commercial knowledge, our statesmen and senators might resort, with credit to themselves and advantage to the public. On this occasion, neither the gratitude which I owe for favours bestowed, nor the pride which I feel from the honour of his friendship, will allow me to conceal the name of Edward Long, Esquire, the author of the Jamaica History, to whom I am first and principally indebted; and who with the liberality which always accompanies true genius, has been as careful to correct my errors, and as assiduous to supply my defects, as if his own well-earned reputation had depended on the issue.

For great part of the materials which compose the History of Grenada, I am under obligations to Thomas Campbell, Esq. formerly speaker of the assembly of that island, who, through means of a friend, furnished such answers to queries that I sent him, as encourage me to present that portion of my work to the public with a confidence which I dare not assume in my account of some other of the islands. Yet, even with regard to most of these, I have no cause to complain

that assistance has been oftentimes denied me. Concerning Barbadoes and Saint Christopher's in particular, I have been favoured with much accurate and acceptable information, by John Braithwaite and Alexander Douglas, Esquires, gentlemen who are intimately acquainted with the concerns of those colonies; and the polite and cheerful readiness with which they satisfied my inquiries, entitle them to this public testimony of my thanks.

The same tribute is most justly due to Benjamin Vaughan and George Hibbert, Esquires, merchants of London, for many excellent and important remarks, and much valuable matter; which, at length, have enabled me to look back on the commercial disquisitions in the last book, with a degree of satisfaction that at one period I despaired of obtaining; being well apprized that this part of my work will, on many accounts, be most obnoxious to criticism. That it is now rendered free from mistakes, I do not indeed pretend. In all researches of a political and commercial nature, the best authorities are sometimes fallible; and there is frequently much difference both in general opinion, and particular computation, between those who are equally solicitous for the discovery of truth. The facts, however, that I have collected cannot fail to be of use, whether the conclusions I have drawn from them be well founded or not.

I might here close this introductory discourse, and leave my book to the candour of my readers; but having made my acknowledgments to those gentlemen who have given me their kind assistance in the compilation of it; and feeling, in common with all the inhabitants of the British West Indies, a just sense of indignation at the malignant and unmerited aspersions which are daily and hourly thrown upon the planters, for supposed improper and inhuman treatment of their African labourers; I should ill acquit myself, as the historian of those colonies, if I omitted this opportunity of giving my testimony

to the fulness of their gratitude, their honest pride and lively sensibility, at beholding, in a son of their beloved sovereign, the generous assertor of their rights, and the strenuous and able defender of their injured characters, and insulted honour! The condescending and unsolicited interposition of the duke of Clarence on this occasion, is the more valuable, as, happily for the planters, it is founded on his royal highness's personal observation of their manners, and knowledge of their dispositions, acquired on the spot. Thus patronised and protected, while they treat with silent scorn and deserved contempt the base efforts of those persons who, without the least knowledge of the subject, assail them with obloquy and outrage, they find a dignified support, in the consciousness of their own innocence, even under the misguided zeal and unfavourable prepossessions of better men. It might indeed be hoped, for the interests of truth and humanity, that *such* men would now frankly acknowledge their error, and ingeniously own, that we have been most cruelly traduced, and ignominiously treated; or if this be too much to ask, we may at least expect, that gentlemen of education and candour will no longer persist in affording countenance to the vulgar prejudices of the envious and illiberal, by giving currency to suggestions which *they* cannot possibly know to be true, and which *we* know to be false.

*London, 1793.*



## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

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**T**HE sale of a large impression of this Work, in a little more than twelve months, having induced the bookseller to publish a Second Edition, I have availed myself of the opportunity of correcting several errors which have crept into the first, but I have not found it necessary to enlarge my book with any new matter of my own, worthy of mention. The only additions of importance are a few notes and illustrations, with which the kindness of friends has enabled me to supply some of my deficiencies. I have thought it proper, however, in that part of the sixth book which treats of the commercial system, to insert a copy of the provisional bill presented to the House of Commons in March 1782, by the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the purpose of reviving the beneficial intercourse that existed before the late American war, between the United States and the British Sugar islands. This bill, through the influence of popular prejudice and other causes, was unfortunately lost. Had it passed into a law it would probably have saved from the horrors of famine fifteen thousand unoffending negroes, who miserably perished (in Jamaica alone) from the sad effects of the fatal restrictive system which prevailed! The publication of this bill, therefore, is discharging a debt of justice to the minister and myself: to Mr. Pitt, because it proves that his first ideas on this question were founded on principles

of sound policy and humanity; to myself, because it gives me an opportunity of shewing, that the sentiments which I have expressed on the same subject are justified by his high authority.

This is not a business of selfishness or faction; nor (like many of those questions which are daily moved in parliament merely to agitate and perplex government) can it be dismissed by a vote. It will come forward again and again, and haunt administration in a thousand hideous shapes, until a more liberal policy shall take place; for no folly can possibly exceed the notion, that any measures pursued by Great Britain will prevent the American States from having, *some time or other*, a *commercial intercourse* with our West Indian territories on their own terms. With a chain of coast of twenty degrees of latitude, possessing the finest harbours for the purpose in the world, all lying so near to the sugar colonies, and the track to Europe,—with a country abounding in every thing the islands have occasion for, and which they can obtain nowhere else;—all these circumstances, necessarily and naturally lead to a commercial intercourse between our islands and the United States. It is true, we may ruin our sugar colonies, and ourselves also, in the attempt to prevent it; but it is an experiment which God and nature have marked out as impossible to succeed. The present restraining system is forbidding men to help each other; men who, by their necessities, their climate and productions, are standing in perpetual need of mutual assistance, and able to supply it.

I write with the freedom of History;—for it is the cause of Humanity that I plead.—At the same time there is not a man living who is more desirous than myself of testifying, by every possible means, the sensibility and affection which are due to our gracious SOVEREIGN, for that paternal solicitude and munificent interposition, in favour of his remotest subjects, to which it is owing that the Bread Fruit, and other valuable productions of the most distant regions, now flourish in the British West Indies. These are indeed “imperial works,

“and worthy kings.” After several unsuccessful attempts, the introduction of the Bread Fruit was happily accomplished, in January 1793, by the arrival at St. Vincent of his majesty’s ship Providence, captain WILLIAM BLIGH, and the Assistant brig, captain NATHANIEL PORTLOCK, from the South Seas; having on board many hundreds of those trees, and a vast number of other choice and curious plants, in a very flourishing condition; all which have been properly distributed through the islands of St. Vincent and Jamaica, and already afford the pleasing prospect that his majesty’s goodness will be felt to the most distant period.\* The cultivation of these valuable exotics will, without doubt, in a course of years, lessen the dependance of the sugar islands on North America for food and necessaries; and not only supply subsistence for future generations, but probably furnish fresh incitements to industry, new improvements in the arts, and new subjects of commerce!

The assembly of Jamaica, co-operating with the benevolent intentions of his majesty, have lately purchased the magnificent botanical garden of Mr. East,† and placed it on the

\* Extract of a letter to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, from the Botanic gardeners in Jamaica; dated December 1793.

“All the trees under my charge are thriving with the greatest luxuriance. Some of the bread fruit are upwards of eleven feet high, with leaves thirty-six inches long; and my success in cultivating them has exceeded my most sanguine expectations. The cinnamon tree is become very common, and mangoes are in such plenty as to be planted in the negro-grounds. There are also several bearing trees of the Jaack or bastard bread fruit, which is exactly the same as the nanka of Timor. We have one nutmeg plant, which is rather sickly, &c. &c.

† On the death of HINTON EAST, Esq. the founder of the botanic garden, it became the property of his nephew, EDWARD HYDE EAST, Esq. barrister at law, and member of parliament for Great Bedwin, who with great generosity offered it to the assembly of Jamaica, for the use of the public, at their own price.

public establishment, under the care of skilful gardeners, one of whom circumnavigated the globe with captain BLIGH. I might therefore have considerably enlarged the *Hortus Eastensis* annexed to this work, but the particulars did not come to my hands in time. However, that the lovers of natural history may not be wholly disappointed, I shall subjoin to this preface a catalogue of the more rare and valuable exotics which now flourish in Jamaica. The present improved state of botany in that island will thus be seen at one view.

In contemplating this display of industry and science, and offering the tribute of grateful veneration to that SOVEREIGN under whose royal patronage and bounty so many valuable productions have been conveyed in a growing state from one extremity of the world to the other, it is impossible that the inhabitants of the British West Indies can forget how much also is due to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, the president of the Royal Society; by whose warm and unwearied exertions the second voyage to the South Seas was determined on, after the first had proved abortive. Among all the labours of life, if there is one pursuit more replete than any other with benevolence, more likely to add comforts to existing people, and even to augment their numbers by augmenting their means of subsistence, it is certainly that of spreading abroad the bounties of creation, by transplanting from one part of the globe to another such natural productions as are likely to prove beneficial to the interests of humanity. In this generous effort, Sir JOSEPH BANKS has employed a considerable part of his time, attention, and fortune; and the success which in many cases, has crowned his endeavours, will be felt in the enjoyments, and rewarded by the blessings of posterity.

On the whole, the introduction of the bread fruit and other plants from the South Sea islands—the munificence displayed by HIS MAJESTY in causing the voyage to be undertaken by which it was finally accomplished—the liberality and judgment of those who advised it—and the care and attention

manifested by those who were more immediately intrusted with the conduct of it, are circumstances that claim a distinguished place, and constitute an important era, in the History of the British West Indies.

Having said thus much in honour of my countrymen, it is but justice to observe, that the French nation (whilst a government existed among them) began to manifest a noble spirit of emulation in the same liberal pursuit. It is to the industry of the French that Jamaica (as will be seen in the History of that island) owes the cinnamon, the mango, and some other delicious spices and fruits. Among other branches of the vegetable kingdom introduced by them into their West Indian possessions, they reckoned three different species of the sugar cane, all of which were previously unknown to the planters and inhabitants. I have, in the second volume of this edition, observed, that Sir JOSEPH BANKS had satisfied me that such varieties did exist; but I was not then apprized that their cultivation had been successfully attempted in any of our own islands. By the kindness of Admiral Sir JOHN LAFOREY, baronet, I am now enabled to gratify my readers with such full and authentic information on this subject, as cannot fail to be highly acceptable to every inhabitant of the West Indies.

These canes were originally introduced into Martinico; and it was a fortunate circumstance that the distinguished officer whom I have named commanded about that time on the naval station at Antigua. It was equally fortunate that, with a love of natural knowledge, he possessed plantations in the island last mentioned; for it is extremely probable, from the disturbances and distractions which have prevailed ever since in every one of the French colonies, that there would not at this time have been found a trace of these plants in any part of the West Indies, if Sir JOHN LAFOREY had not personally attended to their preservation. With the account which his politeness has enabled me to present to the public, I shall conclude this Introductory Discourse.

*Remarks on the EAST INDIA and other CANES imported into the French Charaibbean islands, and lately introduced into the island of Antigua, by Sir JOHN LAFOREY, Bart.*

“ One sort was brought from the island of Bourbon, reported by the French to be the growth of the coast of Malabar.

“ Another sort from the island of Otaheite.

“ Another sort from Batavia.

“ The two former are much alike, both in their appearance and growth, but that of Otaheite is said to make the finest sugar. They are much larger than those of our islands, the joints of some measuring eight or nine inches long, and six in circumference.

“ Their colour, and that of their leaves also, differs from ours, being of a pale green; their leaves broader, their points falling towards the ground as they grow out, instead of being erect like those of our islands. Their juice also, when expressed, differs from that of our canes; being of a very pale, instead of a deep green colour. I caused one of the largest of these canes to be cut, at what I deemed its full growth, and likewise one of the largest of the island canes that could be found upon each of three other plantations. When they were properly trimmed for grinding, I had them weighed: the Malabar canes weighed upwards of seven pounds; neither of the other three exceeded four pounds and a quarter.

“ They are ripe enough to grind at the age of ten months; a few cut for a trial by my manager, above twelve months old, were judged to have lost part of their juices, by standing too long.

“ They appear to stand the dry weather better than ours; I observed, that after a drought of a long continuance, when the leaves of our own canes began to turn brown at their points, these continued their colour throughout.

“ A gentleman of Montserat had some plants given to him by Monsieur Pinnel, one of the most considerable planters of Guadaloupe, who told him he had, in the preceding year, 1792, in which an exceeding great drought had prevailed, planted, amongst a large field of the island-canes, half an acre of these; that the want of rain, and the *borer*, had damaged the former so much, that he could not make sugar from them, but the latter had produced him three hogsheads.

“ In the spring of this year, 1794, a trial was made of the Malabar canes on one of my plantations; 160 bunches from holes of five feet square were cut, they produced upwards of 350 lbs. of very good sugar; the juice came into sugar in the teache in much less time than is usually required for that of the other canes, and threw up very little scum. The produce was in the proportion of 3,500 lbs. to an acre; the weather had then been so very dry, and the *borer* so destructive, that I am sure no one part of that plantation would have yielded above half that quantity from the other canes, in the same space of ground. We had not then the benefit of the new invented clarifiers, which, though imported, had not been fixed up for want of time.

“ The French complain that these canes do not yield a sufficient quantity of field trash, to boil the juice into sugar; to this, and to their never throwing up an arrow, I think their superior size may in good measure be attributed. This inconvenience may be obviated, by the substitution of coals; and the increased quantity of the cane trash, which their magnitude will furnish, (and which we reckon the richest manure we have, when properly prepared), will well indemnify the expense of firing.

“ The Batavia canes are a deep purple on the outside; they grow short jointed, and small in circumference, but bunch exceedingly, and vegetate so quick, that they spring up from the plant in one-third the time those of our island do; the joints, soon after they form, all burst longitudinally. They have the appearance of being very hardy, and bear dry weather well;

a few bunches were cut and made into sugar at the same time the experiment was made with the white canes. The report made to me of them was, that they yielded a great deal of juice, which seemed richer than that of the others, but the sugar was strongly tinged with the colour of the rind; and it was observed, that upon the expression of them at the mill, the juice was of a bright purple; but by the time it had reached through the spout to the clarifier (a very short distance) it became of a dingy iron colour. I am told the Batavia sugar imported into Amsterdam is very fair; so that if those canes should otherwise answer well, means may doubtless be obtained to discharge the purple tinge from their juice."

LONDON, 1794.



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THE HISTORY,  
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,  
OF THE  
*BRITISH COLONIES*  
IN THE  
WEST INDIES.

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BOOK I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THEIR ANCIENT STATE  
AND INHABITANTS

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CHAPTER I.

Geographical arrangement.—Name—Climate—Sea-breeze, and land-wind.—Beauty and singularity of the vegetable and animal creation.—Magnificence and sublimity of the mountains.—Reflections concerning the origin of these islands, &c.

GEOPHYPHERS following the distribution of nature, divide the vast continent of America into two great parts, north and south; the narrow but mountainous isthmus of Darien serving as a link to connect them together, and forming a rampart against the encroachments of the Atlantic on the one side, and of the Pacific ocean on the other. These great

oceans were anciently distinguished also, from their relative situation, by the names of the North and South Seas.*

To that prodigious chain of islands which extend in a curve from the Florida shore on the northern peninsula to the gulph of Venezuela in the southern, is given the denomination of *West Indies*, from the name of India originally assigned to them by Columbus. This illustrious navigator planned his expedition, not, as Raynal and others have supposed, under the idea of introducing a new world to the knowledge of the old; but, principally, in the view of finding a route to India by a western navigation; which he was led to think would prove less tedious than by the coast of Africa: and this conclusion would have been just, if the geography of the ancients, on which it was founded, had been accurate.† Indeed, so firmly per-

* The appellation of *North*, applied to that part of the Atlantic which flows into the gulph of Darien, seems now to be entirely disused; but the Pacific is still commonly called the *South sea*. It was discovered in 1513.

† “The spherical figure of the earth was known to the ancient geographers. They invented the method still in use, of computing the longitude and latitude of different places. According to their doctrine, the equator contained 360 degrees; these they divided into twenty-four parts, or hours, each equal to fifteen degrees. The country of the *Seres* or *Sina* being the farthest part of India known to the ancients, was supposed, by Marinus Tyrius, the most eminent of the ancient geographers before Ptolemy, to be fifteen hours, or 225 degrees to the east of the first meridian, passing through the Fortunate Islands. If this supposition was well founded, the country of the *Seres*, or *China*, was only nine hours, or 135 degrees west from the Fortunate or Canary islands; and the navigation in that direction was much shorter than by the course which the

suaded was Columbus of its truth and certainty, that he continued to assert his belief of it after the discovery of Cuba and Hispaniola; not doubting that those islands constituted some part of the eastern extremity of Asia: and the nations of Europe, satisfied with such authority, concurred in the same idea. Even when the discovery of the Pacific ocean had demonstrated his mistake, all the countries which Columbus had visited still retained the name of the Indies; and in contradistinction to those at which the Portuguese, after passing the cape of Good Hope, had at length arrived by an eastern course, they were now denominated the *Indies of the West*. †

Among the geographers of those days, however, there were some, who envying the glory of Columbus, or giving more credit to ancient fable than to the achievements of their cotemporaries, persisted in assigning to the newly-discovered islands the appellation of *Antilia* or *Antiles*: the name (according to Charlevoix) of an imaginary country, placed in ancient

Portuguese were pursuing." From this account, for which the reader is indebted to the learned Dr. Robertson, it is evident, that the scheme of Columbus was founded on rational systematical principles, according to the light which his age afforded; whereas, if he had proposed, without any such support, to discover a new hemisphere by sailing westward; he would have been justly considered as an arrogant and chimerical projector, and success itself would not have reconciled his temerity to the sober dictates of reason.

† Columbus sailed on his first voyage the 3d of August, 1492. In 1494 Bartholemus Dias discovered the cape of Good Hope; but it was not doubled till the year 1497, when Vasquez de Gama succeeded (for the first time in modern navigation) in this, as it was then supposed, formidable attempt.

charts about two hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores; and it is a name still very generally used by foreign navigators, although the etymology of the word is as uncertain as the application of it is unjust. To the British nation the name bestowed by Columbus is abundantly more familiar: and thus the whole of the new hemisphere is, with us, commonly comprised under three great divisions; North America, South America, and the West Indies. §

But, subordinate to this comprehensive and simple arrangement, necessity or convenience has introduced more minute and local distinctions. That portion of the Atlantic, which is separated from the main ocean to the north and to the east, by the islands I have

§ The term *Antiles* is applied by Hoffman to the Windward or Charaibean islands only, and is by him thus accounted for: “Dicuntur Antilæ Americæ quasi ante Insulas Americæ, nempe ante majores Insulas Sinûs Mexicani.” (*Hoffman Lexic. Univ.*) Rochfort and Du Tertre explain the word nearly in the same manner, while Mons. D’Anville applies the name to those islands only, which are more immediately *opposed to*, or situated *against*, the continent: thus he terms Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, *the Great Antiles*, and the small islands of Aruba, Curacoa, Bonair, Magaritta, and some others near the coast of Caraccas on the southern peninsula, *the Less*; excluding the Charaibean islands altogether. A recurrence to the early Spanish historians would have demonstrated to all these writers, that the word *Antilia* was applied to Hispaniola and Cuba, before the discovery either of the windward islands, or any part of the American continent. This appears from the following passage in the first book of the First Decad of Peter Martyr, which bears date from the court of Spain, November 1493, eight months only after Columbus’s return from his first expedition; “Ophiram Insulam “ sese reperisse refert: sed Cosmographorum tractu diligenter considera- “ to, *Antilia* Insulæ sunt illæ et adjacentes aliæ: hanc Hispaniolam ap- “ pellavit, &c.”

mentioned, although commonly known by the general appellation of the Mexican gulph, is itself properly subdivided into three distinct basins: the gulph of Mexico, the bay of Honduras, and the Charaibean sea.¶ The latter takes its name from that class of islands which bound this part of the ocean to the east. Most of these were anciently possessed by a nation of Cannibals, the scourge and terror of the mild and inoffensive natives of Hispaniola, who frequently expressed to Columbus their dread of those fierce and warlike invaders, stiling them Charaibes, or Caribbees.* And it was in consequence of this information, that the islands to which these savages belonged, when discovered afterwards by Columbus, were by him denominated generally the Charaibean islands.

Of this class, however, a group nearly adjoining to the eastern side of St. John de Porto Rico, is likewise called the Virgin Isles; a distinction of which the origin will be explained in its place.†

¶ Vide Introduction to the West Indian Atlas, by Jefferies.

* Herrera, lib. i. Fer. Columbus, chap. xxxiii.

† It may be proper to observe, that the old Spanish navigators, in speaking of the West Indian islands in general, frequently distinguish them also into two classes, by the terms *Barlovento* and *Sotavento*, from whence our *Windward* and *Leeward* islands; the Charaibean constituting in strict propriety the former class (and as such I shall speak of them in the course of this work), and the four large islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico, the latter. But our English mariners appropriate both terms to the Charaibean islands only, subdividing them according to their situation in the course of the trade wind; the windward islands by their arrangement terminating, I believe, with Martinico, and the leeward commencing at Dominica, and extending to Porto Rico.

Neither must it pass unobserved, that the name of Bahama is commonly applied by the English to that cluster of small islands, rocks, and reefs of sand, which stretch in a north-westerly direction for the space of near three hundred leagues, from the northern coast of Hispaniola to the Bahama strait, opposite the Florida shore. Whether this appellation is of Indian origin, as commonly supposed, is a question I cannot answer; neither does it merit very anxious investigation: yet these little islands have deservedly a claim to particular notice; for it was one of them † that had the honor of first receiving Columbus, after a voyage the most bold and magnificent in design, and the most important in its consequences, of any that the mind of man has conceived, or national adventure undertaken, from the beginning of the world to the present hour.

Most of the countries of which I propose to treat being situated beneath the tropic of Cancer, the circumstances of climate, as well in regard to general heat, as to the periodical rains and consequent variation of seasons, are nearly the same throughout the whole. The temperature of the air varies indeed considerably according to the elevation of the land; but, with this exception, the medium degree of heat is much the same in all the countries of this part of the globe.

† Called by the Indians Guanahani, by the Spaniards St. Salvadore, and is known to English seamen by the name of Cat Island. The whole group is called by the Spaniards Lucayos.

A tropical year seems properly to comprehend but two distinct seasons; the *wet* and the *dry*; but as the rains in these climates constitute two great periods, I shall describe it, like the European year, under four divisions.

The vernal season, or spring, may be said to commence with the month of May, when the foliage of the trees evidently becomes more vivid, and the parched savannas begin to change their russet hue, even previous to the first periodical rains, which are now daily expected, and generally set in about the middle of the month. These, compared with the autumnal rains, may be said to be gentle showers. They come from the south, and commonly fall every day about noon, and break up with thunder-storms; creating a bright and beautiful verdure, and a rapid and luxuriant vegetation. The thermometer at this season varies considerably; commonly falling six or eight degrees immediately after the diurnal rains: its medium height may be stated at seventy-five degrees.

After these rains have continued about a fortnight, the weather becomes dry, settled, and salutary; and the tropical summer reigns in full glory. Not a cloud is to be perceived; and the sky blazes with irresistible fierceness. For some hours, commonly between seven and ten in the morning, before the setting in of the sea-breeze or trade-wind, which at this season blows from the south-east with great force and regularity until late in the evening, the heat is scarcely supportable; but, no sooner is the influence felt of

this refreshing wind, than all nature revives, and the climate, in the shade, becomes not only very tolerable, but pleasant. The thermometer now varies but little in the whole twenty-four hours: its medium, near the coast, may be stated at about eighty degrees. I have seldom observed it higher than eighty-five degrees at noon, nor much below seventy-five degrees at sun-rise.

The nights at this season are transcendently beautiful. The clearness and brilliancy of the heavens, the serenity of the air, and the soft tranquillity in which all nature reposes, contribute to harmonize the mind, and produce the most calm and delightful sensations. The moon too in these climates displays far greater radiance than in Europe: the smallest print is legible by her light; and in the moon's absence her function is not ill supplied by the brightness of the milky-way, and by that glorious planet Venus, which appears here like a little moon, and glitters with so refulgent a beam as to cast a shade from trees, buildings, and other objects, making full amends for the short stay and abrupt departure of the crepusculum or twilight. §

§ In the mountainous and interior parts of the larger islands, innumerable *fire-flies* abound at night, which have a surprising appearance to a stranger. They consist of different species, some of which emit a light, resembling a spark of fire, from a globular prominence near each eye; and others from their sides in the act of respiration. They are far more luminous than the glow-worm, and fill the air on all sides, like so many living stars, to the great astonishment and admiration of a traveller unaccustomed to the country.—In the day-time they disappear.

This state of the weather commonly continues, with little variation, from the beginning of June until the middle of August, when the diurnal breeze begins to intermit, and the atmosphere becomes sultry, incommodious, and suffocating. In the latter end of this month, and most part of September, we look about in vain for coolness and comfort. The thermometer occasionally exceeds ninety degrees, and instead of a steady and refreshing wind from the sea, there are usually faint breezes and calms alternately. These are preludes to the second periodical or Autumnal season. Large towering clouds, fleecy, and of a reddish hue, are now seen in the morning, in the quarters of the south, and south-east; the tops of the mountains at the same time appear clear of clouds, and the objects upon them wear a blueish cast, and seem much nearer to the spectator than usual. When these vast accumulations of vapour have risen to a considerable height in the atmosphere, they commonly move horizontally towards the mountains, proclaiming their progress in deep and rolling thunder, which, reverberated from peak to peak, and answered by the distant roaring of the sea, heightens the majesty of the scene, and irresistibly lifts up the mind of the spectator to the great Author of all sublimity.

The waters, however, with which these congregated vapours load the atmosphere, seldom fall with great and general force until the beginning of October. It is then that the heavens pour down cataracts. An European who has not visited these climates, can form no just conception of the quantity of water which

deluges the earth at this season: by an exact account which was kept of the perpendicular height of the water which fell in one year in Barbadoes (and that no ways remarkable) it appeared to have been equal to sixty-seven cubical inches.

It is now, in the interval between the beginning of August and the latter end of October, that hurricanes, those dreadful visitations of the Almighty, are apprehended. The prognostics of these elementary conflicts, have been minutely described by various writers, and their effects are known by late mournful experience to every inhabitant of every island within the tropics, but their immediate cause seems to lie far beyond the limits of our circumscribed knowledge.

Towards the end of November, or sometimes not till the middle of December, a considerable change in the temperature of the air is perceivable. The coasts to the northward are now beaten by a rough and heavy sea, roaring with incessant noise; the wind varies from the east to the north-east and north, sometimes driving before it, across the highest mountains, not only heavy rains but hail; till at length, the north wind having acquired sufficient force, the atmosphere is cleared; and now comes on a succession of serene and pleasant weather, the north-east and northerly winds spreading coolness and delight throughout the whole of this burning region.

If this interval, therefore, from the beginning of December to the end of April, be called winter, it is

certainly the finest winter on the globe. To valetudinarians and persons advanced in life, it is the climate of Paradise.

The account which I have thus given is, however, to be received not as uniformly exact and minutely particular; but as a general representation only, subject to many variations and exceptions. In the large islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, whose lofty mountains are clothed with forests perhaps as old as the deluge, the rains are much more frequent and violent than in the small islands to windward; some of which are without mountains, and others without wood; both powerful agents on the atmosphere. In the interior and elevated districts of the three former islands, I believe there are showers in every month of the year; and on the northern coasts of those islands, considerable rains are expected in December or January, soon after the setting in of the north winds.

Concerning the trade-wind, or diurnal sea-breeze, which blows in these climates from the east, and its collateral points, with little intermission or variation nine months in the year, the causes of it having been traced and displayed by numerous writers, it is unnecessary for me to treat; but the peculiarity of the land-wind by night (than which nothing can be more grateful and refreshing) has been less generally noticed. This is an advantage, among others, which the larger islands of the West Indies derive from the great inequality of their surface; for as soon as the sea-breeze

dies away, the hot air of the plains being rarefied, ascends towards the tops of the mountains, and is there condensed by the cold; which making it specifically heavier than it was before, it descends back to the plains on both sides of the ridge. Hence a night-wind is felt in all the mountainous countries under the torrid zone, blowing on all sides from the land towards the shore, so that on a north shore the wind shall come from the south, and on the south shore from the north. Agreeably to this hypothesis, it is observable that in the islands to windward, where they have no mountains, they have no land-breeze.||

Of the general appearance of a distant country, and the scenery with which it is clothed, it is difficult, by mere verbal description, to convey an idea. To the first discoverers, the prospect of these islands must have been interesting beyond all that imagination can at present conceive of it. Even at this day, when the mind is prepared by anticipation, they are beheld by the voyager for the first time, with strong emotions of admiration and pleasure; arising not only from the novelty of the scene, but also from the beauty of the smaller islands, and the sublimity of the larger, whose

|| The account thus given of the land-wind, is chiefly in the words of Dr. Franklin, whose description is so precise and accurate as to admit of no improvement. In Barbadoes, and most of the small islands to windward, the sea-breeze blows as well by night as by day. It is sometimes the case in Jamaica in the months of June and July, the land at that time being heated to such a degree, that the cold air of the mountains is not sufficiently dense to check the current which flows from the sea.

lofty mountains form a stupendous and awful picture; the subject both of wonder and contemplation.*

Nor did these promising territories disappoint expectation on a nearer search and more accurate inspection. Columbus, whose veracity has never been

* To the first voyagers to the West Indies, many must have been the objects of astonishment, and in some respects of terror, even before the appearance of land; such as the variation of the compass, the regularity of the winds, the water spout, and other phænomena; of the existence of which they were previously unapprized. It is in such cases that terror exerts its power over the mind with uncontrolable ascendancy; for reason and reflection can furnish no argument to oppose to its progress. Columbus in truth found himself amidst a new creation. What, for instance, could have more strongly excited curiosity than the first sight of that wonderful little animal *the flying fish*? Who would have believed that the natives of the deep had power to quit their watery element, and fly aloft with the birds of the air! It was an æra of miracles, and considering the propensity of mankind to magnify what truly is strange, the modesty displayed by Columbus in speaking of his enterprises and discoveries, and the strict adherence to truth which he appears on all occasions to have manifested, form a very distinguished feature in his character. In general the travellers of those days not only reported wonderful things which never existed, but sometimes even really believed what they reported. In 1512 John Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard of distinction, (as we are informed by Herrera), actually took a voyage to Florida for the purpose of bathing in the river *Bimini*, which he had been told and believed would restore him to youth, like the cauldron of Medea. If we laugh at the credulity of this old man, what shall we say to our own learned countryman Sir Walter Raleigh, who sixty years afterwards, in the history of his voyage to Guiana, gives an account of a nation *who were born without heads, and whose eyes were placed in their shoulders*! Raleigh does not indeed pretend that he had seen any of these strange people himself, but he repeats what he had heard from others with a gravity and solemnity which evince that he seriously believed their existence. See his account of Guiana in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii.

suspected, speaks of their beauty and fertility in terms of the highest admiration. “ There is a river “ (he observes in one of his letters to king Ferdinand “ written from Cuba) which discharges itself into the “ harbour that I have named Porto Santo, of sufficient “ depth to be navigable. I had the curiosity to sound “ it, and found eight fathom. Yet the water is so “ limpid, that I can easily discern the sand at the bot- “ tom. The banks of this river are embellished with “ lofty palm-trees, whose shade gives a delicious fresh- “ ness to the air; and the birds and the flowers are “ uncommon and beautiful. I was so delighted with “ the scene, that I had almost come to the resolution “ of staying here the remainder of my days; for believe “ me Sire, these countries far surpass all the rest of “ the world in pleasure and conveniency; and I have “ frequently observed to my people, that, with all my “ endeavours to convey to your Majesty an adequate “ idea of the charming objects which continually pre- “ sent themselves to our view, the description will “ fall greatly short of the reality.”

How ill informed, or prejudiced, are those writers, therefore, who, affecting to disbelieve, or endeavouring to palliate, the enormities of the Spanish invaders, represent these once delightful spots, when first discovered by Columbus, to have been so many impenetrable and unhealthy deserts! It is true, that after the Spaniards, in the course of a few bloody years, had exterminated the ancient and rightful possessors, the earth, left to its own natural fertility, beneath the influence of a tropical sun, teemed with noxious vege-

tation. Then, indeed, the fairest of the islands became so many frightful solitudes; impervious and unwholesome. Such was the condition of Jamaica when wrested from the Spanish crown in 1655, and such is the condition of great part of Cuba and Porto Rico at this day; for the infinitely wise and benevolent Governor of the universe, to compel the exertion of those faculties which he has given us, has ordained, that by human cultivation alone, the earth becomes the proper habitation of man.†

But as the West Indian islands in their ancient state were not without culture, so neither were they generally noxious to health. The plains or savannas were regularly sown, twice in the year, with that species of grain which is now well known in Europe by the name of Turkey wheat. It was called by the Indians mahez, or maize, a name it still bears in all the islands, and does not require very laborious cultivation. This however constituted but a part only, and not the most considerable part, of the vegetable food of the natives. As these countries were at the same time extremely populous, both the hills and the vallies (of the smaller islands especially) were necessarily cleared of un-

† Dr. Lind, in his "Essay on the Diseases of Hot Climates," has preserved an extract from the journal of an officer who sailed up a river on the coast of Guinea, which affords a striking illustration of this remark: "We were (says the officer) thirty miles distant from the sea, in a country altogether uncultivated, overflowed with water, surrounded with thick impenetrable woods, and overrun with slime. The air was so vitiated, noisome, and thick, that *our torches and candles burnt dim, and seemed ready to be extinguished; and even the human voice lost its natural tone.*" Part I. p. 64.

derwood, and the trees which remained afforded a shade that was cool, airy, and delicious. Of these, some, as the papaw and the palmeto, † are, without doubt, the most graceful of all the vegetable creation. Others continue to bud, blossom, and bear fruit throughout the year. Nor is it undeserving notice, that the foliage of the most part springing only from the summit of the trunk, and thence expanding into wide-spreading branches, closely but elegantly arranged, every grove is an assemblage of majestic columns, supporting a verdant canopy, and excluding the sun, without impeding the circulation of the air. Thus the shade, at all times impervious to the blaze, and refreshed by the diurnal breeze, affords, not merely a refuge from occasional inconveniency, but a most wholesome and delightful retreat and habitation.

Such were these orchards of the Sun, and woods of perennial verdure; of a growth unknown to the frigid clime and less vigorous soil of Europe; for what is the oak compared to the cedar or mahogany, of each of which the trunk frequently measures from eighty to ninety feet from the base to the limbs? What European forest has ever given birth to a stem equal to that of the ceiba, § which alone, simply rendered con-

† The species here meant (for there are several) is the palmeto-royal, or mountain-cabbage. Ligon mentions some, at the first settlement of Barbadoes, about 200 feet in height; but Mr. Hughes observes, that the highest in his time, in that island, was 134 feet. I am inclined to believe, that I have seen them in Jamaica upwards of 150 feet in height; but it is impossible to speak with certainty without an actual measurement.

§ The wild cotton-tree.

cave, has been known to produce a boat capable of containing one hundred persons? or the still greater fig, the sovereign of the vegetable creation,—itself a forest? ||

The majestic scenery of these gigantic groves was at the same time enlivened by the singular forms of some, and the surprising beauty of others of the inferior animals which possessed and peopled them. Although these will be more fully described in the sequel, a few observations which at present occur to me, will, I hope, be forgiven. If it be true, as it hath been asserted, that in most of the regions of the torrid zone the heat of the sun is, as it were, reflected in the untameable fierceness of their wild beasts, and in the exalted rage and venom of the numerous serpents with which they are infested, the Sovereign

|| This monarch of the woods, whose empire extends over Asia and Africa, as well as the tropical parts of America, is described by our divine poet with great exactness :

The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd,
 But such as at this day to Indians known
 In Malabar and Decan, spreads her arms,
 Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
 The bearded twigs take root, and daughters grow
 Above the mother tree, a pillar'd shade,
 High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between!

Paradise Lost, Book IX.

It is called in the East Indies the *banyan-tree*. Mr. Marsden gives the following account of the dimensions of one near Manjee, twenty miles west of Patna in Bengal: Diameter, 363 to 375 feet; circumference of the shadow at noon, 1116 feet; circumference of the several stems, in number fifty or sixty, 921 feet. Hist. Sumatra, p. 131.

Disposer of all things has regarded the islands of the West Indies with peculiar favour; inasmuch as their serpents are wholly destitute of poison,* and they possess no animal of prey, to desolate their vallies.

* I say this on the authority of Brown, Charlevoix, and Hughes, (of whom the first compiled the History of Jamaica, the second that of Hispaniola, and the last of Barbadoes),—on the testimony of many gentlemen who have resided in several of the Windward islands—and on my own experience during a residence of eighteen years in Jamaica. In that time I neither knew nor heard of any person being hurt from the bite of any one species of the numerous snakes or lizards known in that island. Some of the snakes I have myself handled with perfect security. I conclude, therefore, (notwithstanding the contrary assertion of Du Tertre respecting Martinico and St. Lucia), that *all* the islands are providentially exempted from this evil. Nevertheless it must be admitted, that the circumstance is extraordinary; inasmuch as every part of the continent of America, but especially those provinces which lie under the equator, abound in a high degree with serpents, whose bite is mortal.—Mr. Bancroft, in his Account of Guiana, gives a dreadful list of such as are found in that extensive country; and, in speaking of one, of a species which he calls the small *labarra*, makes mention of a negro who was unfortunately bit by it in the finger. The negro had but just time to kill the snake, when his limbs became unable to support him, and he fell to the ground, and expired in less than five minutes.—Dr. Dancer, in his History of the Expedition from Jamaica to Fort Juan on the Lake of Nicaragua, in 1780, which he attended as physician, relates the following circumstance: A snake hanging from the bough of a tree bit one of the soldiers, as he passed along, just under the orbit of the left eye; from whence the poor man felt such intense pain, that he was unable to proceed; and when a messenger was sent to him a few hours afterwards, he was found dead, with all the symptoms of putrefaction, a yellowness and swelling over his whole body; and the eye near to which he was bitten, wholly dissolved. This circumstance was confirmed to me by Colonel Kemble, who commanded in chief on that expedition. It may not be useless to add, that those serpents which are venomous are furnished with fangs somewhat resembling the tusks of a boar: they are moveable, and inserted in the upper jaw.

The crocodile, or alligator, is indeed sometimes discovered on the banks of their rivers; but notwithstanding all that has been said of its fierce and savage disposition, I pronounce it, from my own knowledge, a cautious and timid creature, avoiding, with the utmost precipitation, the approach of man. The rest of the lizard kind are perfectly innocent and inoffensive. Some of them are even fond of human society. They embellish our walks by their beauty, and court our attention by gentleness and frolic; but their kindness, I know not why, is returned by aversion and disgust. Anciently the woods of almost all the equatorial parts of America abounded with various tribes of the smaller monkey; a sportive and sagacious little creature, which the people of Europe seem likewise to have regarded with unmerited detestation; for they hunted them down with such barbarous assiduity, that in several of the islands every species of them has been long since exterminated. Of the feathered race too, many tribes have now nearly deserted those shores where polished man delights in spreading universal and capricious destruction. Among these, one of the most remarkable was the flamingo, an elegant and princely bird, as large as the swan, and arrayed in plumage of the brightest scarlet. Numerous, however, are the feathered kinds, deservedly distinguished by their splendour and beauty, that still animate these sylvan recesses. The parrot, and its various affinities, from the macaw to the parroquet, some of them not larger than a sparrow, are too well known to require description. These are as plentiful in the larger islands of the West Indies as the rook is in Europe. But the

boast of American groves is doubtless the colibry, or humming bird, of the brilliance of whose plumage no combination of words, nor tints of the pencil, can convey an adequate idea. The consummate green of the emerald, the rich purple of the amethyst, and the vivid flame of the ruby, all happily blendid and enveloped beneath a transparent veil of waving gold, are distinguishable in every species, but differently arranged and apportioned in each. Nor is the minuteness of its form less the object of admiration, than the lustre of its plumage; the smallest species not exceeding the size of a beetle, and appearing the link which connects the bird and insect creation.

It has been observed, however, that although nature is profuse of ornament to the birds of the torrid zone, she has bestowed far greater powers of melody on those of Europe; and the observation is partly true. That prodigality and variety of music which in the vernal season enlivens the British groves, is certainly unknown to the shades of the tropical regions; yet are not these altogether silent or inharmonious. The note of the mock-bird is deservedly celebrated, while the hum of myriads of busy insects, and the plaintive melody of the innumerable variety of doves abounding in these climates, form a concert, which, if it serve not to awaken the fancy, contributes at least to sooth the affections, and, like the murmuring of a rivulet, gives harmony to repose.

But, resigning to the naturalist the task of minutely describing the splendid aerial tribes of these regions,

whose variety is not less remarkable than their beauty, I now return from these, the smallest and most pleasing forms of active life, to the largest and most awful objects of inanimate nature. The transition is abrupt; but it is in the magnitude, extent, and elevation of the mountains of the New World, that the Almighty has most strikingly manifested the wonders of his omnipotence. Those of South America are supposed to be nearly twice the height of the highest in the ancient hemisphere, and, even under the equator, have their tops involved in everlasting snow. To those massive piles, the loftiest summits of the most elevated of the West Indian islands cannot indeed be compared; but some of these rise, nevertheless, in amazing grandeur, and are among the first objects that fix the attention of the voyager. The mountains of Hispaniola in particular, whose wavy ridges are descried from sea at the distance of thirty leagues, towering far above the clouds in stupendous magnificence, and the blue mountains of Jamaica, have never yet, that I have heard, been fully explored. Neither curiosity nor avarice has hitherto ventured to invade the topmost of those lofty regions. In such of them as are accessible, nature is found to have put on the appearance of a new creation. As the climate changes, the trees, the birds, and the insects are seen also to differ from those which are met with below. To an unaccustomed spectator, looking down from those heights, the whole scene appears like enchantment. The first object which catches the eye at the dawn of day, is a vast expanse of vapour, covering the whole face of the vallies. Its boundaries being perfectly

distinct, and visibly circumscribed, it has the exact resemblance of an immense body of water, while the mountains appear like so many islands in the midst of a beautiful lake. As the sun increases in force, the prospect varies; the incumbent vapours fly upward, and melt into air; disclosing all the beauties of nature, and the triumphs of industry, heightened and embellished by the full blaze of a tropical sun. In the equatorial season, scenes of still greater magnificence frequently present themselves; for, while all is calm and serene in the higher regions, the clouds are seen below sweeping along the sides of the mountains in vast bodies; till, growing more ponderous by accumulation, they fall at length in torrents of water on the plains. The sound of the tempest is distinctly heard by the spectator above; the distant lightening is seen to irradiate the gloom; while the thunder, reverberated in a thousand echoes, rolls far beneath his feet.

But lofty as the tropical mountains generally are, it is wonderfully true, that all the known parts of their summits furnish incontestible evidence that the sea had once dominion over them. Even their appearance at a distance affords an argument in support of this conclusion. Their ridges resemble billows, and their various inequalities, inflexions, and convexities, seem justly ascribable to the fluctuations of the deep. As in other countries too, marine shells are found in great abundance in various parts of these heights. I have seen on a mountain in the interior parts of Jamaica petrified oysters dug up, which perfectly resembled, in the most minute circumstances, the large

oysters of the western coast of England; a species not to be found at this time, I believe, in the seas of the West Indies. Here, then, is an ample field for conjecture to expatiate in; and indeed few subjects have afforded greater exercise to the pens of physical writers, than the appearances I have mentioned. While some philosophers assign the origin of all the various inequalities of the earth to the ravages of the deluge, others, considering the mountains as the parents of springs and rivers, maintain that they are coeval with the world; and that, first emerging from the abyss, they were created with it. Some again ascribe them to the force of volcanoes and earthquakes: “the Almighty,” say they, “while he permits subterranean fires to swallow up cities and plains in one part of the globe, causes them to produce promontories and islands in another, which afterwards become the fruitful seats of industry and happiness.†

All these and other theorists concur, however, in the belief, that the surface of the globe has undergone many surprising and violent convulsions and changes since it first came from the hands of the Creator. Hills have sunk into plains, and vallies have been exalted into hills. Respecting the numerous islands of the West Indies, they are generally considered as the tops of lofty mountains, the eminences of a great continent, converted into islands by a tremendous concussion of nature, which, increasing the natural course of the

† Goldsmith's History of the Earth, &c. vol. i.

ocean from east to west, has laid a vast extent of level country under water.†

But notwithstanding all that has been written on this subject, very little seems to be known. The advocates of this system do not sufficiently consider, that the sea could not have covered so great a portion of land on one side of the globe, without leaving an immense space as suddenly dry on the other. We have no record in history of so mighty a revolution, nor indeed are many of the premises on which this hypothesis is built, established in truth.

Perhaps, instead of considering these islands as the fragments of a desolated continent, we ought rather to regard them as the rudiments of a new one. It is extremely probable, that many of them, even now, are but beginning to emerge from the bosom of the deep. Mr. Buffon has shewn, by incontrovertible evidence, that the bottom of the sea bears an exact resemblance to the land which we inhabit; consisting, like the earth, of hills and vallies, plains and hollows, rocks, sands and soils of every consistence and species. To the motion of the waves, and the sediments which they have deposited, he imputes too, with great probability, the regular positions of the various strata or layers which compose the upper parts of the earth; and he shews that this arrangement cannot have been the effect of a sudden revolution, but of causes slow, gradual, and successive in their operations. To the

† See L'Abbé Raynal, L'Abbé Pluche, and others.

flow of tides and rivers, depositing materials which have been accumulating ever since the creation, and the various fluctuations of the deep operating thereon, he ascribes, therefore, most of those inequalities in the present appearance of the globe which in some parts embellish, and in others (to our limited view at least) deface it.

Pursuing this train of thought, we may be led perhaps to consider many of the most terrifying appearances of nature, as necessary and propitious in the formation and support of the system of the world; and even in volcanoes and earthquakes (of which most of these islands bear evident memorials) we may trace the stupendous agency of divine Providence, employed, as mankind increase in numbers, in raising up from the bottom of the deep new portions of land for their habitations and comfort.

These considerations are founded in piety, and seem consonant to reason; and although in contemplating the tremendous phenomena which the mountains of South America, beyond all other parts of the globe, present to our notice,§ and reflecting on the devasta-

* “Of all parts of the earth America is the place where the dreadful irregularities of nature are the most conspicuous. Vesuvius, and Etna itself, are but mere fireworks in comparison to the burning mountains of the Andes, which, as they are the highest mountains in the world, so also are they the most formidable for their eruptions.”—Goldsmith’s History of the Earth, &c. vol. i. p. 99.

It is related, that a volcanic explosion from *Cotopaxi*, a mountain in the province of Quito, has been heard at the distance of 150 miles.

tions which they spread, human reason will sometimes find itself perplexed and dismayed, may we not by analogy conclude, that the Almighty, uniform in his purposes, is equally wise and benevolent in all his dispensations, though the scale on which he acts is sometimes too large for the span of our limited and feeble comprehension? They who seem best qualified to contemplate the works of the Deity, will most readily acknowledge, that it is not for man to unfold the page of Omnipotence! Happy if to conscious ignorance we add humble adoration!

CHAPTER II.

Of the Charaibes, or ancient inhabitants of the Windward islands.—Origin.—Difficulties attending an accurate investigation of their character. Such particulars related as are least disputed, concerning their manners and dispositions, persons and domestic habits, education of their children, arts, manufactures and government, religious rites, funeral ceremonies, &c.—Some reflections drawn from the whole.

HAVING thus given an account of the climate and seasons, and endeavoured to convey to the reader some faint idea of the beauty and magnificence with which the hand of Nature arrayed the surface of these numerous islands, I shall now proceed to inquire after those inhabitants to whose support and conveniency they were chiefly found subservient, when they first came to the knowledge of Europe.

It hath been observed in the preceding chapter, that Columbus, on his first arrival at Hispaniola, received information of a barbarous and warlike people, a nation of Cannibals, who frequently made depredations on that, and the neighbouring islands. They were called Caribbees, or Charaibes, and were represented as coming from the east. Columbus, in his second voyage, discovered that they were the inhabitants of the Windward islands.

The great difference in language and character between these savages and the inhabitants of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico, hath given birth to an opinion that their origin also, was different. Of this there seems indeed to be but little doubt; but the question from whence each class of islands was first peopled, is of more difficult solution. Rochefort, who published his account of the Antilles in 1658, pronounces the Charaibes to have been originally a nation of Florida, in North America.—He supposes that a colony of the Apalachian Indians having been driven from that continent, arrived at the Windward islands, and exterminating the ancient male inhabitants, took possession of their lands, and their women. Of the larger islands he presumes, that the natural strength, extent, and population, affording security to the natives, these happily escaped the destruction which overtook their unfortunate neighbours; and thus arose the distinction observable between the inhabitants of the larger and smaller islands.||

To this account of the origin of the insular Charaibes, the generality of historians have given their assent; but there are doubts attending it that are not easily solved. If they migrated from Florida, the imperfect state and natural course of their navigation, induce a belief, that traces of them would have been found on those islands which are near to the Florida shore; yet the natives of the Bahamas, when disco-

|| Rochefort *Histoire des Isles Antilles*, liv. ii. c. vii. See also, P. Labat *nouveau Voyage aux Isles de L'Amerique*, tom. iv. c. xv.

vered by Columbus, were evidently a similar people to those of Hispaniola.* Besides, it is sufficiently known that there existed anciently many numerous and powerful tribes of Charaibes, on the southern peninsula, extending from the river Oronoko to Essequibe, and throughout the whole province of Surinam, even to Brasil; some of which still maintain their independency. It was with one of those tribes that our countryman Sir Walter Raleigh formed an alliance, when that commander made his romantic expedition to the coast of Guiana in 1595;† and by him we are assured, that the Charaibes of that part of the continent spoke the language of Dominica.‡ I incline therefore to the opinion of Martyr,§ and conclude, that the islanders were rather a colony from the Charaibes of South America, than from any nation of the north. Rochefort admits that their own traditions referred constantly to Guiana.|| It does not appear that they entertained the most remote idea of a northern ancestry.

It may be thought, perhaps, that the continental Charaibes were themselves emigrants from the nor-

* Herrera, lib. ix. chap. ii.

† Bancroft's History of Guiana, p. 259.

‡ Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 668.

§ P. Martyr, Decad. 2. lib. i.

|| Rochefort, liv. ii. c. vii. See also, note 94 to Dr. Robertson's History of America. The people called *Galibis*, mentioned by Dr. R. are the Charaibes of the continent, the term *Galibis* or *Calibis* (as it is written by Du Tertre) being, as I conceive, corrupted from *Caribbee*. Vide Lafitau, tom. i. p. 297, and Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 360.

thern to the southern peninsula: but, without attempting to controvert the position to which recent discoveries seem indeed to have given a full confirmation, namely, that the Asiatic continent first furnished inhabitants to the contiguous North-Western parts of America, I conceive the Charaibes to have been a distinct race, widely differing from all the nations of the new hemisphere; and I am even inclined to adopt the opinion of Hornius and other writers, who ascribe to them an oriental ancestry from across the Atlantic.*

Inquiries, however, into the origin of a remote and unlettered race, can be prosecuted with success only by comparing their ancient manners, laws, language, and religious ceremonies, with those of other nations. Unfortunately, in all or most of these particulars respecting the Charaibes, our knowledge is limited within a narrow circle. Of a people engaged in perpetual warfare, hunted from island to island by revenge and rapacity, few opportunities could have offered, even to those who might have been qualified for such researches, of investigating the natural dispositions and habitual customs with minuteness and precision. Neither indeed could a just estimate have been formed of their national character, from the manners of such of them as were at length subjugated to the European yoke; for they lost, together with their freedom, many of their original characteristics; and at last even the

* Some arguments in support of this opinion are subjoined in the Appendix to Book I.

desire of acting from the impulse of their own minds. We discern, says Rochefort,† a wonderful change in the dispositions and habits of the Charaibes. In some respects we have enlightened; in others (to our shame be it spoken) we have corrupted them. An old Charaibe thus addressed one of our planters on this subject:—"Our people," he complained, "are become almost as bad as yours.—We are so much altered since you came among us, that we hardly know ourselves, and we think it is owing to so melancholy a change, that hurricanes are more frequent than they were formerly. It is the Evil Spirit who has done all this,—who has taken our best lands from us, and given us up to the dominion of the Christians."‡

My present investigation must therefore be necessarily defective. Nevertheless, by selecting and combining such memorials as are least controverted, I shall hope to exhibit a few striking particulars in the

† Rochefort, liv. ii. ch. ix. p. 436.

‡ This extract from Rochefort is surely a sufficient answer to the observations of Mons. de Chanvalon, who wrote so late as 1751, and, judging of all the Charaibes from the few with whom he had any communication, represents them as not possessing any sagacity or foresight beyond mere animal instinct. He makes no allowance for *their* degradation in a state of captivity and servitude, although in another part of his book, speaking of the African blacks in the West Indies, he dwells strongly on this circumstance respecting the latter. "Peut on connoître (he observes) le vrai génie d'un peuple opprimé, qui voit sans cesse les chatimens levés sur sa tete, et la violence toujours prête à être soutenue par la politique et la sûreté publique? Peut on juger de la valeur, quand elle est enchainée, et sans armées?"—Voyage a la Martinique, p. 58.

character of this ill-fated people, which, if I mistake not, will lead to some important conclusions in the study of human nature.

Their fierce spirit and warlike disposition have already been mentioned. Historians have not failed to notice these, among the most distinguishable of their qualities. §—Restless, enterprising, and ardent, it would seem they considered war as the chief end of their creation, and the rest of the human race as their natural prey; for they devoured without remorse the bodies of such of their enemies (the men at least) as fell into their hands.—This custom is so repugnant to our feelings, that for a century past, until the late discoveries of a similar practice in the countries of the Pacific ocean, the philosophers of Europe had boldly impeached the veracity of the most eminent ancient voyagers who had first recorded the existence of it. Even Labat, who resided in the West Indies at a period when some of the islands still remained in pos-

§ Dr. Robertson, in note 93 to the first vol. of his *History of America*, quotes from a MS. *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, written by Andrew Bernaldes, the cotemporary and friend of Columbus, the following instance of the bravery of the Charaibes. “A canoe with four men, two women, and a boy, unexpectedly fell in with Columbus’s fleet. A Spanish bark with twenty-five men was sent to take them, and the fleet in the mean time cut off their communication with the shore. Instead of giving way to despair, the Charaibes seized their arms with undaunted resolution, and began the attack, wounding several of the Spaniards although they had targets as well as other defensive armour; and even after the canoe was upset, it was with no little difficulty and danger that some of them were secured, as they continued to defend themselves, and to use their bows with great dexterity while swimming in the sea.”—Herrera has recorded the same anecdote.

session of the Charaibes, declares it to be his opinion that instances of this abominable practice among them, were at all times extremely rare;—the effect only of a sudden impulse of revenge arising from extraordinary and unprovoked injury; but that they ever made premeditated excursions to the larger islands, for the purpose of devouring any of the inhabitants, or of seizing them to be eaten at a future time, he very confidently denies. §

Nevertheless, there is no circumstance in the history of mankind better attested than the universal prevalence of these practices among them. Columbus was not only informed of it by the natives of Hispaniola, as I have already related, but having landed himself at Guadaloupe on its first discovery, || he beheld in several cottages the head and limbs of the human body recently separated, and evidently kept for occasional repasts. He released, at the same time, several of the natives of Porto Rico, who, having been brought captives from thence, were reserved as victims for the same horrid purpose.*

Thus far, it must be confessed, the disposition of the Charaibes leaves no very favourable impression on

§ Labat, tom. iv. p. 322.

|| November 4, 1493.

* F. Columbus, cap. xlvi. Peter Martyr, Decad. I. lib. ii. Herrera, lib. ii. cap. vii. See also Bancroft's History of Guiana, p. 259, who is of opinion, that no other tribe of Indians in Guiana eat human flesh but the Charaibes. Amongst these, the proof that this practice still subsists is incontestible.

the mind of the reader; by whom it is probable they will be considered rather as beasts of prey, than as human beings; and he will think, perhaps, that it was nearly as justifiable to exterminate them from the earth, as it would be to destroy the fiercest monsters of the wilderness; since they who shew no mercy, are entitled to no pity.—

But, among themselves they were peaceable, and towards each other faithful, friendly and affectionate.† They considered all strangers, indeed, as enemies; and of the people of Europe they formed a right estimation. The antipathy which they manifested towards the unoffending natives of the larger islands appears extraordinary; but it is said to have descended to them from their ancestors of Guiana: they considered those islanders as a colony of Arrowauks, a nation of South America, with whom the Charaibes of that continent are continually at war.‡ We can assign no cause for such hereditary and irreconcilable hostility. With regard to the people of Europe, it is allowed that, whenever any of them had acquired their confidence, it was given without reserve. Their friendship was as warm as their enmity was implacable. The Charaibes of Guiana still fondly cherish the tradition of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preserve the English colours which he left with them at parting.§

† Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xi. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 359.

‡ Rochefort, liv. ii. chap. x. p. 449.

§ Bancroft, p. 259.

Of the loftiness of their sentiments and their abhorrence of slavery, a writer, not very partial towards them, gives the following illustration: “There is not a nation on earth (says Labat) || more jealous of their independency than the Charaibes. They are impatient under the least infringement of it; and when, at any time, they are witnesses to the respect and deference which the natives of Europe observe towards their superiors, they despise us as abject slaves; wondering how any man can be so base as to crouch before his equal.” Rochefort, who confirms this account, relates also that when kidnapped and carried from their native islands into slavery, as they frequently were, the miserable captives commonly sunk under a sense of their misfortune, and finding resistance and escape hopeless, sought refuge in death from the calamities of their condition.*

To this principle of conscious equality and native dignity, must be imputed the contempt which they manifested for the inventions and improvements of civilized life. Of our fire-arms they soon learnt, by fatal experience, the superiority to their own weapons; and those therefore they valued; but our arts and manufactures they regarded as we regard the amusements and baubles of children: hence the propensity to theft,

|| Labat, tom. iv. p. 329.

* Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xi. Labat relates that the following sentiment was proverbial among the first French settlers in the Windward islands:—“*Regarder de travers un Charaibe, c’est le battre, et que de le battre c’est le tuer, ou s’exposer à en être tué.*” Labat, tom. ii. p. 74.

so common among other savage nations, was altogether unknown to the Charaibes.

The ardour which has been noticed in them for military enterprize, had a powerful influence on their whole conduct. Engaged in continual warfare abroad, they seldom appeared chearful at home. Reflections on past miscarriage, or anxious schemes of future achievement, seemed to fill up many of their hours, and rendered them habitually thoughtful, pensive and silent.† Love itself, which exerts its influence in the frozen deserts of Iceland, maintained but a feeble dominion over the Charaibes.‡ Their insensibility towards their women, although they allowed a plurality of wives,§ has been remarked by many writers; and it must have arisen from extrinsic causes;—from the predominance of passions strong enough to counteract the effects of a climate which powerfully disposes to voluptuousness, and awakens the instincts of nature much sooner than colder regions. The prevailing bias of their minds was distinguishable even in their persons. Though not so tall as the generality of Europeans, their frame was robust and muscular; their limbs flexible and active, and there was a penetrating quickness, and a wildness in their eyes, that seemed an emanation from a fierce and martial spirit.|| But, not satisfied with the workmanship of na-

† Du Tertre, tom. ii.

‡ Rochfort, c. xi.

§ Ibid. c. xxii.

|| Oviedo, lib. iii. This agrees likewise with the Chevalier Pinto's account of the Brasilians in note 42 to vol. i. of Dr. Robertson's History.

ture, they called in the assistance of art, to make themselves more formidable. They painted their faces and bodies with arnotto so extravagantly, that their natural complexion which was nearly that of a Spanish olive, was not easily to be distinguished under the surface of crimson.* However, as this mode of painting themselves was practised by both sexes, perhaps it was at first introduced as a defence against the venomous insects so common in tropical climates, or possibly, they considered the brilliancy of the colour as highly ornamental; but the men had other methods of deforming their persons, which mere perversion of taste alone, would not, I think, have induced them to adopt. They disfigured their cheeks with deep incisions and hideous scars, which they stained with black, and they painted white and black circles round their eyes. Some of them perforated the cartilage that divides the nostrils, and inserted the bone of some fish, a parrots feather, or a fragment of tortoise-shell, †—a frightful custom, practised also by the natives of New Holland, ‡ and they strung together the teeth of such of their enemies as they had slain in battle, and wore them on their legs and arms, as trophies of successful cruelty.§

“ At the first aspect a Southern American appears to be mild and innocent, but, on a more attentive view, one discovers in his countenance something wild, distrustful, and sullen.”

* Rochefort, iib. ii. c. ix. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 539,

† Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1157. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 391, 393.

‡ Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 171.

§ Gumilla, tom. i. p. 193.

To draw the bow with unerring skill, to wield the club with dexterity and strength, to swim with agility and boldness, to catch fish, and to build a cottage, were acquirements of indispensable necessity, and the education of their children was well suited to the attainment of them. One method of making their boys skilful, even in infancy, in the exercise of the bow, was to suspend their food on the branch of a tree, compelling the hardy urchins to pierce it with their arrows, before they could obtain permission to eat.¶ But these were subordinate objects:—The Charaibes instructed their youth, at the same time, in lessons of patience and fortitude; they endeavoured to inspire them with courage in war, and a contempt of danger and death;—above all things, to instil into their minds an hereditary hatred, and implacable thirst of revenge towards the Arrowauks. The means which they adopted for these purposes were in

¶ See Rochefort, c. xxviii. p. 555, and Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 283. Their arrows were commonly poisoned, except when they made their military excursions by night. On those occasions they converted them into instruments of still greater mischief; for by arming the points with pledgets of cotton dipt into oil, and set on flame, they fired whole villages of their enemies at a distance.* The poison which they used, was a concoction of noxious gums and vegetable juices†, and had the property of being perfectly innocent when received into the stomach, but if communicated immediately to the blood, through the slightest wound, it was generally mortal. The Indians of Guiana still prepare a similar poison. It is supposed however, that sugar speedily administered in large quantities, is an antidote. (See *Relation Abregée d'un Voyage, &c. par Mons. de la Condamine*; and Bancroft's Hist. of Guiana.)

* Rochefort, ch. xx. p. 559.

† Oviedo, lib. iii.

some respects superstitious ; in others cruel and detestable.

As soon as a male child was brought into the world, he was sprinkled with some drops of his father's blood. The ceremonies used on this occasion were sufficiently painful to the father, but he submitted without emotion or complaint ; fondly believing, that the same degree of courage which he had himself displayed, was by these means transmitted to his son.* As the boy grew, he was soon made familiar with scenes of barbarity ; he partook of the horrid repasts of his nation, and he was frequently anointed with the fat of a slaughtered Arrowauk ; but he was not allowed to participate in the toils of the warrior, and to share the glories of conquest, until his fortitude had been brought to the test. The dawn of manhood ushered in the hour of severe trial. He was now to exchange the name he had received in his infancy, for one more sounding and significant ;—a ceremony of high importance in the life of a Charaibe, but always accompanied by a scene of ferocious festivity and unnatural cruelty.†

The severities inflicted on such occasions by the hands of fathers on their own children, exhibit a melancholy proof of the influence of superstition in suppressing the most powerful feelings of nature ; but the practice was not without example. Plutarch re-

* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxv. p. 552.

† Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxiii. p. 556. Du Tertre, vol. ii. p. 377.

cords the prevalence of a similar custom among the Lacedemonians. “At Sparta,” says the Historian, “boys are whipped for a whole day, oftentimes to death, before the altar of Diana, and there is a wonderful emulation among them who best can sustain the greatest number of stripes.” Nor did the Charaibe youth, yield in fortitude to the Spartan. If the severities he sustained extorted the least symptom of weakness from the young sufferer, he was disgraced for ever; but if he rose superior to pain, and baffled the rage of his persecutors, by perseverance and serenity, he received the highest applause. He was thenceforth numbered among the defenders of his country, and it was pronounced by his relations and countrymen, *that he was now a man like one of themselves.*

A penance still more severe, and torments more exerceiating; stripes, burning and suffocation, constituted a test for him who aspired to the honour of leading forth his countrymen to war;‡ for in times of peace the Charaibes admitted of no supremacy but that of nature. Having no laws, they needed no magistrates. To their old men indeed they allowed some kind of authority, but it was at best ill-defined, and must at all times have been insufficient to protect the weak against the strong.—In war, experience had taught them that subordination was as requisite as courage; they therefore elected their captains in

‡ Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xix. p. 519. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1262. Gummilla, tom. ii. p. 286. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 297, et seq.

their general assemblies with great solemnity;§ but as hath been observed, they put their pretensions to the proof with circumstances of outrageous barbarity:—the recital however is disgusting, and may well be suppressed.

If it appears strange that where so little was to be gained by pre-eminence, so much should be endured to obtain it, it must be considered that, in the estimation of the candidate, the reward was doubtless more than adequate to the cost of the purchase. If success attended his measures, the feast and the triumph awaited his return. He exchanged his name a second time; assuming in future that of the most formidable Arrowauk that had fallen by his hand.|| He was permitted to appropriate to himself, as many of the captives as he thought fit, and his countrymen presented to his choice the most beautiful of their daughters in reward of his valour.*

It was probably this last mentioned testimony of public esteem and gratitude that gave rise in these islands to the institution of polygamy, which, as hath been already observed, prevailed universally among them, and still prevails among the Charaibes of South America;†—an institution the more excusable, as their women, from religious motives, carefully avoid-

§ Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

|| Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

* Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 546.

† Bancroft, p. 254.

ed the nuptial intercourse after pregnancy‡. I am sorry to add, that the condition of these poor creatures was at the same time truly wretched. Though frequently bestowed as the prize of successful courage, the wife, thus honourably obtained, was soon considered of as little value as the captive. Deficient in those qualities which alone were estimable among the Charaibes, the females were treated rather as slaves than companions. They sustained every species of drudgery: they ground the maize, prepared the cassavi, gathered in the cotton, and wove the hamac;§ nor were they allowed even the privilege of eating in presence of their husbands:|| Under these circumstances, it is not wonderful that they were less prolific than the women of Europe.* But brutality towards their wives was not peculiar to the Charaibes. It has prevailed in all ages and countries among the uncivilized part of mankind; and the first visible proof that a people is emerging from savage manners, is a display of tenderness towards the female sex.†

‡ Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 548. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 374.

§ Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1272. Labat, tom. ii. p. 40.

|| Labat, tom. ii. p. 15 and 95.

* Lafitau, tom. i. p. 590.

† Father Joseph Gumilla, in his account of the nations bordering on the Oronoko, relates, (tom. i. p. 207. Fr. translation), that the Charaibes of the continent punish their women caught in adultery, like the ancient Israelites, “by stoning them to death before an assembly of the people:” but I do not find this fact recorded by any other writer; and as it is evidently brought forward to support the author’s hypothesis, that the Americans are originally descended from the Jews, I suspect that it is not well founded:—at least there is no trace that such a custom existed among the insular Charaibes. Rochefort speaking of the latter, observes, that be-

Perhaps a more intimate knowledge (not now to be obtained) would have softened many of the shades which thus darken the character of these islanders, and have discovered some latent properties in their principles and conduct, tending to lessen, though not wholly to remove, the disgust we naturally feel in beholding human nature so debased and degraded; but of many particulars wherein curiosity would desire to be gratified, we have no account. We know but little, for instance, concerning their domestic economy, their arts, manufactures, and agriculture; their sense of filial and paternal obligations; their religious rites and funeral ceremonies. Such further information however, in these and other respects, as authorities the least disputable afford, I have abridged in the following detached observations.

Besides the ornaments which we have noticed to have been worn by both sexes, the women on arriving at the age of puberty, were distinguished also by a sort of buskin or half boot, made of cotton, which

fore they had any intercourse with the Christians they had no established punishment for adultery, because (says he) "the crime itself was unknown."—He adds, that when this with other European vices, was introduced among them, the injured husband became his own avenger.—Labat's reasoning on this head is too curious to be omitted: "Il n'y a que les femmes qui soient obligées à l'obéissance, et dont les hommes soient absolument les maîtres. Ils portent cette supériorité jusqu'à l'exces, et les tuent pour des sujets très légers. Un soupçon d'infidélité, bien ou mal fondé, suffit, sans autre formalité, pour les mettre en droit de leur casser la tête. Cela est un peu sauvage à la vérité; mais c'est un frein bien propre pour retenir les femmes dans leur devoir." Tom iv. p. 327.

surrounded the small part of the leg.‡ A distinction, however, to which such of their females as had been taken in the chance of war, dare not aspire.§ In other respects both male and female appeared as naked as our first parents before the fall.¶ Like them as they knew no guilt, they knew no shame; nor was cloathing thought necessary to personal comfort, where the chill blast of winter is never felt.

Their hair was uniformly of a shining black, straight and coarse; but they dressed it with daily care, and adorned it with great art; the men, in particular, decorating their heads with feathers of various colours. As their hair thus constituted their chief pride, it was an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of their sorrow, when, on the death of a relation or friend, they cut it short like their slaves and captives;* to whom the privilege of wearing long hair was rigorously denied.† Like most other nations of the new hemisphere, they eradicated, with great nicety, the incipient beard,‡ and all superfluous hairs on their bodies;—a circumstance which has given rise to a notion that all the Aborigines of America were naturally beardless. This opinion is indeed countenanced by many respec-

‡ Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 446. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159. Labat, tom. ii. p. 12, The same sort of *brodequin*, or buskin, is worn by the female Hottentots and other nations of Africa.

§ Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 394.

¶ Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 441. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1157.

* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 439. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 412.

† Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 405.

‡ Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 392.

table writers, but after much inquiry, and some instances of ocular inspection, I am satisfied that it is groundless.

The circumstance the most remarkable concerning the persons of the Charaibes, was their strange practice of altering the natural configuration of the head. On the birth of a child, its tender and flexible skull was confined between two small pieces of wood, which, applied before and behind, and firmly bound together on each side, elevated the forehead, and occasioned it, and the back part of the skull, to resemble two sides of a square;§ an uncouth and frightful custom still observed by the miserable remnant of red Charaibes in the island of St. Vincent.||

They resided in villages which resembled an European encampment; for their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground, and drawn to a point at the top.* They were then covered with leaves of the palm-tree. In the centre of each village was a building of superior magnitude to the rest. It was formed with great labour, and served as a public hall or state house,† wherein we are assured that

§ Oviedo, lib. iii. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix.

|| I have been told by anatomists, that the coronal suture of new-born children in the West Indies is commonly more open than that of infants born in colder climates, and the brain more liable to external injury. Perhaps, therefore, the Indian custom of depressing the *os frontis* and the *occiput* was originally meant to assist the operation of nature in closing the skull.

* P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii.

† Ibid. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xvi. Lafitau, tom. ii. p. 8.

the men (excluding the women) had there meals in common; “observing that law,” (saith the earl of Cumberland, who visited these islands in 1596), “which in Lycurgus’s mouth was thought strange and needless.” † These halls were also the theatres where their youth were animated to emulation, and trained to martial enterprize by the renown of their warriors, and the harangues of their orators.

Their arts and manufactures, though few, displayed a degree of ingenuity, which one would have scarcely expected to find amongst a people so little removed from a state of mere animal nature, as to reject all dress as superfluous. Columbus observed an abundance of substantial cotton cloth in all the islands which he visited; and the natives possessed the art of staining it with various colours, though the Charaibes delighted chiefly in red. § Of this cloth they made hammocks, or hanging beds, such as are now used at sea;—for Europe has not only copied the pattern, but preserved also the original name. ||

They possessed likewise the art of making vessels of clay for domestic uses, which they baked in kilns like the potters of Europe. The ruins of many of these kilns were visible not long since in Barbadoes, where specimens of the manufacture are still fre-

† Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159.

§ Labat, tom ii. p. 40.

|| All the early Spanish and French writers expressly assert, that the original Indian name for their swinging beds was *amack*, or *hamack*;—but Dr. Johnson derives the English word *hammock* from the Saxon.

quently dug up; and Mr. Hughes, the historian of that island, observes, that they far surpass the earthen ware made by the negroes, in thinness, smoothness and beauty.* Besides those, they invented various other utensils for economical purposes, which are enumerated by Labat. The baskets which they composed of the fibres of the palmeto leaves, were singularly elegant, and we are told that their bows and arrows, and other weapons, displayed a neatness and polish, which the most skilful European artist would have found it difficult to have excelled, even with European tools.

Of the nature and extent of their agriculture the accounts are slender and unsatisfactory. We are told, on good authority, that among the Charaibes of the continent, there was no division of land, every one cultivating in proportion to his exigencies.† Where no criminal jurisdiction is established, the idea of private property must necessarily be unknown or imperfect; and in these islands where land is scarce, it seems probable that, as among some of the tribes of South America,‡ cultivation was carried on by the joint labour of each separate community, and their harvests deposited in public granaries, whence each family received its proportion of the public stock.—

* Nat. Hist. of Barbadoes, p. 8. Ligon, who visited this island in 1647, declares that some of these vessels, which he saw, even surpassed any earthen-ware made in England “both” (to use his own words) “in finesse of mettle, and curiosity of turninge.”

† Bancroft, p. 254.

‡ Gumilla, tom. i. p. 265.

Rochefort indeed observes, that all their interests were in common.

Their food, both vegetable and animal, excepting in the circumstance of their eating human flesh, seems to have been the same, in most respects, as that of the natives of the larger islands, which shall be described hereafter. But although their appetites were voracious,§ they rejected many of the best bounties of nature. Of some animals they held the flesh in abhorrence; these were the pecary, or Mexican hog, the manati, or sea cow, and the turtle.|| Labat observes, that they scrupled likewise to eat the eel, which the rivers in several of the islands supply in great plenty.||

The striking conformity of these, and some other of their prejudices and customs, to the practices of the Jews, has not escaped the notice of historians.†— But whether the Charaibes were actuated by religious motives, in thus abstaining from those things which many nations account very wholesome and delicious food, we are no where sufficiently informed.

It most probably was, however, the influence of superstition that gave rise to these and other ceremonies equally repugnant to the dictates of nature and common sense; one of which appears at first extraor-

§ Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 12, 70, 237. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 515.

|| Rochefort, liv. ii. c. 16.

* Labat, tom. iv. p. 304.

† Gumilla, Adair, Du Tertre, and others.

dinary and incredible, but it is too well attested to be denied. On the birth of his first son the father retired to his bed, and fasted with a strictness that often endangered life. † Lafitau, observing that the same custom was practised by the Tybarenians of Asia, and the Iberians or ancient inhabitants of Spain, and is still in use among the people of Japan, not only urges this circumstance as a proof, among others, that the new world was peopled from the old, but pretends to discover in it also, some traces of the doctrine of original sin: he supposes that the severe penance thus voluntarily submitted to by the father, was at first instituted in the pious view of protecting his issue from the contagion of hereditary guilt; averting the wrath of offended Omnipotence at the crime of our first parents, and expiating *their* guilt by *his* sufferings. §

The ancient Thracians, as we are informed by Herodotus, when a male child was brought into the world, lamented over him in sad vaticination of his destiny, and they rejoiced when he was released by death from those miseries which they considered as his inevitable portion in life: but, whatever might have been the motives that first induced the Charaibes to do penance on such occasions, it would seem that grief and dejection had no great share in them; for the ceremony

† Du Tertre, tom. ii. 371, 373. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxiii. p. 550. Labat, tom. iv. p. 368. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 49. Nieuboff relates, that this practice prevails likewise among the natives of Brasil, Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 133.

§ Lafitau, tom. i. p. 257.

of fasting was immediately succeeded by rejoicing and triumph, by drunkenness and debauchery. Their lamentations for the dead, seem to have arisen from the more laudable dictates of genuine nature; for, unlike the Thracians on these solemnities, they not only despoiled their hair, as we have before related, but when the master of the family died, the surviving relations, after burying the corpse in the centre of his own dwelling, with many demonstrations of unaffected grief, quitted the house altogether, and erected another in a distant situation.||

Unfortunately, however, if now and then we distinguish among them some faint traces of rational piety, our satisfaction is of short continuance;

No light, but rather darkness visible,
Serves only to discover sights of woe: MILTON.

or it is a light that glimmers for a moment, and then sets in blood.

It is asserted, and I believe with truth, that the expectation of a future state has prevailed amongst all mankind, in all ages and countries of the world. It is certain, that it prevailed among the Charaibes;* who not only believed that death was not the final extinction of their being, but pleased themselves also with

|| Labat, tom. iv. p. 367. They placed the dead body in the grave in a sitting posture, with the knees to the chin. Lafitau, tom. ii. p. 407. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 402.

* Rochefort, liv. ii, c. 14. 485. Du Tertre, tom, ii. p. 372.

the fond conceit that their departed relations were secret spectators of their conduct;—that they still sympathized in their sufferings, and participated in their welfare. To these notions, so flattering to our wishes,—perhaps congenial to our nature,—they added others of a dreadful tendency; for, considering the soul as susceptible of the same impressions, and possessing the same passions, as when allied to the body, it was thought a religious duty to their deceased heroes, to sacrifice at their funerals some of the captives which had been taken in battle.† Immortality seemed a curse without military glory: they allotted to the virtuous and the brave the enjoyment of supreme felicity, with their wives and their captives, in a sort of Mahometan paradise. To the degenerate and the cowardly they assigned a far different portion: these, they doomed to everlasting banishment beyond the mountains;—to unremitting labour, in employments that disgrace manhood:—and this disgrace they supposed would be heightened by the greatest of all afflictions, captivity and servitude among the Arrowauks.‡

It might seem, that this idea of a state of retribution after death necessarily flowed from a well-founded belief in the existence of an all-wise and almighty Governor and Judge of the Universe; but we are told, notwithstanding, that the minds of the Charaibes were not elevated to this height. “They admitted,”

† Rochefort, c. xix. p. 484. Du Tertre, c. ii. p. 412. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1274.

‡ Rochefort, c. xiv. p. 485.

says Rochefort, “that the earth was their bountiful
 “parent, which yielded them all the good things of
 “life, but they were so lamentably sunk in darkness
 “and brutality, as to have formed no conception of
 “its beneficent Creator, through the continual ener-
 “gy of whose divine influence alone it yields any
 “thing. They had not even a name for the Deity.”§
 Other writers, however, of equal authority,|| and even
 the same writer elsewhere,* present us with a differ-
 ent representation in this respect, and allow that the
 Charaibes entertained an awful sense (perplexed in-
 deed and indistinct) of one great universal cause,—of
 a superior, wise, and invisible Being of absolute and
 irresistible power.†—Like the ancient heathens, they
 admitted also the agency of subordinate divinities.—
 They even supposed, that each individual person had
 his peculiar protector or tutelary deity.‡ Nor is it
 true, as affirmed by some authors, that they had no
 notion of practical worship; for, besides the funeral
 ceremonies above-mentioned, which arose surely from
 a sense of mistaken piety, they had their Lares and
 Penates, gods of their own creating, intended as sym-
 bols probably of their invisible deities, to whom they
 offered sacrifices, similar to those of the ancient Ro-

§ Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 469.

|| Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 364.

* Rochefort, c. xiv.

† The Galibis Indians, or Charaibes of South America, from whom I have supposed the insular Charaibes to have been immediately descend-
 ed, stiled the Supreme Being *Tamoussi*, or *Universal Father*.—Barrere.

‡ Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 471.

mans in their days of simplicity and virtue. § It was their custom to erect in every cottage a rustic altar, composed of banana leaves and rushes, whereon they occasionally placed the earliest of their fruits, and the choicest of their viands, as humble peace-offerings through the mediation of their inferior deities to incensed Omnipotence: || for it is admitted, that their devotions consisted less in the effusions of thankfulness, than in deprecations of wrath;—but herein neither were they distinguishable from the rest of mankind, either in the old world or the new. We can all forget benefits though we implore mercy. Strange however it is, that the same authors who accuse them of atheism should accuse them likewise, in the same moment, of polytheism and idolatry.

Atheists they certainly were not; and although their system was not that of pure theism, yet their idolatry was probably founded on circumstances, the moral influence of which has not hitherto, I think,

§ Mr. Hughes, in his History of Barbadoes, makes mention of many fragments of Indian idols dug up in that island, which were composed of the same materials as their earthen vessels above-mentioned.—“I saw the head of one” (continues he) “which alone weighed above sixty pounds. “This, before it was broken off, stood upon an oval pedestal about three “feet in height. The heads of all the others were very small. These “lesser idols were in all probability their *Penates*, made small for the “ease and conveniency of being carried with them in their several jour- “nies, as the larger sort were perhaps designed for some stated places of “worship.”—

Natural History of Barbadoes, p. 7.

|| Lafitau, tom. i. p. 179. Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 472. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 366.

been sufficiently noticed. If their devotion, as we have seen, was the offspring, not of gratitude, but of fear;—if they were less sensible of the goodness, than terrified at the judgments of the Almighty, it should be remembered, that in the climate of the West Indies, the tremendous irregularities of nature are dreadfully frequent;—the hurricane that sweeps nations to the deep, and the earthquake that swallows continents in its bosom.—Let us not then hastily affix the charge of impiety on these simple people, if, when they beheld the elements combine for their destruction, they considered the divine Being as infinite indeed in power, but severe in his justice, and inexorable in his anger. Under this impression, the mind, humbled to the dust in the consciousness of its own imbecility, and scarce daring to lift up a thought to the great cause of all things, fondly wishes for some mild and gracious interpreter; some amiable intermediate agent in whom to repose with confidence, as in a guardian and a friend. This desire increasing, is at length exalted to belief. The soul, seeking refuge from its own apprehensions, creates imaginary beings, by whose mediation it hopes to render itself less despicable in the sight of the Supreme. To these its devotions are intrusted, and its adorations paid. We may lament the blindness of these poor savages, and exult in our own superiority in this respect, but let us not forget, that in the most cultivated periods of the human understanding, (before the light of Revelation was graciously displayed), a similar superstition was practised by all the various nations of the

heathen world; of which, not one, perhaps, had so strong an apology to plead as the Charaibes.

These observations, however, extend only to the fair side of their religion, the worship of benevolent deities. A darker superstition likewise prevailed among all the unenlightened inhabitants of these climates; for they not only believed in the existence of demons and evil spirits, but offered to them also by the hands of their *Boyez*, or pretended magicians, sacrifices and worship; wounding themselves, on such solemnities, with an instrument made of the teeth of the agouti;* which inflicted horrible gashes; conceiving, perhaps, that the malignant powers delighted in groans and misery, and were to be appeased only by human blood.† I am of opinion, nevertheless, that even this latter species of idolatry originated in reverential piety, and an awful sense of almighty power and infinite perfection. That we receive both good and evil at the hands of God, and that the Supreme Being is equally wise and benevolent in the dispensation of both, are truths which we are taught, as well by cultivated reason, as by holy writ; but they are truths, to the right apprehension of which uncivilized man was, perhaps, at all times incompetent. The savage, indeed, amidst the destructive terrors of the hurricane and the earthquake, might easily conclude, that nothing less than Omnipotence itself, “visiting the nations in his wrath,” could thus harrow up the world;

* See Chap. 4.

† Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 365.

but the calamities of daily occurrence,—the various appearances of physical and moral evil which hourly imbitter life, he dared not ascribe to an all-perfect and merciful being. To his limited conception, such a conclusion was derogatory from divine justice, and irreconcilable with infinite wisdom. To what then would he impute these terrifying and inexplicable phenomena, but to the malignant influence of impure spirits and aerial demons? The profanations built on such notions certainly throw a light on the Christian religion, if they serve not as a collateral evidence of its divine origin.

A minute detail of the rites and ceremonies to which these, and other religious tenets, gave birth among the Charaibes, most of them unamiable, many of them cruel, together with an illustration of their conformity to the superstitions of the Pagan theology, would lead me too far; nor is such a disquisition necessary. It is sufficient for me to have shewn, that the foundations of true religion, the belief of a deity, and the expectation of a future state, (to borrow the expression of an eloquent prelate), “are no less conformable to the first natural apprehensions of the untutored mind, than to the soundest principles of philosophy.” †

I have thus selected and combined, from a mass of discordant materials, a few striking particulars in the character, manners and customs of the ancient inhabi-

† Bishop of Chester's Sermons.

tants of the Charaibean Islands. The picture is not pleasing; but, as I have elsewhere observed, it may lead to some important conclusions; for besides correcting many wild and extravagant fancies which are afloat in the world respecting the influence of climate on the powers of the mind, it may tend to demonstrate the absurdity of that hypothesis of some eminent philosophers, which pronounces savage life the genuine source of unpolluted happiness; falsely deeming it a state conformable to our nature, and constituting the perfection of it. It is indeed no easy task, as Rousseau observes, to discriminate properly between what is originally natural, and what is acquired, in the present constitution of man: yet thus much may be concluded, from the account I have given of the Charaibes; that they derived their furious and sanguinary disposition—not from the dictates of nature, but—from the perversion and abuse of some of her noblest endowments. Civilization and science would not only have given them gentler manners, but probably have eradicated also many of their barbarous rites and gloomy superstitions, either by the introduction of a purer religion, or by giving energy and effect to those latent principles, which I have shewn had a foundation among them. But while I admit the necessity and benevolent efficacy of improved manners and social intercourse, conceiving that man by the cultivation of his reason, and the exercise of his faculties, alone answers the end of his creation, I am far from concurring with another class of philosophers, who, widely differing from the former, consider a state of pure nature as a state of unrelenting ferocity and re-

reciprocal hostility; maintaining, that all the soft and tender affections are not originally implanted in us, but are superinduced by education and reflection. A retrospect to what has been related of the Charaibes will shew the fallacy of this opinion. Man, as he comes from the hands of his Creator, is every where constituted a mild and a merciful being. It was by rigid discipline and barbarous example, that the Charaibe nation trained up their youth to suffer with fortitude, and to inflict without pity the utmost exertions of human vengeance. The dictates of nature were as much violated by those enormities of savage life, as they are suppressed by the cold unfeeling apathy of philosophical resentment. To the honour of humanity, it is as certain that compassion and kindness are among the earliest propensities of our nature, as that they constitute the chief ornament and the happiness of it. Of this truth our next researches will furnish a pleasing example.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Natives of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico.—Their Origin.—Numbers.—Persons.—Genius and Dispositions.—Government and Religion.—Miscellaneous Observations respecting their Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture.—Cruelty of the Spaniards, &c.

I AM now to give some account of a mild and comparatively cultivated people, the ancient natives of Hispaniola,§ Cuba,|| Jamaica, and Porto-Rico;* for there is no doubt that the inhabitants of all those islands were of one common origin,—speaking the same language,—possessing the same institutions, and practising similar superstitions. Columbus himself treats of them as such; and the testimony of

§ *Hispaniola* was called by the natives *Haiti* or *Ayti*, which signifies mountainous; and I conceive the same word has the same meaning in the islands of the south sea.

|| *Cuba* was the Indian name. It was not discovered to be an island until the year 1508, when a captain, named Sebastian, sailed round it by order of Nicholas Ovando. It was first planted by the Spaniards in 1511; in that year Jago Velasquez went thither with three hundred men, and settled on the south coast, near to a port which he called by his own name, (*Jago*, a name it still bears), and which for extent and security may be reckoned one of the finest in the world.

* The Indian name of *Porto-Rico* was *Boriquen*. It was discovered by Columbus in his second voyage, but first explored by Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1508.

many contemporary historians confirm his opinion. It appears likewise from the information of Las Casas, the bishop of Chiapa, to the emperor Charles V. that most of the natives of Trinidad† were of the same nation; the extent and natural strength of that island, as of the others above-mentioned, having protected them, in a great measure, from the depredations of the Charaibes.

I have elsewhere related that they were considered by these barbarians as descended from a colony of Arrowauks, a people of Guiana; and there can be no good reason to suppose that the Charaibes were misinformed in this particular. The evidence of Raleigh, and others who visited both Guiana and Trinidad two centuries ago, might be adduced in support of their opinion. These voyagers pronounce the ancient inhabitants of Trinidad to belong precisely to the Arwacks or Arrowauk nation of the continent; a race of Indians to whose noble qualities the most honourable testimony is borne by every traveller that has visited them, and recorded his observations. And here, all inquiry concerning the origin of our islanders seems to terminate. It is indeed extremely probable that all the various nations of this part of the new world, except only the Charaibes, emigrated anciently from the

† Trinidad was discovered by Columbus in his third voyage, and was named by him after the Holy Trinity, because says Herrera, having been in great danger, in a violent storm, he made a vow to give that name to the first land he should find; soon after which a sailor, in the main-top, saw three points of land, whereby the name fitted every way to his vow.

great hive of the Mexican empire. Juan de Grijalva, one of the adventurers from Cuba in 1518, found a people who spoke the language of that island, on the coast of Jucatan;‡ but at what period such emigrations were made; whether the Charaibes were previously possessed of the widely extended coast that bounds the Atlantic, or, in posterior ages, accidentally found their way thither by sea, from the ancient continent—(perhaps, by their invasion, giving birth to that hereditary and unconquerable hatred which still prevails between them and the other Indian nations)—these are points concerning which, as it is impossible to determine, it is in vain to inquire.

In estimating the number of our islanders, when first discovered by Columbus, historians widely differ. Las Casas computes them at six millions in the whole; but the natives of Hispaniola were reckoned by Oviedo at one million only, and by Martyr, who wrote on the authority of Columbus, at 1,200,000, and this last account is probably the most correct. Judging of the other islands by that, and supposing the population of each to be nearly the same in proportion to its extent, the whole number will fall greatly short of the computation of Las Casas. Perhaps if we fix on three millions, instead of six, as the total, we shall approach as near the truth as possible, on a question that admits not of minute accuracy. Indeed, such are the accounts of the horrible carnage of these poor people by the Spaniards, that we are naturally led to

‡ P. Martyr, *decad. iii. lib. x.*

hope their original numbers must have been greatly exaggerated; first by the associates of Columbus, from a fond and excusable propensity to magnify the merit and importance of their discoveries, as undoubtedly they were afterwards by the worthy prelate I have quoted, in the warmth of his honest indignation at the bloody proceedings of his countrymen: with whom, indeed, every man of a humane and reflecting mind, must blush to confess himself of the same nature and species!

But, not to anticipate observations that will more properly appear hereafter, I shall now proceed to the consideration,—

- I. Of their persons and personal endowments:
- II. Their intellectual faculties and dispositions:
- III. Their political institutions:
- IV. Their religious rites.—

Such subordinate particulars as are not easily reducible to either of these heads will conclude the present chapter.

I. Both men and women wore nothing more than a slight covering of cotton cloth round the waist; but in the women it extended to the knees: the children of both sexes appeared entirely naked. In stature they were taller, but less robust than the Charaibes. §

§ Oviedo, Som.

Their colour was a clear brown; not deeper, in general, according to Columbus, than that of a Spanish peasant who has been much exposed to the wind and the sun. || Like the Charaibes, they altered the natural configuration of the head in infancy; but after a different mode;* and by this practice, says Herrera, the crown was so strengthened that a Spanish broad sword, instead of cleaving the skull at a stroke, would frequently break short upon it; † an illustration which gives an admirable idea of the clemency of their conquerors! Their hair was uniformly black, without any tendency to curl; their features were hard and unsightly; the face broad, and the nose flat; but their eyes streamed with good nature, and altogether there was something pleasing and inviting in the countenances of most of them, which proclaimed a frank and gentle disposition. It was an honest face, (says Martyr), coarse, but not gloomy; for it was enlivened by confidence, and softened by compassion.

Much has been suggested by modern philosophers, concerning a supposed feebleness in their persons and constitutions. They are represented to have been incapable of the smallest degree of labour, incurably indolent, and insensible even to the attractions of beau-

|| F. Col. c. xxiii.

* The *sinciput*, or fore-part of the head from the eye-brows to the coronal suture, was depressed, which gave an unnatural thickness and elevation to the *occiput*, or hinder part of the skull.

† Herrera, lib. i. c. xvi. who copies this circumstance from Oviedo.

ty, and the influence of love.‡ This wonderful debility and coldness have been attributed by some writers to a vegetable diet: by others, it is pretended that they derived from nature less appetite for food than the natives of Europe, but nothing can more pointedly demonstrate the indolent inattention of historians, than their combining these circumstances in one and the same character. An insensibility, or contemptuous disregard, towards the female sex, was a feature peculiar to the Charaibes; who, however, as we have seen, were robust and vigorous in their persons, and insatiably voracious of food. It constituted no part of the disposition of our islanders; amongst whom an attachment to the sex was remarkably conspicuous. Love, with this happy people, was not a transient and youthful ardour only; but the source of all their pleasures, and the chief business of life: for not being, like the Charaibes, oppressed by the weight of perpetual solicitude, and tormented by an unquenchable thirst of revenge, they gave full indulgence to the instincts of nature, while the influence of the climate heightened the sensibility of the passions.§

In truth, an excessive sensuality was among the greatest defects in their character: and to this cause

‡ Robertson, Buffon, De Pauw, and others.

§ See Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii. We have nearly the same account at this day of the Arrowauks of Guiana. "In their natural disposition" (says Bancroft) "they are amorous and wanton;" and Barrere observes, "*ils sont lubriques au supreme degré.*" It is related by Herrera, that a deity similar to the Venus of antiquity, was one of the Divinities of the *Tlascalans*, a people of Mexico.

alone is imputed, by some writers, the origin of that dreadful disease, with the infliction of which they have almost revenged the calamities brought upon them by the avarice of Europe:—If indeed the venereal contagion was first introduced into Spain from these islands; a conclusion to which, notwithstanding all that has been written in support of it, an attentive inquirer will still hesitate to subscribe.||

* “The venereal disease” (says Oviedo) “was certainly introduced into Europe from these islands, where the best medicine for the cure of it, the *Guaiacum*, is also found; the Almighty so remembering mercy in judgment, that, when our sins provoke punishment, he sends likewise a remedy.—I was acquainted with many persons who accompanied Columbus in his first and second voyages, and suffered of this disease: one of whom was Pedro Margarite, a man much respected of the King and Queen. In the year 1496 it began to spread in Europe, and the physicians were wholly at a loss in what manner to treat it.—When, after this, Gonzales Fernandes de Cordova was sent with an army by his Catholic Majesty on behalf of Ferdinand the second, king of Naples, some infected persons accompanied that army, and by intercourse with the women, spread the disease among the Italians and the French; both which nations had successively the honour of giving it a name; but in truth it came originally from Hispaniola, where it was very common, as was likewise the remedy.”

This account is sufficiently particular; nevertheless, there is reason to believe, that the venereal infection was known in Europe many centuries before the discovery of America; although it is possible it might have broke out with renewed violence about the time of Columbus's return from his first expedition.—This was the era of wonder, and probably the infrequency of the contagion before that period, gave colour to a report, perhaps at first maliciously propagated by some who envied the success of Columbus, *that this disease was one of the fruits of his celebrated enterprise.* It is impossible, in the space of a marginal note, to enter deep-

That a people who possessed the means of gratifying every inclination without labour, should sometimes incline to be indolent, is a circumstance not very extraordinary. As the wants of nature were supplied almost spontaneously, and no covering was absolutely requisite but the shade, that necessity which urges men to action, and, by exercise, invigorates the fibres, was here wholly unknown. It is probable therefore that in muscular strength the natives were inferior to their invaders, and being less accustomed to labour, they might also require less nourishment. These conclusions may be admitted without supposing any degradation of their nature, and with no very unfavourable impression of the climate. Their limbs however were pliant and active, and in their motions they displayed both gracefulness and ease. Their agility was eminently conspicuous in their dances; wherein they delighted and excelled; devoting the cool hours of night to this employment.* It was their custom,

ly into this subject; neither does the full investigation of it come within the design of my work. I therefore refer such of my readers as are desirous of forming a decided opinion on the question, to the *Philos. Trans.* vol. xxvii. and vol. xxxi. (No. 365, and No. 11), also to two learned treatises on the subject by Mr. Sanches, published at Paris 1772 and 1774, and to the authorities referred to by Mr. Foster in his "Observations made during a Voyage round the World," p. 492. In Stow's *Survey of London*, vol. ii, p. 7, is preserved a copy of the rules or regulations established by Parliament in the eighth year of Henry the Second, for the government of the licensed stews in Southwark, among which I find the following, "No steward to keep any woman that hath the perilous infirmity of burning." This was 330 years before the voyage of Columbus.

* P. Martyr, *decad. iii. c. vii.*

says Herrera, to dance from evening to the dawn; and although fifty thousand men and women were frequently assembled together on these occasions, they seemed actuated by one common impulse, keeping time by responsive motions of their hands, feet, and bodies, with an exactness that was wonderful.† These public dances (for they had others highly licentious) were appropriated to particular solemnities, and being accompanied with historical songs, were called *Arietoës*; a singular feature in their political institutions, of which I shall presently speak.

Besides the exercise of dancing, another diversion was prevalent among them which they called *Bato*; and it appears from the account given of it by the Spanish historians,‡ that it had a distant resemblance to the English game of cricket; for the players were divided into two parties, which alternately changed places, and the sport consisted in dexterously throwing and returning an elastic ball from one party to the other. It was not however caught in the hand or returned with an instrument; but received on the head, the elbow, or the foot, and the dexterity and force with which it was thence repelled, were astonishing and inimitable.—Such exertions belong not to a people incurably enervated and slothful.

II. They are, nevertheless, pronounced by many writers, to have been naturally inferior to the natives

† Herrera, lib. ix. c. ii.

‡ Oviedo, lib. vi. c. ii. Herrera, lib. iii. c. iv.

of Europe, not only in bodily strength, but likewise in genius and mental endowments. This assertion has I think been advanced with more confidence than proof. That the mind, like the body, acquires strength by employment, is indeed a truth which we all acknowledge, because we all experience it; and it requires no great sagacity to discover, that ingenuity is seldom very powerfully exerted to gratify appetites which do not exist, or to guard against inconveniences which are not felt. If our islanders therefore rose in some respects to a degree of refinement not often observable in savage life, it may justly be presumed, that in a state of society productive of new desires and artificial necessities, their capacities would have been susceptible of still further improvement. Their situation alone, without recurring to the various other causes assigned by philosophers, sufficiently accounts for the paucity of their ideas. Men, without anxiety for the future, have little reflection on the past. What they wanted in excited energy of mind, was however abundantly supplied by the softer affections; by sweetness of temper, and native goodness of disposition. All writers who have treated of their character agree, that they were unquestionably the most gentle and benevolent of the human race. Though not blessed with the light of Revelation, they practised one of the noblest precepts of Christianity, forgiveness of their enemies: laying all that they possessed at the feet of their oppressors; courting their notice, and preventing their wishes, with such fondness and assiduity, as one would have thought might

have disarmed habitual cruelty, and melted bigotry into tenderness. §

Among other instances of their generous and compassionate turn of mind, the following is not the least remarkable. Soon after Columbus's first arrival at Hispaniola, one of his ships was wrecked on the coast. The natives, scorning to derive advantage to themselves from the distress of the strangers, (unconscious indeed of the calamities which their arrival was soon to bring upon them), beheld the accident with the liveliest emotions of sorrow, and hastened to their relief. A thousand canoes were instantly in motion, busily employed in conveying the seamen and cargo ashore; by which timely assistance, not a life was lost; and of the goods and provisions that were saved from the wreck, not the smallest article was embezzled. Such was their celerity and good will on this occasion, says Martyr, that no friend for friend, or brother for brother, in distress, could have manifested stronger tokens of sympathy and pity. || Other historians still heighten the picture; for they relate that Guacanahari, the sovereign of that part of the country, perceiving that, notwithstanding the efforts of his people, the ship itself, and great part of the cargo were irrecoverably sunk, waited on Columbus to condole with him on the occasion; and while this poor Indian lamented his misfortune in terms which excited surprize and admiration, he offered the admi-

§ Martyr. Herrera. F. Columbus, c. xxvii. xxxii. &c. &c.

|| Martyr, decad. i. lib. i.

ral (the tears flowing copiously down his cheeks as he spoke) all that he himself possessed, in reparation of his loss.*

This benevolence, unexampled in the history of civilized nations, was soon basely requited by the conduct of a band of robbers, whom Columbus, unfortunately, left in the island, on his departure for Europe. Guacanahari, however, was covered with wounds in defending them from his injured countrymen; † to whose just resentment the Spanish ruffians at length fell a sacrifice; but their anger was of short duration. On Columbus's return, in his second voyage, their fondness revived; and for a considerable time the Spaniards lived among them in perfect security, exploring the interior parts of the country, both in companies and individually, not only without molestation, but invited thereto by the natives. When any of the Spaniards came near to a village, the most ancient and venerable of the Indians, or the Cacique himself, if present, came out to meet them, gently conducted them into their habitations, and seated them on stools of ebony curiously ornamented. These benches seem to have been seats of honour reserved for their guests; for the Indians threw themselves on the ground, and kissing the hands and feet of the Spaniards, offered them fruits and the choicest of their viands; entreating them to prolong their stay, with such solicitude and reverence, as demonstrated

* Fer. Col. c. xxxii. Herrera, decad. i. lib. i. c. xviii.

† Herrera, decad. i. lib. ii. c. ix. Fer. Col. c. xl.

that they considered them as beings of a superior nature, whose presence consecrated their dwellings, and brought a blessing with it.†

The reception which Bartholomew Columbus, who was appointed lieutenant, or deputy governor, in the absence of the admiral, afterwards met with, in his progress through the island to levy tributes from the several caciques or princes, manifested not only kindness and submission, but on many occasions munificence, and even a high degree of politeness. These caciques had all heard of the wonderful eagerness of the strangers for gold; and such of them as possessed any of this precious metal, willingly presented all that they had to the deputy governor. Others, who had not the means of obtaining gold, brought provisions and cotton in great abundance. §—Among the latter, was Behechio, a powerful cacique, who invited the lieutenant and his attendants to his dominions; and the entertainment which they received from this hospitable chief is thus described by Martyr. As they approached the king's dwelling, they were met by his wives, to the number of thirty, carrying branches of the palm-tree in their hands; who first saluted the Spaniards with a solemn dance, accompanied with a general song. These matrons were succeeded by a train of virgins, distinguished as such by their appearance; the former wearing aprons of cotton cloth, while the latter were arrayed only in the innocence of

† Herrera, decad. i. lib. i. c. xiv. F. Col. c. xxvii.

§ P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. v.

pure nature. Their hair was tied simply with a fillet over their foreheads, or suffered to flow gracefully on their shoulders and bosoms. Their limbs were finely proportioned, and their complexions, though brown, were smooth, shining and lovely. The Spaniards were struck with admiration, believing that they beheld the dryads of the woods, and the nymphs of the fountains, realizing ancient fable. The branches which they bore in their hands, they now delivered with lowly obeisance to the lieutenant, who, entering the palace, found a plentiful, and according to the Indian mode of living, a splendid repast already provided. As night approached, the Spaniards were conducted to separate cottages, wherein each of them was accommodated with a cotton hammock; and the next morning they were again entertained with dancing and singing. This was followed by matches of wrestling, and running for prizes; after which two great bodies of armed Indians unexpectedly appeared, and a mock engagement ensued; exhibiting their modes of attack and defence in their wars with the Charaibes. For three days were the Spaniards thus royally entertained, and on the fourth, the affectionate Indians regretted their departure.

III. The submissive and respectful deportment of these placid people towards their superiors, and those they considered as such, was derived probably, in some degree, from the nature of their government; which, contrary to that of the Charaibes under a similar climate, was monarchical and even absolute. The regal authority however, though not circumscribed by

positive institutions, was tempered into great mildness, by that constitutional benevolence which predominated throughout every part of their conduct, from the highest to the lowest. The sympathy which they manifested towards the distress of others, proves that they were not wretched themselves; for in a state of absolute slavery and misery, men are commonly devoid both of virtue and pity.

Their kings, as we have seen, were called caciques, and their power was hereditary:—But there were also subordinate chieftains, or princes, who were tributaries to the sovereign of each district. Thus the territory in Hispaniola, anciently called Xaraguay, extending from the plain of Leogane to the westernmost part of the island, was the kingdom of the cacique Behechio, whom I have mentioned above; but it appears from Martyr, that no less than thirty-two inferior chieftains or nobles had jurisdiction within that space of country, who were accountable to the supreme authority of Behechio.¶ They seem to have somewhat resembled the ancient barons and feudatories of Europe; holding their possessions by the tenure of service. Oviedo relates, that they were under the obligation of personally attending the sovereign, both in peace and war, whenever commanded so to do.* It is to be lamented, that the Spanish historians afford very little information concerning this

¶ P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. v.

* Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv.

order of nobles, or the nature and extent of their subordinate jurisdiction.

The whole island of Hispaniola was divided into five great kingdoms;† of two of which, when Columbus first landed, Guacanahari and Behechio were absolute sovereigns. A third principal cacique was Cuanaboa, whose history is remarkable: He had been originally a war captain among a body of Charaibes, who had invaded the dominions of Behechio, and, on condition of preventing the further incursions of his countrymen, had received his sister, the beautiful Anacoana, in marriage; together with an extent of country, which he had converted into a separate kingdom. The establishment of this leader and his followers in Hispaniola, had introduced into this part of the island the Charaibean language, and also the use of the bow and arrow;‡ a weapon with the practice of which the natives of the larger islands were generally unacquainted. Cuanaboa however still retained his ferocious disposition, and having been accused by Guacanahari before Christopher Columbus, of murdering some of the Spaniards, was ordered by that commander to be sent to Spain: but the ship perished at sea. The sad fate of his unfortunate widow, the innocent Anacoana, who was most atrociously murdered in 1505, by Ovando, the governor of Hispaniola, for no cause that I can discover, but her fond attachment to Bartholomew Columbus, having

† Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv.

‡ Oviedo, lib. iii.

been related at large in the late American history, need not be repeated here.

The islands of Cuba and Jamaica were divided, like Hispaniola, into many principalities or kingdoms; but we are told that the whole extent of Porto Rico was subject to one cacique only. § It has been remarked, that the dignity of these chieftains was hereditary; but if Martyr is to be credited, the law of succession among them, was different from that of all other people; for he observes, || that the caciques bequeathed the supreme authority to the children of their sisters, according to seniority, disinheriting their own offspring; “being certain,” adds Martyr, “that, by this policy, they preferred the blood royal; which might not happen to be the case, in advancing any of the children of their numerous wives.” The relation of Oviedo is somewhat different, and seems more probable: he remarks, that one of the wives of each cacique was particularly distinguished above the rest, and appears to have been considered by the people at large as the reigning queen; * that the children of this lady, according to priority of birth, succeeded to the father’s honours; but in default of issue by the favourite princess, the sisters of the cacique, if there were no surviving brothers, took place of the cacique’s own children by his other wives.— Thus Anacoana, on the death of Behechio her bro-

§ P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii.

|| Decad. iii. c. ix.

* Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

ther, became queen of Xaraguay.† It is obvious that this regulation was intended to prevent the mischiefs of a disputed succession, among children whose pretensions were equal.

The principal cacique was distinguished by regal ornaments, and numerous attendants. In travelling through his dominions, he was commonly borne on men's shoulders, after a manner very much resembling the use of the palanquin in the East Indies.‡ According to Martyr,§ he was regarded by all his subjects with such reverence, as even exceeded the bounds of nature and reason; for if he ordered any of them to cast themselves headlong from a high rock, or to drown themselves in the sea, alleging no cause but his sovereign pleasure, he was obeyed without a murmur; opposition to the supreme authority, being considered, not only as unavailing, but impious.

Nor did their veneration terminate with the life of the prince; it was extended to his memory after death; a proof that his authority, however extravagant, was seldom abused. When a cacique died, his body was embowelled, and dried in an oven, moderately heated; so that the bones, and even the skin were preserved entire.|| The corpse was then placed in a cave with those of his ancestors, this being (observes Oviedo) among these simple people the only

† Herrera, lib. vi. c. ii.

‡ Herrera, lib. i. c. xvi.

§ Martyr, decad. i. c. i.

|| Herrera, lib. iii. c. iii. F. Columbus, c. lxi.

system of heraldry; whereby they intended to render, not the name alone, but the persons also, of their worthies, immortal. If a cacique was slain in battle, and the body could not be recovered, they composed songs in his praise, which they taught their children; a better and nobler testimony surely, than heaps of dry bones or even monuments of marble; since memorials to the deceased are, or ought to be, intended less in honour of the dead, than as incitements to the living.*

These heroic effusions constituted a branch of those solemnities, which, as hath been observed, were called *Arietoës*; consisting of hymns and public dances, accompanied with musical instruments made of shells, and a sort of drum, the sound of which was heard at a vast distance.† These hymns reciting the great actions of the departed cacique; his fame in war, and his

* It is related by Martyr, that on the death of a cacique, the most beloved of his wives was immolated at his funeral. Thus he observes that Anacaona, on the death of her brother King Behechio, ordered a very beautiful woman, whose name was Guanahata Benechina, to be buried alive in the cave where his body (after being dried as above mentioned) was deposited. (Martyr, decad. iii. lib. ix.) But Oviedo, though by no means partial towards the Indian character, denies that this custom was general among them. (Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.) Anacaona, who had been married to a Charaibe, probably adopted the practice from the account she had received from her husband of his national customs. And it is not impossible, under a female administration,—among savages,—but that the extraordinary beauty of the unfortunate victim, contributed to her destruction.

† Herrera, lib. iii. c. iv. P. Martyr, decad. iii. c. vii. F. Columbus.

gentleness in peace, formed a national history, † which was at once a tribute of gratitude to the deceased monarch, and a lesson to the living. Nor could any thing have been more instructive to the rising generation than this institution, since it comprehended also the antiquities of their country, and the traditions of their ancestors. Expressions of national triumph for victory in war, lamentations in times of public calamity, the voice of festivity, and the language of love, were likewise the subjects of these exhibitions; the dances, so essential a part of them, being grave or gay as the occasion required. It is pretended that among the traditions thus publicly recited, there was one of a prophetic nature, denouncing ruin and desolation by the arrival of strangers completely clad, and armed with the lightning of Heaven. The ceremonies which were observed when this awful prediction was repeated, we may well believe, were strongly expressive of lamentation and horror. §

IV. Like all other unenlightened nations, these poor Indians were indeed the slaves of superstition. Their general theology (for they had an established system, and a priesthood to support it) was a medley of gross folly and childish traditions, the progeny of ignorance and terror. Yet we are sometimes dazzled with a strong ray of sunshine in the midst of surrounding darkness. Historians have preserved

† Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

§ Martyr, ut supra. Herrera, lib. ii. c. iv.

a remarkable speech of a venerable old man, a native of Cuba, who approaching Christopher Columbus with great reverence, and presenting a basket of fruit, addressed him as follows. "Whether you are divinities," (he observed), "or mortal men, we know not. You are come into these countries with a force, against which, were we inclined to resist, resistance would be folly. We are all therefore at your mercy; but if you are men, subject to mortality like ourselves, you cannot be unapprized, that after this life there is another, wherein a very different portion is allotted to good and bad men. If therefore you expect to die, and believe with us, that every one is to be rewarded in a future state, according to his conduct in the present, you will do no hurt to those, who do none to you."||

Their notions of future happiness seem however to have been narrow and sensual. They supposed that the spirits of good men were conveyed to a pleasant valley, which they call *Coyaba*; a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with delicious fruits, cool shades, and murmuring rivulets;* in a country were

|| This remarkable circumstance happened on the 7th of July 1494, and is attested by Pet. Martyr, decad. i. lib. iii. and by Herrera, lib. ii. c. xiv. If it be asked how Columbus understood the cacique, the answer is, that he had carried with him to Spain, in his former voyage, several of the Indians; one of whom, a native of Guanahani, who had remained with him from October 1492, had acquired the Spanish language. This man, whose name was *Didacus*, served him on this and other occasions, both as a guide and interpreter.

* Fer. Col. c. lxi.

drought never rages, and the hurricane is never felt. In this seat of bliss (the elysium of antiquity) they believed, that their greatest enjoyment would arise from the company of their departed ancestors, and of those persons who were dear to them in life;*—a proof at least of their filial piety and of the warmth and tenderness of their affections and dispositions.

The consciousness in our Indians that they were accountable beings, seems to indicate a greater degree of improvement than we are willing to allow to any of the natives of the new hemisphere. Although like the Charaibes, our islanders acknowledged a plurality of Gods, like them too, they believed in the existence of one supreme, invisible, immortal, and omnipotent Creator; whom they named *Jocahuna*.† But unhappily, with these important truths, these poor people blendid the most puerile and extravagant fancies, which were neither founded in rational piety, nor productive of moral obligation. They assigned to the supreme Being, a father and mother, whom they distinguished by a variety of names, and they supposed the sun and moon to be the chief seats of their residence.‡ Their system of idol-worship was, at the same time, more lamentable than even that of the Charaibes; for it would seem that they paid divine honours to stocks and stones converted into images, which they called *Zemi*; not regarding these idols as

* Herrera, lib.iii. c.iii.

† Martyr, decad. i. lib. ix. F. Columbus.

‡ F. Columbus. P. Martyr. Benzoni.

symbolical representations only of their subordinate divinities, and useful as sensible objects, to awaken the memory and animate devotion, but ascribing divinity to the material itself, and actually worshipping the rude stone or block which their own hands had fashioned. It may be observed, however, that an equal degree of folly prevailed among people much more enlightened. The Egyptians themselves, the most ancient of civilized nations, worshipped various kinds of animals, and representations of animals, some of them the most noxious in nature; and even the accomplished philosophers of Greece and Rome paid divine honours to men to whom they had themselves given an apotheosis.—So nearly allied, in religious researches, is the blindness of untutored nature, to the insufficiency of mere cultivated reason!

It has indeed been asserted (whether justly or not) that “the superstitions of paganism always wore the appearance of pleasure, and often of virtue;”§ but the theology of our poor islanders bore a different aspect. By a lamentable inconsistency in the human mind, they considered the Creator of all things as wholly regardless of the work of his hands; and as having transferred the government of the world to subordinate and malignant beings, who delighted in converting into *evil*, that which HE pronounced to be *good*. The effusions of gratitude, the warmth of affection, the confidence of hope, formed no part of their devotions. Their idols were universally hideous

§ Gibbon.

and frightful, sometimes representing toads and other odious reptiles; but more frequently the human face horribly distorted;—a proof that they considered them, not as benevolent, but evil, Powers; as objects of terror,—not of admiration and love.

To keep alive this sacred and awful prejudice in the minds of the multitude, and heighten its influence, their *Bohitos* or priests, appropriated a consecrated house in each village, wherein the *Zemi* was invoked and worshiped. Nor was it permitted to the people at large, at all times, to enter, and on unimportant occasions approach the dread object of their adoration. The *Bohitos* undertook to be their messengers and interpreters, and by the efficacy of their prayers to avert the dangers which they dreaded. The ceremonies exhibited on these solemnities, were well calculated to extend the priestly dominion, and confirm the popular subjection. In the same view, the *Bohitos* added to their holy profession, the practice of physic, and they claimed likewise the privilege of educating the children of the first rank of people;||—a combination of influence which, extending to the nearest and dearest concerns both of this life and the next, rendered their authority irresistible.

With such power in the priesthood, it may well be supposed, that the alliance between church and state, was not less intimate in these islands, than in the kingdoms of Europe. As in many other nations,

|| Martyr.

religion was here made the instrument of civil despotism, and the will of the cacique, if confirmed by the priest, was impiously pronounced the decree of heaven. Columbus relates, that some of his people entering unexpectedly into one of their houses of worship, found the cacique employed in obtaining responses from the *Zemi*. By the sound of the voice which came from the idol, they knew that it was hollow, and dashing it to the ground to expose the imposture, they discovered a tube, which was before covered with leaves, that communicated from the back part of the image to an inner apartment, whence the priest issued his precepts as through a speaking trumpet;—but the cacique earnestly entreated them to say nothing of what they had seen; declaring, that by means of such pious frauds he collected tributes, and kept his kingdom in subjection.

The reader, I believe, will readily acquit me for declining to enter into any further detail of the various wild notions, and fantastical rites, which were founded on such arts and impostures. Happily for our islanders, however, the general system of their superstition, though not amiable, was not cruel. We find among them but few of those barbarous ceremonies which filled the Mexican temples with pollution, and the spectators with horror. They were even more fortunate in this respect than the otherwise happy inhabitants of the lately discovered islands in the southern Pacific ocean; amongst whom the practice of offering human sacrifices to their deities, is still

dreadfully prevalent, as it anciently was amongst most of the nations of the earth.

Having thus mentioned the natives of the South-sea islands, I cannot but advert to the wonderful similarity observable in many respects, between our ill-fated West-Indians and that placid people. The same frank and affectionate temper, the same cheerful simplicity, gentleness and candour;—a behaviour devoid of meanness and treachery, of cruelty and revenge, are apparent in the character of both;—and although placed at so great a distance from each other, and divided by the intervention of the American continent, we may trace a resemblance even in many of their customs and institutions; their national songs and dances, their domestic economy, their system of government, and their funeral ceremonies. I pretend not, however, to affirm, that this resemblance is so exact, as to create the presumption of a common origin. The affinity perceivable in the dispositions and virtues of these widely separated tribes, arose probably from a similarity in their circumstances and situation, operating on the general principles of human nature. Placed alike in a happy medium between savage life, properly so called, and the refinements of polished society, they are found equally exempt from the sordid corporeal distresses and sanguinary passions of the former state, and from the artificial necessities, the restraints and solitudes of the latter. To a speculative mind, such a situation may appear, for a moment, even superior to our own; “but if we admit” (says the elegant historian of the amiable Otaheiteans)

“ that they are upon the whole happier than we, we
“ must admit, that the child is happier than the man,
“ and that we are losers by the perfection of our na-
“ ture, the increase of our knowledge, and the en-
“ largement of our views.”*

In those inventions and arts which, varying the enjoyments add considerably to the value of life, I believe the Otaheiteans were in general somewhat behind our islanders: in agriculture they were particularly so.† The great support of the insular territories of the South-sea consists of the bread-fruit, and the plantain; both which flourish there spontaneously; and although the inhabitants have likewise plantations of yams and other esculent roots, yet the cultivation of none of them appears to be as extensive, as was that of the maize in the West Indies, or to display equal skill with the preparation of the cassavi-bread from

* Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 105.

† Dr. Robertson, in his History of America, vol. i. p. 332, observes, that as the natives of the New World had no tame animals, nor the use of the metals, their agriculture must necessarily have been imperfect. It should however be remembered, that as every family raised corn for their own support, and the islands being (to use the expression of Las Casas) “ abounding with inhabitants *as an ant-hill with ants*,” a very small portion of ground allotted to the maintenance of each family, would comprehend in the aggregate an immense space of cultivated country. Thus we find Bartholomew Columbus observing, that the fields about Zabraba, a country in the gulph of Darien, which he viewed in 1503, “ were all covered with maize, like the corn fields of Europe, *for above six leagues together*.” Unacquainted with the soil of the West Indies, Dr. Robertson should have delivered his sentiments on this subject with diffidence. That soil which is known in these islands by the name of

the maniock.‡ The West Indians, notwithstanding that they possessed almost every variety of vegetable nature which grew in the countries I have mentioned, the bread-fruit excepted, raised also both the maize and the maniock in great abundance; and they had acquired the skill of watering their lands from distant rivers, in time of drought.§ It may likewise be observed, that although the Otaheiteans possess the shrub which produces cotton, they neither improve it

brick-mould, is not only superior to most others in fertility, but requires very little trouble in cultivation. Among our islanders, to whom the use of iron was unknown, instruments were ingeniously formed of stone, and of a certain species of durable wood, which were endued with nearly equal solidity and sharpness. We find them felling large trees, building canoes and houses, and forming domestic utensils of exquisite workmanship. Possessing the tools and materials necessary for these purposes, they could not be destitute of proper implements for the ruder operations of husbandry, on a soil incapable of much resistance.

‡ L'Abbe Raynal, in opposition to the testimony of all the early Spanish historians who have treated of the discovery and productions of America, (none of whom indeed does he appear to have consulted), asserts, that the *maniock plant* was originally introduced into the West Indies from Africa, and that the Indians were first instructed by the negroes in the art of converting the poisonous root into wholesome food. For the satisfaction of such of my readers as are not intimately acquainted with the American History, I think it necessary to observe, that P. Martyr, in his first decad, which bears date November, 1493, seven months only after the return of Columbus from his first voyage, particularly mentions the maniock, or *jucca*, as furnishing great part of the food of the islanders, and he describes their manner of making the *cassavi* bread from it; observing that the raw juice is as strong a poison as aconite. Negroes were not imported into the islands till many years after this account was published.

§ Martyr, decad. iii.

by culture, nor have the knowledge of converting its wool into cloth;|| but content themselves with a far meaner production as a substitute. Our islanders had not only the skill of making excellent cloth from their cotton, but they practised also the art of dyeing it with a variety of colours; some of them of the utmost brilliancy and beauty.*

In the science of ship-building (if the construction of such vessels as either people used may be distinguished with that appellation) the superiority is on the side of Otaheite; yet the *Piraguas* of the West Indians were fully sufficient for the navigation they were employed in, and indeed were by no means contemptible sea-boats. We are told that some of these vessels were navigated with forty oars;† and Herrera relates, that Bartholomew Columbus, in passing through the gulph of Honduras, fell in with one that was eight feet in breadth, and in length equal to a Spanish galley. Over the middle was an awning, composed of mats and palm-tree leaves; underneath which were disposed the women and children, secured both from rain and the spray of the sea.—It was laden with commodities from Jucatan.‡

|| Forster's Observations.

* Oviedo. Purchas, vol. iii. p. 985.

† Martyr, decad. i.

‡ Herrera, decad. i. lib. v. These vessels were built either of cedar, or the great cotton-tree hollowed, and made square at each end like punts. Their gunnels were raised with canes braced close, and smeared over with some bituminous substance to render them water-tight, and they had sharp keels. P. Martyr, decad.

On the other hand, our islanders far surpassed the people of Otaheite, in the elegance and variety of their domestic utensils and furniture; their earthenware, curiously woven beds, and implements of husbandry. Martyr speaks with admiration of the workmanship of some of the former of these. In the account he gives of a magnificent donation from Anacoana to Bartholomew Columbus, on his first visit to that Princess, he observes that, among other valuables, she presented him with fourteen chairs of ebony beautifully wrought, and no less than sixty vessels of different sorts, for the use of his kitchen and table, all of which were ornamented with figures of various kinds, fantastic forms, and accurate representations of living animals. § The industry and ingenuity of our Indians therefore must have greatly exceeded the measure of their wants. Having provided for the necessities of their condition, they proceeded to improve and adorn it.

But I must now leave them to the miserable fate in which it pleased infinite, but inscrutable, wisdom, to permit their merciless invaders to involve them for ever!—It may, I think, be safely affirmed, that the whole story of mankind affords no scene of barbarity equal to that of the cruelties exercised on these innocent and inoffensive people. All the murders and desolations of the most pitiless tyrants that ever diverted themselves with the pangs and convulsions of their fellow-creatures, fall infinitely short of the bloody

§ P. Martyr, decad. i.

enormities committed by the Spanish nation in the conquest of the New World;—a conquest, on a low estimate, effected by the murder of ten millions of the species! But although the accounts which are transmitted down to us of this dreadful carnage, are authenticated beyond the possibility of dispute, the mind, shrinking from the contemplation, wishes to resist conviction, and to relieve itself by incredulity.—Such at least is the apology which I would frame for the author of the *American History*, when I find him attempting, in contradiction to the voice and feelings of all mankind, to palliate such horrible wickedness.¶ Yet the same author admits, that in the short interval of fifteen years subsequent to the discovery of the West Indies, the Spaniards had reduced the natives of Hispaniola “from a million to sixty thousand.”* It is in vain that he remarks on the bodily feebleness of these poor Indians, and their natural incapacity for labour. Such a constitutional defect, if it existed, entitled them to a greater lenity, but the Spaniards distributed them into lots, and compelled them to dig

¶ Introduction to the *History of America*, by Dr. Robertson, vol. i. p. 10. “It is to be hoped” (says this author) “that the Spaniards will at last discover this system of concealment to be no less impolitic than illiberal. From what I have experienced in the course of my inquiries, I am satisfied, that upon a more minute scrutiny into their early operations in the New World, however REPREHENSIBLE,” (a tender expression), “the actions of individuals may appear, the conduct of the nation will be placed in a more favourable light.” This opinion, however, needs no other refutation than that which is to be found in the subsequent pages of the learned Author’s *History*.

* *History of America*, vol. i. book iii. p. 185.

in the mines, without rest or intermission, until death, their only refuge; put a period to their sufferings. Such as attempted resistance or escape, their merciless tyrants hunted down with dogs, which were fed on their flesh. They disregarded sex and age, and with impious and frantic bigotry even called in religion to sanctify their cruelties! Some, more zealous than the rest, forced their miserable captives into the water, and after administering to them the rite of baptism, cut their throats the next moment, to prevent their apostacy! Others made a vow to hang or burn thirteen every morning, in honour of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles! Nor were these the excesses only of a blind and remorseless fanaticism, which exciting our abhorrence, excites also our pity: The Spaniards were actuated in many instances by such wantonness of malice, as is wholly unexampled in the wide history of human depravity.—Martyr relates, that it was a frequent practice among them to murder the Indians of Hispaniola in sport, or merely, he observes, *to keep their hands in use*. They had an emulation which of them could most dexterously strike off the head of a man at a blow; and wagers frequently depended on this hellish exercise.† To fill up the measure of this iniquity, and demonstrate to the world, that the nation at large participated in the guilt of individuals, the court of Spain not only neglected to punish these enormities in its subjects, but when rapacity and avarice had nearly defeated their own purposes, by the utter extirpation of the

† P. Martyr, *decad. i. lib. vii.*

natives of Hispaniola, the king gave permission to seize on the unsuspecting inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, and transport them to perish in the mines of St. Domingo. "Several vessels" (says Dr. Robertson) "were fitted out for the Lucayos, the commanders of which informed the natives, with whose language they were now well acquainted, that they came from a delicious country, in which their departed ancestors resided, by whom they were sent to invite them to resort thither, to partake of the bliss which they enjoyed. That simple people listened with wonder and credulity, and fond of visiting their relations and friends in that happy region, followed the Spaniards with eagerness. By this artifice, above 40,000 were decoyed into Hispaniola, to share in the sufferings which were the lot of the inhabitants of that island, and to mingle their groans and tears with those of that wretched race of men."‡

‡ History of America, book iii. p. 186. See likewise P. Martyr, decad. vii. This author relates the following affecting particulars of the poor Lucayans thus fraudulently decoyed from their native countries. "Many of them in the anguish of despair, obstinately refuse all manner of sustenance, and retiring to desert caves and unfrequented woods, silently give up the ghost. Others, repairing to the sea coast on the northern side of Hispaniola, cast many a longing look towards that part of the ocean where they suppose their own islands to be situated; and as the sea-breeze rises, they eagerly inhale it; fondly believing, that it has lately visited their own happy vallies, and comes fraught with the breath of those they love, their wives and their children. With this idea, they continue for hours on the coast, until nature becomes utterly exhausted; when stretching out their arms towards the ocean, as if to take a last embrace of their distant country and relations, they sink down and expire without a groan."—"One of the Lucayans" (continues the same author) "who was more desirous of life, or had

After reading these accounts, who can help forming an indignant wish that the hand of Heaven, by some miraculous interposition, had swept these European tyrants from the face of the earth, who like so many beasts of prey, roamed round the world only to desolate and destroy; and, more remorseless than the fiercest savage, thirsted for human blood, without having the impulse of natural appetite to plead in their defence!

On the whole, if we consider of how little benefit the acquisition of these islands has since proved to the Spanish nation, and count over the cost of the conquest, we must find it extremely difficult to include such an event as the massacre of ten millions of innocent people (comprehending the butcheries in Mexico and Peru) amongst the number of those partial evils which ultimately terminate in general good: Nor can we possibly reconcile its permission to our limited ideas of infinite wisdom and goodness! Divines there-

“ greater courage than most of his countrymen, took upon him a bold and
“ difficult piece of work. Having been used to build cottages in his na-
“ tive country, he procured instruments of stone, and cut down a large
“ spongy tree called *jaruma*, (the *bombax*, or wild cotton tree), the body
“ of which he dexterously scooped into a canoe. He then provided him-
“ self with oars, some Indian corn, and a few gourds of water, and pre-
“ vailed on another man and woman to embark with him on a voyage to
“ the Lucayos islands. Their navigation was prosperous for near 200
“ miles, and they were almost within sight of their own long lost shores,
“ when unfortunately they were met by a Spanish ship, which brought
“ them back to slavery and sorrow. The canoe is still preserved in Hi-
“ spaniola as a singular curiosity, considering the circumstances under
“ which it was made.”

fore justly conclude, that no stronger proof than that which arises from hence need be given of the existence of a future and better state, wherein the unequal distribution of misery and happiness in this life shall be adjusted, “*when the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain!*” §

§ In 1585 Sir Francis Drake made a descent on Hispaniola, and in his account of that island, which is preserved in Hakluyt, vol. iii. he relates, that the Spaniards, having utterly exterminated the ancient Indians, (not a single descendant being, I doubt, at that time living), had nevertheless derived so little advantage from their cruelty, as to be obliged to *convert pieces of leather into money*; all the silver, in the attainment of which from the bowels of the earth so many thousands of poor wretches had perished, having long since found its way to Europe, and the inhabitants had no means of getting a fresh supply.

It may be proper in this place to observe, that some of the circumstances which I have related above, respecting the cruelties of the Spaniards, are extracted from the writings of Bartholomew De Las Casas, who is accused by Dr. Robertson of exaggeration;—but Oviedo himself, who endeavours to palliate the monstrous barbarities of his countrymen towards the natives, by asserting that they were addicted to unnatural vices, which rendered them properly obnoxious to punishment, (a charge by the way, which Herrera admits to be groundless),—Oviedo, I say confesses, that in 1535, only forty-three years posterior to the discovery of Hispaniola, and when he was himself on the spot, there were not left alive in that island above five hundred of the original natives, old and young; for he adds, that all the other Indians at that time there, had been forced or decoyed into slavery, from the neighbouring islands. (Oviedo, lib. iii. c. vi.) Las Casas, it is true, when he speaks of numbers in the gross, certainly over-rates the original inhabitants. But it does not appear that he meant to deceive; nor is there any just reason to suspect his veracity when he treats of matters susceptible of precision; more especially in circumstances of which he declares himself to have been an eye-witness. Let the reader judge of Las Casas from the following narrative, in which his falsehood (if the story were false) could have been very easily detected. “I once beheld” (says he) “four or five principal Indians roasted alive

“ at a slow fire; and as the miserable victims poured forth dreadful
“ screams, which disturbed the commanding officer in his afternoon
“ slumbers, he sent word that they should be strangled; but the offi-
“ cer on guard (I KNOW HIS NAME, AND I KNOW HIS RELATIONS IN
“ SEVILLE) would not suffer it; but causing their mouths to be gagged,
“ that their cries might not be heard, he stirred up the fire with his own
“ hands, and roasted them deliberately till they all expired.—I SAW IT
“ MYSELF.”!!!

It may be necessary perhaps, on my own account, to add, that I have no other edition of Las Casas, than that which was published at Antwerp, in 1579. From a copy of that edition I have extracted the foregoing horrid relation; my hand trembling as I write, and my heart devoutly wishing it could be proved to be false.

CHAPTER IV.

Land animals used as food.—Fishes and wild fowl.—Indian method of fishing and fowling.—Esculent vegetables, &c.—Conclusion.

IN tracing the several tribes of quadrupeds, properly so called, which anciently existed in the West Indies, it will be found that the Windward or Charaibean islands, possessed all that were possessed by the larger islands, and some species which in the latter were unknown. It is likewise observable, that all the animals of the former are still found in Guiana, and few or none of them in North America: These are additional proofs that the Windward islands were anciently peopled from the South. The enumeration of them follows:

- 1, the Agouti;
- 2, the Pecary;
- 3, the Armadillo;
- 4, the Opossum;
- 5, the Racoon;
- 6, the Musk-rat;
- 7, the Alco;
- 8, the smaller Monkey of several varieties.

These I think are their most general appellations; but from the variety of Indian languages, or dialects rather of the same language, which anciently prevailed in the islands and on the neighbouring continent, some of these animals have been distinguished by so many different names, that, in reading the accounts of them transmitted by the French and Spanish historians, it is often difficult to understand of which in particular they mean to speak.

The agouti is sometimes called *couti*, and *coati*. It was corrupted into *uti* and *utia*, by the Spaniards; and at present it is known in some parts of the West Indies by the terms *pucarara* and *Indian coney*. It is the *mus aguti* of Linnæus, and the *cavy* of Pennant and Buffon.

To these writers it is sufficient to refer, for a description of its nature and properties.—I shall briefly observe that, in comparing it with the quadrupeds of Europe, it seems to constitute an intermediate species between the rabbit and the rat; and of the animals which I have enumerated above, this and the last are, I fear, the only ones that have escaped the common fate of all the nobler inhabitants of these unfortunate islands, man himself (as we have seen) not excepted! The agouti is still frequently found in Porto-Rico, Cuba and Hispaniola, and sometimes in the mountains of Jamaica. In most of the islands to windward, the race, though once common to them all, is now I believe utterly extinct.

The pecary, which was not known in the larger islands, has been honoured with no less variety of names than the agouti. According to Rochefort it was also called *javari* and *pacquirè*. By Dampier it is named *pelas*. By Acosta *saino* and *zaino*. It is the *sus tajacu* of Linnæus, and the *pecary* and *Mexican musk-hog* of our English naturalists.

Of this animal a very full and particular account has been given by Mons. Buffon in his Natural History, and by Dr. Tyson in the Philosophical Transactions. I have heard that it still abounds in many of the provinces of Mexico; but in the West Indian islands I believe the breed has been long since exterminated. Those that I have seen were carried thither from the continent as objects of curiosity; and they appeared to me to differ from the European hog, principally, in the singular but well-known circumstance of their having a musky discharge from an aperture or gland on the back, erroneously supposed to be the navel; and in the colour of their bristles; the pecary being indeed highly ornamented; for the bristles of those that I beheld, were of pale blue tipped with white. It is also related of this animal, that it possesses far greater courage than the hog of Europe; and when hunted by dogs, will frequently turn and compel its enemy to retreat. Thus its native bravery bringing it within the reach of fire-arms, contributed doubtless to its final destruction in the islands.

Of the armadillo, the species anciently known in these islands was, I think, that which is called by syste-

matical writers the *nine banded*. It is covered with a jointed shell, or scaly armour, and has the faculty of rolling itself up, like the hedge-hog. As food it is said to be very wholesome and delicate. It was once found in all parts of the West Indies.

The opossum (or *manitou*) is distinguishable from all other animals, by a wonderful property. Under the belly of the female there is a pouch, wherein she receives and shelters her young. ||—Both this and the former animal are too well known to the curious in natural researches, to render it necessary for me to be more particular. I believe the opossum, like the pecary, was unknown to the larger islands.

The racoon was common in Jamaica in the time of Sloane, who observes that it was eaten by all sorts of people. Its abode was chiefly in hollow trees, from whence, says Sloane, it makes paths to the cane-fields, where it chiefly subsists; a circumstance which, while it indicates that its number was considerable, easily accounts for its destruction.

The musk-rat is the *piloris* of naturalists: it burrows in the earth, and smells so strongly of musk, that its retreat is easily discovered. According to the French writers, these abounded anciently in Martinico and the other Windward islands to a great degree;* and its resemblance to the common rat of

|| I have since learnt that the female *Kangaroo* from New Holland, is provided in the same manner.

* P. Labat, tom. ii. p. 302.

Europe, though four times as large, probably proved fatal to the whole race. I am sometimes inclined to suspect, that this animal is the *agouti* of the larger islands.

The alco was the native dog of the new hemisphere, nor does it seem to have differed greatly from that of the old; except that it possessed not the power of barking.† The natives of Hispaniola, like those of Otaheite, fattened them with care, and accounted their flesh a great delicacy. “In St. Domingo” (says Acosta) “the dogs of Europe have multiplied so exceedingly, that at this time (1587) they are a nuisance and a terror to the inhabitants, and a price is set on their heads as on wolves in old Spain. At first there were no dogs in this island, but a small mute creature resembling a dog, with a nose like that of a fox; which the natives called alco. The Indians were so fond of these little animals, that they carried them on their shoulders wherever they went, or nourished them in their bosoms.”

The monkey and its varieties require no description.

Thus it appears, that out of eight different species of edible quadrupeds, one only was domestic and sequacious. Few indeed are the animals that own allegiance to man in his savage state. Of the beasts of the forest, the strongest dispute his superiority, and

† F. Col. c. xxiv.

the weakest avoid his approach. To his conveniency therefore they contribute nothing, and towards his nourishment, the supplies that they afford are casual and uncertain. Nature, however, seems to have displayed towards the inhabitants of these islands, a bounty, that almost rendered superfluous the labours of art in procuring them sustenance; for, besides the animals that I have mentioned, and those that are furnished by the rivers and the sea, the woods were peopled with two very extraordinary creatures; both of which anciently were, and still are, not only used as food, but accounted superior delicacies.

These are the iguana and the mountain-crab. The iguana (or, as it is more commonly written, the *guana*) is as pecies of lizard:—a class of animals, about which naturalists are not agreed, whether to rank them with quadrupeds, or to degrade them to serpents.—They seem therefore to stand aloof from all established systems, and indeed justly claim a very distinguished place by themselves. From the aligator, the most formidable of the family, measuring sometimes twenty feet in length, the gradation is regular in diminution of size to the small lizard of three inches; the same figure and conformation nearly (though not wholly) prevailing in each. The iguana is one of the intermediate species, and is commonly about three feet long, and proportionably bulky. It lives chiefly among fruit trees, and is perfectly gentle and innoxious. Europeans doubtless learnt to make food of them from the example of the ancient Indians, amongst whom the practice of hunting them was a favourite diver-

sion; † and they are now become generally scarce, except in the islands of the windward-passage, and such other places between the tropics as are seldom visited by man. I believe indeed the English, even when they were more plentiful, did not often serve them at elegant tables; but their French and Spanish neighbours, less squeamish, still devour them with exquisite relish: I imagine too they have good reason; for I have been assured by a lady of great beauty and elegance, who spoke from experience, that the iguani is equal in flavour and wholesomeness to the finest green turtle. §

† F. Col. c. xxv.

§ P. Labat likewise speaks of a fricasseed guana with high approbation. He compares it to chicken, for the whiteness of its flesh and the delicacy of its flavour.—Tom. iii. p. 315. In a subsequent page, he gives a minute account of the manner of catching this animal, and if the reader has no objection to accompany the good Father *a là chasse*, he may participate in the diversion as follows: “ We were attended” (says he) “ by a negro, who carried a long rod; at one end of which was a piece “ of whipcord with a running knot. After beating the bushes for some “ time, the negro discovered our game basking in the sun on the dry “ limb of a tree. Hereupon he began whistling with all his might, to “ which the guana was wonderfully attentive, stretching out his neck “ and turning his head, as if to enjoy it more fully. The negro now “ approached, still whistling, and advancing his rod gently, began tick- “ ling with the end of it the sides and throat of the guana, who seemed “ mightily pleased with the operation; for he turned on his back, and “ stretched himself out like a cat before a fire, and at length fairly fell “ asleep; which the negro perceiving, dexterously slipt the noose over his “ head, and with a jerk brought him to the ground: and good sport it af- “ forded, to see the creature swell like a turkey cock, at finding himself “ entrapped. We caught others in the same way, and kept one of them “ alive seven or eight days; but” (continues the reverend historian) “ it

Respecting the mountain crab, which still survives in the larger of these islands, though its final extinction is probably at hand, its history is so wonderful, that I choose rather to give it in the language of others, than in any recital of my own. The authors from whom I transcribe, are Du Tertre and Brown. They both wrote from their own knowledge and personal observation, and the facts which they relate have been repeated to me a thousand times in the West Indies, by persons, who I am sure never knew what has been published on the subject by any author whatever. “These animals” (says Du Tertre) “live
“not only in a kind of orderly society in their retreats
“in the mountains, but regularly once a year march
“down to the sea-side in a body of some millions at a
“time. As they multiply in great numbers, they
“choose the months of April or May to begin their
“expedition; and then sally out from the stumps of
“hollow trees, from the clefts of rocks, and from the
“holes which they dig for themselves under the sur-
“face of the earth. At that time the whole ground
“is covered with this band of adventurers; there is
“no setting down one’s foot without treading upon
“them. The sea is their place of destination, and to
“that they direct their march with right-lined preci-
“sion. No geometrician could send them to their
“destined station by a shorter course; they neither
“turn to the right nor to the left whatever obstacles

“grieved me to the heart to find that he thereby lost much delicious fat.” These animals are likewise known in the East Indies. Sir Joseph Banks shot one of them at Batavia, and found it good food.

“ intervene; and even if they meet with a house they
“ will attempt to scale the walls to keep the un-
“ broken tenor of their way. But though this be the
“ general order of their route, they, upon other oc-
“ casions, are compelled to conform to the face of
“ the country, and if it be intersected by rivers, they
“ are seen to wind along the course of the stream.
“ The procession sets forward from the mountains
“ with the regularity of an army under the guidance
“ of an experienced commander. They are commonly
“ divided into battalions, of which the first consists
“ of the strongest and boldest males, that, like pi-
“ oneers, march forward to clear the route and face
“ the greatest dangers. The night is their chief time
“ of proceeding, but if it rains by day they do not fail
“ to profit by the occasion, and they continue to move
“ forward in their slow uniform manner. When the
“ sun shines and is hot upon the surface of the ground,
“ they make an universal halt, and wait till the cool
“ of the evening. When they are terrified, they
“ march back in a confused disorderly manner, hold-
“ ing up their nippers, with which they sometimes
“ tear off a piece of the skin, and leave the weapon
“ where they inflicted the wound.

“ When after a fatiguing march, and escaping a
“ thousand dangers, for they are sometimes three
“ months in getting to the shore, they have arrived
“ at their destined port, they prepare to cast their
“ spawn. For this purpose the crab has no sooner
“ reached the shore, than it eagerly goes to the edge

“ of the water, and lets the waves wash over its body
“ two or three times to wash off the spawn. The
“ eggs are hatched under the sand; and soon after,
“ millions at a time of the new-born crabs, are seen
“ quitting the shore, and slowly travelling up to the
“ mountains.”

So far Du Tertre, as copied by Goldsmith. What follows, is from Brown's History of Jamaica. “ The
“ old crabs having disburthened themselves” (as above)
“ generally regain their habitations in the mountains
“ by the latter end of June.—In August they begin
“ to fatten, and prepare for moulting; filling up their
“ burrows with dry grass, leaves, and abundance of
“ other materials.—When the proper period comes,
“ each retires to his hole, shuts up the passage, and
“ remains quite inactive until he gets rid of his old
“ shell, and is fully provided with a new one. How
“ long they continue in this state is uncertain, but
“ the shell is first observed to burst at the back
“ and the sides, to give a passage to the body, and
“ the animal extracts its limbs from all the other parts
“ gradually afterwards. At this time the flesh is in
“ the richest state, and covered only with a tender
“ membranous skin, variegated with a multitude of
“ reddish veins, but this hardens gradually, and soon
“ becomes a perfect shell like the former. It is how-
“ ever remarkable that, during this change there are
“ some stony concretions always formed in the bag,
“ which waste and dissolve as the creature forms and
“ perfects its new crust.”

To these full and particular accounts I will add, of my own knowledge, that many people, in order to eat of this singular animal in the highest perfection, cause them to be dug out of the earth in the moulting state; but they are usually taken from the time they begin to move of themselves, till they reach the sea as already related. During all this time they are in spawn, and if my testimony can add weight to that of all who have written, and all who have feasted, on the subject, I pronounce them, without doubt, one of the choicest morsels in nature. The observation therefore of Du Tertre, is neither hyperbolical, nor extravagant. Speaking of the various species of this animal, he terms them “a living and perpetual supply of manna in the wilderness; equalled only by the miraculous bounty of Providence to the children of Israel when wandering in the desert. They are a resource,” continues he, “to which the Indians have at all times resort; for when all other provisons are scarce, this never fails them.”

Such plenty of animal food, had the lavish hand of nature enabled the groves and the forests of these highly favoured islands, to furnish for the use of man. The regions of water and of air were still more copiously gifted. Happily the inhabitants of those elements, less obnoxious to the arts of destruction than the races that I have described, are yet sufficiently numerous to bear witness themselves to the inexhaustible liberality of their almighty Creator.—We may say in the language of Milton,—

————— Each creek and bay
 With fry innumerable swarm, and shoals
 Of fish glide under the green wave.—
 ————— Part single, or with mate,
 Graze the sea-weed their pasture; and thro' groves
 Of coral stray, or sporting with quick glance,
 Show to the sun their wavy'd coats dropt with gold.

While the woods and the marshes equally abound with wild fowl of infinite variety, and exquisite flavour. || But of the tribes which these islands still abundantly furnish, and from whose nature and properties there is no reason to apprehend an extinction of the race, it is not within my province to treat. The enumeration that I have made has chiefly extended to such, as

|| The most delicious bird in the West Indies is the *Ortalan*, or *October-bird*. It is the *emberiza oryzivora* of Linnæus, or rice-bird of South Carolina; of which a description is given by Catesby. Yet it is remarkable, that they are reckoned birds of passage in North America as well as in the West Indies. Catesby observes, that they arrive in Carolina in infinite numbers in the month of September, to devour the rice; they continue there about three weeks, and retire when the rice begins to grow hard.—He supposes their route to be from Cuba to Carolina; but I believe they are not in the islands till the months of October.—At least it is in that month that they visit Jamaica in prodigious flights, to feed on the seeds of the Guinea grass.—According to Catesby, the *hens* only arrive in Carolina in September. The hen is about the bigness of a lark, and coloured not unlike it in the back; the breast and belly pale yellow, the bill strong and sharp pointed, and shaped like most others of the granivorous kind.—The cock's bill is lead colour, the fore part of the head black, the hinder part and the neck of a reddish yellow, the upper part of the wing white, the back next the head black; lower down grey, the rump white, the greatest part of the wing and the whole tail black; the legs and feet brown in both sexes.—*Vide* the *Yellow Fly-catcher* of Edwards, p. 5.

from their scarcity are seldom noticed by modern naturalists and voyagers, or of which the knowledge and even the names are lost to the present inhabitants:—for it has been justly observed, that what from its antiquity is but little known, has from that circumstance alone the recommendation of novelty. I shall therefore close my account of the animal creation with a description of two very curious methods, known to the ancient Indians, of catching fish and wild fowl, with which I believe the reader will be amused.

“ The Indians of Jamaica and Cuba” (says Oviedo)
“ go a fishing with the *remora*, or sucking-fish,
“ which they employ as falconers employ hawks.—
“ This fish, which is not above a span long, is kept
“ for the purpose and regularly fed. The owner on
“ a calm morning carries it out to sea, secured to his
“ canoe by a small but strong line, many fathoms in
“ length; and the moment the creature sees a fish in
“ the water, though at a great distance, it starts away
“ with the swiftness of an arrow, and soon fastens
“ upon it. The Indian, in the mean time, loosens
“ and lets go the line, which is provided with a buoy
“ that keeps on the surface of the sea, and serves
“ to mark the course which the *remora* has taken,
“ and he pursues it in his canoe, until he conceives his
“ game to be nearly exhausted and run down. He
“ then, taking up the buoy, gradually draws the line
“ towards the shore; the *remora* still adhering with
“ inflexible tenacity to its prey, and it is with great
“ difficulty that he is made to quit his hold. By this

“ method” (adds Oviedo) “ I have known a turtle
 “ caught, of a bulk and weight which no single man
 “ could support.”*

Their contrivance for catching wild fowl was equally ingenious, though practised I believe by other nations, particularly the Chinese, at this day. In the ponds to which these birds resort, they used to throw calabashes (a species of gourd) which float about the water, and which, when accustomed to them, the fowl would approach without fear. Having succeeded thus far, the sportsman puts one of these gourds on his head (first making apertures for the sight and the breath) and very cautiously creeps into the water, either gently swimming, or walking where the stream is shallow, with his head only above the water, until he gets among the fowl, when seizing one at a time

* Herrera confirms this account. See also P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii.
 —Besides the turtle, it is said, that the Indians (the reader may believe it or not) frequently caught the *Manati* in the same manner. This singular animal has now become very scarce on the shores of the West India islands, but is still sometimes caught there, as I myself can witness. It is the same which the French call *Lamentin*.—By the British seamen it has been named (from a supposed resemblance in the head) the *Sea-Cow*; and its flesh, which tastes somewhat like pork, is thought to be very good, both fresh and salted.—The animal itself is a sort of amphibious creature, neither a quadruped nor a fish.—It has two legs, and is covered with hair, and suckles its young; yet it never leaves the water, but feeds on grass which grows at the bottom of the sea. It is commonly from ten to fifteen feet long, huge and unwieldy, and weighs from twelve to fifteen hundred weight. Acosta, who was a very good catholic, relates that this animal was very excellent food; but (continues he) “ I scrupled to eat
 “ it on Friday, *being doubtful whether it was flesh or fish.*”

by the feet, and dragging it by a sudden jerk under the surface, he fastens it to his girdle, and thus loads himself with as many as he can carry away, without creating the least alarm or disturbance among the rest.

I might now proceed to an enumeration and account of the esculent vegetables originally produced in these islands; especially those most valuable ones, the maize, the maniock,† and the different species of the *dioscorea* or Yam; of which, and the many delicious fruits, the growth of these climates, the natives without doubt composed the chief part of their daily support: but I am here happily anticipated by the voluminous collections of systematical writers; particularly those of Sloane, Brown, and Hughes. Nevertheless, it were to be wished, that those authors had more frequently discriminated than they appear to have done, such vegetables as are indigenous, from those which have been transplanted from foreign countries. Nature, with most beneficent intention, has bestowed on different climates and regions many species peculiar to each. This variety in her works, is one of the greatest incitements to human industry; and the progress of men in spreading abroad the blessings of Providence, adorning and enriching the widely separated regions of the globe with their reciprocal

† A late ingenious writer (Dr. Darwin) has given it as his opinion, that the maniock, or cassava, when made into bread, is rendered mild by the heat it undergoes, rather than by expressing its superfluous juice; and I believe the observation to be just; for Sir Hans Sloane relates, that the juice itself, however acrimonious in its raw state, becomes, when boiled, as innocent and wholesome as whey.

productions, as it is one of the most useful employments of our faculties, so it is a subject which well deserves the notice of the historian, and the contemplation of the philosopher. †

But it is now time to quit general description for particular history. Many objects indeed are hereafter to be considered, which, being common to all our West Indian possessions, will be comprehensively discussed;—but in previously treating of the origin and progress of our national establishments in them, it seems proper to discourse of each island separately; and, as the most important, I begin with JAMAICA.

† The West Indies are much indebted, on this account, to the East, but I believe that the first of all fruits, the anana or pine-apple, was carried from the West to the East. It was found by Columbus in all the West India islands, and P. Martyr, whose decades were chiefly compiled out of Columbus's letters to king Ferdinand, writes of it as follows: *Alium fructum se invictissimus rex Ferdinandus comedissee fatetur, ab iisdem terris advectum, squamosum, pinus nucamentum adspectu, forma colore æmulatur, sed mollitie par melopeponi, sapore omnem superat hortensem fructum: non enim arbor est, sed herba, carduo persimilis, aut acantho. Huic et rex ipse palmam tribuit. Ex iis ego pomis minimè comédi: quia unum tantum è paucis allatis reperere incorruptum, cæteris ex longa navigatione putrefactis. Qui in nativo solo recentia ederunt illorum cum admiratione suavitatem extollunt.* Who does not lament that king Ferdinand did not leave a slice for his honest historiographer? The term *Anana* is, I believe, eastern: The West Indian name of this fruit was *fan-polo-mie*.

APPENDIX TO BOOK I.

Containing some additional observations concerning the origin of the Charaibes.

HAVING ventured, in the second chapter of this book, to adopt the opinion of Hornius* and other writers, who assign to some of the natives of America an oriental origin, and suppose that they anciently crossed the Atlantic ocean, I beg the reader's indulgence while I briefly state the evidence whereon I attempt to rebuild a system, which it has become fashionable, among some late philosophers, to reject and deride.

So many volumes have indeed already been written, and so much useless learning exhausted, on the subject of the first peopling America, that I doubt the reader will shrink with disgust from an investigation which perhaps has given rise to as great a number of idle books, as any question (some disputed points in divinity excepted) that ever distracted the attention of mankind.

It may be necessary therefore to premise, that I mean to apply my argument *to the Charaibe nation only*; a people whose manners and characteristic features denote, as I con-

* De originibus Americanis, lib. ii. c. vi.

ceive, a different ancestry from that of the generality of the American nations.

It is not wonderful that the notion of their transatlantic origin should have been treated with derision.—The advocates for this opinion, like the framers of most other systems, by attempting to prove too much, have gained even less credit than they deserve. In contending that the New world was first planted by adventurers from the Old, they universally take for granted, that some of those adventurers returned, and gave accounts of their discoveries; for they suppose that America was well known to the ancients; that not only the Phœnicians made repeated voyages thither; but that the Egyptians and Carthaginians also, voluntarily crossed the Atlantic, and planted colonies at different periods in various parts of the new hemisphere.

In support of these opinions, quotations have been made from poets, philosophers and historians: But, if we reflect on the limited extent of navigation before the discovery of the compass; the prevailing direction of the winds between the tropics; and various other obstructions, we may I think very confidently determine, (notwithstanding the traditions preserved by Plato; the poetical reveries of Seneca the tragedian, and many other passages in ancient writers, which admit of various interpretations, and therefore prove nothing), *that no vessel ever returned from any part of America before that of Columbus.*—This conclusion, however, does by no means warrant us in pronouncing, that no vessel ever sailed thither from the ancient continent, either by accident or design, anterior to that period. That such instances did actually happen, and by what means, I shall now endeavour briefly to point out.

There is no circumstance in history better attested, than that frequent voyages from the Mediterranean along the African

coast, on the Atlantic ocean, were made both by the Phenicians and Egyptians, many hundred years before the Christian era. It is true, that almost all the accounts which have been transmitted to us in profane history of those expeditions, are involved in obscurity, and intermixed with absurdity and fable;—but it is the business of philosophy to separate, as much as possible, truth from falsehood; and not hastily to conclude, because some circumstances are extravagant, that *all* are without foundation. We know from indisputable authority, that the Phenicians discovered the Azores, and visited even our own island before the Trojan war.† That their successors the Carthaginians, were not less distinguished for the spirit of naval enterprize, we may conclude from the celebrated expedition of Hanno;‡ who about two hundred and fifty years before the birth of our Saviour, sailed along the African coast, until he came within five degrees of the line. It was the Carthaginians who discovered the Canary islands, and it appears from the testimony of Pliny,§ that they found in those islands, the ruins of great buildings, (*vestigia Edificiorum*), a proof that they had been well inhabited in periods of which history is silent.

† Procopius, secretary to Belisarius in the time of Justinian, mentions in his *Vandalica*, book ii. that there were then standing in Africa Tingitana, (Tangier), two columns erected by the Chananites that fled from Joshua the son of Nun. Eusebius also writes, that those Chananites which were driven out by the Israelites conducted colonies to Tripoli, in Africa. (*Bohart in Canaan, cap. xxiv.*)—that they navigated the western ocean (*cap. xxxvi.*) and were in Gaul and Britain (*cap. xlii.*) See also Sammes's Phenician History of Britain.

‡ This was published with Stephanus de Urbibus, by Berkley, in 1688, and in the minor geographers at Oxford. I believe it was first published in Greek, by Sigismund Gelenius, who died in 1554.

§ Lib. vi. c. xxxii. *de Fortunatis Insulis.*

So far, we have clear historical evidence to guide us in our researches. Not less clear and certain (though less numerous) are the accounts of the Phenician navigation, down the Arabian gulph, or Red sea, to distant parts of Asia and Africa, in ages still more remote than those that have been mentioned. In the voyages undertaken by king Solomon, he employed the ships and mariners of that adventurous and commercial people. With their assistance he fitted out fleets from Ezion-geber, a port of the Red sea, supposed to be the Berenice of the Greeks. Of those ships, some were bound for the western coast of the great Indian continent; others, there is reason to believe, turning towards Africa, passed the southern promontory, and returned home by the Mediterranean to the port of Joppa.

In support of this account of the flourishing state of ancient navigation in the Arabian gulph, we have, first of all, the highest authority to refer to; that of the Scriptures. Next to which we may rank the testimony of Herodotus, the father of profane history: the truth of whose well-known relation of a Phenician fleet doubling the cape of Good Hope six hundred years before the birth of Christ, was never disputed, I believe, until our learned countryman, the author of the late American History, delivered it as his opinion, that “all the information we have received from the Greek and Roman authors, of the Phenician and Carthaginian voyages, excepting only the short narrative of Hanno’s expedition before mentioned, is of suspicious authority.”

I shall quote from Herodotus the passage alluded to, that the reader may judge for himself of the veracity of the venerable old Grecian. It is as follows. “Libya is every where encircled by the sea, except on that side where it adjoins to

‡ Robertson’s History of America, vol. i. p. 9.

“ Asia. Pharaoh Neco, king of Egypt,* made this manifest. “ After he had desisted from his project of digging a canal from “ the Nile to the Arabian gulph, he furnished a body of Phenicians with ships, commanding them to enter the northern “ sea by the pillars of Hercules; and sail back by that route to “ Egypt. The Phenicians therefore sailing from the Red sea “ navigated the southern ocean: At the end of autumn they “ anchored, and going ashore sowed the ground *as those who “ make a Libyan voyage always do*, and staid the harvest. “ Having cut the corn, they sailed. Thus two years having “ elapsed, they returned to Egypt, passing by the pillars of “ Hercules; and they reported a circumstance which to me is “ not credible, though it may gain belief from others, *that “ sailing round Libya they had the sun on the right.*” †

Notwithstanding the doubts entertained by Dr. Robertson respecting this account, I perceive in it such evidence of truth, as, to my own mind, affords entire conviction—How could it have been known, unless from actual observation, that Africa, towards the south, was encompassed by the sea? The caution

* There were two kings of Egypt of this name. The second who is generally supposed to have ordered the circumnavigation of Africa, was slain in battle by the Assyrians, I think under the command of Nebuchadnezzar; but an ambiguous phrase in Herodotus, seems rather to point out the elder Neco, who was contemporary with Solomon.

† Herod. Melpomene 42. In the former editions of my work, some mistakes were made in the translation of this passage, which were pointed out to me by the kindness of Henry James Pye, Esq. the Poet Laureat, who assures me, that he has always considered the passage in question as an undeniable proof of the early doubling the cape of Good Hope. It was the opinion of Eratosthenes the cosmographer, that the outer sea flowed round the earth, and that the Western or Atlantic, and Red seas, were but one ocean. *Vide* Strabo. B. 1. p. 38. See also the same author, B. 1. p. 28, where it is asserted, that Homer’s Menelaus circumnavigated Africa from Gades to India.

with which the venerable historian expresses himself, is remarkable: and the circumstance, that the voyagers observed the meridian sun on the north, in sailing round Libya, which seemed an impossibility at a time when all between the tropics was deemed uninhabitable, is of itself decisive of the main fact. †

Dr. Robertson has shewn, it is true, that many historians and geographers of antiquity, who lived long after the days of Herodotus, knew nothing concerning the form and state of the southern parts of Africa.—He observes particularly that Ptolemy, the astronomer, supposed that this great continent stretched without interruption to the South Pole. All this however only demonstrates, that navigation, like many other branches of science, flourished in one age, and declined in another. Herodotus lived four hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, and Ptolemy one hundred and forty years after. Ancient history abundantly proves, that the Phenicians, and their successors the Carthaginians, possessed far greater skill in naval affairs than the Greeks, Romans, or any other nation that came after them, until the spirit of naval discovery revived, and shone with greater lustre than ever, in the fifteenth century.

From this recapitulation, which I have thought necessary to make, though the substance of it may be found in a thousand different authors, (commonly blended indeed with much learned absurdity and frivolous conjecture), the reader will clearly perceive, that the navigation of the Atlantic ocean, along the coast of Africa, both from the north and the south, and even at a considerable distance from the land, was well understood and prevailed in very remote ages. Now, if we enquire

† This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before that of Vasquez de Gama in 1497.

into the nature of the winds and currents on the African coast, and reflect on the various casualties to which ships at sea are liable, even in the most favourable season of the year; we must admit, that it not only probably happened in some of those ancient expeditions, but even that *it was scarce possible not to happen*, that vessels would be driven by sudden gusts, or carried by adverse currents, within the verge of the trade wind; in which case, if they happened to lose their masts, they must necessarily run before the wind, towards Brasil, or the West Indies.

Two remarkable accidents of this nature, precisely in point, are recorded by writers of credit, and doubtless there are many other instances equally well authenticated, that have escaped my research. The first is related by Captain Glass, in his History of the Canary Islands, who observes that a small bark, bound from Lancerota to Teneriffe, was thus forced out of her course, and obliged to run before the wind, until she came within two days sail of the coast of Caraccas; where she fortunately met with an English cruiser which relieved her distresses, and directed her to the port of La Guira on that coast.—The other is told by Gumilla, as follows. “In December, 1731,” says this author, “while I was at the town of St. Joseph, in Trinidad, a small vessel belonging to Teneriffe, with six seamen, was driven into that island by stress of weather. She was laden with wine; and being bound to one other of the Canary islands, had provisions for a few days only, which, with their utmost care, had been expended a considerable time, so that the crew lived entirely on wine. They were reduced to the last extremity, and expected death every moment; when they discovered Trinidad, and soon afterwards came to an anchor in that island, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants; who ran in crowds to behold the poor seamen; whose emaciated appearance,

“ would have sufficiently confirmed the truth of their relation, even if the papers and documents which they produced, had not put the matter out of all possible doubt.”

To the preceding instances it may be added, that Columbus himself, in his second expedition to the West Indies, found the stern-post of a vessel lying on the shore at Guadaloupe; a circumstance which affords a strong presumption that a ship had been in the New world before him.

Under this head of fortuitous visits to the American continent prior to that of Columbus, may likewise be included the circumstance mentioned by Martyr, that at a place called Quarequa, in the gulph of Darien, Vascho Nunez met with a *colony of negroes*. § The inquiry (if any was made) by what means they came into that region, or how long they had resided in it, and the answers to such questions, are not recorded by the Spanish historians; but from the smallness of their number, it was supposed they had not been long arrived upon that coast. There can be no doubt but that some accidental cause had conducted them thither from Africa, and in *open canoes*, of no better construction than those of the American Indians. ¶

§ Mancipia ibi nigra repererunt ex regione distante à Quarequa, dierum spatio tantum duorum quæ solos gignit nigras et eos feroces atque admodum truces.—P. Martyr, decad. iii. c. i.

¶ Such accidents in truth are common in all parts of the world. The inhabitants of Java report their origin to have been from China; the tradition among them being that, 850 years ago, their progenitors were driven by a tempest upon that island in a Chinese junk: And we owe the European discovery of Japan to three Portuguese exiles who were shipwrecked there in 1542. I believe that ships bound from Europe to the East Indies, at

The reader will now perhaps conclude, that Dr, Robertson pronounced too hastily, when he observed "that such events," (as those that I have mentioned) "are barely possible, and " *may* have happened; but that they ever did happen, we have " no evidence, either from the clear testimony of history, or " the obscure intimations of tradition." This declaration is the more unexpected, as the learned author had a little before related the circumstance of the accidental discovery of Brasil by the Portuguese, in the year 1500. "The successful voyage of Gama to the East Indies" (observes the historian) "having encouraged the king of Portugal to fit out a fleet, so " powerful, as not only to carry on trade, but to attempt conquest, he gave the command of it to Pedro Alvarez Cabral. " In order to avoid the coast of Africa, where he was certain " of meeting with variable breezes, or frequent calms, to retard his voyage, Cabral stood out to sea, and kept so far to " the west, that, to his surprise, he found himself upon the " shore of an unknown country, in the tenth degree beyond " the line. He imagined, at first, that it was some island in " the Atlantic ocean hitherto unobserved; but, proceeding " along its coasts for several days, he was led gradually to believe, that a country so extensive formed a part of some great

a certain season of the year generally make for the southern coast of Brasil, in order to fall in with the westerly monsoon, which enables them either to reach the cape of Good Hope, or pursue their route by Madagascar; for while the eastern monsoon prevails, they are constantly baffled in their attempts to double the cape, and are driven to leeward towards the coast of South America. In the year 1626, when Sir Dodmore Cotton was sent on an embassy to the Persian court, the fleet in which he sailed was forced by contrary winds within a few leagues of the island of Trinidad, in the West Indies. Sir Thomas Herbert, in his account of this voyage, relates, that "on the first of June, when they were by observation in $24^{\circ} 42'$ south latitude, they met with many sudden gusts and " storms which rendered them unable to pursue their course, and drove " them to leeward 100 leagues upon the coast of Brasil."

“continent. This latter opinion was well founded. The country with which he fell in belongs to that province in South America now known by the name of Brasil. He landed; and having formed a very high idea of the fertility of the soil and agreeableness of the climate, he took possession of it for the crown of Portugal, and despatched a ship to Lisbon with an account of this event, which appeared to be no less important than it was unexpected. Columbus’s discovery of the New world was the effort of an active genius, enlightened by science, guided by experience, and acting upon a regular plan, executed with no less courage than perseverance. But from this adventure of the Portuguese, it appears, that chance might have accomplished that great design, which it is now the pride of human reason to have formed and perfected. If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few years later, to the knowledge of that extensive continent.”*

And certainly, by some such accident, in ages long passed, might the Ancient hemisphere have given a beginning to population in the New; or at least have sent thither the progenitors of that separate race of people of which I now treat. It remains for me, however, to assign my reasons for particularly applying this conclusion to the Charaibes, instead of any other of the numerous tribes which inhabit the eastern side of the immense continent of South America.

The migration of any people is best traced by their language; but there is this inconveniency attending this species of evidence, that in reducing a language merely oral, to writing, different persons of even the same nation, would sometimes unavoidably represent the same sound by a very different

* Hist. America, vol. i. p. 151.

arrangement of letters;—much more frequently would this happen, should the writers be of different countries, and consequently habituated to various modes of pronunciation and orthography;—but although I am of opinion therefore, that vocabularies preserved by voyagers, seldom afford much certainty of information on a comparison with each other; there are, nevertheless, in every language, many words of which the sound is too simple to be easily misunderstood or grossly misrepresented.

Thus, on comparing the Charaibe vocabulary, preserved by Rochefort, with the ancient oriental dialects,† it is scarce possible to doubt that the following words used by the Charaibes, had their origin in the Old hemisphere, and we may readily believe that many instances of a similar nature might be adduced, but for the cause I have assigned, namely, the different modes which different persons would necessarily adopt, each according to his own perception of the sound, of reducing the same words to writing; thus creating a perplexity which it is now too late to disentangle.

† For this illustration, and other assistance in the course of this inquiry, I am indebted to a learned friend, by whom I am informed (being myself unacquainted with the oriental languages) that the Samaritan, and old Phenician, the Syriac, Chaldee and Hebrew, are all dialects of one language; differing but little from each other, except in their letters. The Hebrew agrees less with the other dialects than the rest, but is now printed in the same character with the Chaldee. They all form a noun in the same manner except the Hebrew, which prefixes ש (S) to form the genitive case, and את (at) to form the accusative; all the others use ד (D) and ית (it.)

<i>Charaibe.</i>	<i>Meaning in French, according to Ro- chefort.</i>	<i>Words having the same meaning in the Ori- ental dialects.</i>	<i>Meaning in English.</i>
Liani	Sa femme	לי חנה [Li Hene]	<i>His wife</i>
Yene-neri	Ma femme	הנה חרה ני [Hene Hera ni]	<i>My wife</i>
Karbet	Maison publique	קיר בית or קרא בית	{ Qir } or { Bit } { Qra } <i>Walled house Assembly do.</i>
Encka	Collier	ענק [Onq]	
Yene kali	Mon Collier	הענק אלי [E'Onq ali]	<i>My necklace</i>
Hue-Hue	Du bois	עא [Oä]	<i>Wood</i>
Nora	Ma peau	עור ני [Our ni]	<i>My skin</i>
Nané-guaete	Je suis malade	נאנהתי [Nanecheti]	<i>I am sick</i>
Halea tibou	Sois le bien [venu]	יחא לי חטיבו [Yeha lie thibou]	<i>Good be to you</i>
Phoubae	Soufflé	פוח [Phouhe]	<i>To blow</i>
Toubana ora	Couverture d'un [Maison]	די בנת עור [Di Bne Oür]	<i>Roof of a house</i>
Bayou boukaa	Va t'en	כוא בואך [Boua Bouak]	<i>Go thy way</i>
Baika	Mange	בגה [Bge]	<i>Eat</i>
Aka	Manger	אכל [Akl]	<i>To eat</i>
Nichiri	Mon nez	נחר [Ncheri]	<i>The nose</i>
Natoni boman	Donne moi a [boire]	נתני באמן [Natoni bamen]	<i>Give me nou- rishment.</i>

To the proofs arising from language, I shall add the following.—We have seen from Herodotus, that the Phenicians in their African voyages were accustomed to land on the Arabian and Libyan coasts, and taking possession of a spot of ground fit for their purpose, they proceeded to plough up and sow it with corn, and waited until it came to maturity; thus providing themselves with food for a long navigation. This practice must doubtless have given rise to disputes and conflicts between the intruders and the inhabitants. Now it is remarkable

that the word *Charaibe*, in the Arabic language, signifies, as I am informed, a *robber* or destroyer, an appellation which we may believe was frequently bestowed by the natives on the invaders of their country.‡

The testimony arising from a similarity of manners, though far less conclusive than the evidence of language, is surely, in the present case, not without its force. That many of the customs of the eastern nations prevailed among the Charaibes, I have, I think, sufficiently demonstrated in the second chapter of this work. Of some of those customs the resemblance was probably fortuitous, and a similarity of climate and situation, might have given rise to others; but when very singular and arbitrary practices prevail between distant nations, which are neither founded in nature nor climate, nor proceed from situation and rank in the scale of refinement, the coincidence can scarcely be deemed accidental. Thus, among other customs equally remarkable, it has been related that the Charaibes buried their dead in a cowering posture, with their knees to the chin. The very same custom prevails at this day in the Sandwich islands of the South sea,§ the inhabitants of which are, beyond all doubt, of eastern origin; and that it was an ancient practice of the eastern nations appears

‡ Leri, and some others, speak of the *Charaibes* as priests or prophets found in Brasil. Rochefort makes *Charaibe* a national name. These words are oriental, sounding alike, but spelt differently; and of a different meaning: The priests may be called קרב איש as men who offer קרבן זבחים an offering, κερκυα is the greek word for a priest of Cybele, unde CORYBANTES. לוי יקריב מכם קרבן ליהוה Leviticus i. 2. But if the national name be derived from their warlike and predatory way of life, then we may derive it from הרב the verb Chaldee. Syr. Arab. to lay waste. The noun signifies a sword or spear and הרבה Sam. War. This explanation was given me by the friend mentioned in the preceding note.

§ Ledyard's MSS. *penes me.*

from the authorities of Herodotus and Cicero; the former recording the existence of it among the Nasamones, a people who inhabited the countries between Egypt and Carthage; and the latter relating the same circumstance of the ancient Persians. I am inclined to believe that this practice prevailed also in the country and age of the patriarchs;—for how otherwise are we to understand the Scripture phrase OF GATHERING UP THE FEET OF THE DYING? “*And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, HE GATHERED UP HIS FEET INTO THE BED, and yielded up the ghost.*”

Many other corresponding circumstances may be traced in Herodotus. Thus when he enumerates the army of Xerxes, he observes of the ancient Ethiopians, that they used bows and arrows in battle, and painted their bodies with crimson.* The coincidence between these people and the Charaibes in both these respects, can hardly, I think, be ascribed to chance, and it is such as instinct could not have produced.

Equally prevalent among the Charaibes, and many of the ancient nations in the eastern part of the old hemisphere, were the superstitious rites of shortening the hair and wounding the body, in religious ceremonies and lamentations for the dead. That these practices were usual among the heathens, so early as the days of Moses, is evident from the injunction which the Lord laid on the children of Israel to avoid them. “*Ye shall not round the corners of your head, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you.*”† Again,—“*Ye are the children of the Lord, your God: Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness*

|| Gen. c. xlix. v. 33.

* Book vii.

† Levit. c. xix. v. 27.

“*between your eyes for the dead.*”† Among the heathens however the same ceremonies were still continued; for in Samaria, in the days of Ahab, king of Israel, it is recorded of the prophets of Baal that, in worshipping their idol “*they cried aloud and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lances till the blood gushed out upon them.*”‡ At this day the islanders of the South sea express grief and lamentation for the dead in the very same manner.

But perhaps the instance the most apposite and illustrative, was the habit among the Charaibes of chewing the *betete*, preparing it with calcined shells precisely after the manner of the Indians in the east;—a circumstance, which, though recorded by P. Martyr,|| had escaped my researches, until it was pointed out to me by Mr. Long. Some other resemblances, almost equally striking, might be collected; but the reader will probably think that more than enough has already been said on a subject, the investigation of which he may perhaps deem a mere matter of idle curiosity, neither contributing to the improvement of science, nor the comfort of life.

Here then I conclude. An attempt to trace back the Charaibes of the West Indies to their progenitors, the first emigrants from the ancient hemisphere, in order to point out, with any degree of precision or probability, the era of their migration, were (like the voyages I have been describing) to venture on a vast and unknown ocean without a compass; and even without one friendly star to guide us through the night of conjecture.

† Deut. c. xiv. v. 1.

‡ 1 Kings, c. xviii. v. 28.

|| Decad. vii. c. vi.

THE HISTORY,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES
IN THE
WEST INDIES.

BOOK II.

JAMAICA.*

CHAPTER I.

Discovery of Jamaica by Columbus.—His return in 1503.—Spirited proceedings of his son Diego, after Columbus's death.—Takes possession of Jamaica in 1509.—Humane conduct of Juan de Esquivel, the first Governor.—Establishment and desertion of the town of Sevilla Nueva.—Destruction of the Indians.—St. Jago de la Vega founded.—Gives the title of Marquis to Diego's son Lewis, to whom the Island is granted in perpetual sovereignty.—Descends to his sister Isabella, who conveys her rights by marriage to the House of Braganza.—Reverts to the crown of Spain in 1640.—Sir Anthony Shirley invades the Island in 1596. and Col. Jackson in 1638.

JAMAICA had the honour of being discovered by Christopher Columbus, in his second expedition

* It may be proper to observe, that the governor of Jamaica is stiled in his commission Captain-general, &c. of Jamaica *and the territories*

to the New world. In his former voyage he had explored the north-eastern part of Cuba, proceeding from thence to Hispaniola; but he had returned to Europe in doubt whether Cuba was an island only, or part of some great continent, of which he had received obscure accounts from the natives. To satisfy himself in this particular, he determined, soon after his arrival a second time at Hispaniola, on another voyage to Cuba, by a south-westerly course, and, in pursuance of this resolution, on the 24th of April, 1494, Columbus sailed from the port of Isabella, with one ship and two shallops. On Tuesday the 29th, he anchored in the harbour of St. Nicholas. From thence he crossed over to Cuba, and coasted along the southern side of that island, surrounded by many thousand canoes filled with Indians, whom curiosity and admiration had brought together. In this navi-

thereon depending in America. By these DEPENDENCIES were meant the British settlements on the Musquito shore, and in the bay of Honduras: But his jurisdiction over those settlements having been imperfectly defined, was seldom acknowledged by the settlers; except when they wished to plead it in bar of the authority claimed by their respective superintendants. On such occasions they admitted a superior jurisdiction in the governor of Jamaica, and applied to him for commissions civil and military. As both the settlements were surrendered to the crown of Spain by the Spanish convention signed at London on the 14th of July 1786, it comes not within the plan of my work to enter on a display of their past or present state. I formerly drew up a memorial concerning the settlement on the Musquito-shore, wherein an account was given of the country, its inhabitants and productions, and the question between Great Britain and Spain, as to the territorial right, pretty fully discussed. This memorial having been laid before the House of Commons in 1777 (by Governor Johnstone) was soon afterwards published in Almon's Parliamentary Register for that year.

gation, on Saturday the 3d of May, he discovered, for the first time, the high lands of Jamaica on the left, and probably learnt its name (the name which it still retains) from some of the Indians that followed him.† As this was a new discovery, and many of the seamen were willing to believe that it was the place to which they had been formerly directed by the Indians of the Bahama islands, as the country most abounding in gold, Columbus was easily persuaded to turn his course towards it. He approached it the next day, and, after a slight contest with the natives, which ended however in a cordial reconciliation, he took possession of the country, with the usual formalities.

But it was not until the fourth and last voyage of Columbus, a voyage undertaken by this great navigator after he had suffered a severer trial from the base ingratitude of the country and prince in whose service he laboured, than from all his past toils, dangers and inquietudes, that he learnt more of Jamaica; which, as it had the honour of being first discovered by him nine years before, had now the still greater honour of affording him shelter from shipwreck. For, on the 24th of June 1503, being on his return to Hispaniola, from Veragua, he met with such tempestuous weather as compelled him, after losing two of

† P. Martyr. F. Columbus. The early Spanish historians wrote the word *Xaymaca*. It is said to have signified, in the language of the natives, *a country abounding in springs*. Columbus having at first named the island *St. Jago*, Oldmixon, and some other writers, erroneously suppose that *Jamaica* was the augmentative of *James*.

his ships, to bear away in the utmost distress for this island. With great difficulty, he reached a little harbour on the north side, † where he was forced to run aground the two vessels that were left him, to prevent their foundering. By this disaster, his ships were damaged beyond the possibility of repair, and he had now the melancholy reflection, that his miseries and his life would probably terminate together. During the space of twelve months and four days, that he remained in this wretched situation, he had new dangers to surmount, and unaccustomed trials for the exercise of his fortitude. His people revolted, the Indians deserted him, and the governor of Hispaniola not only refused to relieve, but, with monstrous and unexampled barbarity, aggravated his misfortunes by outrage and mockery. All these occurrences however, the dexterity with which he availed himself of the superstition of the Indians by the circumstance of an eclipse, and the means whereby his deliverance was at length effected, having been recounted by a thousand different historians, need not be repeated by me. The hardships he suffered on this occasion, and his sovereign's ingratitude together, proved too mighty for his generous spirit: he sunk under them, soon after his return to Spain; leaving a name which will not be extinguished, but with that world whose boundaries he had extended. §

† Called to this day, *Don Christopher's Cove*.

§ There is preserved among the Journals of the Hon. Council in Jamaica, a very old volume in MS. consisting of diaries and reports of governors, which relate chiefly to the proceedings of the army and other

After the death of this illustrious discoverer, the transactions of the Spaniards, during a century and a half, in the settlement of Jamaica, have scarcely ob-

transactions in the first settlement of the colony. In this book is to be found the translation of a letter to the king of Spain, said to be written by Columbus during his confinement on this island. As it appears to me to bear marks of authenticity, I shall present it to my readers. It was written probably about eight months after the departure of his messenger Diego Mendez, who had attempted to reach Hispaniola in an Indian canoe. Hearing nothing from him in that interval, Columbus seems to have relinquished every hope of relief, and to have written this letter in an hour of despondency, not as having any probable means of sending it to Spain, but on the idea that it would be found after his death. It is as follows:

A Letter from CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in Jamaica, to King
FERDINAND.

“ Jamaica, 1504.

“ Diego Mendes, and the papers I sent by him, will shew your highness what rich mines of gold I have discovered in Veragua, and how I intended to have left my brother at the river Belin, if the judgments of Heaven and the greatest misfortunes in the world had not prevented it.— However it is sufficient that your highness and your successors will have the glory and advantage of all, and that the full discovery and settlement are reserved for happier persons than the unfortunate Columbus. If God be so merciful to me as to conduct Mendes to Spain, I doubt not but he will convince your highness and my great mistress, that this will not only be a *Castile* and *Leon*, but a discovery of a world of subjects, lands and wealth, greater than man’s unbounded fancy could ever comprehend, or avarice itself covet: but neither he, this paper, nor the tongue of mortal man, can express the anguish and afflictions of my body and mind; nor the misery and dangers of my son, brother and friends! Already have we been confined ten months in this place, lodged on the open decks of our ships, that are run on shore and lashed together; those of

tained the notice of history. Happy indeed it would have been for their national character, if the records of many of their more extensive enterprises, during

my men that were in health have mutinied under the Porras's of Seville; my friends that were faithful are mostly sick and dying, we have consumed the Indians' provisions, so that they abandon us; all therefore are like to perish by hunger, and these miseries are accompanied by so many aggravating circumstances, that render me the most wretched object of misfortune, this world shall ever see; as if the displeasure of Heaven seconded the envy of Spain, and would punish as criminal those undertakings and discoveries which former ages would have acknowledged as great and meritorious actions! Good Heaven, and you holy saints that dwell in it, let the king Don Ferdinand and my illustrious mistress Donna Isabella know, that my zeal for their service and interest hath brought me thus low; for it is impossible to live and have afflictions equal to mine. I see, and with horror apprehend, my own, and for my sake, my unfortunate and deserving peoples' destruction. Alas, piety and justice have retired to their habitations above, and it is a crime to have undertaken and performed too much! As my misery makes my life a burthen to myself, so I fear the empty titles of vice-roy and admiral, render me obnoxious to the hatred of the Spanish nation. It is visible that all methods are adopted to cut the thread that is breaking; for I am, in my old age, oppressed with insupportable pains of the gout, and am now languishing and expiring with that and other infirmities, among savages, where I have neither medicines nor provisions for the body, priest nor sacrament for the soul. My men in a state of revolt; my brother, my son, and those that are faithful, sick, starving and dying; the Indians have abandoned us, and the governor of St. Domingo, has sent rather to see if I am dead, than to succour us, or carry me alive from hence; for his boat neither delivered a letter, nor spoke with, nor would receive any letter from us; so I conclude your highness's officers intend that here my voyages and life should terminate. O blessed mother of God, that compassionates the miserable and oppressed, why did not cruel Bovadilla kill me when he robbed me and my brother of our dearly purchased gold, and sent us to Spain in chains, without trial, crime, or shadow of misconduct? These chains are all the treasures I have, and they shall be buried with me,

the same period, were veiled in equal darkness, or consigned to everlasting oblivion: happier still, if their splendour had been transmitted to posterity through a

if I chance to have a coffin or grave; for I would have the remembrance of so unjust an action perish with me, and, for the glory of the Spanish name, be eternally forgotten. Let it not bring a further infamy on the Castilian name, nor let future ages know, there were wretches so vile in this, that think to recommend themselves to your majesty by destroying the unfortunate and miserable Christopher Columbus: not for his crimes, but for his services in discovering and giving Spain a New world. As it was heaven itself that inspired and conducted me to it, the Heavens will weep for me, and shew pity! Let the earth and every soul in it, that loves justice and mercy, weep for me! And you, O glorified saints of God, that know my innocency and see my sufferings here, have mercy! for though this present age is envious or obdurate, surely those that are to come will pity me, when they are told that Christopher Columbus, with his own fortune, ran the hazard of his own and his brother's lives, and, with little or no expense to the crown of Spain, in ten years, and four voyages, rendered greater services than ever mortal man did to prince or kingdom, yet was left to perish, without being charged with the least crime, in poverty and misery; all but his chains being taken from him; so that he who gave Spain another world, had neither safety in it, nor yet a cottage for himself, nor his wretched family: but, should Heaven still persecute me, and seem displeas'd with what I have done, as if the discovery of this new world may be fatal to the old, and as a punishment bring my life to a period in this miserable place, yet do you, good angels, you that succour the oppressed and innocent, bring this paper to my great mistress. She knows how much I have done, and will believe what I have suffered for her glory and service, and will be so just and pious, as not to let the children of him that has brought to Spain such immense riches, and added to it vast and unknown kingdoms and empires, want bread, or subsist only on alms. She, if she lives, will consider that cruelty and ingratitude will bring down the wrath of Heaven, so that the wealth I have discovered, shall be the means of stirring up all mankind to revenge and rapine, and the Spanish nation suffer hereafter, for what envious, malicious, and ungrateful people, do now.

purser medium, and not, as now, serving chiefly to render visible the vices and enormities that surround and debase them.

The few particulars of their progress, which, by diligent selection, aided by traditionary memorials, I have been able to collect, I shall now present to my readers.

About seventeen years had elapsed after the Spaniards had first fixed themselves in Hispaniola, before they seem to have entertained any serious design of sending forth a colony to possess itself of Jamaica. As this island had hitherto produced neither gold nor silver, it seems to have been neglected as unworthy further notice; and perhaps it might have continued a few years longer the peaceful seat of innocent simplicity, but for the base ingratitude of king Ferdinand, towards the family of Columbus. This great man after his return to Spain in 1504, was compelled to employ the close of his days in fruitless and irksome solicitation at the court of an unthankful and unfeeling monarch; who meanly suffered him to be cruelly defrauded of the rights and privileges originally granted to him; and which he had so dearly and so nobly earned. His son Diego, the heir of his fortunes, succeeded to the same debasing necessity, till, at length, wearied out with frivolous and unprincely excuses, he instituted a memorable process against his sovereign before the council of the Indies at Seville; and this court, with a firmness and virtue that cannot be sufficiently applauded, decided in favour of his pretensions. Af-

ter a minute and solemn investigation of his claims, the council pronounced him hereditary vice-roy and high admiral of all the countries and islands discovered by his father. They decreed, that he was invested with a jurisdiction over them similar to that of the high admiral of Castille; that he was entitled to a tenth part of the gold and silver that might thereafter be found in those territories; and they adjudged him various other privileges and immunities, of vast extent and authority. But the king, notwithstanding this distinguished and competent recognition of his rights, confirmed to him only the title and authority of governor and admiral of Hispaniola; and even of this diminished command, it is probable he would have been deprived, if he had not fortunately strengthened his interest by an illustrious marriage.¶ The gallant youth, nevertheless, still boldly persisted in his claim to the full exercise of all the rights and authority, which had been so recently decreed to belong to him; and he shortly afterwards, accompanied by a numerous and splendid retinue, embarked for his government, resolved to enforce his pretensions.

He arrived in Hispaniola in the month of July 1508, but had very soon the mortification to discover that the king had actually invested in two other persons, (Alonzo de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuessa), not only two separate and distinct governments, which comprehended all the continent as far as it had been

¶ He married *Mary de Toledo*, daughter to *Ferdinand de Toledo*, grand commander of Leon who was brother to *Frederick* duke of *Alva*.

discovered by Christopher Columbus, but had also included the island of Jamaica, as a joint appendage within the jurisdiction of each. These appointments Diego Columbus considered as a manifest violation of his own rights, and strenuously contended for the exclusive privilege of nominating, in particular, to the governments of Veragua and Jamaica, the prior discovery of both those countries by his father being a circumstance of universal notoriety. To secure his claim to Jamaica, in the month of November 1509, he sent thither Juan de Esquivel, with about seventy men. Esquivel had acquired the reputation of a gallant soldier, and it is still more to his honour, that he was one of the very few Castillians, who, amidst all the horrors of bloodshed and infectious rapine, were distinguished for generosity and humanity. An eminent instance of his greatness of mind is recorded by Herrera.—About the time that he sailed from Hispaniola to take possession of his new government of Jamaica, his competitor Ojeda was on his departure to the continent. Ojeda violently opposed the intended expedition of Esquivel, and publicly threatened that if he should find him at Jamaica, on his return from the continent, he would hang him up as a rebel. It happened that Ojeda's voyage was unfortunate in the highest degree; for after sustaining a series of unexampled calamities, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Cuba, and was in danger of miserably perishing for want of food. In his distress he called to mind that Esquivel was in Jamaica, and he was now reduced to the sad extremity of imploring succour from the very man whose destruction he had meditated;

but the magnanimous Esquivel was no sooner made acquainted with the sufferings of his enemy, than he forgot all his resentment. He immediately sent over to Cuba, Pedro de Narvez, an officer of rank, to conduct Ojeda to Jamaica. Esquivel received him with the tenderest sympathy, treated him, during his stay, with every possible mark of distinction and respect, and provided him with the means of a speedy and safe conveyance to Hispaniola. It is pleasing to add, that Ojeda was not ungrateful to his benefactor.

Under such a man, it is reasonable to suppose that the yoke of subjection sat light and easy on the natives of Jamaica, and that the ravages of conquest were restrained within the limits of humanity. Accordingly, the Spanish historians bear the most honourable testimony to his virtuous and gentle administration.—“The affairs of Jamaica (says Herrera) “went on prosperously, because Juan de Esquivel “having brought the natives to submission *without* “*any effusion of blood*, they laboured in planting “cotton, and raising other commodities which yielded great profit.” This praise is the more valuable because it is almost peculiar to Esquivel, who alone seems to have been sensible of the abominable wickedness of visiting distant lands only to desolate them; and of converting the Indians to Christianity by cutting their throats. How many noble qualities, in some of his contemporaries, were tarnished by cruelty and rapine, or unhappily blended with a misguided and frantic zeal for religion, that rendered their possessors still more remorseless than savage!

Esquivel continued in his office but a few years. He died in his government, and was buried at *Sevilla Nueva*, a town which he had founded. He was probably succeeded by governors of a far different character, who, it is to be feared, soon began to spread among the wretched natives the same horrible carnage that was now desolating Hispaniola. It appears that Francis de Garay held the chief command in 1523, since, in that year he fitted out an expedition from this island for the conquest of Panuco, a territory which Cortes, unknown to Garay, had already annexed to the Spanish dominion. In this expedition were employed nine ships and two brigantines, and there were embarked in it eight hundred and fifty Spaniards, and a considerable body of Jamaica Indians, and one hundred and forty-four horses. Such a force, if collected chiefly within the island, proves, that a great progress had been made in its settlement and population during the thirteen years that the Spaniards had been in possession of it. As Esquivel had established the seat of government near to the spot which had been honoured by the residence of Columbus after his shipwreck in 1503, it may be presumed, that the town of *Sevilla Nueva* was now become of some consideration. This town, as we are informed by Herrera, was founded on the site of an ancient Indian village, called *Maima*,† and near to the port named by Co-

† *Quasi MAMEE*. There is a bay a little to the eastward, which is called at this hour *Mamee Bay*. The ground on which *Sevilla Nueva* was built is now chiefly the property of Mr. Heming, who has a large sugar plantation thereon. It is called *Seville Plantation*; and the ruins

lumbus Santa Gloria (now St. Ann's Harbour), and the daily accession of new inhabitants would naturally extend the boundaries of the capital, till the rude village, consisting at first of a few temporary huts, must have increased to a place of importance. Religion too, in all the Spanish territories, very soon forced architecture into her service; for, by a lamentable inconsistency in the human mind, these destroyers of their fellow-creatures were wonderfully exact in the observance of all the outward ceremonies of divine worship. With hands yet reeking in the blood of murdered innocence, they could erect temples to the Almighty, and implore that mercy from Heaven, which they had just denied to the miserable victims of their cruelty and rapine. Among other costly buildings a cathedral and monastery were designed, and the foundations of both were visible not long ago, as many of the ruins are at this day. Peter Martyr of Angleria, the author of the decades, was appointed abbot and chief missionary of the island. A fort was also erected, the remains of which, as well as of the cathedral, were inspected by Sloane in 1688, who relates, that a pavement was discovered at the distance of two miles from the church; a circumstance that may give us some idea of the extent of the city in the days of its prosperity. The west gate of the cathedral stood entire in 1688, and displayed, in the judgment of Sloane, very excellent workmanship; but it was his

of the ancient town are still visible in some of the cane-fields. It descended to him from his ancestor captain Heming, an officer in Cromwell's army.

opinion that the building was never completed; for he observed several arched stones that must have been designed for it, which apparently had never been put up. § He likewise discovered, in the same condition, materials for a capital mansion, probably intended for the palace of the governor. From these circumstances, the tradition which still prevails in the island, that the Spanish inhabitants of Seville were at some period in their wars with the natives entirely and suddenly cut off, is probably founded in truth. Sloane, indeed, relates, that some of the Spanish planters, who had retired to Cuba, assigned very different reasons for the desertion of this part of the country, alleging, that a visitation of innumerable ants had destroyed all their provision grounds, and that the situation of the capital was ill adapted for the purposes of their commerce. These reasons might possibly have operated against the re-establishment of the place; but were not, I think, of sufficient efficacy to induce a whole body of people, the inhabitants of a growing capital, suddenly to remove their families and effects, and voluntarily submit to the labour of building an entire new town,

§ “ Over the door (of the west gate) was a carving of 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 stuck into his head*. On the left a Virgin Mary or Madona, her arm tied in three places, Spanish fashion. Over the gate, under a coat of arms, this inscription.

Petrus. Martir. Ab. Angleria. Italus. Civis. Mediolanen. Prothon. Apos. Hujus. Insule. Abbas. Senatus. Indici. Consiliarius. Ligneam. Primus. Ædem. Hanc. Bis. Igne. Consumptam. Latericio. Et. Quadrato. Lapide. Primus. A. Fundamentis. Etruxit.”

in a very distant and wholly uncultivated part of the country.|| It is certain that the town of Seville was not suffered to fall gradually to decay; but was depopulated while it was yet in an unfinished state, many years before the conquest of the island by the English.* Neither (if this tradition of its catastrophe were true) could a just account be expected from the descendants of men, who had deservedly brought destruction on themselves; since the recital of their fate would again have brought the deeds also of their ancestors to remembrance, and they were deeds of darkness, too mournful to contemplate; too dreadful to be told!

Both ancient tradition, and recent discoveries, give too much room to believe, that the work of destruction proceeded no less rapidly in this island, after Esquivel's death, than in Hispaniola; for to this day

|| It is remarkable, however, that the whole island of Hispaniola was nearly destroyed by ants about the same period. In 1519, and the two succeeding years, as Oviedo relates, these insects over-ran that island like an Egyptian plague; devouring all the roots and plants of the earth, so that the country was nearly depopulated. In our own times, the island of Grenada has suffered prodigiously from the same cause, of which some account will hereafter be given.

* See the accounts of Jamaica transmitted to Cromwell by general Venables, preserved in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 545, wherein he speaks of Seville as a town *that had existed in times past*. And Sloane relates that when the English took the island, the ruins of this city were overgrown with wood, and turned black with age. He saw timber-trees growing within the walls of the cathedral, upwards of sixty feet in height. Sloane's Hist. Jamaica, vol. i. p. 66.

caves are frequently discovered in the mountains, wherein the ground is covered with human bones; the miserable remains, without all doubt, of some of the unfortunate aborigines, who, immured in those recesses, were probably reduced to the sad alternative of perishing with hunger, or bleeding under the swords of their merciless invaders.¶ When therefore, we are told of the fate of the Spanish inhabitants of Seville, it is impossible to feel any other emotion, than an indignant wish that the story were better authenticated, and that Heaven in mercy had permitted the poor Indians in the same moment to have extirpated their oppressors altogether! But, unhappily, this faint glimmering of returning light to the wretched natives, was soon lost in everlasting darkness, since it pleased the Almighty, for reasons inscrutable to finite wisdom, to permit the total destruction of this devoted people; who, to the number of 60,000, on the most moderate estimate, were at length wholly cut off and exterminated by the Spaniards, not a single descendant of either sex, being alive when the English took the island in 1655, nor, I believe for a century before.*

¶ It is discovered by the skulls, which are preternaturally compressed, that these are the skeletons of the Indians.

* There is said to exist on the south side of the island of Cuba, at this day, a small remnant of the ancient Indians. They reside in a little town near St Jago de Cuba, called *Iwanee*, and have adopted the manners and language of the Spaniards. The destruction of such prodigious numbers of these innocent people by the first discoverers is one of the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of mankind, and the subject can never be contemplated but with blended sentiments of indignation

The loss of Seville was followed by that of Melila, a small village situated above eleven leagues to the eastward, (at the harbour now called Port Maria), and the catastrophe which attended these places is supposed to have caused the establishment of the capi-

and horror, commiseration and sympathy. Emotions of this kind gave rise to the following *night scene*, (part of an unfinished work, which will probably never be completed), and its insertion in this place the poetical reader may possibly pardon :

—————Now on high,
 Refulgent Venus and the starry train,
 Spangle the vivid hemisphere. Around
 Myriads of insect-meteors,* living lamps,
 People the glittering air. A fairy world
 I tread : a land of genii! Airy shapes,
 Oft visible to contemplation's eye,
 Roam in the midnight hour these sacred shades ;
 Nor unobserved, while now the starry train
 Burn with diminish'd lustre ; for behold,
 The radiant moon bids meaner glories fade.—
 No cloud her course obscures, and high she tow'rs,
 Guiding, in awful majesty thro' Heaven,
 Her silver car, triumphant o'er the dark.

Sure 'tis illusion and enchantment all!—
 For still fond fancy, thro' the shadowy glade,
 Sees visionary fleeting forms ; still hears
 Sounds more than human. Once a gentle race
 Own'd these fair vallies : from the birth of time
 These groves, these fountains, and these hills were theirs.
 Perhaps, e'en now, their sp'rits delighted, haunt
 Their once lov'd mansions. Oft the pensive Muse
 Recalls, in tender thought, the mournful scene
 When the brave Incotel, from yonder rock,
 His last sad blessing to a weeping train

* Fire-flies.

tal of St. Jago de la Vega, or, as it is now called, Spanish Town.

Concerning the precise era of these events, it is now perhaps useless to inquire; but if conjecture

Dying bequeath'd. ' The hour (he said) arrives,
By ancient sages to our sires foretold!*—
Fierce from the deep, with Heav'n's own lightning arm'd,
The pallid nation comes! Blood marks their steps;
Man's agonies their sport, and man their prey!

What piercing shrieks still vibrate on the ear!
The expiring mother lifts her feeble arm
In vain to shield her infant; the hot steel
Smoaks with their mingled blood; and blooming youth,
And manly strength, and virgin beauty, meet
Alike th' untimely grave; till fell revenge
Is cloy'd and tir'd with slaughter. See, full-gorg'd,
The vulture sickens o'er his waste of prey,
And, surfeit swell'd, the reeking hound expires.

Yet pause not, Spaniard! whet thy blunted steel;
Take thy full pastime in the field of blood!
But know, stern tyrant, retribution's hour
Ere long shall reach thee. Tho' his once lov'd isle,
For crimes yet unaton'd, dread *Zemi* thus
To desolation and to death consigns,
And thou, the instrument of wrath divine;
In yonder orb, now darken'd in his course,
Read thy own doom more dreadful! With the slain,
The murderer falls! Th' oppressor and th' oppress'd
Mingle in dust together! Where are now
Thy blood-polluted glories? Ah! too late,
Learn, when avenging Heav'n presumptuous guilt
Gives to its own fell purposes a prey,
More mark'd its fate, more terrible its fall.

* See B. i. c. 3. p. 92,

may be allowed, I should fix on the year 1523, immediately after the departure of the force under Garray; and if the new capital was really founded by Diego Columbus, as tradition reports, and which

So perish the false triumphs and vain hopes
 Of mad ambition, and remorseless pride,
 That make weak man the murderer of man!
 O my associates, dry those scalding tears!—
 One little moment, and we shall arrive
 At those bless'd islands, where, from guilt refin'd
 By sharp affliction, we no more shall feel
 Death's torpid grasp, and agonizing pang!
 There, with lov'd forefather's, shall we rove
 Thro' palmy shades; in limpid fountains bathe;
 Repose in jasmine bowr's at sultry noon;
 And, when cool ev'ning tempers soft the air,
 Unenvied gather from his unprun'd bough
 The fragrant guoyva.* On our cheeks no more
 The burning tear shall linger; not a sigh
 Swell the light bosom; but immortal joy
 Fill ev'ry thought, and brighten ev'ry eye:
 Meantime, those happy interdicted shores
 Our blood-stain'd foes shall seek; but seek in vain:
 The hurricane shall rage, the thunder roll,
 And ocean whelm them in his deepest tide,
 Or leave transfix'd on the hard pointed rock;
 The sport of howling winds. How shall we laugh,
 When the pale coward slaves, to us, remote,
 Direct th' uplifted hand, th' imploring eye!
 Their conscious groans shall feed our great revenge;—
 Their endless woes, our wond'rous wrongs repay.'

Jamaica, a Poem; MSS. *penes me.*

* The fruit so called is the *Psidium fruticosum* of botanists. P. Martyr relates, that it was in high esteem among the natives.

there seems no good reason to dispute, the conjecture is strongly confirmed; for he embarked for Spain in discontent in 1517, returned to his government with fuller powers in 1520, and died in his native country in the latter end of 1525, or the beginning of 1526; and it was certainly after his arrival the last time in Hispaniola, that he laid, or caused to be laid, the foundation of St. Jago de la Vega.†

The new city increased rapidly, and in 1545 (twenty years after the death of its founder) it had the honour of giving the title of marquis to his son and heir, who received, at the same time, from the emperor Charles V. a grant of the whole island in perpetual sovereignty, as an hereditary fief of the crown of Castile.

As this is an important circumstance in the history of this island, and seems not to have been perfectly understood by any of the English historians who have treated of the affairs of Jamaica, I presume, that a more copious account and explanation of it will not be unacceptable.

Diego Columbus left issue three sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Don Lewis, succeeded

† Since this was written I have discovered, by a re-perusal of Oviedo, that there was a general revolt of the Indians of St. Domingo in December 1522, which Diego Columbus suppressed, and immediately afterwards repaired to Jamaica to take on himself the government in the room of Garay. It seems probable, from hence, that the revolt extended to both islands.

to his father's honours and extensive claims. Of the daughters, the eldest, Isabella, afterwards intermarried with the count de Gelvez, a Portuguese nobleman of the house of Braganza. Lewis Columbus was an infant of six years of age on the death of his father; but was generally considered as hereditary viceroy, and high admiral of the West Indies. The emperor, however, though he treated him with singular distinction, and considerably augmented his revenues, as he grew to manhood, absolutely refused to admit his claim to such extensive authority; and Lewis, as his minority expired, instituted, after his father's example, a legal process for the recovery of his birthright. It does not appear that his suit ever came to a legal issue; for, in the year 1545, he found it prudent to accede to a compromise with the emperor, whereby he transferred all his hereditary rights to the crown, for a grant of the province of Veragua and the island of Jamaica, with the title of duke de Veragua and marquis de la Vega. What might have been the precise extent and nature of this grant, we have no information sufficient to enable us to judge. Whatever it was, he left no issue to enjoy it; and his brothers also dying without male issue, his sister Isabel, wife of the count de Gelvez, became sole heiress of the Columbus family, and conveyed by her marriage all her rights to the house of Braganza, where they continued, I believe, till the year 1640, and then reverted back by forfeiture to the crown of Spain, in consequence of the revolution which placed John duke of Braganza on the throne of Portugal.

Sir Hans Sloane, therefore, in asserting that a duke de Veragua enjoyed a yearly revenue from Jamaica, at the time the island surrendered to the English in 1655, must have been misinformed; as he clearly is in supposing, that the family of Columbus were at that time proprietors of the island, and had so continued from the days of Ferdinand and Isabella.

But there is a circumstance recorded by Blome, and confirmed by the state papers of Thurloe, for which the relation I have given sufficiently accounts. I mean the establishment in Jamaica of many Portuguese families. The transfer of Isabella's inheritance to the house of Braganza, might have encouraged many of the Portuguese to fix their fortunes in the newly-acquired colony, and it is equally probable, that the same event would excite jealousy in the old Spanish settlers towards their new visitors. Blome adds, that the Portuguese were abhorred.

To such mutual distrust, and irreconcilable aversion of the inhabitants towards each other, must be ascribed the reason, that Sir Anthony Shirley met with so little resistance when he invaded the island in 1596, and plundered the capital. About forty years afterwards it was again invaded by a force from the Windward islands under colonel Jackson. It is said, however, that on this occasion the inhabitants behaved with great gallantry in a pitched battle at Passagefort. They were, however, defeated, and Jackson, after losing forty of his men, entered St. Jago de la Vega sword in hand, and having pillaged the town of

every thing valuable, received a considerable ransom for sparing the houses. He then retreated to his ships, and carried off his booty without interruption.

From this period until the capture of the island by the English in 1655, during the usurpation of Cromwell, I know nothing of its concerns, nor perhaps were they productive of any event deserving remembrance. I shall therefore proceed, in the next chapter, to the consideration of the protector's motives for attacking the territories of Spain at a time when treaties of peace subsisted between the two nations; which I conceive have hitherto been greatly misunderstood, or wilfully misrepresented by historians in general.

* * * In the preceding pages (see 140 of the present edition) I have assigned some reasons in support of the traditional account of the destruction of New Seville, on the northern side of Jamaica, *by the ancient Indians*; and I have supposed that event to have happened in the year 1523. I have since discovered that the reasons I have given were well founded. Among Sir Hans Sloane's MSS. in the British Museum, I have been shewn part of an unpublished history of Jamaica, which was written the beginning of the present century, by Doctor Henry Barham, a very learned and respectable physician of that island, wherein the circumstance is related nearly in the manner I have suggested, and stated to have occurred (as I had supposed) immediately after the embarkation of the force under Garay; which is known, from Herrera, to have taken place in 1523.—In the same work, the letter from Christopher Columbus (*vide* p. 131, *et seq.*) is preserved as a document of undoubted authenticity.

CHAPTER II.

Cromwell vindicated for attacking the Spaniards in 1655.—Their cruelties in the West Indies, in contravention of the treaty of 1630.—Proposals offered by Modyford and Gage.—Forcible arguments of the latter.—Secretary Thurloe's account of a conference with the Spanish Ambassador.—Cromwell's demand of satisfaction rejected.—State of Jamaica on its capture.

THERE is no portion of the English annals, in the perusal of which greater caution is requisite, than the history of the administration of the protector Cromwell. The prejudices of party, which, in common cases, are lost in the current of time, have floated down to us in full strength against this prosperous usurper; and his actions, from the period that he reached the summit of power, are still scrutinized with industrious malignity; as if it were impossible that authority irregularly acquired, could be exercised with justice.

It is not strange therefore, that the vigorous proceedings of the Protector against the Spanish nation, in 1655, should have been obnoxious to censure, or that writers of very opposite political principles should concur in misrepresenting his conduct on that occasion.

The celebrated female republican* terms it “dishonourable and piratical,” and the courtly and elegant apologist of the Stewart family,† pronounces it a most unwarrantable violation of treaty.

The publication of the state papers of Thurloe (the secretary) ought, however, to have mitigated this weight of censure. In truth, it will be found, that nothing but a most disingenuous concealment of the hostile proceedings of the Spaniards, too gross to be palliated, towards the subjects of England, can give even the colour of plausibility to the charge which has been brought against Cromwell, of having commenced an unjust and ruinous war against a friend and ally, contrary to the interest of the nation, and in violation of the faith of treaties. If the power which is vested in the executive magistrate, by whatever name he be distinguished, be held for the protection and security of the religion, liberties, and properties of the people under his government, the measures adopted by the protector on that occasion were not merely justifiable; they were highly necessary, and even meritorious; for the conduct of Spain, especially in America, was the declaration and exercise of war against the whole human race. I shall adduce a few remarkable facts to support this assertion. The subject is curious in itself, and, in some respects, will be new to the reader.

* Mrs. Macauley—Hist. of England.

† David Hume—Hist. of Great Britain.

The latest treaty which had been made between England and Spain, previous to the assumption of the protectorate by Cromwell, was concluded in the year 1630; by the first article of which it was stipulated, “that there should be peace, amity, and friendship, “between the two crowns and their respective subjects *in all parts of the world.*” Before this period, the sovereigns of Spain had not only encouraged, but openly avowed, the exercise of perpetual hostility on the ships and subjects of all the nations of Europe, that were or might be found in any part of the new hemisphere; arrogantly assuming to themselves a right, not only to all the territories which their own subjects had discovered there, but claiming also, the sole and exclusive privilege of navigating the American seas. †

† In the reign of James I. within two years after the conclusion of a peace between England and Spain, which saved the Spanish monarchy from absolute destruction, Sir Charles Cornwallis, in a letter dated from Madrid in May 1606, informs the earl of Salisbury, that Don Lewis Firardo, a Spanish admiral, having met with certain English ships laden with corn and bound to Seville, “took the masters, and first set their necks in the stocks. He afterwards removed them into his own ship, and there, with his own hands, did as much to their legs; reviling them, and calling them heretics, Lutheran dogs, and enemies of Christ, threatening to hang them; and in conclusion robbed them of what he thought fit.” See Winwood, vol. ii. p. 143—It appears, by subsequent letters preserved in the same collection, that Cornwallis, complaining to the duke of Lerma, the minister of Spain, of Firardo’s conduct, particularly in sending to the galleys some English mariners, whom he had made prisoners in the West Indies, was told by that minister, “that Firardo should be called to account, not (adds the duke) for sending the men to the galleys, but *for not having hanged them up, as he ought to have done.*” Sir Walter Raleigh, some time afterwards, in a letter to king James, speaks of it as

Pretensions so exorbitant, which violated alike the laws of nature and nations, were resisted by every maritime state that felt itself concerned in the issue: by the English particularly, who had already planted colonies in Virginia, Bermudas, St. Christopher's and Barbadoes; territories, some of which Spain had not even discovered, and none of which had she ever occupied. Thus actual war, and war with all its horrors, prevailed between the subjects of Spain in the new world, and those of the several other nations who ventured thither; while, at the same time, peace apparently subsisted between the parent states in Europe.

To secure to the English an uninterrupted intercourse with their settlements above mentioned, was one great object of the treaty of 1630. It seems indeed to have been more immediately founded on a remarkable instance of Spanish perfidy, which had recently happened in the island of St. Christopher; for the court of Spain having, towards the latter end of the year 1629, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four ships of force, and fifteen frigates, under the command of Don Frederick de Toledo, ostensibly to attack the Dutch settlement in Brasil, secretly ordered the admiral to proceed in the first place to the island I

a well known fact, that the Spaniards, in another instance, had murdered twenty-six Englishmen, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, even after they had traded with them a whole month, and when the English went ashore in full confidence, and without so much as one sword among them. See Raleigh's Works by Birch, vol. ii. p. 376.

have mentioned (which although the Spaniards had indeed first discovered it one hundred and thirty years before, they had never once occupied) and rout out from thence both the English and French, who at that time held a joint and peaceable possession.

Neither the French nor the English, nor both together, were strong enough to oppose such an enemy. The French planters took refuge in the neighbouring island of Antigua, and the English fled to the mountains; from whence they sent deputies to treat for a surrender; but the haughty Spaniard required and obtained unconditional submission; and, having selected out of the English settlers six hundred of the ablest men, whom he condemned to the mines, he ordered all the rest (consisting chiefly of women and children) instantly to quit the island, in some English vessels which he had seized at Nevis, under pain of death. He then laid waste all the settlements within his reach, and having reduced the country to a desert, proceeded on his voyage.

It might be supposed that the treaty of 1630, prevented such enormities in future; but in violation of all that is solemn and sacred among Christian states, and to the disgrace of human nature, the Spaniards, eight years only after the affair of St. Christopher's, attacked a small English colony which had taken possession of the little unoccupied island of Tortuga, and put every man, woman, and child to the sword: they even hanged up such as came in and surrendered

themselves, on the promise of mercy, after the first attack.

The unhappy monarch at that time on the throne of England, was too deeply engaged in contests with his subjects at home, to be able to afford protection to his colonists abroad; and those contests terminating at length in a civil war, the Spaniards proceeded in the same career with impunity; treating all the British subjects, whom they found in the West Indies, as intruders and pirates. In the year 1635, the English and Dutch had jointly taken possession of Santa Cruz, which before that time was wholly unpeopled and deserted. Disputes afterwards arising between the new settlers, the English took arms and became sole masters of the island. In 1650 the Spaniards landed there, and without the smallest provocation, exterminated every inhabitant that fell into their hands, murdering as at Tortuga, even the women and children. As usual with this revengeful nation, they conquered only to desolate; for having destroyed all the people they could seize, they laid waste and then deserted the island, and when some of the Dutch nation, in consequence of such desertion, took possession a second time, the Spaniards returned and treated them as they had treated the English.

Of their cruelties towards the subjects of foreign states, even such as were forced on their coasts in distress, the instances were without number. Their treatment of the sailors was as barbarous and inhuman, as their pretences for seizing their ships were common-

ly groundless and unjust. The very mercies of the Spaniards were cruel; for if, in some few instances, they forbore to inflict immediate death on their prisoners, they sentenced them to a worse punishment; condemning them to work in the mines of Mexico for life. §

It is evident, from the numerous schemes and proposals for attacking the Spaniards, which were presented to Cromwell on his elevation to the protectorate, that the English in General, had a deep and just sense of the wrongs which they sustained from the bigotry, avarice, and cruelty of the Spanish nation.—

§ The Spaniards, after the death of Cromwell, revived these practices, and continued them to our own times. About the year 1680, they landed on the island of Providence, one of the Bahamas, and totally destroyed the English settlement there. The governor (Mr. Clark) they took with them to Cuba, in irons, and put him to death by torture. Oldmixon, who wrote “The British Empire in America,” was informed by Mr. Trott, one of Governor Clark’s successors, that the Spaniards roasted Clark on a spit. The insolence and brutality of the commanders of the Spanish guarda-costas, in the days of Walpole, are remembered by many persons now living; and perhaps there are those alive who were present when captain Jenkins gave that remarkable evidence to the house of commons, which it would be thought might have animated every British heart to insist on exemplary vengeance. The case was this:—A Spanish commander, after rummaging this man’s vessel for what he called contraband goods, without finding any, put Jenkins to the torture, and afterwards, without the smallest provocation, cut off one of his ears, telling him to carry it to the king of England his master. Jenkins had preserved the ear in a bottle, which he displayed to the House of Commons. Being asked by one of the members, what he thought or expected while in the hands of such a barbarian? “I recommended (he replied) my soul to God, and my cause to my country.”

See Torbuck’s Parliamentary Debates.

We may surely conclude, that applications of such a nature could not have been made to the supreme executive magistrate, without any pretence of injury received. To suppose that a body of the subjects of any civilized state, or that even any individual of sound mind, would intrude into the national councils, and presume to solicit a violation of the public faith, and the commencement of hostilities towards a powerful state and an ally, without any provocation, is to suppose a case which I believe never did occur in history, and which indeed it seems next to impossible should happen. Among other persons who presented memorials on this occasion, we find the names of colonel Modyford and Thomas Gage. The former was one of the earliest and most enterprising planters of Barbadoes; and Gage had resided twelve years in New Spain in priest's orders. He was brother of Sir Henry Gage, one of the generals under Charles I. and appears to have been a man of capacity and extensive observation.

In his memorial, which is preserved among the state papers of Thurloe, he enters fully into a justification of the measures which he recommends.—“None in conscience (he observes) may better attempt such an expulsion of the Spaniards from those parts, than the English, who have been often expelled by them from our plantations; as from St. Christopher's, St. Martin's, from Providence, and from Tor-

|| This Sir Henry Gage was killed at the battle of Culham bridge, in 1644. He was ancestor of the late General Gage, by whom I was favoured with this account of Thomas Gage.

tugas, where the English were inhumanly and most barbarously treated by the Spaniards, who to this day watch for their best advantage to cast us out of all our plantations, and say, that all the islands as well as the main belong to them. And in conscience, it is lawful to cast that enemy or troublesome neighbour out of his dominions, that would, and hath attempted to cast us out of ours.”—He then proceeds to demonstrate, that it is not a work of difficulty to dislodge the Spaniards from some of their most valuable possessions, and recommends the first attack to be made on Hispaniola or Cuba; the former, he observes, “was the Spaniards’ first plantation, and therefore it would be to them a bad omen, to begin to lose that which they first enjoyed.” “This island (he adds) is not one quarter of it inhabited, and so the more easy to take.”—Gage, some years before, had published a book, which is now before me; intitled “A new Survey of the West Indies.” It contains much curious information respecting the state of Spanish America, at the time that he resided there. In the dedication to Fairfax, general of the parliament’s forces, he combats with great strength of reasoning, the pretensions of the Spanish crown to an exclusive right to the countries of the new world: “I know of “no title,” he observes, “that the Spaniard hath (the “Pope’s donation excepted) but force, which, by the “same title may be repelled.—And, as to the *first* “*discovery*, to me it seems as little reason, that the “sailing of a Spanish ship upon the coast of India, “should entitle the king of Spain to that country, as “the sailing of an Indian or English ship upon the

“ coast of Spain, should entitle either the Indians or
“ English unto the dominion thereof. No question
“ but the just right or title to those countries, apper-
“ tains to the natives themselves; who, if they should
“ willingly and freely invite the English to their pro-
“ tection, what title soever they have in them, no
“ doubt they may legally transfer to others. But to
“ end all disputes of this nature, since God hath given
“ the earth to the sons of men to inhabit, and that
“ there are many vast countries in those parts not yet
“ inhabited, either by Spaniard or Indian, why should
“ my countrymen, the English, be debarred from
“ making use of that, which God, from all begin-
“ ning, did ordain for the benefit of mankind?”

These, or similar arguments, and a long list of Spanish depredations on the subjects of England, made without doubt a deep impression on the mind of Cromwell. It appears indeed, that the court of Spain, conscious of having merited the severest vengeance, foresaw an impending storm, and endeavoured to avert it. We are told by Thurloe, that Cardenas the ambassador, in a private audience, congratulated the protector on his elevation to the government, “ assuring him of the true and constant friendship of his master, either in the condition he then stood, or that if he would go a step further, and take upon him the crown, his master would venture the crown of Spain to defend him in it.” These general discourses came afterwards to particular propositions; which Cromwell received with a coldness that alarmed the ambassador; who then desired that former

treaties of alliance between the two kingdoms might be renewed, as the first step towards a nearer union. It does not appear that Cromwell had any objection to this proposition. That he sought to involve the nation in an unprovoked and unnecessary war with Spain, or, as Ludlow expresses it, that “he meant to engage those men in distant services, who otherwise were ready to join in any party against him at home,” though it has been confidently asserted, has been asserted against clear and substantial evidence. He demanded, it is true, satisfaction for past, and security against future injuries; and he appointed commissioners to treat with the Spanish ambassador thereupon; with whom several conferences were held, chiefly, says Thurloe, on the right interpretation of the treaty of 1630.—The result of those conferences, which I shall give in Thurloe’s own words, affords so full and clear a justification of the protector’s subsequent proceedings, that no excuse can be offered for those historians by whom this evidence has been wilfully suppressed.

The chief difficulties (observes Thurloe) were the following, “1st, touching the West Indies, the debate whereof was occasioned upon the first article of the aforesaid treaty of 1630, whereby it is agreed, that there should be peace, amity, and friendship, between the two kings and their respective subjects in all parts of the world, as well in Europe as elsewhere. Upon this it was shewn, that in contravention of this article, the English were treated by the Spaniards as enemies, wherever they were

“ met in America, though sailing to and from their
“ own plantations, and insisted that satisfaction was
“ to be given in this, and a good foundation of friend-
“ ship laid in those parts for the future, between
“ their respective subjects, (the English there being
“ very considerable, and whose safety and interest the
“ government here ought to provide for), or else there
“ could be no solid and lasting peace between the
“ two states in Europe.

“ The second difference was touching the inquisi-
“ tion, &c.—To these two, Don Alonso was pleased
“ to answer; that to ask a liberty from the inquisi-
“ tion, and *free sailing in the West Indies*, was to
“ *ask his master's two eyes*; and that *nothing could*
“ *be done in those points, but according to the prac-*
“ *tices of former times.*”

“ Then it came into debate, before Oliver and his
“ council, with which of these crowns (France or
“ Spain) an alliance was to be chosen. Oliver him-
“ self was for war with Spain, *at least in the West*
“ *Indies, if satisfaction were not given for the past*
“ *damages, and things well settled for the future.*
“ *and most of the council went the same way.*”

From the facts and recital which I have thus given, it is apparent that the Spaniards not only were the first aggressors, but had proceeded to those hostilities against the subjects of England, which are unjustifiable even in a state of actual war; and, although the outrages complained of, were such as the most insig-

nificant state in the world would not have tamely submitted to, from the most powerful; yet did Cromwell, in seeking redress, display his regard to justice by his moderation and temper. He demanded, it is true, reparation for past injuries, and security against future; but he did not order reprisals to be made, until his demand was rejected, and until he was plainly told, that the same hostile line of conduct which the Spaniards had hitherto pursued towards the English in America should be persisted in. Now, as Blome well observes, on this occasion, "*war must needs be justifiable, when peace is not allowable.*"

The course of my work would now bring me to a detail of the protector's measures in consequence of his appeal to force; the equipment of a powerful armament, its miscarriage at Hispaniola, and success at Jamaica; but of all these transactions, a very accurate and circumstantial narrative has already been given in the history of Jamaica by Mr. Long; to whose account I cannot hope to add perspicuity or force. Referring the reader, therefore, to that valuable work, for satisfactory information in these particulars, I shall conclude this chapter with an account of the state of Jamaica, its inhabitants and productions, as it was found by the English forces on its capture, in May 1655; observing only, and I mention the circumstance with a regret in which I am sure the reader will participate, that Gage, who planned and embarked in the expedition, perished in it!

The whole number of white inhabitants on the island, including women and children, did not exceed

fifteen hundred. Penn, in his examination before the protector's council, on the 12th of September 1655, states them at twelve or fourteen hundred only, of whom he says about five hundred men were in arms when the English landed. It is remarkable, however, that Blome, who compiled a short account of Jamaica so early as 1672, avers that the town of St. Jago de la Vega consisted of two thousand houses, two churches, two chapels and an abbey. There must therefore have happened at some period a wonderful diminution in the number of the white inhabitants, and the expulsion of the Portuguese settlers, as related by this author, appears the more probable. Blome perhaps has given an exaggerated account of the number of the houses; but sufficient evidence remained, until within these few years, of the buildings consecrated to divine worship, particularly of the two churches and the abbey.

Of the other principal settlements, the chief appears to have been at Port Caguay, since named by the English Port Royal; but though it was next in consequence to St. Jago, it was probably nothing more than an inconsiderable hamlet, established for the purpose of some small traffic with the ships bound from Hispaniola to the continent. Its subsequent rise and extensive prosperity, its deplorable wickedness and fatal catastrophe, are circumstances too well known to be repeated.*

* The following singular inscription appears on a tomb-stone, at Green-bay, adjoining the Apostles' battery, near this town.

“ DIEU SUR TOUT.

“ Here lies the body of Lewis Galdy, Esq. who departed this life, at

To the westward of Caguay was the port of Esquivel, (Puerta de Esquivella), so called, I presume, in honour of the governor of that name. This port seems indeed to have been almost deserted at the time of the conquest in 1655, the Spaniards giving the preference to Caguay; but it was still resorted to by the galleons, as a place of shelter during the hurricane months, and from its ancient reputation, the English named it *Old Harbour*.

From Old Harbour to Punto Negrillo, the western point of the island, the sea-coast was chiefly in savanna, abounding in horned cattle; but there does not appear to have been any settlement in all that great extent of country, except a small hamlet called Oristan, of which, however, the exact situation cannot now be ascertained.

Returning eastward, to the north of Port Caguay, was the Hato de Liguany, presenting to the harbour an extensive plain or savanna, covered with cedar and other excellent timber. This part of the country was also abundantly stored with horned cattle and horses, which ran wild in great numbers; and the first employment of the English troops was hunting

Port Royal, the 22d December 1736, aged eighty. He was born at Montpellier, in France, but left that country for his religion, and came to settle in this island, where he was swallowed up in the great earthquake, in the year 1692, and by the providence of God, was by another shock thrown into the sea, and miraculously saved by swimming, until a boat took him up. He lived many years after, in great reputation, beloved by all who knew him, and much lamented at his death."

and slaughtering the cattle, for the sake of the hides and tallow, which soon became an article of export. It was supposed by Sedgewicke, that the soldiers had killed 20,000 in the course of the first four months after their arrival; and as to horses, “they were in such plenty (says Goodson) *that we accounted them the vermin of the country.*”†

Eastward of Liguany was the Hato, by some called *Ayala*, by others *Yalos*, and now wrote *Yallahs*; a place, saith Venables “which hath much commodity of planting or erecting of sugar engines of water, by reason of two convenient rivers running through it fit for that purpose.” Next to Ayala was the Hato called *Morante*. This Morante (saith Venables) “is a large and plentiful Hato, being four leagues in length, consisting of many small savannas, and has wild cattle and hogs in very great plenty, and ends at the Mine, which is at the cape or point of Morante itself, by which toward the north is the port Antonio.”

Such is the account of Jamaica as transmitted in General Venable’s letter to Secretary Thurloe, dated 13th June 1655. The reader will perceive, that no mention is made of the northern side of the island; which gives room to conclude, as was undoubtedly

† “Colonel Barry’s house, all galleried round, (now called Cavaliers), was formerly, when the Spaniards possessed the island, the only place in Liguany inhabited; a rich widow had here a sugar-work, and abundance of cattle in the savannas, near 40,000.” (Sloane, vol. i. Introd. p. 73.) The mountains of Liguany were supposed also to contain mines both of gold and copper.

the fact, that it was one entire desert, from east to west, totally uncultivated and uninhabited.

Of the inland parts, it appears from Sloane, that Guanaboa was famous for its cacao-trees, and the low lands of Clarendon for plantations of tobacco.

Upon the whole, although the Spaniards had possessed the island a century and a half, not one hundredth part of the plantable land was in cultivation when the English made themselves masters of it. Yet the Spanish settlers had no sooner exterminated, in the manner we have seen, the original proprietors, than they had recourse, with their neighbours of Hispaniola, to the introduction of slaves from Africa. We are told that the number of negroes in the island, at the time of its capture, nearly equalled that of the whites. It is not easy to discover to what useful purpose the labour of these blacks was applied. The sloth and penury of the Spanish planters, when the English landed, were extreme. Of the many valuable commodities which Jamaica has since produced in so great abundance, some were altogether unknown, and of the rest the inhabitants cultivated no more than were sufficient for their own expenditure. Their principal export, besides cacao, consisted of hogs lard and hides. The sale of these articles, and supplying the few ships that touched at their ports with provisions, in barter for European manufactures, constituted the whole of their commerce; a commerce which the savages of Madagascar conduct with equal ability and success. They possessed nothing

of the elegancies of life, nor were they acquainted even with many of those gratifications which, in civilized states, are considered as necessary to the comfort and convenience of it. They were neither polished by social intercourse, nor improved by education; but passed their days in gloomy langour, enfeebled by sloth and depressed by poverty. Having at the same time but little or no connection with Europe, nor the means of sending their children thither for education, (a circumstance that might have introduced among them from time to time some portion of civility and science), they had been for many years in a state of progressive degeneracy, and would probably, in a short time, have expiated the guilt of their ancestors, by falling victims themselves to the vengeance of their slaves. Time indeed had wrought a wonderful change in the manners and dispositions of all the Spanish Americans. It must, however, be acknowledged, that if they possessed not the abilities of their forefathers, they were unstained with their crimes. If we find among them no traces of that enterprising genius; that unconquerable perseverance, that contempt of toil, danger and death, which so wonderfully distinguished the great adventurers, who first explored and added a new hemisphere to the Spanish dominion; we must own at the same time, that they were happily free from their guilty ambition; their remorseless fanaticism and frantic cruelty. But, whatever was their character, it is impossible to justify the hard terms imposed by the English commanders on the poor settlers in Jamaica, in requiring them to deliver up their slaves and effects, and quit the country altogether.

They pleaded that they were born in the island, and had neither relations, friends, nor country, elsewhere, and they declared that they were resolved to perish in the woods, rather than beg their bread in a foreign soil. This was their final answer to the propositions of Venables, the English general, nor could they be brought again to enter into any treaty. The resistance they afterwards made against the efforts of our troops to expel them from the island, may furnish this important lesson to conquerors—that even victory has its limits, and that injustice and tyranny frequently defeat their own purposes.‡

‡ The articles of capitulation first agreed on, which may be seen in Burchet's Naval History, are sufficiently liberal. By these all the inhabitants (some few individuals excepted) had their lives and effects granted them, and permission to remain in the country; but on the 4th of June, Venables informs the Lord Protector, that the inhabitants having broken their promises and engagements, he had seized the governor and other chief persons, and compelled them to subscribe new articles.—What those were he does not say. It appears however, that it was stipulated by one of them, that the Spanish part of the inhabitants should leave the island; and it seems probable, that this measure was promoted by the intrigues of the Portuguese; for, in a subsequent letter, Venables writes thus: “The Portugueses we hope to make good subjects of; the Spaniards we shall remove.” The particulars related in the text, concerning the effect of this determination on the minds of those poor people, are given on the authority of a paper signed, J. Daniel, dated Jamaica, 3d of June, and preserved among Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 504.

CHAPTER III.

Proceedings of the English in Jamaica after its capture.—Col. D'Oyley declared President.—Discontents and mortality among the army,—Vigorous exertions of the Protector.—Col. Brayne appointed commander in chief.—His death.—D'Oyley re-assumes the government.—Defeats the Spanish forces, which had invaded the island from Cuba.—His wise and steady administration.—Bucaniers.—Conciliating conduct of Charles II. on his restoration.—First establishment of a regular government in Jamaica.—Lord Windsor's appointment.—Royal proclamation.—American treaty in 1670.—Change of measures on the part of the crown.—New constitution devised for Jamaica.—Earl of Carlisle appointed chief governor for the purpose of enforcing the new system.—Successful opposition of the assembly.—Subsequent disputes respecting the confirmation of their laws.—Terminated by the revenue act of 1728.

AFTER the capture of the island, until the restoration of Charles II. the English in Jamaica remained under military jurisdiction. Cromwell had nominated Winslow, Serle and Butler, to act as commissioners, with Penn and Venables, intending, I presume, to constitute by this arrangement, a council of state, whose authority might mitigate the rigour of the law-martial; but the two generals, with commis-

sioner Butler returning to England without leave, the sole command of the army devolved on Major General Fortescue, and of the fleet on admiral Goodson. Nevertheless it was the intention of Cromwell to have established a civil government in the island on very liberal principles. Soon after he received the account of its capture, he issued a proclamation declaratory of that purpose, and on the return to England of Commissioner Butler, he sent over Major Sedgewicke to supply his place. Sedgewicke arrived in Jamaica in October, but Winslow and Serle having in the mean time fallen victims to the climate, he was unwilling to act under the protector's commission without further assistance. An instrument of government was thereupon framed, and subscribed, on the eighth of October 1655, by Sedgewicke and the principal officers, who thereby constituted themselves a supreme executive council for managing the general affairs of the island; of which Fortescue was declared president, and he dying soon afterwards, Colonel Edward D'Oyley, the next in command, was chosen to preside in his room. But the situation of the troops required martial array, and strict discipline; for the dispossessed Spaniards and fugitive negroes continued to harass the soldiers with perpetual alarms. Men were daily killed by enemies in ambush. The Spanish blacks had separated themselves from their late masters, and murdered, without mercy, such of the English as rambling about the country fell into their hands. They were even so audacious as to venture by night to attack the English troops in their quarters, and to set fire to some of the houses in which

they were lodged, in the town of St. Jago de la Vega, the capital.

But the Protector was determined to maintain his conquest, and seemed anxiously bent on peopling the island. While recruits were raising in England, he directed the governors of Barbadoes and the other British colonies to windward, (which at that time were exceedingly populous), to encourage some of their planters to remove to Jamaica, on the assurance of their having lands assigned them there. He despatched an agent to New England on a similar errand, as well as to engage the people of the northern provinces to furnish provisions to the newly-acquired territory. He gave instructions to his son Henry Cromwell, who was major general of the forces in Ireland, to engage two or three thousand young persons of both sexes from thence, to become settlers in Jamaica; and he corresponded with the lord Broghill, who commanded at Edinburgh, on the best means of inducing as great a number to emigrate for the same purpose from Scotland.

In the mean while the old soldiers within the island disliking their situation, and conceiving, from the preparations of the government at home, that the protector had thoughts of confining them to Jamaica for life, became dissatisfied and seditious. Other causes indeed concurred to awaken among them such a spirit of discontent as approached nearly to mutiny. Having at first found in the country cattle and swine in great abundance, they had destroyed them with such im-

providence and wantonness of profusion, as to occasion a scarcity of fresh provisions in a place which had been represented as abounding in the highest degree. The chief commanders apprehending this event, and finding that the bread and flour which arrived from England were oftentimes spoiled by the length of the voyage and the heat of the climate, had urged the soldiers, with great earnestness, to cultivate the soil, and raised, by their own industry, Indian corn, pulse, and cassavi, sufficient for their maintenance. They endeavoured to make them sensible that supplies from England must necessarily be casual and uncertain; and, persuasion failing, they would have compelled them by force to plant the ground; but the subaltern officers concurred with the private men, absolutely refusing to contribute in the smallest degree to their own preservation by the means recommended. They were possessed of a passionate longing to return to England, and fondly imagined, that the continual great expense of maintaining so large a body of troops at so great a distance, would induce the protector to relinquish his conquest. They even rooted up the provisions which had been planted and left by the Spaniards. "Our soldiers (writes Sedgewicke) have destroyed all sorts of provisions and cattle. Nothing but ruin attends them wheresoever they go. Dig, or plant, they neither will nor can, but are determined rather to starve than work." A scarcity approaching to a famine, was at length the consequence of such misconduct, and it was accompanied with its usual attendants, disease and contagion. Perhaps there are but few descriptions in history wherein a

greater variety of horrors are accumulated than in the letters addressed on this occasion by Sedgewicke, and the other principal officers, to the government at home, which are preserved among Thurloe's state papers. Such was the want of food, that snakes, lizards and other vermin, were eagerly eaten, together with unripe fruits and noxious vegetables. This unwholesome diet concurred with other circumstances to produce an epidemic dysentery, which raged like the plague. For a considerable time one hundred and forty men died weekly, and Sedgewicke himself at length perished in the general carnage.

The protector, as soon as he had received information of the distracted and calamitous state of the colony, exerted himself, with his usual vigour, to afford it relief. Provisions and necessaries of all kinds were shipped without delay; and Cromwell, distrustful it is said of D'Oyley's attachment, superseded him, by granting a commission of commander in chief of Jamaica, to Col. Brayne, governor of Lochabar in Scotland. This gentleman, with a fleet of transports, and a reinforcement of one thousand recruits, sailed from Port Patrick, the beginning of October 1656, and arrived at Jamaica in December following. Col. Humphreys with his regiment, consisting of eight hundred and thirty men, had landed, some time before, from England; and Stokes, governor of Nevis, with one thousand five hundred persons collected in the Windward islands, had reached Jamaica, and begun an establishment near to the Port of Morant, where some of Stoke's descendants, of the same name, possess at

this day considerable property. Another regiment, commanded by Col. Moore, arrived in the beginning of 1657 from Ireland, and some industrious planters followed soon afterwards from New England and Bermudas.

Brayne's first accounts are very discouraging. He complains that he found all things in the utmost confusion; that violent animosities subsisted among the troops; and, above all, that there was a great want of men *cordial to the business*; such is his expression. He desires a remittance of £.5,000, to enable him to erect fortifications, and a further supply of provisions for six months; strenuously recommending, at the same time, a general liberty of trade between the island and all nations in amity with England; an indulgence which he thinks would speedily encourage planters enough to settle in, and improve, the country.

But Brayne, though a man of sagacity and penetration, wanted firmness and fortitude. The troops still continued unhealthy, and sickness spreading rapidly amongst the new comers, Brayne, alarmed for his own safety, became as little cordial to the business of settling as the rest. He prayed most earnestly for permission to return to England. In the mean while, by way (as he writes) of precaution against a fever, he weakened himself to a great degree by copious blood-letting; a practice which probably proved fatal to him; for he died at the end of ten months after his arrival. A few days before his death, finding himself in im-

minent danger, he sent to D'Oyley, and formally transferred his authority to that officer. D'Oyley happily possessed all those qualifications in which Brayne was deficient; yet he entered on his charge with reluctance; for having already been roughly superseded by the protector, he expected perhaps such another dismissal. In the letters which he addressed to Cromwell and Fleetwood, on the event of Brayne's decease, he expresses himself with propriety and dignity. "Your highness," he observes to Cromwell, "is not to be told how difficult it is to command an army without pay, and I tremble to think of the discontents I am to struggle withal, until the return of your commands; though I bless God I have the affection of the people here, beyond any that ever yet commanded them; and a spirit of my own not to sink under the weight of unreasonable discontents." To Fleetwood he writes, "I would have refused to accept of this command, if I could have quitted with honour and faithfulness to my country; but I am now resolved to go through, until I receive further orders from his highness, or a discharge from him, which I humbly desire your lordship to effect for me. Honours and riches are not the things I aim at. I bless God I have a soul much above them. Pray, my lord, decline your greatness, and command your secretary to give me an answer; for if I were disrobed of all my titles of honour and great command, yet you know that I am a gentleman, and a faithful friend to my country."

It was fortunate for his country that his resignation was not accepted, and that the protector, sensible at

length of the ability and merit of this brave man, confirmed him in his command. To the exertions of D'Oyley, seconded and supported by the affection which his soldiers, under all their difficulties and distresses, manifested on every occasion towards him, we owe at this day the possession of Jamaica; the recapture whereof by the Spaniards, towards the end of the year 1657, became to them an object of great national concern. Its defenceless state, the dissatisfaction of the English troops, and the exertions making by Cromwell to afford them relief, as well as to augment their numbers, led the governor of Cuba to believe, that the juncture was then arrived for retrieving the honour of his country, by the restoration of this island to its dominion. Having communicated to the vice-roy of Mexico, a scheme built on this idea, and received the sanction and support of that officer, he made preparations for a formidable invasion, and appointed Don Christopher Sasi Arnoldo, who had been governor of Jamaica at the time of its capture, to take the conduct and command of the enterprize.

On the eighth of May 1658, thirty companies of Spanish infantry landed at Rio Nuevo, a small harbour on the north side of the island. They were provided with provisions for eight months, with ordnance and ammunition of all kinds, and they brought engineers and artificers for erecting extensive fortifications. Twelve days had elapsed before D'Oyley knew of their landing, and six weeks more intervened by the time that he was able to approach them by sea. During this interval, the Spaniards had established them-

selves in great force; but D'Oyley at length reaching Rio Nuevo, with seven hundred and fifty of his best disciplined soldiers, attacked them in their intrenchments; carried by assault a strong fortress which they had erected on an eminence over the harbour; and compelled the late unfortunate governor to get back as he could to Cuba, after the loss of all his stores, ordnance, ammunition and colours, and of one half the forces which he had brought with him. Few victories have been more decisive; nor does history furnish many instances of greater military skill and intrepidity, than those which were displayed by the English on this occasion.

After so signal a defeat, the Spaniards made no effort of consequence to reclaim Jamaica. A party of the ancient Spanish inhabitants, however, still lurked in the woods, and Sasi, their governor, had returned to share their fortunes; but a body of their fugitive negroes having surrendered to D'Oyley on the promise of freedom, these wretches informed him where their late masters were sheltered; and joined some troops that were sent in pursuit of them: thus the poor Spaniards were entirely routed, and the few that survived, by escaping to Cuba, took their last farewell of a country, on their fond attachment to which, it is not possible to reflect without emotions of pity.

By the wise, steady, and provident administration of D'Oyley, the affairs of the island began at length to wear a more promising aspect. The army was now become tolerably healthy. Some successful ef-

forts in raising Indian corn, cassavi, tobacco, and cacao, had given encouragement to a spirit of planting. The arrival of several merchant ships, for the purpose of traffic, contributed still further to the promotion of industry, and, on the whole, the dawn of future prosperity began to be visible.

But, as hath been truly observed by a well informed author,* nothing contributed so much to the settlement and opulence of this island in early times, as the resort to it of those men called bucaniers; the wealth which they acquired having been speedily transferred to people whose industry was employed in cultivation or commerce. Of that singular association of adventurers it were to be wished, that a more accurate account could be obtained than has hitherto been given: I will just observe in this place, that such of them as belonged to Jamaica were not those piratical plunderers and public robbers which they are commonly represented. A Spanish war, commenced on the justest grounds on the part of the English, still prevailing in the West Indies, they were furnished with regular letters of marque and reprisal. After the restoration of Charles II. the king ordered that they should receive every encouragement and protection; nor, if we may believe Sir William Beeston,† did his majesty disdain to become a partner in the bucaniering expeditions. It is indeed related, that he continued to exact and receive a share of the booty,

* European Settlements.

† MS. Journal *penes me.*

even after he had publicly issued orders for the suppression of this species of hostility.‡

People of all professions, and from all parts of the British empire, now resorted to Jamaica. The confusions which overspread England after the death of Cromwell, impelled many to seek for safety and quiet in the plantations. Some of those men who had distinguished themselves by their activity, in bringing their unhappy monarch to the scaffold, considered this island as a sure place of refuge. Foreseeing from the temper which began to prevail amongst all ranks of people in England, especially towards the beginning of the year 1660, that the nation was united in its wishes for the re-establishment of the ancient frame of government, they hoped to find that safety in a colony composed of Cromwell's adherents, which they were apprehensive would shortly be denied them at home.§

‡ The favour extended by the king to Henry Morgan, the most celebrated of the English bucaniers, (a man indeed of an elevated mind and invincible courage), arose doubtless, in a great measure, from the *good understanding* that prevailed between them in the copartnership that I have mentioned. When the Earl of Carlisle returned from Jamaica, Morgan was appointed deputy-governor and lieutenant-general in his absence; and, proceeding himself, at a subsequent period, to England, he was received very graciously, and had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by his sovereign. I hope, therefore, and indeed have good reason to believe, that all or most of the heavy accusations which have been brought against this gallant commander, of outrageous cruelty towards his Spanish captives, had no foundation in truth.

§ Some of those men who had sat as judges at the trial of Charles I. are said to have become peaceable settlers here, and to have remained

But although men of this stamp were silently permitted to fix themselves in the island, the general body both of the army and people caught the reviving flame of loyalty, and sincerely participated in the national triumph on the king's return. The restored monarch, on his part, not only overlooked their past transgressions, but prudently forebore also to awaken their jealousy, by inquiring after any of those obnoxious characters to whom they had afforded protection. To conciliate the affections of the colonists, whose valour had annexed so important an appendage to his dominions, the king even confirmed their favourite general in his command; appointing D'Oyley, by a commission which bore date the 13th of February 1661, chief governor of the island. He was ordered, at the same time, to release the army from military subordination, to erect courts of judicature, and with the advice of a council *to be elected by the inhabi-*

after the restoration unnoticed and unmolested. Waite and Blagrove are reckoned of the number, and General Harrison was earnestly pressed to follow their example; but, suitably to his character, he gloried in the ignominious death that awaited him. After his execution, his children fixed their fortunes in this island, where some of his descendants, in the female line, are still living, in good credit, in the parish of St. Andrew. It is reported also, that the remains of President Bradshaw were interred in Jamaica; and I observe in a splendid book, intitled *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, an epitaph which is said to have been inscribed on a cannon that was placed on the president's grave; but it is, to my own knowledge, a modern composition. President Bradshaw died in London, in November 1659, and had a magnificent funeral in Westminster abbey. A son of Scott, the regicide, fixed himself in this island, and settled the plantation called Y S in St. Elizabeth.

tants, to pass laws suitable to the exigencies of the colony.

This memorable appointment of General D'Oyley, with a council elected by the people, may be considered as the first establishment of a regular civil government in Jamaica, after the English had become masters of it; but in order to create full confidence of security in the minds of the inhabitants, further measures were necessary on the part of the sovereign; and they were readily adopted. D'Oyley desiring to be recalled, the lord Windsor was nominated in his room, and directed to publish on his arrival, a royal and gracious proclamation, wherein, for the purpose of encouraging the settlement of the country, allotments of land were offered under such terms as were usual in other plantations, with such farther convenient and suitable privileges and immunities, as the grantees should reasonably require. The proclamation then proceeds in the words following:—" And we do
" further publish and declare, that all the children of
" our natural-born subjects of England, to be born
" in Jamaica, SHALL, FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE
" BIRTHS, BE REPUTED TO BE, AND SHALL BE,
" FREE DENIZENS OF ENGLAND, AND SHALL
" HAVE THE SAME PRIVILEGES, TO ALL IN-
" TENTS AND PURPOSES, AS OUR FREE-BORN
" SUBJECTS OF ENGLAND; and that all free per-
" sons shall have liberty, without interruption, to
" transport themselves and their families, and any
" of their goods, (except only coin and bullion), from
" any of our dominions and territories to the said

“ island of Jamaica, &c.”||—These important declarations have always been justly considered, by the in-

|| As the reader may be desirous of seeing this proclamation at large, it is here inserted *verbatim*.

“ *Decima Septima Pars Patentium de Anno Regni Regis Caroli Secundi Tertio decimo. Car. 2di. 13tio.* ”

A PROCLAMACON, *for the encouraging of Planters in His Majesty's island of Jamaica in the West Indies.*

5. WEE being fully satisfied that our island of Jamaica, being a pleasant and most fertile soyle, and scituate commodiously for trade and commerce, is likely, through God's blessing, to bee a greate benefitt and advantage to this, and other our kingdomes and dominions, have thought fitt, for encouraging of our subjects, as well such as are already upon the said island, as all others that shall transport themselves thither, and reside and plant there, to declare and publish, and wee doe hereby declare and publish, that thirtie acres of improveable lands shall bee granted and allotted, to every such person, male or female, being twelve years old or upwards, wh^o now resides, or within two years next ensuing, shall reside upon the said island, and that the same shall bee assigned and sett out by the governor and councill, within six weekes next after notice shall bee given, in writing, subscribed by such planter or planters, or some of them in behalfe of the rest, to the governor or such officer as hee shall appoint in that behalfe, signifying their resolutions to plant there, and when they intend to bee on the place; and in case they doe not goe thither, within six months then next ensuing, the said allotment shall be void, and free to bee assigned to any other planter, and that every person and persons to whom such assignment shall bee made, shall hold and enjoy the said lands, soe to bee assigned, and all houses, edifices, buildings and inclosures thereupon to bee built or made, to them and their heirs for ever, by and under such tenures as is usual in other plantations subject to us. Neverthelesse they are to bee

Stamp.	VI. Pence.
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habitants of Jamaica, as a solemn recognition and confirmation by the crown, of those rights which are

Stamp.
VI. Pence.

obliged to serve in armies upon any insurrection, mutiny, or forraine invasion, and that the said assignments and allotments shall be made and confirmed under the publique seale of the said island, with power to create any mannor or manors, and with such convenient and suitable priveledges and imunities as the grantee shall reasonably desire and require, and a draught of such assignment shall bee prepared by our learned councell in the lawe, and delivered to the governor to that purpose, and that all fishings and pischaries, and all copper, lead, tin, iron, coales and all other mines (except gold and silver) within such respective allotments shall bee enjoyed by the grantees thereof, reserving only a twentieth part of the product of the said mines to our use. And wee doe further publish and declare, that all children of any of our naturall-borne subjects of *England*, to bee borne in *Jamaica*, shall from their respective births, bee reputed to bee, and shall bee, free Denizens of *England*; and shall have the same priveleges, to all intents and purposes, as our free-borne subjects of *England*, and that all free persons shall have libertie without interruption, to transport themselves, and their families and any their goods (except onley coyne and bullion) from any our dominions and territories to the said island of *Jamaica*. And wee doe strictly charge and command all planters, soldiers, and others, upon the said island, to yield obedience to the lawfull commands of our right trusty and welbeloved *Thomas Lord Windsor*, now our governor of our said island, and to every other governor thereof for the tyme being, under paine of our displeasure and such penalties as may bee inflicted thereupon. *Given at our courte at Whitehall, the fourteenth day of December.* P. ipm'. Regem.

This is a true copy of the original record remaining in the Chappelle of the Rolls, having been examined by me

Henry Rooke, Cl^r of the Rolls.

VERA-COPIA.

inherent in, and unalienable from, the person of a subject of England, and of which, so long as he preserves his allegiance, emigration for the benefit of the state cannot, and surely ought not, to divest him. Pursuant to, and in the spirit of the proclamation, the governor was instructed to call an assembly, to be indifferently chosen by the people at large, that they might pass laws for their own internal regulation and government; a privilege, which being enjoyed by such of their fellow subjects as remained within the realm, it is presumed they had an undoubted right to exercise, with this limitation only, that the laws which they should pass, were not subversive of their dependance on the parent state.*

To these several testimonies of royal justice and favour towards the new colonists, may be added the additional security obtained for them by the American treaty, concluded and signed at Madrid in the month of June 1670. For after the restoration, doubts were raised by the partizans of royalty, whether, as the elevation of Cromwell was adjudged an usurpation, the conquests which had been made under the sanction of his authority, could be rightfully maintained by a kingly government? Although nothing could well be more futile than these suggestions, it

* His Majesty was likewise pleased to favour the island with a broad seal with the following arms, viz. a cross guies charged with five pine apples in a field argent; *supporters*, two Indians plum'd and condaled; *crest*, an alligator vivan. The inscription in the orb,

Ecce alium Ramos porrexit in orbem
Nec sterilis est crux.

was nevertheless thought necessary to guard against the conclusions which Spain might deduce from them. This precaution partly gave rise to the seventh article of the treaty above referred to, which is conceived in the words following, viz. "The king of
" Great Britain, his heirs and successors, shall have,
" hold and possess, for ever, with full right of sove-
" reign dominion, property and possession, all lands,
" countries, islands, colonies and dominions what-
" ever, situated in the West Indies, or any part of
" America, which the said king of Great Britain and
" his subjects, do, at this present, hold and possess;
" so that in regard thereof or upon any colour or pre-
" tence whatever, nothing may or ought ever to be
" urged, nor any question or controversy moved con-
" cerning the same hereafter."†

Hitherto, it must be admitted that the sovereign authority was properly exerted in defence of the just rights of the crown, and in securing to its distant subjects the enjoyment of their possessions; but unhappily Charles II. had neither steadiness nor integrity. About the period of the American treaty a scheme having been formed by him, or his ministry, for subverting the liberties of the people at home, it is the less wonderful, that the privileges enjoyed by the colonists abroad, should have been regarded by the king

† From this recital may be seen the folly of the very prevalent notion, that the sovereigns of Spain, or some of their subjects, still keep up pretensions to Jamaica, or claim property therein, as not having been formally ceded to the crown of England.

with a jealousy, which, increasing with the increase of their numbers, broke out at length into acts of open hostility and violence towards them.

In the beginning of 1673, the storm fell on Jamaica. A new system of legislation was adopted for this island, founded nearly on the model of the Irish constitution under Poynings's act; and the Earl of Carlisle was appointed chief governor for the purpose of enforcing it. A body of laws was prepared by the privy council of England; among the rest a bill for settling a perpetual revenue on the crown, which his lordship was directed to offer to the assembly, requiring them to adopt the whole code, without amendment or alteration. In future the heads of all bills (money bills excepted) were to be suggested in the first instance by the governor and council, and transmitted to his majesty to be approved or rejected at home; on obtaining the royal confirmation, they were to be returned under the great seal in the shape of laws, and passed by the general assembly; which was to be convened for no other purpose than that, and the business of voting the usual supplies; unless in consequence of special orders from England.

If we reflect only on the distance of Jamaica from Great Britain, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that it was impossible for the colony to exist under such a constitution and system of government. What misconduct on the part of the inhabitants, or what secret expectation on the part of the crown, originally gave birth to this project, it is now difficult to deter-

mine. The most probable opinion is this.—In the year 1663, the assembly of Barbadoes were prevailed on, by very unjustifiable means, as will hereafter be shewn, to grant an internal revenue to the crown, of four and a half per cent. on the gross exported produce of that island for ever. It is not unlikely that the steady refusal of the Jamaica planters to burthen themselves and their posterity with a similar imposition, exciting the resentment of the king, first suggested the idea of depriving them of those constitutional franchises which alone could give security and value to their possessions. Happily for the present inhabitants, neither secret intrigue nor undisguised violence were successful. Their gallant ancestors transmitted to their posterity their estates unincumbered with such a tax, and their political rights unimpaired by the system of government attempted to be forced on them. “The assembly (says Mr. Long) rejected the new constitution with indignation. No threats could frighten, no bribes could corrupt, nor arts nor arguments persuade them to consent to laws that would enslave their posterity.”—Let me add, as a tribute of just acknowledgment to the noble efforts of this gentleman’s great ancestor, Col. Long, that it was to *him*, Jamaica was principally indebted for its deliverance. As chief judge of the island, and member of the council, he exerted, on this important occasion, the powers with which he was invested, with such ability and fortitude, in defence of the people, as to baffle, and finally overpower every effort to enslave them. The governor, after dismissing him from the posts

which he had filled with such honour to himself, and advantage to the public, conveyed him a state prisoner to England. These despotic measures were ultimately productive of good. Col. Long, being heard before the king and privy council, pointed out with such force of argument, the evil tendency of the measures which had been pursued, that the English ministry reluctantly submitted. The assembly had their deliberative powers restored to them, and Sir Thomas Lynch, who had presided in the island as lieutenant governor from 1670 to 1674, very much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, was appointed captain-general and chief governor in the room of Lord Carlisle. †

It might have been hoped that all possible cause of future contest with the crown, on the question of political rights, was now happily obviated; but the event proved that this expectation was fallacious. Although the assembly had recovered the inestimable privilege of framing such laws for their internal government as their exigencies might require, of which doubtless themselves alone were competent to judge, and although it was not alleged that the laws which they had passed, as well before, as after the re-establishment of their rights, were repugnant to those of the mother country, yet the royal confirmation of a great

† I have subjoined, as an appendix to this book, "An Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica," wherein the particulars of Lord Carlisle's administration are detailed at large.—This historical account is now published for the first time, and cannot fail of proving extremely acceptable to the reader.

part of them had been constantly refused, and still continued to be withheld. It was indeed admitted, that the English who captured the island, carried with them as their birth right, the law of England as it then stood; but much of the English law was inapplicable to the situation and condition of the new colonists; and it was contended that they had no right to any statute of the British parliament, which had passed subsequent to their emigration, unless its provisions were specially extended to the colony by name. The courts of judicature within the island had however, from necessity, admitted many such statutes to be pleaded, and grounded several judgments and important determinations upon them; and the assembly had passed bills adopting several of the English statutes which did not otherwise bind the island; but several of those bills, when sent home for the royal confirmation, and those judgments and determinations of the courts of law, when brought by appeal before the king and council, though not disallowed, remained unconfirmed; and in this unsettled state, the affairs of Jamaica were suffered to remain for the space of fifty years.

The true cause of such inflexibility on the part of the crown, was no other than the old story of revenue. For the purpose, as it was pretended, of defraying the expense of erecting and repairing fortifications, and for answering some other public contingencies, the ministers of Charles II. had procured, as hath been related, from the assembly of Barbadoes, and indeed from most of the other British West In-

dian colonies, the grant of a perpetual internal revenue. The refusal of Jamaica, to consent to a similar establishment; the punishment provided for her contumacy, and the means of her deliverance, have already been stated; but it was found that the lenity of the crown in relinquishing the system of compulsion, was expected to produce that effect which tyranny had failed to accomplish. The English government claimed a return from the people of Jamaica, for having dropt an oppressive and pernicious project, as if it had actually conferred upon them a positive and permanent benefit; a claim in which all the British ministers, from the restoration of king Charles to the reign of George II. very cordially concurred.

The assembly however remained unconvinced. Among other objections, they pleaded that the money granted by the island of Barbadoes was notoriously appropriated to purposes widely different from those for which it was expressly given; and they demanded some pledge, or security, against a similar misapplication, in case they should subject their country to a permanent and irrevocable tax. The ministers refused to give any satisfaction in this particular; and finding that the assembly were equally resolute to pass their supply bills from year to year only, as usual, they advised the sovereign, from a spirit of vindictive policy, to wave the confirmation of the laws, and to suffer the administration of justice in the island, to remain on the precarious footing that I have described.

Such was the actual situation of Jamaica until the year 1728, when a compromise was happily effected. In that year, the assembly consented to settle on the crown a standing irrevocable revenue of £.8,000 per annum, on certain conditions, to which the crown agreed, and of which the following are the principal:

1st. That the quit-rents arising within the island (then estimated at £.1,460 per annum) should constitute a part of such revenue. 2dly. That the body of their laws should receive the royal assent. And, 3dly. That “all such laws and statutes of England, “as had been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, “accepted, or received, as laws in the island, should “be and continue laws of Jamaica for ever.” The revenue act, with this important declaration therein, was accordingly passed; and its confirmation by the king, put an end to a contest no less disgraceful to the government at home, than injurious to the people within the island.

I have thus endeavoured, with as much brevity as the subject would admit, to trace the political constitution of Jamaica from infancy to maturity; but although its parentage and principles are British, it has been modified and occasionally regulated by many unforeseen events, and local circumstances. In its present form, and actual exercise, however, it so nearly resembles the system of government in the other British West Indian islands, that one general description (which I reserve for a subsequent part of my work) will comprehend the whole. A minute detail of lo-

cal occurrences and internal politics, would not, I presume, be interesting to the general reader. The following are the only circumstances which appear to me to merit distinct notice, and I have reserved the recital for this place, that the thread of the preceding narrative might continue unbroken.

In the year 1687, Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, was appointed chief governor of Jamaica. This nobleman was the only surviving son and heir of General Monk, who had restored Charles II. and I mention him principally as exhibiting a striking instance of the instability of human greatness. The father had been gratified with the highest rewards that a sovereign could bestow on a subject; a dukedom, the garter, and a princely fortune; and the son, reduced to beggary by vice and extravagance, was driven to the necessity of imploring bread from James II. The king, to be freed from his importunities, gave him the government of Jamaica; where, dying childless, a short time after his arrival, his honours were extinguished with his life. The noble duke lived long enough, however, to collect a considerable sum of money for his creditors; for entering into partnership with Sir William Phipps, who had discovered the wreck of a Spanish plate ship, which had been stranded in 1659, on a shoal to the north-east of Hispaniola, they sent out sloops from Jamaica, provided with skilful divers, to search for the hidden treasure, and are said to have actually recovered twenty-six tons of silver. The conduct of this noble governor, on his arrival, affords many curious instances of the arbitrary

principles of the times:—Having called an assembly, his grace dissolved them abruptly, because one of the members, in a debate, repeated the old adage, *salus populi suprema lex*. His grace afterwards took the member into custody, and caused him to be fined six hundred pounds for this offence. With his grace came over Father Thomas Churchill, a Romish pastor, sent out by James II. to convert the island to popery; but his grace's death, and the revolution in 1688, blasted the good father's project. The duchess accompanied her husband; a circumstance which the speaker of the assembly, in his first address, expatiated upon in a high strain of eloquence. “It is an honour (said he) which the opulent kingdoms of Mexico and Peru could never arrive at, *and even Columbus's ghost would be appeased for all the indignities he endured of the Spaniards, could he but know, that his own beloved soil was hallowed by such footsteps!* §

§ Having mentioned this lady, the reader, I am persuaded, will pardon me for adding the following particulars of her history. On the death of the duke her first husband, his grace's coadjutors in the diving business (many of whom had been bucaniers) complained that they had not received their full share of the prize money, and her grace, who had got possession of the treasure, refusing to part with a shilling, they formed a scheme to seize her person in the king's house in Spanish Town, and carry her off. Luckily she received some intimation of the plot a day or two before it was to have been carried into execution, and communicated her apprehensions to the house of assembly, who thereupon appointed a formidable committee of their ablest bodied members to guard her person by day and night, until she was safely embarked in one of the king's ships. She arrived in England in the Assistance man of war, with all her treasure, the beginning of June 1688, and some years afterwards fell into a state of mental imbecility, in the progress of which she pleased herself with the notion,

On the seventh of June 1692, happened that tremendous earthquake which swallowed up great part of Port Royal. A description of it, dreadfully minute, may be found in the Philosophical Transactions; but it is not generally known that the town was chiefly built on a bank of sand, adhering to a rock in the sea, and that a very slight concussion, aided by the weight of the buildings, would probably have accomplished its destruction. I am inclined therefore to suspect that the description of the shock is much exaggerated.||

The inhabitants were scarcely recovered from the terrors occasioned by the earthquake, when they were alarmed with an account of an intended invasion by an armament from Hispaniola, commanded by Mons. Du

that the emperor of China having heard of her immense riches was coming to pay his addresses to her. She even made magnificent preparations for his reception. As she was perfectly gentle and good humoured in her lunacy, her attendants not only encouraged her in her folly, but contrived also to turn it to good account, by persuading a needy peer (the first duke of Montague) to personate his Chinese majesty, and deceive her into wedlock, which he actually did; and with greater success than honesty, or, I should imagine, even the law would warrant, got possession by this means of her wealth, and then confined her as a lunatic. Cibber, the comedian, who thought it a good jest, introduced the circumstance on the stage, and it forms a scene in his play, called the *Sick Lady Cured*. Her grace survived her husband, the pretended emperor, for many years, and died in 1734, at the great age of 98. Her frenzy remained however to the last, and she was served on the knee as empress of China to the day of her death.

|| The 7th of June is declared, by an act of the assembly, to be established a perpetual anniversary fast, in commemoration of this calamity

Casse, the governor of that island, in person. Accordingly, on the 17th of June 1694, a fleet of three men of war and twenty privateers (having on board 1500 land forces) appeared off Cow-bay, where eight hundred of the soldiers were landed, with orders to desolate the country as far as Port Morant. These barbarians obeyed their instructions to the full extent. They not only set fire to every settlement they came to, but tortured their prisoners in the most shocking manner, and murdered great numbers in cold blood, after making them behold the violation of their wives by their own negroes. Such at least is the account transmitted by Sir William Beeston, the governor, to the secretary of state. Unfortunately, the militia of this part of the country had been drawn off to guard the capital; whereby the French continued their ravages without resistance, and having set fire to all the plantations within their reach, and seized about one thousand negroes, Du Casse sailed to leeward, and anchored in Carlisle Bay, in the parish of Vere. This place had no other fortification than an ill-contrived breast-work, manned by a detachment of two hundred men from the militia of St. Elizabeth and Clarendon, which Du Casse attacked with all his force. The English made a gallant resistance; but colonel Cleyborn, lieutenant colonel Smart, captain Vassal, and lieutenant Dawkins being killed, and many others dangerously wounded, they were compelled to retreat. Happily, at this moment, arrived five companies of militia, which the governor had sent to their assistance from Spanish Town. These, though they had marched thirty miles without refreshment, im-

mediately charged the enemy with such vigour, as entirely to change the fortune of the day. The French retreated to their ships, and Du Casse soon afterwards returned to Hispaniola with his ill-gotten booty.

In 1712, on the 28th of August, and again on the same day of the same month in the year 1722, Jamaica was shaken to its foundations by a dreadful hurricane. This day, therefore, as well as the seventh of June, the colonial legislature has, by an act of assembly, piously set apart for fasting and humiliation, and I wish I could add, that its commemoration annually, is as exemplary among all ranks of people as the occasion was signal.

The next important occurrence in the history of this island, was the pacification concluded in 1738, with the hostile negroes called *Maroons*; but the respite which this treaty afforded the inhabitants from intestine commotion was of short duration. In 1760, the very existence of the colony was endangered by a revolt of the enslaved negroes. As, however, some particulars of this affair will be given in a subsequent part of my work, when I come to treat generally of negro slavery, and of the condition and character of the newly imported Africans, it is unnecessary for me, in this place, to enlarge upon the subject.

The co-operation of the people whom I have just mentioned, the *Maroons*, in suppressing the revolt of

1760, was considered, at the time, in a very favourable point of view; and the safety of the country was attributed in some degree to their services on that occasion; but the writer of this was convinced by his own observations on the spot, that no opinion could be more ill founded: he was persuaded that the Maroons were suspicious allies, and that, whenever they should come to feel their own strength, they would prove very formidable enemies. Recent events have unhappily confirmed the judgment he then formed of them. Soon after the publication of this work, these people began a most unprovoked war against the white inhabitants, which has ended in their total defeat, and the final expulsion of most of them from the island. The circumstances attending this revolt requiring particular discussion, I have accordingly given it full consideration, in a distinct narrative of its origin, progress and termination; to that therefore the reader is referred.

The year 1744 was distinguished by another destructive conflict of the elements; and in 1780, after a long respite, began that dreadful succession of hurricanes, which, with the exception of 1782 and 1783, desolated this, and some of the neighbouring islands, for seven years together.*

* 1780 hurricane 3d October.

1781.....1st August.

1784.....30th July.

1785.....27th August.

1786.....20th October.

Of the whole series of these awful visitations, the first was undoubtedly the most destructive; but in Jamaica, the sphere of its activity was chiefly confined to the western parts of the island. The large and opulent districts of Westmoreland and Hanover presented, however, such extent and variety of desolation from its effects, as are scarcely to be equalled in the records of human calamity. Westmoreland alone sustained damage to the amount of £.700,000 sterling, and Hanover nearly as much. The sad fate of Savanna la Mar (a small sea-port in the former parish) can never be remembered without horror. The sea bursting its ancient limits, overwhelmed that unhappy town, and swept it to instant destruction, leaving not a vestige of man, beast, or habitation behind; so sudden and comprehensive was the stroke, that I think the catastrophe of Savanna la Mar was even more terrible, in many respects, than that of Port Royal. The latter however, was in its effects more lasting; for to this hour the ruins of that devoted town, though buried for upwards of a century beneath the waves, are visible in clear weather from the boats which sail over them, presenting an awful monument or memorial of the anger of Omnipotence!

Dread end of human strength, and human skill,
Riches, and triumph, and domain, and pomp,
And ease and luxury!

DYER.

What has thus frequently happened, will probably happen again; and the insolence of wealth, and the

confidence of power, may learn a lesson of humility from the contemplation.†

† Mr. Long, in the third volume of his *History of Jamaica*, has enumerated the following prognostics, as the usual precursors of a hurricane:—"Extraordinary continuance of extreme dry and hot weather. On the near approach of the storm, a turbulent appearance of the sky: the sun becomes unusually red, while the air is perfectly calm. The highest mountains are free of clouds, and are seen very distinctly. The sky towards the north looks black and foul. The sea rolls on the coast and into the harbours with a great swell, and emits, at the same time, a very strong and disagreeable odour. On the full moon, a haze is seen round her orb, and sometimes a halo round the sun." To this enumeration, I will add a remarkable circumstance which happened in Jamaica in 1780. Upwards of twenty hours before the commencement of the great storm in that year, a very uncommon noise, resembling the roar of distant thunder, was heard to issue from the bottom of all the wells in the neighbourhood of Kingston. There was, at that time, in Port Royal harbour, a fleet of merchant ships, which were to sail the next morning. The commander of one of these vessels was a witness to the circumstance I have mentioned; and having been informed that it was one of the prognostics of an approaching hurricane (though none had happened in Jamaica for near forty years) he hastened on board his ship, warped her that evening into the inner harbour into shoal water, and secured her with all the precautions he thought necessary. At day-break the hurricane began, and this ship was one of the very few that escaped destruction from its fury.

CHAPTER IV.

Situation and climate.—Face of the country.—Mountains, and advantages derived from them.—Soil.—Lands in culture.—Lands uncultivated, and observations thereon.—Woods and timbers.—Rivers and medicinal springs.—Ores.—Vegetable classes.—Grain.—Grasses.—Kitchen-garden produce, and fruits for the table, &c. &c.

JAMAICA is situated in the Atlantic ocean, in about 18 degrees 12 minutes, north latitude, and in longitude about 77 degrees 45 minutes west from London. From these data the geographical reader will perceive, that the climate, although tempered and greatly mitigated by various causes, some of which will be presently explained, is extremely hot, with little variation from January to December; that the days and nights are nearly of equal duration; there being little more than two hours difference between the longest day and the shortest; that there is very little twilight; and finally, that when it is twelve o'clock at noon in London, it is about seven in the morning in Jamaica.

The general appearance of the country differs greatly from most parts of Europe; yet the north and south sides of the island, which are separated by a vast chain

of mountains extending from east to west, differ at the same time widely from each other. When Columbus first discovered Jamaica, he approached it on the northern side; and beholding that part of the country which now constitutes the parish of St. Anne, he was filled with delight and admiration at the novelty, variety, and beauty of the prospect. The whole of the scenery is indeed superlatively fine, nor can words alone (at least any that I can select) convey a just idea of it. A few leading particulars I may perhaps be able to point out, but their combinations and features are infinitely various, and to be enjoyed must be seen.

The country at a small distance from the shore rises into hills, which are more remarkable for beauty than boldness; being all of gentle acclivity, and commonly separated from each other by spacious vales and romantic inequalities; but they are seldom craggy, nor is the transition from the hills to the vallies oftentimes abrupt. In general, the hand of nature has rounded every hill towards the top with singular felicity. The most striking circumstances, however, attending these beautiful swells are the happy disposition of the groves of pimento, with which most of them are spontaneously clothed, and the consummate verdure of the turf underneath, which is discoverable in a thousand openings; presenting a charming contrast to the deeper tints of the pimento. As this tree, which is no less remarkable for fragrancy than beauty, suffers no rival plant to flourish within its shade, these groves are not only clear of underwood,

but even the grass beneath is seldom luxuriant. The soil in general being a chalky marl, which produces a close and clean turf, as smooth and even as the finest English lawn, and in colour infinitely brighter. Over this beautiful surface the pimento spreads itself in various compartments. In one place, we behold extensive groves; in another, a number of beautiful groups, some of which crown the hills, while others are scattered down the declivities. To enliven the scene, and add perfection to beauty, the bounty of nature has copiously watered the whole district. No part of the West Indies, that I have seen, abounds with so many delicious streams. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cascade. In one point of view, where the rocks overhang the ocean, no less than eight transparent waterfalls are beheld in the same moment. Those only who have been long at sea, can judge of the emotion which is felt by the thirsty voyager at so enchanting a prospect.

Such is the foreground of the picture. As the land rises towards the centre of the island, the eye, passing over the beauties that I have recounted, is attracted by a boundless amphitheatre of wood;

Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
Cedar; and branching palm: MILTON.

An immensity of forest; the outline of which melts into the distant blue hills, and these again are lost in the clouds.

On the southern side of the island, the scenery, as I have before observed, is of a different nature. In the landscape I have described, the prevailing characteristics are variety and beauty: in that which remains, the predominant features are grandeur and sublimity. When I first approached this side of the island by sea, and beheld, from afar, such of the stupendous and soaring ridges of the blue mountains, as the clouds here and there disclosed, the imagination (forming an indistinct but awful idea of what was concealed, by what was thus partially displayed) was filled with admiration and wonder. Yet the sensation which I felt was allied rather to terror than delight. Though the prospect before me was in the highest degree magnificent, it seemed a scene of magnificent desolation. The abrupt precipice and inaccessible cliff, had more the aspect of a chaos than a creation; or rather seemed to exhibit the effects of some dreadful convulsion, which had laid nature in ruins. Appearances, however, improved as we approached; for, amidst ten thousand bold features, too hard to be softened by culture, many a spot was soon discovered where the hand of industry had awakened life and fertility. With these pleasing intermixtures, the flowing line of the lower range of mountains (which now began to be visible, crowned with woods of majestic growth) combined to soften and relieve the rude solemnity of the loftier eminences; until at length the savannas at the bottom met the sight. These are vast plains, clothed chiefly with extensive cane-fields; displaying, in all the pride of cultivation, the verdure of spring blended with the exuberance of autumn, and they are bounded only by

the ocean; on whose bosom a new and ever-moving picture strikes the eye; for innumerable vessels are discovered in various directions, some crowding into, and others bearing away from, the bays and harbours with which the coast is every where indented. Such a prospect of human ingenuity and industry, employed in exchanging the superfluities of the old world, for the productions of the new, opens another, and I might add, an almost untrodden field, for contemplation and reflection.

Thus the mountains of the West Indies, if not, in themselves, objects of perfect beauty, contribute greatly towards the beauty of general nature; and surely the inhabitants cannot reflect but with the deepest sense of gratitude to Divine Providence, on the variety of climate so conducive to health, serenity and pleasure, which these elevated regions afford them. On this subject I speak from actual experience. In a maritime situation, on the sultry plains of the south side, near the town of Kingston, where I chiefly resided during the space of fourteen years, the general medium of heat during the hottest months, (from June to November, both inclusive), was eighty degrees on Farenheit's thermometer.‡ At a villa eight miles distant, in the highlands of Liguanea, the

‡ In the other months, viz. from December to May, the thermometer ranges from 70 to 80 degrees. The night air in the months of December and January is sometimes surprisingly cool: I have known the thermometer so low at sun-rise as 69 degrees, even in the town of Kingston; but in the hottest months, the difference between the temperature of noon-day and midnight is not more than 5 or 6 degrees.

thermometer seldom rose, in the hottest part of the day, above seventy. Here then was a difference of ten degrees in eight miles; and in the morning and evening the difference was much greater. At Cold Spring, the seat of Mr. Wallen, a very high situation six miles further in the country, possessed by a gentleman who has taste to relish its beauties and improve its productions, the general state of the thermometer is from 55 to 65 degrees. It has been observed so low as 42 degrees; so that a fire there, even at noon day, is not only comfortable but necessary, a great part of the year. § It may be supposed, that

§ Cold Spring is 4,200 feet above the level of the sea. The soil is a black mould on a brown marl; but few or none of the tropical fruits will flourish in so cold a climate. Neither the nesberry, the avocado pear, the star apple, nor the orange, will bear within a considerable height of Mr. Wallen's garden; but many of the English fruits, as the apple, the peach, and the strawberry, flourish there in great perfection, with several other valuable exotics; among which I observed a great number of very fine plants of the *tea-tree* and other oriental productions. The ground in its native state is almost entirely covered with different sorts of the *fern*, of which Mr. Wallen has reckoned about 400 distinct species. A person visiting Cold Spring for the first time, almost conceives himself transported to a distant part of the world; the air and face of the country so widely differing from that of the regions he has left. Even the birds are all strangers to him. Among others, peculiar to these lofty regions, is a species of the swallow, the plumage of which varies in colour like the neck of a drake; and there is a very fine song-bird called the *fish-eye*, of a blackish brown with a white ring round the neck. I visited this place in December 1788, the thermometer stood at 57 degrees at sun-rise and never exceeded 64 degrees in the hottest part of the day. I thought the climate the most delightful that I had ever experienced. On the Blue Mountain peak, which is 7,431 feet from the level of the sea, the thermometer was found to range from 47 degrees at sun-rise to 58 degrees at noon, even in the month of August. See Med. Comment. Eding. 1780.

the sudden transition from the hot atmosphere of the plains, to the chill air of the higher regions, is commonly productive of mischievous effects on the human frame; but this, I believe, is seldom the case, if the traveller, as prudence dictates, sets off at the dawn of the morning (when the pores of the skin are in some measure shut) and is clothed somewhat warmer than usual. With these precautions, excursions into the uplands are always found safe, salubrious, and delightful. I will observe too, in the words of an agreeable writer,|| that, “on the tops of high mountains, where the air is pure and refined, and where there is not that immense weight of gross vapours pressing upon the body, the mind acts with greater freedom, and all the functions, both of soul and body, are performed in a superior manner.” I wish I could add, with the same author, that “the mind at the same time leaves all low and vulgar sentiments behind it, and in approaching the ethereal regions, shakes off its earthly affections, and acquires something of celestial purity.*

The following has been given, as an account of the heights from the sea of the most noted mountains in the world :

	Feet.
Mount Blanc.....	15,672
Etna.....	10,954
Pike of Teneriffæ.....	11,022
Chimborazo (Andes).....	20,575
Snowdon (Wales).....	3,557

|| Brydone.

* In describing the rural features of Jamaica, the district called *Pedro Plains*, deserves particular notice. It is a level country on a high bluff,

To these inequalities of its surface, however, it is owing, that although the soil in many parts of this island is deep and very fertile, yet the quantity of rich productive land is but small in proportion to the whole. The generality of what has been cultivated is of a middling quality, and requires labour and manure to make it yield liberally. In fine, with every prejudice in its favour, if we compare Jamaica with many other islands of nearly the same extent, (with Sicily,

called *Pedro Point*, situated on the south-west coast, in the parish of St. Elizabeth. I am indebted to a friend for the following interesting account of this part of the island, which deserves to be better known and better peopled than it seems to be at present.

“ *Pedro Plains* differ from every other savanna of the island, and from any part that I have seen of Cuba. From the district of Fullerswood, in St. Elizabeth’s parish, it runs eastward along the coast on an easy ascent to the highest ridge, which is called *Tophill*; from whence it stretches inland more than twenty miles in length, and about five in width. It is not altogether unlike the downs in some parts of England, and is most beautifully dotted with clumps of wood, amongst which the aloe, torch-thistle, and other plants of that genus, flourish in great luxuriance, from half an acre to many acres in extent; the boundaries being as nearly defined as if kept so by art. The soil in colour is the deepest red, baked hard on the surface by the action of the sun, but of so porous a nature as to absorb the heaviest rains as fast as they fall. The herbage is in general coarse; nevertheless, it maintains many thousands both of neat cattle and horses, and in no part of the world, I believe, is the latter found nearer to a state of wild nature than here. As the whole of this district is unfurnished with springs, or even ponds of any duration, the stock are compelled to go for water to the wells which are sunk in the lower parts of the country, at which time the hunters have opportunities of catching them; and contrivances are made for that purpose. This the master-horse seems to be well apprized of; for he leads into the inclosure with admirable caution, and as soon as his own thirst is allayed, he is very impatient to get his family out, which he always drives before him. He

for instance, to which it was compared by Columbus), it must be pronounced an unfruitful and laborious country, as the following detail will demonstrate.

Jamaica is one hundred and fifty miles in length, and, on a medium of three measurements at different

admits of no interlopers, nor allows any of his family to stray. The breed is remarkably hardy, but somewhat restive from their wild nature. The air of this country (particularly at Tophill, which approaches to mountainous) is wonderfully salubrious.—As one proof of this, there was living so late as 1780, a negro man, named John Comelast, who had resided on this spot as shepherd for upwards of 30 years. He had formerly been the coachman of a Mr. Woodstock, who had given him permission in his old age to go where he pleased. At the time I saw him his woolly hair had become perfectly white, and his body was shrivelled beyond any thing I had ever beheld; but at the same time his muscles were full and firm, and he could run down any sheep in the savanna; for he had no dog to assist him. We took him as our guide down to the sea: he ran before us, keeping our horses on a hand-gallop, to the beach, and he maintained the same pace on our return (though up-hill) a distance of about 10 miles. Of one family of the name of Ebanks, who lived on these plains, there were threescore persons living, all descended from one man, who was himself living in 1780. The air of this district, though not cold, is wonderfully dry and elastic, and so temperate withal, that even a European sportsman may follow his game the whole day without feeling any oppression from the heat; and he will meet with good sport in pursuing the galena or wild Guinea-fowl, which is found here in great numbers. The mutton raised here is equal to the finest down mutton in England, and the fruits and vegetables of all kinds are excellent. The water-melon in particular ranks with the first of fruits. Its coolness, crispness and flavour, are rivalled only by the beauty of the rind, which is mottled in shades of green, and bears a gloss like the polish of marble. On the whole, for beauty of prospect,—for purity and dryness of air,—and a climate exempt from either extreme of heat and cold, Pedro Plains may vie with any spot on the habitable globe.

places, about forty miles in breadth. These data, supposing the island to have been a level country, would give - - - - - 3,840,000 acres.

But a great part consisting of high mountains, the superficies of which comprise far more land than the base alone, it has been thought a moderate estimate to allow on that account $\frac{1}{6}$ more, which is 240,000

The total is.....4,080,000 acres.

Of these, it is found by a return of the clerk of the patents, that no more than 1,907,589, were, in November 1789, located or taken up by grants from the crown, and as no grants have been issued since that time, it appears that upwards of one half of the country is considered as of no kind of value. The lands in cultivation may be distributed nearly as follows:

In sugar plantations (including the land reserved in woods, for the purpose of supplying timber and firewood; or appropriated for common pasturage, all which is commonly two thirds of each plantation) the number of acres may be stated at 690,000; it appearing that the precise number of those estates, in December 1791, was 767, and an allowance of 900 acres to each, on an average of the whole, must be deemed sufficiently liberal.

Of breeding and grazing farms (or, as they are commonly called in the island, *pens*) the number is about 1,000; to each of which I would allow 700 acres, which gives 700,000, and no person who has carefully inspected the country, will allow to all the minor productions, as cotton, coffee, pimento and ginger, &c. including even the provision plantations, more than half the quantity I have assigned to the pens. The result of the whole is 1,740,000 acres, leaving upwards of two millions an unimproved, unproductive wilderness, of which not more than one-fourth part is, I imagine, fit for any kind of profitable cultivation; great part of the interior country being both impracticable and inaccessible.

But notwithstanding that so great a part of this island is wholly unimproveable, yet (such is the powerful influence of great heat and continual moisture) the mountains are in general covered with extensive woods, containing excellent timbers, some of which are of prodigious growth and solidity; such as the *lignum vitæ*, dog-wood, iron-wood, pigeon-wood, green-heart, *braziletto*, and bully-trees; most of which are so compact and heavy as to sink in water. Some of these are necessary in mill-work, and would be highly valuable in the Windward islands. They are even so in such parts of Jamaica as, having been long cultivated, are nearly cleared of contiguous woods; but it frequently happens, in the interior parts, that the new settler finds the abundance of them an incumbrance instead of a benefit, and having provided himself with a sufficiency for immediate use, he sets fire

to the rest, in order to clear his lands; it not answering the expense of conveying them to the sea coast for the purpose of sending them to a distant market. Of softer kinds, for boards and shingles, the species are innumerable; and there are many beautiful varieties adapted for cabinet work, among others the bread-nut, the wild-lemon, and the well known mahogany.†

As the country is thus abundantly wooded, so, on the whole, we may assert it to be well watered. There are reckoned throughout its extent above one hundred rivers, which take their rise in the mountains, and run, commonly with great rapidity, to the sea, on both sides of the island. None of them are deep enough to be navigated by marine vessels. Black river in St. Elizabeth's parish, flowing chiefly through a level country, is the deepest and gentlest, and ad-

† Mr. Beckford, (formerly of Westmoreland in Jamaica), whose elegant taste for the beautiful, leads him to select the *picturesque*, rather than the *useful*, in woodland scenery, thus describes the rural features of this richly furnished island: "The variety and brilliancy of the verdure
" are particularly striking, and the trees and shrubs that adorn the face
" of the country, are singular for the richness of their tints, and the depth
" of their shadows. The palm, the coco-nut, the mountain-cabbage,
" and the plantain, when associated with the tamarind, the orange, and
" other trees of beautiful growth and vivid dyes, and these commixed with
" the waving plumes of the bambo ocane, the singular appearance of the
" Jerusalem thorn, the bushy richness of the oleander, and African rose,
" the glowing red of the scarlet cordium, the verdant bowers of the jes-
" samine and grenadilla vines, all together compose an embroidery of
" colours which few regions can rival, and which, perhaps, none can
" surpass." Descriptive Account of Jamaica, vol. i. p. 32.

mits flat bottomed boats and canoes for about thirty miles.

Of the springs, which very generally abound, even in the highest mountains, some are medicinal; and are said to be highly efficacious in disorders peculiar to the climate. The most remarkable of these is found in the eastern parish of St. Thomas, and the fame of it has created a village in its neighbourhood, which is called the bath. The water flows out of a rocky mountain, about a mile distant, and is too hot to admit a hand being held underneath: a thermometer on Fahrenheit's scale, being immersed in a glass of this water, the quicksilver immediately rose to 123 degrees. It is sulphureous, and has been used with great advantage in that dreadful disease of the climate called the dry-belly-ach. There are other springs, both sulphureous and chalybeate, in different parts of the country; of which however, the properties are but little known to the inhabitants in general.

In many parts of Jamaica there is a great appearance of metals; and it is asserted by Blome, and other early writers, that the Spanish inhabitants had mines both of silver and copper: I believe the fact. But the industry of the present possessors is, perhaps, more profitably exerted on the surface of the earth, than by digging into its bowels. A lead mine was indeed opened some years ago, near to the Hope estate, in the parish of St. Andrew, and it is said, there was no want of ore, but the high price of labour, or other

causes with which I am unacquainted, compelled the proprietors to relinquish their project.

Of the most important of the present natural productions, as sugar, indigo, coffee and cotton, I shall have occasion to treat at large, when the course of my work shall bring me to the subject of agriculture. It only remains therefore, at present, to subjoin a few observations on the vegetable classes of inferior order: I mean those which, though not of equal commercial importance with the preceding ones, are equally necessary to the comfort and subsistence of the inhabitants. If the reader is inclined to botanical researches, he is referred to the voluminous collections of Sloane and Browne.

The several species of grain cultivated in this island are, first maize, or Indian corn, which commonly produces two crops in the year, and sometimes three: it may be planted at any time when there is rain, and it yields according to the soil from fifteen to forty bushels the acre. Secondly, Guinea corn, which produces but one crop in the year: it is planted in the month of September, and gathered in January following, yielding from thirty to sixty bushels an acre. Thirdly, various kinds of calavances, a species of pea; and, lastly, rice, but in no great quantity; the situation proper for its growth being deemed unhealthy, and the labour of negroes is commonly employed in the cultivation of articles that yield greater profit.

This island abounds likewise with different kinds of grass, both native and extraneous, of excellent qua-

lity; of the first is made exceeding good hay, but not in great abundance; this method of husbandry being practised only in a few parts of the country; and it is the less necessary, as the inhabitants are happily accommodated with two different kinds of artificial grass, both extremely valuable, and yielding great profusion of food for cattle. The first is an aquatic plant called *Scot's grass*, which though generally supposed to be an exotic, I have reason to think grows spontaneously in most of the swamps and morasses of the West-Indies. It rises to five or six feet in height, with long succulent joints, and is of very quick vegetation. From a single acre of this plant, five horses may be maintained a whole year, allowing fifty-six pounds of grass a day to each.

The other kind, called Guinea grass, may be considered as next to the sugar-cane, in point of importance; as most of the grazing and breeding farms, or pens, throughout the island, were originally created, and are still supported, chiefly by means of this invaluable herbage. Hence the plenty of horned cattle, both for the butcher and planter, is such, that few markets in Europe furnish beef at a cheaper rate, or of better quality, than those of Jamaica.† Perhaps the

† Mutton is also both cheap and good. The sheep of Jamaica, according to Sioane, are from a breed originally African. They have short hair instead of wool, and in general are party-coloured, chiefly black and white. They are small, but very sweet meat. The swine of the West Indies are also considerably smaller than those of Europe, and have short pointed ears. Their flesh is infinitely whiter and sweeter than the pork of Great Britain, and that of the wild sort, of which there are great numbers in the woods, still better.

settlement of most of the north-side parishes is wholly owing to the introduction of this excellent grass, which happened by accident about fifty years ago; the seeds having been brought from the coast of Guinea, as food for some birds which were presented to Mr. Ellis, chief-justice of the island. Fortunately the birds did not live to consume the whole stock, and the remainder being carelessly thrown into a fence, grew and flourished. It was not long before the eagerness displayed by the cattle to reach the grass, attracted Mr. Ellis's notice, and induced him to collect and propagate the seeds; which now thrive in some of the most rocky parts of the island; bestowing verdure and fertility on lands which otherwise would not be worth cultivation.

The several kinds of kitchen-garden produce, as edible roots and pulse, which are known in Europe, thrive also in the mountains of this island; and the markets of Kingston and Spanish-Town are supplied with cabbages, lettuce, carrots, turnips, parsnips, artichokes, kidney-beans, green-peas, asparagus, and various sorts of European herbs, in the utmost abundance. Some of them (as the three first) are I think of superior flavour to the same kinds produced in England. To my own taste however, several of the native growths, especially the chocho, ochra, Lima-bean, and Indian-kale, are more agreeable than any of the esculent vegetables of Europe. The other indigenous productions of this class are plantains, bananas, yams of several varieties, calalue (a species of spinage), eddoes, cassavi, and sweet

potatoes. A mixture of these, stewed with salted fish or salted meat of any kind, and highly seasoned with Cayenne-pepper, is a favourite olio among the negroes. For bread, an unripe roasted plantain is an excellent substitute, and universally preferred to it by the negroes, and most of the native whites. It may in truth be called the staff of life to the former; many thousand acres being cultivated in different parts of the country for their daily support. §

Of the more elegant fruits, the variety is equalled only by their excellence. Perhaps no country on earth affords so magnificent a dessert; and I conceive that the following were spontaneously bestowed on the island by the bounty of nature;—the anana or pine-apple, tamarind, papaw, guava, sweet-sop of two species, cashew-apple, custard-apple, (a species of *chirimoya* ||) coco-nut, star-apple, grenadilla, avocado-pear, hog-plum and its varieties, pindal-nut, nes-

§ It is said by Oviedo, that this fruit, though introduced into Hispaniola at a very early period, was not originally a native of the West Indies, but was carried thither from the Canary islands by Thomas de Berlanga, a friar, in the year 1516. The banana is a species of the same fruit. Sir Hans Sloane, whose industry is commendable, whatever may be thought of his judgment, has, in his History of Jamaica, collected much information respecting this production; and from some authorities which he cites, it would seem that Oviedo was misinformed, and that every species of the plantain is found growing spontaneously in all the tropical parts of the earth.

|| This fruit is the boast of South America, and is reckoned by Ulloa one of the finest in the world. I have been informed that several plants of it are flourishing in Mr. East's princely garden, at the foot of the Liguanea mountains.

bury, mammee, mammee-sapota, Spanish-gooseberry, prickly-pear, and perhaps a few others. For the orange, Seville and China, the lemon, lime, shaddock, and its numerous species, the vine, melon, fig and pomegranate, the West Indian islands were probably indebted to their Spanish invaders. Excepting the peach, the strawberry, and a few of the growths of European orchards, (which however attain to no great perfection, unless in the highest mountains), the rose-apple, genip, and some others of no great value, I do not believe, that English industry had added much to the catalogue, until within the last twenty years. About the year 1773, a botanic garden was established under the sanction of the assembly, but it was not until the year 1782 that it could justly boast of many valuable exotics. At that period, the fortune of war having thrown into the possession of Lord Rodney a French ship bound from the island of Bourbon to Cape Francois in St. Domingo, which was found to have on board some plants of the genuine cinnamon, the mango, and other oriental productions, his lordship, from that generous partiality which he always manifested for Jamaica and its inhabitants, presented the plants to his favourite island;—thus nobly ornamenting and enriching the country his valour had protected from conquest. Happily, the present was not ill-bestowed. The cinnamon may now be said to be naturalized to the country: several persons are establishing plantations of it, and one gentleman has set out fifty thousand plants. The mango is become almost as common as the orange; but, for want of attention, runs into a thou-

sand seminal varieties. Some of them, to my taste, are perfectly delicious.*

I shall conclude this chapter, with an authentic catalogue of the foreign plants in the public botanical garden of this island; lamenting, at the same time, that I am not able to gratify the reader with a more copious and extensive display, from the magnificent collection of my late friend Hinton East, Esquire, who had promised to favour me with an *Hortus Eastensis*, to be prepared, under his own immediate inspection, purposely for this work;—but much greater room have I to lament the cause of my disappointment, and mourn over the severity of that fate which suddenly snatch-

* The cinnamon tree grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet; it puts out numerous side branches with a dense foliage from the very bottom of the trunk, which furnishes an opportunity of obtaining plenty of layers, and facilitates the propagation of the tree, as it does not perfect its seeds in any quantity under six or seven years, when it becomes so plentifully loaded, that a single tree is almost sufficient for a colony.—When planted from layers, it is of a pretty quick growth, reaching in eight years the height of fifteen or twenty feet, is very spreading, and furnished with numerous branches of a fit size for decortication. The seeds are long in coming up. The small branches of about an inch diameter yield the best cinnamon, which is itself the *limber* or inner bark of the tree, and it requires some dexterity to separate the outer barks, which would vitiate the flavour. Specimens of the inner bark, transmitted by Dr. Dancer, the island botanist, to the Society of Arts, were found fully to possess the *aroma* and taste of the true cinnamon from Ceylon, and indeed to be superior to any cinnamon imported from Holland; and in all other respects to agree perfectly with the description of the oriental cinnamon given by Burman. See their resolutions of the 14th December 1790.

ed a most amiable and excellent citizen from his friends and the public, and hurried him to an untimely grave.—Such is the vanity of hope, and the uncertainty of life! †

† A very accurate and comprehensive catalogue of Mr. East's superb collection having since been obtained, it will be found in the fourth volume;—and the catalogue above mentioned, which was inserted in the first edition, is now therefore omitted.

CHAPTER V.

Topographical description.—Towns, villages, and parishes.—Churches, church-livings, and vestries.—Governor or commander in chief.—Courts of judicature.—Public offices.—Legislature and laws.—Revenues.—Taxes.—Coins, and rate of exchange.—Militia.—Number of inhabitants of all conditions and complexions.—Trade, shipping, exports and imports.—Report of the Lords of Trade in 1734.—Present state of the trade with Spanish America.—Origin and policy of the act for establishing free ports.—Display of the progress of the island in cultivation, by comparative statements of its inhabitants and products at different periods.—Appendix No. I. No. II.

THE island of Jamaica is divided into three counties, which are named Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. The county of Middlesex is composed of eight parishes, one town, and thirteen villages. The town is that of *St. Jago-de-la-Vega* or *Spanish Town*, the capital of the island. Most of the villages of this and the other counties, are hamlets of no great account, situated at the different harbours and shipping places, and supported by the traffic carried on there. *St. Jago-de-la-Vega* is situated on the banks of the river *Cobre*, about six miles from the sea, and contains between five and six hundred houses, and about five thousand inhabitants, including free people of colour.

It is the residence of the governor or commander in chief, who is accommodated with a superb palace; and it is here that the legislature is convened, and the court of chancery, and the supreme court of judicature, are held.

The county of Surry contains seven parishes, two towns, and eight villages. The towns are those of Kingston and Port Royal; the former of which is situated on the north side of a beautiful harbour, and was founded in 1693, when repeated desolations by earthquake and fire had driven the inhabitants from Port Royal. It contained in 1788, one thousand six hundred and sixty-five houses, besides negro huts and warehouses. The number of white inhabitants, in the same year, was six thousand five hundred and thirty-nine; of free people of colour three thousand two hundred and eighty; of slaves sixteen thousand six hundred and fifty-nine;—total number of inhabitants, of all complexions and conditions, twenty-six thousand four hundred and seventy-eight. It is a place of great trade and opulence. Many of the houses in the upper part of the town are extremely magnificent; and the markets for butcher's meat, turtle, fish, poultry, fruits and vegetables, &c. are inferior to none. I can add, too, from the information of a learned and ingenious friend, who kept comparative registers of mortality, that since the surrounding country is become cleared of wood, this town is found to be as healthful as any in Europe.†

† The number of the white inhabitants in Kingston, had increased in 1791 to about 7000. In that year the burials were 151 white men (in-

Port-Royal, once a place of the greatest wealth and importance in the West Indies, is now reduced, by repeated calamities, to three streets, a few lanes, and about two hundred houses. It contains, however, the royal navy yard, for heaving down and refitting the king's ships; the navy hospital, and barracks for a regiment of soldiers. The fortifications are kept in excellent order, and vie in strength, as I am told, with any fortress in the king's dominions.

Cornwall contains five parishes, three towns, and six villages.—The towns are Savanna-la-Mar on the south side of the island, and Montego-bay and Falmouth on the north. The former was destroyed by a dreadful hurricane and inundation of the sea in 1780, as I have elsewhere related. It is now partly rebuilt, and may contain from sixty to seventy houses.

Montego-bay is a flourishing and opulent town; consisting of two hundred and twenty-five houses,

cluding forty-five from the public hospital), twenty-three white women, and twenty white children. Total one hundred and ninety-four. Of the men, the whole number from the hospital, and a great many of the others, were transient persons, chiefly discarded or vagabond seamen; but without making any allowance for extraordinary mortality on that account, if this return, which is taken from the parochial register, be compared with the bills of mortality in the manufacturing towns of England, the result will be considerably in favour of Jamaica. In the large and opulent town of Manchester, for instance, the whole number of inhabitants in 1773, comprehending Salford, was 29,151, and the average number of burials (dissenters included) for five preceding years was nine hundred and fifty-eight. If the mortality in Manchester had been in no greater proportion than in Kingston, the deaths would not have exceeded 813.

thirty-three of which are capital stores or warehouses. The number of top-sail vessels which clear annually at this port are about one hundred and fifty, of which seventy are capital ships; but in this account are included part of those which enter at Kingston.

Falmouth, or (as it is more commonly called) *the Point*, is situated on the south-side of Martha-Brae harbour, and including the adjoining villages of Martha-Brae and the Rock, is composed of two hundred and twenty houses. The rapid increase of this town and neighbourhood within the last sixteen years is astonishing. In 1771, the three villages of Martha-Brae, Falmouth, and the Rock, contained together but eighteen houses; and the vessels which entered annually at the port of Falmouth did not exceed ten. At present it can boast of upwards of thirty capital stationed ships, which load for Great Britain, exclusive of sloops and smaller craft.

Each parish (or precinct consisting of an union of two or more parishes) is governed by a chief magistrate, styled *Custos Rotulorum*, and a body of justices unlimited by law as to number, by whom sessions of the peace are held every three months, and courts of Common pleas to try actions arising within the parish or precinct, to an amount not exceeding twenty pounds. In matters of debt not exceeding forty shillings, a single justice is authorized to determine.

The whole twenty parishes contain eighteen churches and chapels,§ and each parish is provided with a

§ Two or three more have been erected since this account was written.

rector, and other church officers; the rectors livings, the presentation to which rests with the governor or commander in chief, are severally as follows, viz. St. Catherine, £.300 per annum; Kingston, St. Thomas in the East, Clarendon, and Westmoreland, £.250 per annum; St. David, St. George, and Portland, £.100 per annum; all the rest £.200 per annum. These sums are paid in lieu of tythes by the churchwardens of the several parishes respectively, from the amount of taxes levied by the vestries on the inhabitants.

Each parish builds and repairs a parsonage house, or allows the rector £.50 per annum in lieu of one; besides which, many of the livings have glebe lands of very considerable value annexed to them; as the parish of St. Andrew, which altogether is valued at one thousand pounds sterling per annum. || The bishop of London is said to claim this island as part of his diocese, but his jurisdiction is renounced and barred by the laws of the country; and the governor or commander in chief, as supreme head of the provincial church, not only inducts into the several rectories, on the requisite testimonials being produced that the candidate has been admitted into priest's orders according to the canons of the church of England, but he is likewise vested with the power of suspending a clergyman of lewd and disorderly life *ab officio*,

|| In the year 1783, the assembly passed a law to prohibit the burial of the dead within the walls of the churches; and as by this regulation several of the rectors were deprived of a perquisite, an augmentation of £.50 per annum was made to most of the livings.

upon application from his parishioners. A suspension *ab officio* is in fact a suspension *a beneficio*, no minister being entitled to his stipend for any longer time than he shall actually officiate ; unless prevented by sickness.

The vestries are composed of the custos, and two other magistrates, the rector and ten vestry men ; the latter are elected annually by the free-holders. Besides their power of assessing and appropriating taxes, they appoint way-wardens, and allot labourers for the repair of the public highways. They likewise nominate constables, for the collection both of the public and parochial taxes.

The supreme court of judicature for the whole island (commonly called the Grand Court, as possessing similar jurisdiction in this country to that of the several courts of king's bench, common pleas, and exchequer, in Great Britain) is held in the town of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, the capital of the county of Middlesex, on the last Tuesday of each of the months of February, May, August and November, in every year. In this court the chief justice of the island presides, whose salary is £.120, but the perquisites arising from the office make it worth about £.3,000 per annum. The assistant judges are gentlemen of the island, commonly planters, who receive neither salary nor reward of any kind for their attendance. Three judges must be present to constitute a court ; and each term is limited in duration to three weeks. From this court, if the matter in dispute in a civil

action be for a sum of £.300 sterling, or upwards, an appeal lies to the governor and council, as a court of error; if sentence of death be passed for felony, the appeal is to the governor alone.*

Assize courts also are held every three months, in Kingston for the county of Surry, and in Savanna-la-Mar for the county of Cornwall. The Surry court begins the last Tuesday in January, April, July, and October. The Cornwall court begins the last Tuesday in March, June, September, and December: each assize court is limited to a fortnight in duration. Thus have the inhabitants law-courts every month of the year, besides the courts of chancery, ordinary, admiralty, and the several parish courts.† The judges of

* By an early law of this island (passed in 1681) freeholders of known residence are not subject to arrest, and being held to bail in civil process. The mode of proceeding is, to deliver the party a summons (leaving it at his house is deemed good service) together with a copy of the declaration, fourteen days before the court, whereupon the defendant is bound to appear, the very next court, or judgment will pass by default. Twenty-eight days after the first day of each court execution issues; for which there is but one writ, comprehending both a *feri facias* and a *capias ad satisfaciendum*; but as no general imparlance is allowed before judgment, it is enacted that the effects levied on, shall remain in the defendant's hands until the next court, to give him an opportunity of disposing of them to the best advantage; and if he then fails paying over the money, a *venditioni exponas* issues to the marshal, to sell those, or any other goods, and take his person. The modern practice is to make no levy on the execution, whereby the debtor obtains the indulgence of one term, or court, after which both his person and goods are liable under the writ of *venditioni exponas*.

† Soon after this was written an act was passed (I think in 1790) by which the August term in the supreme court was abolished, and a long

the assize courts act without salary or reward, as well as the assistant judges of the supreme court, any one of whom, if present, presides in the assize court. No appeal from the latter to the former is allowed, but judgments of the assize immediately following the supreme court, are considered as of one and the same court, and have an equal right, in point of priority, with those obtained in the grand court.

In this island as in Barbadoes, the departments of counsel and attorney are distinct; and although in the island last-mentioned, barristers have been admitted by license from the governor, it is otherwise in Jamaica; the colonial laws expressly requiring, that no person shall be allowed to practice who has not been regularly admitted in the courts of England, Ireland, or Scotland; or else, (in the case of an attorney), who has not served as articled clerk to some sworn attorney or solicitor in the island for five years at least.

The governor or commander in chief, is chancellor by his office, and presides solely in that high department, which is administered with great form and solemnity. He is also the sole ordinary for the probate of wills and granting letters of administration. From the first of these offices, he derives extensive authority, and from the latter considerable emolument.†

vacation established as in England, with similar regulations for the assize courts, to the great relief of persons attending as jurors.

† The profits and emoluments arising annually from the government of Jamaica may, I think, be stated nearly as follows, viz..

As appendages of the supreme court, the several great offices, viz. the office of enrolments, or secretary of the island, provost-marshal-general, clerk of the court (or prothonotary, custos-brevium, &c.), are held and situated in Spanish Town. The first is an office of record, in which the laws passed by the legislature are preserved; and copies of them entered into fair volumes. In this office all deeds, wills, sales, and patents, must be registered. It is likewise re-

Salary	-	-	-	-	£. 5,000
Fees in chancery	-	-	-	-	150
Fees of the court of ordinary	-	-	-	-	1,400
Share of custom house seizures	-	-	-	-	1,000

The assembly have purchased for the governor's use, a farm of about three hundred acres, called the Government Penn, and built an elegant villa thereon. Likewise a polink or provision settlement in the mountains, (which is also provided with a comfortable mansion-house), and stocked both properties with fifty negroes, and a sufficiency of cattle, sheep, &c. From these places (which are exclusive of the king's house in Spanish Town) the governor is, or ought to be, supplied with hay and corn, mutton, milk, poultry, and provisions for his domestics, creating a saving in his household expenses of at least

Total in currency	-	-	£. 8,550
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Being equal to £.6,100 sterling; and this is altogether exclusive of fees received by his private secretary for militia commissions, &c. &c. &c. *which are not easily ascertained.* It is supposed also that money has sometimes been made by the sale of church livings; and vast sums were formerly raised by escheats.

N. B. A governor of Jamaica may live very honourably for £.3,000 sterling per annum.—Since the former editions of this work were published, the assembly, at the request of the governor, have passed an act for the sale of both the Government Penn and Mountain Polink, and in lieu thereof have settled an additional salary of £.2,000 currency on the commander in chief for the time being.

quired that all persons (after six weeks residence) intending to depart this island, do affix their names in this office, twenty-one days before they are entitled to receive a ticket or let-pass, to enable them to leave the country. In order to enforce this regulation, masters of vessels are obliged, at the time of entry, to give security in the sum of £.1,000, not to carry off the island any person without such ticket or let-pass. Trustees, attornies and guardians of orphans, are required to record annually in this office accounts of the produce of estates in their charge; and by a late act, mortgagees in possession are obliged to register, not only accounts of the crops of each year, but also, annual accounts current of their receipts and payments. Transcripts of deeds, &c. from the office, properly certified, are evidences in any court of law, and all deeds must be enrolled within three months after date, or they are declared to be void as against any other deed proved and registered within the time limited; but if no second deed is on record, then the same are valid, though registered after three months. It is presumed that the profits of this office, which is held by patent from the crown, and exercised by deputation, exceed £.6,000 sterling *per annum*.

The provost-marshal-general is an officer of high rank and great authority. The name denotes a military origin, and the office was first instituted in this island in 1660, by royal commission to Sir Thomas Lynch. It is now held by patent from the crown, which is usually granted for two lives, and the patentee is permitted to act by deputy, who is commonly the highest

bidder. The powers and authorities annexed to this office are various; and the acting officer is high-sheriff of the whole island during his continuance in office, and permitted to nominate deputies under him for every parish or precinct. His legal receipts have been known to exceed £.7,000 sterling per annum, and it is supposed that some of his deputies make nearly as much.

The office of clerk of the supreme court is likewise held by patent and exercised by deputation. Evidence was given to the house of assembly some years ago, that its annual value at that time exceeded £.9,000 currency. Of late I believe it is considerably diminished.

Of the other great lucrative offices, the principal are those of the register in chancery, receiver-general and treasurer of the island, naval officer, and collector of the customs for the port of Kingston. All these appointments, whether held by patent or commission, are likewise supposed to afford considerable emolument to persons residing in Great Britain. It is computed on the whole, that not less than £.30,000 sterling is remitted annually, by the deputies in office within the island, to their principals in the mother-country. §

§ It is not very pleasant to the resident inhabitants to observe, that almost all the patent offices in the colonies are exercised by deputies, who notoriously and avowedly obtain their appointments by purchase. Leases for years of some of them have been sold by auction; and nothing is more common, at the expiration of those leases, than the circumstance of an

The legislature of Jamaica is composed of the captain-general or commander in chief, of a council nominated by the crown, consisting of twelve gentlemen, and a house of assembly containing forty-three members, who are elected by the freeholders, viz. three for the several towns and parishes of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, Kingston, and Port Royal, and two for each of the other parishes. The qualification required in the elector, is a freehold of ten pounds per annum in the parish where the election is made; and in the representative, a landed freehold of three hundred pounds per annum, in any part of the island, or a personal estate of three thousand pounds. In the proceedings of the general assembly, they copy, as nearly as local circumstances will admit, the forms of the legislature of Great Britain; and all their bills (those of a private nature excepted) have the force of laws as soon as the governor's assent is obtained. The power of rejection however is still reserved in the crown; but until the royal disapprobation is signified, the laws are valid.

inferior clerk outbidding his employer (the resident deputy) and stepping into his place. It may be doubted whether both the seller and buyer in such cases are not subject to the penalties of the statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI. against the sale and purchase of offices relating to the administration of justice. By an excellent law, however, which passed in the administration of the present marquis of Lansdown then earl of Shelburne, the grievance will in a great degree be prevented in future, for it is enacted by the 22d Geo. III. c. 75, that from thenceforth, no office to be exercised in the plantations shall be granted by patent, for any longer term than during such time as the grantee thereof *shall discharge the duty in person.*

Of the laws thus passed, the principal relate chiefly to regulations of local policy, to which the law of England is not applicable, as the slave system for instance. || In this and other cases, the English laws being silent, the colonial legislature has made, and continues to make, such provision therein, as the exigencies of the colony are supposed to require; and on some occasions, where the principle of the English law has been adopted, it has been found necessary to alter and modify its provisions, so as to adapt them to circumstances and situation. Thus, in the mode of setting out emblements, the practice of fine and recovery, the case of insolvent debtors, the repair of the public roads, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor, very great deviations from the practice of the mother-country have been found indispensably requisite.*

|| Thus the evidence of a slave is not admissible against a white person. Again, although by a very early law of this island, slaves are considered as inheritance, and are accordingly subject to the incidents of real property, (for as they go to the heir, so may the widow have dower of them, and the surviving husband be tenant by courtesy; and this holds equally, whether slaves are possessed in gross, or belong to a plantation), yet in respect of debts, slaves are considered as chattels, and the executor is bound to inventory them like other chattels.

* An outline of the law of insolvency may not be unacceptable to the reader.—A debtor, after three months continuance in actual confinement, may obtain his liberty under the following conditions; three weeks previous to the next sitting of the supreme court, he is to give notice by public advertisement, that he means to take the benefit of the act, and to that end, has lodged all his books of account in the hands of the marshal or keeper of the goal, for inspection by his creditors. He shall then on the first day of term, be brought by petition before the court, where

The revenues of this island may be divided into two branches, the one *perpetual*, by an act of the year 1728, called the revenue law, of the origin of which I have already spoken, and of which revenues the quit-rents constitute a part; the other *annual*, by grants of the legislature. The revenue law may raise about £.12,000 *per annum*, of which £.8,000 is par-

he is to subscribe and deliver in a schedule of his whole estate and effects, and submit, if any one of his creditors require it, to an examination, *viva voce*, upon oath, in open court. To this schedule he must annex an affidavit, certifying that it contains a just account of all his property, debts, and effects, except clothing, bedding, and working tools, not worth more than £.10; that he has given no preference to any particular creditor, for three months previous to his confinement, nor conveyed away nor concealed any part of his estate or effects. The court thereupon, being satisfied with the prisoner's examination, shall appoint one or more of the creditors to be assignees for the benefit of the whole; and order them possession of the property and effects, and discharge the party from confinement. Gaol fees of those who are unable to pay them, are paid by the public. There are various regulations for the prevention of fraud, and it is declared, that if any persons claiming the benefit of the act, shall knowingly forswear themselves, and be convicted of perjury in consequence thereof, they shall be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and suffer death accordingly. It is also provided, that no debtor shall have the benefit of the act more than once, and that the future estate and effects of persons discharged under it (but not their persons or apparel) shall still be liable to make up the former deficiency. By a subsequent law, however, which the author of this work had the honour to propose, as a member of the assembly, a debtor may be discharged a second time on the same conditions, provided he had fully paid his former creditors before his second insolvency; and even if he has not paid the debts on which he before took the benefit of the act, he shall be discharged, *after an actual confinement of two years*; the court being satisfied that he has fairly surrendered all his estate and effects to the use of his creditors.

ticularly appropriated, as I have elsewhere observed, and the surplus is applicable to the contingent expenses of government, in aid of the annual funds.—The governor receives £.2,500 *per annum* out of the £.8,000 fund. A further salary of £.2,500 is settled upon him during his residence in the island, by a special act of the legislature, passed the beginning of his administration, and is made payable out of some one of the annual funds provided by the assembly. These at this time may amount to £.70,000, of which about £.40,000 is a provision for granting an additional pay to the officers and soldiers of his majesty's forces stationed for the protection of the island. Every commissioned officer being entitled to twenty shillings per week, and every private to five shillings: An allowance is also made to the wives and children of the soldiers; which, with the British pay, enables them to live much more comfortably than the king's troops generally do in Europe.

The usual ways and means adopted for raising the above taxes are, first, a duty of twenty shillings per head on all negroes imported: secondly, a duty on all rum and other spirits retailed and consumed within the island; thirdly, the deficiency law; an act which was intended originally to oblige all proprietors of slaves to keep one white person for every thirty blacks; but the penalty, which is sometimes £.13, at other times £.26 *per annum*, for each white person deficient of the number required, is become so productive a source of revenue, that the bill is now considered as one of the annual supply bills;

fourthly, a poll-tax on all slaves, and stock, and a rate on rents and wheel carriages. Besides these, occasional tax-bills are passed by the legislature, as necessity may require. I have subjoined in a note the estimate of the contingent charges of the government of this island on the annual funds for the year 1788, and of the ways and means for the payment thereof.†

† *Estimate of the ordinary CONTINGENT CHARGES of the Government of JAMAICA, on the annual funds for the year 1788; viz.*

	£.	s.	d.
Governor's additional salary - -	2,500	0	0
Subsistence of the troops and hospital expenses	41,300	0	0
Salaries to officers of the assembly, printing, &c.	2,300	0	0
Clerk of the grand court - - -	100	0	0
Clerk of the crown - - -	100	0	0
Clerk to the commissioners of forts - -	150	0	0
Surveyor to the bath - - -	200	0	0
Port officers and waiters - - -	1,600	0	0
Maroon Negro parties - - -	1,000	0	0
Superintendants residing in the Maroon towns	1,300	0	0
To the engineer and captain of different forts	1,000	0	0
For the support of the botanic garden -	280	0	0
Salary to the agent - - -	420	0	0
To the officers of the troops for private lodgings	1,430	0	0
Supplying the forts with water - - -	1,089	0	0
To the commissioners of the forts - - -	5,600	0	0
To the Kingston hospital - - -	500	0	0
Sundry demands on the public for official fees, medical care and gaol fees of prisoners, repairs of the public buildings, &c. &c. - - -	4,359	7	9
Charges of collecting; viz. collecting constable's and receiver general's commissions, reliefs, &c. 15 per cent. - - -	9783	6	0
	<hr/>		
	£.75011	13	9

The current coins are Portugal pieces of gold, called the half-johannes, valued in England at thirty-six shillings each; these pass here, if of full weight, at fifty-five shillings. Spanish gold coins current here, are, doubloons at £.5 5s. each, and pistols at twenty-

WAYS *and* MEANS.

	£.	
Outstanding debts - - -	25,000	0 0
Negro duty, computed at - -	6,000	0 0
Rum duty - - - -	14,000	0 0
Double deficiency on Negroes -	24,000	0 0
Poll-tax - - - -	67,000	0 0
	<hr/>	
	£.136,000	0 0
Deduct for prompt payment, 10 per cent. - - - -	13,600	0 0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		122,400 0 0

The overplus was applied towards discharging the public debt, which was estimated at £.180,000 currency; but since then, the contingent charges of government, have risen annually to double the amount above stated, owing chiefly to a great augmentation of the British troops; the whole expense of raising and maintaining all which (above the number of 3,000) is thrown upon the island. Among these is a regiment of light dragoons, which is mounted on horses bred in the country.

N. B. The situation of Jamaica, in respect to the expenses of its internal government and finances, has been strangely altered since the first publication of the preceding estimates. Its public debt and contingent expenses for 1796, came to no less than £.298,333 1s. 3d. currency; and this sum was altogether exclusive of the expenses incurred by the war with the Maroon Negroes, of which an account will hereafter be given, amounting to no less than £.520,198 14s. 7d. currency. The committee of the assembly by whom these estimates were reported, declare at the same time, that they find it impracticable to devise the means of answering a debt of such magnitude, and an application was made (but I believe without success) to the British government for a loan of £.200,000 sterling.

six shillings and three pence. Silver coins are Spanish milled dollars at six shillings and eight pence, and so in proportion for the smaller parts of this coin; the lowest coin is called a *bitt*, equal to about five pence sterling. A guinea passes for thirty-two shillings and six pence. This however is considerably more than the usual rate of exchange, by which £.100 sterling gives £.140 currency.

From the situation of this island amidst potent and envious rivals, and the vast disproportion between the number of white inhabitants, and the slaves, it may be supposed that the maintenance of a powerful and well-disciplined militia, is among the first objects of the policy of the legislature: accordingly all persons, from fifteen to sixty years of age, are obliged by law to enlist themselves either in the horse or foot, and to provide at their own expense the necessary accoutrements; but this law, I doubt, is not very rigidly enforced, as the whole militia, which is composed of three regiments of horse and fourteen regiments of foot, does not consist of much more than 8,000 effective troops; neither do the usual employments and habits of life, either of the officers or privates, conduce very much to military subordination.‡—How-

‡ The following is a return of the cavalry and infantry on the 13th January 1792 :

	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Total.
County of Surry - - -	366	2,141	2,477
Middlesex - - -	375	2,647	3,022
Cornwall - - -	368	2,305	2,673
	Effectives - - -	- - -	8,172

ever in times of actual danger, whether from the revolt of slaves, or the probability of invasion, no troops in the world could have shewn greater promptitude or alacrity in service, than has been displayed by the militia of Jamaica. In such emergencies, the commander in chief, with the advice and consent of a general council of war (in which the members of the assembly have voices) may proclaim martial law. His power is then dictatorial; and all persons are subject to the articles of war.

From the given number of men able to bear arms in any country, it is usual with political writers to estimate the inhabitants at large; but their rule of calculation does not apply to Jamaica, where the bulk of the people consists of men without families. Europeans who come to this island have seldom an idea of settling here for life. Their aim is generally to acquire fortunes to enable them to sit down comfortably in their native country; and, in the meanwhile, they consider a family as an incumbrance. Marriage, therefore, being held in but little estimation the white women and children do not bear the same proportion to the males, as in European climates. From these and other causes, I have found it difficult to ascertain with precision the number of the white inhabitants. I have been informed, that a late intelligent chief governor (general Campbell) computed them, after diligent research, at 25,000; and I am induced to be-

Free negroes and men of colour included; their number was 1,889. The Maroons were not comprehended.

lieve, from more than one mode of calculation, that general Campbell's estimate was near the truth.— This computation was made in 1780, since which time I am of opinion, from the many loyal Americans who have fixed themselves in Jamaica, and other causes, this number is considerably increased. Including the troops and sea-faring people, the white population may, I think, be fixed at 30,000.

The freed negroes and people of colour are computed, in a report of a committee of the house of assembly of the 12th of November 1788, at 500 in each parish, on an average of the whole; which makes 10,000 exclusive of the black people called Maroons, who enjoy freedom by treaty. §

Of negroes in a state of slavery in this island, the precise number in December, 1787, as ascertained on oath in the rolls from which the poll-tax is levied, was 210,894; and as it may answer more useful purposes hereafter than the mere gratification of curiosity, I shall distinguish the numbers in each parish; which are the following:

St. Dorothy	-	-	-	3,129
St. Catherine	-	-	-	5,304
St. John	-	-	-	5,880
St. Thomas in the Vale	-	-	-	7,459
Vere	-	-	-	7,487
				<hr/>
Carried over	-			29,259

§ See the Historical Account of the Maroons.

	Brought over	-	-	29,259
St. Mary	-	-	-	17,144
St. Ann	-	-	-	13,324
Kingston	-	-	-	6,162
St. Andrew	-	-	-	9,613
St. David	-	-	-	2,881
St. Thomas in the East	-	-	-	20,492
Portland	-	-	-	4,537
St. George	-	-	-	5,050
St. Elizabeth	-	-	-	13,280
Hanover	-	-	-	17,612
St. James	-	-	-	18,546
Trelawney	-	-	-	19,318
Port-Royal	-	-	-	2,229
Westmoreland	-	-	-	16,700
Clarendon	-	-	-	14,747
				<hr/>
	Total	-	-	210,894
				<hr/>

It appears, however, from the report of the committee of the assembly above cited, that in most of the parishes it is customary to exempt persons not having more than six negroes, from the payment of taxes on slaves, whereby many of the negroes, especially in the towns,|| are not given in to the different vestries, and the returns of a great many others are fraudulently concealed; thus the tax-rolls do not contain the full number of slaves, which in the opinion of the committee, were at that time 240,000, at the

|| In Kingston for instance, the real number is 16,659, instead of 6,162, the number of the tax-rolls. On an average of the whole number of parishes, the negroes not given in or returned may be reckoned at one seventh part of the whole.

least; and there is not a doubt that upwards of 10,000 have been left in the country from subsequent importations, exclusive of decrease. The whole number of inhabitants therefore, of all complexions and conditions, at this time (1791) may be stated as follows:

Whites	-	-	-	-	30,000
Freed negroes and people of colour	-	-	-	-	10,000
Maroons, about	-	-	-	-	1,400
Negro slaves	-	-	-	-	250,000*
Total					291,400

The trade of this island will best appear by the quantity of shipping and the number of seamen to which it gives employment, and the nature and quantity of its exports. The following is an account, from the books of the inspector-general of Great Britain, of the number of vessels of all kinds, their registered tonnage and number of men, which cleared from the several ports of entry in Jamaica in the year 1787, exclusive of coasting sloops, wherries, &c. viz.

			Number of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Men.
For Great Britain	-	-	212	63,471	7,718
Ireland	-	-	10	1,231	91
American States	-	-	133	13,041	393
British American Colonies	-	-	66	6,133	449
Foreign West Indies	-	-	22	1,903	155
Africa	-	-	1	109	8
Total			474	85,888	9,314

* These are increased at this time (1797) to at least 300,000.

It must however, be observed, that as many of the vessels clearing for America and the foreign West Indies make two or more voyages in the year, it is usual, in computing the real number of those vessels, their tonnage and men, to deduct one-third from the official numbers. With this correction the total to all parts is 400 vessels, containing 78,862 tons, navigated by 8,845 men.

The exports for the same year are given on the same authority, as follows:

Inspector-General's Account of the JAMAICA EXPORTS, between the 5th of January 1787 and the 5th of January 1788; with the Value in Sterling Money, according to the Prices then current at the London Market.

To what PARTS.	Sugar.	Rum.	Mellasses.	Pimento	Coffee.	Cotton Wool.	Indigo.
	Cwt. grs. lbs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	lbs.	Cwt. grs. lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
To Great Britain	824;706 2 25	1,899,540	2,316	606,994	3,706 3 27	1,899,967	27,223
Ireland . . .	6,829 0 0	106,700		2,800	10 0 0	5,500	400
American States	6,167 0 0	327,325	1,800	6,450	2,566 0 2		
British American Colonies	2,822 0 0	207,660	2,300	200	110 3 8	1,000	
Foreign W. In. Africa . . .	24 0 0	2,200			2 0 0		
Totals	840,548 2 25	2,543,025	6,416	616,444	6,395 3 9	1,906,467	27,623

(continued).

To what PARTS.	Ginger.	Cacao.	Tobacco.	Mahogany.	Log-wood	Miscellan. Articles.	Total Value.
	Cwt. grs. lbs.	Cwt. grs. lbs.	lbs.	Tns. Cwt. Tons	Tons	Value.	£. s. d.
To Great Britain	3,553 2 15	82 3 15	18,140	5,783 4	6701	147,286 3 4	2,022,814 7 10
Ireland . . .	918 0 0			95			25,778 10 0
American States	339 0 0						60,095 18 0
British American Colonies	4 0 0						26,538 2 5
Foreign W. In. Africa . . .	2 0 0						355 19 0
Totals	4,816 2 15	82 3 15	18,140	5,878 4	6701		2,136,442 17 3

But it must be noted, that a considerable part of the cotton, indigo, tobacco, mahogany, dye-woods, and miscellaneous articles, included in the preceding account, is the produce of the foreign West Indies imported into Jamaica, partly under the free-port law, and partly in small British vessels employed in a contraband traffic with the Spanish American territories, payment of which is made chiefly in British manufactures and negroes; and considerable quantities of bullion, obtained by the same means, are annually remitted to Great Britain, of which no precise accounts can be procured.*

The general account of imports into Jamaica will stand nearly as follows; viz.

* The preceding account having been made up for 1787, it may reasonably be supposed that the island has greatly increased its produce in the space of ten years; and, it is true, that at this period (1797) the amount of its exports, according to their marketable value, would greatly exceed that of 1787, perhaps nearly one third; but it is conceived, that the difference arises more from an advance of price in the several articles, than from any excess in the quantity produced, coffee excepted. This increase of price has been chiefly owing to the destruction of most of the French islands, particularly St. Domingo: the British planters, on the other hand, have to set against it the increase of their internal taxes, for the support of a war establishment (besides additional insurance, freight, and other charges) to an amount never before known: those of Jamaica, in particular, have been subject to burthens to which this augmentation in the value of their exports was by no means commensurate. See note page 236.

IMPORTS INTO JAMAICA.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
From <i>Great Britain</i> , direct, according to a return of the Inspector General for 1787.	}	British manufactures	686,657	2	3		
		Foreign merchandise	72,275	3	1		
			<hr/>			758,932	5 4
From <i>Ireland</i> , I allow a moiety of the whole import from that kingdom to the British West Indies, consisting of manufactures and salted provisions to the amount of £.277,000.						138,500 0 0	
From <i>Africa</i> , 5,345 negroes, † at £.40 sterling each— (This is wholly a British trade carried on in ships from England)						213,800 0 0	
From the <i>British colonies in America</i> , (including about 20,000 quintals of salted cod from Newfoundland)						30,000 0 0	
From the <i>United States</i> , Indian corn, wheat, flour, rice, lumber, staves, &c. imported in British ships.						190,000 0 0	
From <i>Madeira and Teneriffe</i> , in ships trading circuitously from Great Britain, 500 pipes of wine (exclusive of wines for re-exportation) at £.30 sterling the pipe						15,000 0 0	
From the <i>Foreign West Indies</i> , under the free port law, &c. calculated on an average of three years ‡						150,000 0 0	
						<hr/>	
			Total			£.1,496,232 5 4	

† Being an average of the whole number imported and retained in the island for ten years, 1778 to 1787, as returned by the inspector general. The import of the last three years is much greater.

‡ From returns of the inspector general. The following are the particulars for the year 1787.

Cotton wool	- - - - -	194,000 lbs.
Cacao	- - - - -	64,750 lbs.
Cattle, viz.		
Asses	- - - - -	43
Horses	- - - - -	233
Mules	- - - - -	585
Oxen	- - - - -	243
Sheep	- - - - -	98
		<hr/>
Dying Woods	- - - - -	1,202 No.
Gum Guaiacum	- - - - -	5,077 Tons.
Hides	- - - - -	79 Barrels.
Indigo	- - - - -	4,537 No.
Mahogany	- - - - -	4,663 lbs.
Tortoise-shell	- - - - -	9,993 Planks.
Dollars	- - - - -	655 lbs.
		53,850 No.

Some part of this estimate, however, is not so perfect as might be wished; inasmuch as in the accounts made up at the inspector general's office of goods exported from Great Britain, they reckon only the original cost, whereas the British merchant being commonly the exporter, the whole of his profits, together with the freight, insurance, and factorage commissions in the island, should be taken into the account, because the whole are comprized in one charge against the planter. On the British supply, therefore, I calculate that twenty per cent. should be added for those items; which make the sum total £.1,648,018 14s. 4d. sterling money.

After all, it is very possible that some errors may have crept into the calculation, and the balance or surplus arising from the excess of the exports, may be more or less than appears by the statement which I have given; but this is a consideration of little importance in a national view, inasmuch as the final profit arising from the whole system ultimately rests and centers in Great Britain;—a conclusion which was well illustrated formerly by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, in a report made by them on the state of the British sugar colonies in the year 1734; an extract from which, as it serves likewise to point out the progress of this island during the last fifty years, I shall present to the reader.

“ The annual amount (say their lordships) of our exports to Jamaica, at a medium of four years, from Christmas 1728, to Christmas 1732, as it stands com-

puted in the custom-house books, appears to have
 been - - - - - £.147,675 2 3 $\frac{3}{4}$

The medium of our imports§
 from Jamaica, in the same year, is, £.539,499 18 3 $\frac{1}{4}$

So that the annual excess of
 our imports, in that period, is no
 less than - - - - - £.391,824 15 11 $\frac{3}{4}$

“ But it must not be imagined, that this excess is a debt upon Great Britain to the island of Jamaica; a part of it must be placed to the account of negroes, and other goods, sent to the Spanish West Indies, the produce of which is returned to England by way of Jamaica; another part to the debt due to our African traders from the people of Jamaica, for the negroes which are purchased and remain there for the service of the island; a third proportion must be placed to the account of our northern colonies on the continent of America, who discharge part of their balance with Great Britain by consignments from Jamaica, arising from the provisions and lumber with which they supply that island; the remaining part of the excess in our importations from this colony, is a profit made upon our trade, whether immediately from Great Britain, or by way of Africa; and lastly, it is a consideration of great importance in the general trade of Great Britain, that part of the sugar, and other merchandize which we bring from Jamaica, is re-exported from hence, and helps to make good our balance in trade with other countries in Europe.”

§ The custom house prices of goods imported, are considerably less than the real or mercantile prices—perhaps, in general, about one-third.

Having mentioned the trade which is carried on between this island and the Spanish territories in America, some account of it in its present state, and of the means which have been adopted by the British parliament to give it support, may not be unacceptable to my readers. It is sufficiently known to have been formerly an intercourse of vast extent, and highly advantageous to Great Britain, having been supposed to give employment, about the beginning of the present century, to 4,000 tons of English shipping, and to create an annual vent of British goods to the amount of one million and a half in value. From the wretched policy of the court of Spain towards its American subjects, by endeavouring to compel them to trust solely to the mother-country, for almost every article of necessary consumption, at the very time that she was incapable of supplying a fiftieth part of their wants, it is not surprising that they had recourse, under all hazards, to those nations of Europe which were able and willing to answer their demands. It was in vain, that the vessels employed in this traffic, by the English and others, were condemned to confiscation, and the mariners to perpetual confinement and slavery; the Spanish Americans supplied the loss by vessels of their own, furnished with seamen so well acquainted with the several creeks and bays, as enabled them to prosecute the contraband with facility and advantage. These vessels received every possible encouragement in our islands; contrary, it must be acknowledged, to the strict letter of our acts of navigation: but the British government, aware that the Spaniards had little to import besides bullion, but

horned cattle mules, and horses, (so necessary to the agriculture of the sugar colonies), connived at the encouragement that was given them. The trade, however, has been, for many years, on the decline. Since the year 1748, a wiser and more liberal policy towards its American dominions, seems to have actuated the court of Madrid; and the contraband traffic has gradually lessened, in proportion as the rigour of the ancient regulations has been relaxed. Nevertheless, the intercourse with this island, in Spanish vessels, was still very considerable so late as the year 1764. About that period, directions were issued by the English ministry to enforce the laws of navigation with the utmost strictness; and custom-house commissions were given to the captains of our men of war, with orders to seize all foreign vessels, without distinction, that should be found in the ports of our West Indian islands; a measure which in truth was converting our navy into *guarda-costas*, for the king of Spain. In consequence of these proceedings, the Spaniards, as might have been expected, were deterred from coming near us, and the exports from Great Britain to Jamaica alone, in the year 1765, fell short of the year 1763, £.168,000 sterling.

A wiser minister endeavoured to remedy the mischief, by giving orders for the admission of Spanish vessels as usual; but the subject matter being canvassed in the British parliament, the nature and intent of those orders were so fully explained, that the Spanish court grown wise from experience, took the alarm, and immediately adopted a measure, equally prompt

and prudent, for counteracting them. This was, the laying open the trade to the islands of Trinidad, Porto-Rico, Hispaniola, and Cuba, to every province in Spain, and permitting goods of all kinds to be sent thither, on the payment of moderate duties. Thus the temptation of an illicit commerce with foreign nations, being in a great measure removed, there was reason to believe that the effect would cease with the cause.

Such, however, is the superiority or comparative cheapness of British manufactures, that it is probable the trade would have revived to a certain degree, if the British ministry of 1765, after giving orders for the admission of Spanish vessels into our ports in the West Indies, had proceeded no further. But, in the following year they obtained an act of parliament for opening the chief ports of Jamaica and Dominica, to all foreign vessels of a certain description. The motives which influenced the framers of this law, were undoubtedly laudable; they justly considered the recovery of the Spanish trade as a matter of the utmost consequence, and concluded that the traders would naturally prefer those ports in which their safety was founded on law, to places where their preservation depended only on the precarious tenure of connivance and favour. Other ostensible reasons were assigned in support of the measure; but the jealousy of Spain was awakened, and the endeavours of the British parliament on this occasion, served only to increase the evil which was meant to be redressed. By an unfortunate over-sight, the collectors at the several Bri-

tish free-ports were instructed to keep regular accounts of the entry of all foreign vessels, and of the bullion which they imported, together with the names of the commanders. These accounts having been transmitted to the commissioners of the customs in England, copies of them were, by some means, procured by the court of Spain, and the absolute destruction of many of the poor people who had been concerned in transporting bullion into our islands, was the consequence. This intelligence I received soon afterwards (having at that time the direction of the custom-house in Jamaica) from a very respectable Spanish merchant, who produced to me a letter from Carthagena, containing a recital of the fact, accompanied with many shocking circumstances of unrelenting severity in the Spanish government. Information of this being transmitted to the British ministry, the former instructions were revoked, but the remedy came too late;—for what else could be expected, than that the Spaniards would naturally shun all intercourse with a people, whom neither the safety of their friends, nor their own evident interest, was sufficient to engage to confidence and secrecy?

The little trade, therefore, which now subsists with the subjects of Spain in America, is chiefly carried on by small vessels from Jamaica, which contrive to escape the vigilance of the *guarda-costas*. But although, with regard to the revival of this particular branch of commerce, I am of opinion, that the free-port law has not so fully answered the expectation of its framers as might have been wished; its

provisions, in other respects, have been very beneficial. It has been urged against it, that it gives occasion to the introduction of French wines, brandies, soap, cambricks, and other prohibited articles from Hispaniola; and there is no doubt, that small vessels from thence frequently claim the benefit of the free-ports after having smuggled ashore, in the various creeks and harbours of this island where no custom-houses are established, large quantities of brandy (to the great prejudice of the rum-market) and other contraband goods. It may be urged too, that the permission given by the act to the importation of certain of the products of the foreign islands, is hurtful to the growers of the same commodities in Jamaica. All this is admitted; but on the other hand, considering the revenues and commerce of the empire at large as objects of superior concern to local interests, it cannot be denied, that the woollen and cotton manufactories of Great Britain are of too great importance not to be supplied with the valuable materials of indigo and cotton-wool, on the easiest and cheapest terms possible. The quantities of these articles, as well as of woods for the dyer, imported in foreign bottoms into the free-ports, are very considerable. This subject was thoroughly investigated by the British House of Commons in 1774 (when the act would have expired); and it being given in evidence that thirty thousand people about Manchester were employed in the velvet manufactory, for which the St. Domingo cotton was best adapted; and that both French cotton and indigo had been imported from Jamaica at least thirty per cent. cheaper than the same could have

been procured at through France—the house, disregarding all colonial opposition, came to a resolution, “that the continuance of free-ports in Jamaica would be highly beneficial to the trade and manufactures of the kingdom.” The act was thereupon renewed, and has since been made perpetual.

But the main argument which was originally adduced in defence of the establishment of free-ports in Jamaica, was founded on the idea, that those ports would become the great mart for supplying foreigners with negroes. It was said, that in order to have negroes plenty in our own islands, every encouragement must be thrown out to the African merchant to induce him to augment his importations, and that no encouragement was so great as that of an opportunity of selling part of them to foreigners for ready money; a temptation, it was urged, which would be, as it heretofore had been, the means, that a number would be imported sufficient both for the planters use and for the foreign demand; and it was added, that at all events the French would deal with us, if the Spaniards would not.

Whether it be a wise and politic measure at any time, to permit British subjects to supply foreigners with African labourers, is a question that may admit of dispute.|| I mean, at present, to confine myself

|| The re-export of negroes from the British West Indies, for the last twenty years, for the supply of the French and Spanish plantations, has not I believe exceeded one-fifth of the import. It was greater formerly, and during the existence of the Assiento contract, exceeded *one third*.—

only to a recital of facts; and it is certain that the very great demand for negroes in the ceded islands, for some years after the act took place, affected the Jamaica import in a high degree; and in 1773, a circumstance occurred, which was thought to render a renewal of the free-port law a measure of indispensable necessity. In that year the Spanish Assiento Company at Porto-Rico obtained permission to remove their principal factory to the Havanna, and to purchase slaves in any of the neighbouring islands, transporting them to their own settlements in Spanish vessels. It was easily foreseen, that Jamaica, from its vicinity to the chief colonies of Spain, in which negroes were most in demand, would engage a preference from the purchasers; wherefore, that encouragement might not be wanting, the British parliament not only renewed the free-port law, but also took off the duty of thirty shillings sterling a head, which in the former act was exacted on the exportation of negroes, and laid only a duty of two shillings and six-pence, in lieu of it. The result was—that the import for the next ten years, exceeded that of the ten years preceding, by no less than 22,213 negroes: and the export surpassed that of the former period, to the number of 5,952. Such part, therefore, of this increased export, as went to the supply of the Spanish colonies, we may attribute to the free-port law; for it is probable,

Perhaps it would be found on the whole, that Great Britain has, by this means, during the last century, supplied her rivals and enemies with upwards of 500,000 African labourers; a circumstance which sufficiently justifies the doubt that I entertain concerning the wisdom and policy of this branch of the African commerce.

from the circumstances stated, that the ancient contraband system is nearly at an end. In like manner it may be said of the importation of foreign indigo and cotton, that if it be not made in foreign vessels, it will cease altogether; and thus, instead of infringing the navigation-act, as some persons contend, the measure of opening the ports is strictly consonant to the spirit of that celebrated law; for, by furnishing an augmentation of freights to Great Britain, it tends ultimately to the increase of our shipping.

Having now, to the best of my judgment and knowledge, furnished my readers with such particulars as may enable them to form a tolerably correct idea of the present trade and productions of Jamaica, I shall conclude with a concise display of its progress in cultivation at different periods, for a century past.

By a letter, dated March the 29th, 1673, from the then governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, to lord Arlington, the secretary of state, it appears, that the island at that time contained 7,768 whites, and 9,504 negroes; its chief productions were cacao, indigo, and hides. "The weather (observes the governor) has been seasonable, and the success in planting miraculous. Major-general Bannister is now not very well, but by the next, *he sends your lordship a pot of sugar, and writes you its story.*" It would seem from hence, that the cultivation of sugar was then but just entered upon, and that Blome, who asserts there were seventy sugar-works in 1670, was misinformed. So late

as the year 1722, the island made only eleven thousand hogsheads of sugar, of sixteen hundred weight.

From that time I have no authentic account until the year 1734, when the island contained 7,644 whites,* 86,546 negroes, and 76,011 head of cattle. The value of the imports from this island to Great Britain about this period, were stated (as we have seen) by the commissioners of trade, at £.539,499 18s. 3½d. sterling. Of the particulars I have no account. In the year 1739, the export of sugar was 33,155 hogsheads, of 14 cwt.

In 1744, the numbers were 9,640 whites, 112,428 negroes, and 88,036 head of cattle. The exports at this period were about 35,000 hogsheads of sugar, and 10,000 puncheons of rum, exclusive of smaller articles. The whole might be worth £.600,000 sterling.

In 1768, the whites were supposed to have been 17,000. The number of negroes on the tax-rolls were 166,914, and the cattle 135,773 head. The exports (the value of which could not be less at that time than £.1,400,000 sterling) were these:

* The circumstance of the decrease of the white inhabitants for the first sixty years, may appear strange. It was owing without doubt, to the decline of the privateering trade, which gave full employment to the first adventurers.

Exports from Jamaica, 1768.

Miscellan. Articles.	Hides.	Gallons of Mellasses.	Tns of Nic. Wood and Ebony.	Tons of Ligu. Vitæ.	Feet of Mahogany.	Tons of Fustick and Logwood.	Bgs of Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Bgs of Cotton, of 200 lbs.	Bgs of Cotton, of 300 lbs.	Bgs of Ginger, of 70 lb.	Bgs of Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Punchons of Rum, of 110 galls.	Hds of Sugar, of 16 cwt.	To Great Britain and Ireland } North America			
															f. s. d. Value unknown.	26	120
2,287	201,960	201,960	868,000	868,000	4,035	4,203	2,712	2,211	620	2,551	738	13,116	4,424	11,127		54,181	1,580

Cultivation, in all parts of Jamaica, was now making a great and rapid progress. In 1774 the exports were considerably increased: The following account of them is extracted from the books of office, kept within the island.

Exports from Jamaica, 1774.

Hides.	Feet of Mahogany.	Tns of Logwood and Fustick.	Hds. of Mellasses of 60 galls.	Bgs of Cotton, of 200 lbs.	Casks of Pimento, of 300 lbs.	Bgs of Pistick and Logwood.	Bgs of Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Bgs of Ginger, of 70 lb.	Bills. of Indigo, of 300 lbs.	Bgs of Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Punchons of Rum, of 110 galls.	Hds of Sugar, of 16 cwt.	To Great Britain and Ireland } North America
8,636	117,200	1,286½	951	88	276	13,797	552	2,348	437	3,684	8,726	1,960	Total

The amount of the sum total, according to the prices current, including the same allowance for miscellaneous articles, of which no precise account can be obtained, as was allowed by the inspector general for the year 1787, may be fairly stated at two millions of pounds sterling.

But Jamaica had now nearly attained the meridian of its prosperity;† for early in the following year, the fatal and unnatural war which has terminated in the dismemberment of the empire, began its destructive progress; in the course of which, the blameless inhabitants of this and the rest of the British sugar islands, felt all its effects without having merited the slightest imputation on their conduct. Their sources of supply for plantation necessaries were cut off, and protection at sea, if not denied, was not given; so that their produce was seized in its way to Great Britain, and confiscated without interruption or mercy. To fill up the measure of their calamities, the anger of the Almighty was kindled against them; no less than five destructive hurricanes in the space of seven years, as I have elsewhere observed, spread ruin and desolation throughout every island! The last of these terrible visitations in Jamaica happened in 1786.—

† The greatest improvement which Jamaica has manifested since 1774, has been in the increased number of its coffee plantations. In that year, the export of coffee, as we have seen, was 654,700 lbs. In 1780, the crop having been shipped before the hurricane happened, the export was 735,392 lbs. For the last ten years, see Appendix, No. II. page 264.

Since that time, however, the seasons have been favourable; and the crops of 1788, 1789 and 1790, were considerable. May the inhabitants be thankful, that it has thus pleased the Divine Providence to remember mercy in judgment; and may past misfortunes teach them those lessons of fortitude, frugality and foresight, which always alleviate afflictions, and sometimes even convert them into blessings.

Nothing now remains but to state the value of this island, considered as British property; of which the estimate is formed as follows;—250,000 negroes at fifty pounds sterling each, make twelve millions and a half; the landed and personal property to which these negroes are appurtenant (including the buildings) are very fairly and moderately reckoned at double the value of the slaves themselves; making twenty-five millions in addition to the twelve millions five hundred thousand pounds I have stated before; and in further addition, the houses and property in the towns, and the vessels employed in the trade, are valued at one million five hundred thousand pounds; amounting in the whole to thirty-nine millions of pounds sterling.

* * * * *



IN this delightful island, thus variegated by the hand of nature, and improved by the industry of man, it was my fortune to pass the spring of my life, under the protection and guidance of men whose wisdom instructed, whose virtues I hope improved me,—and whose tenderness towards me expired only with the last sigh that deprived me of them for ever. Towards persons whose memories are thus dear to me,—who were at once a blessing and an ornament to the country of which I write,—my readers will, I hope, allow me to offer in this place, a tribute of affectionate and respectful remembrance. One of those persons devoted some years to the improvement of my mind in the pursuits of knowledge. From the precepts and instructions, and still more from the beautiful compositions, of ISAAC TEALE, I imbibed in my youth that relish for polite literature, the enjoyment of which is now become the solace of my declining years. If the public has received my writings with favour, it becomes me to declare that, whatever merit they possess is due to the lessons inculcated, and the examples supplied by my revered and lamented friend. He was a clergyman of the church of England, and having for twenty years discharged the pastoral duties of a country curacy in an obscure part of Kent, was reluctantly prevailed on, at the age of forty-five, to exchange his stipend of £.40 per annum, for preferment in Jamaica. Here his virtues, learning and talents, attracted the notice of my distinguished

relation and bountiful benefactor, ZACHARY BAYLY; by whose kindness he was enabled to spend the remainder of his days in leisure and independency.— In the society of these valuable friends, chiefly under the same roof, I passed the days of my youth, until my amiable preceptor in the first place, and my generous benefactor a few years afterwards, (neither of the having reached his 50th year), sunk into an untimely grave! Of Zachary Bayly, the renown is familiar to every one who has resided in Jamaica at any time during the last forty years. I endeavoured to delineate his character on the stone which I inscribed to his memory; and fondly hoping that my book will be read where the stone cannot be inspected, I transfer to this page what his monument imperfectly records:

INSCRIPTION IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF
ST. ANDREW, JAMAICA.

Near this place
Lie the remains of
ZACHARY BAYLY,
Custos and Chief Magistrate of the Precinct
of St. Mary and St. George, and one of his Majesty's
Hon. Council of this Island,
Who died on the 18th Dec. 1769,
In the 48th year of his age.

He was a Man
To whom the endowments of Nature render'd those
of Art superfluous.
He was wise without the assistance of recorded wisdom,
And eloquent beyond the precepts of scholastic
Rhetoric.

He applied, not to Books, but to Men,
 And drank of Knowledge,
 Not from the stream, but the source.

To Genius, which might have been fortunate with-
 out Industry,
 He added Industry, which, without Genius, might
 have commanded Fortune.

He acquired Wealth with Honour,
 And seemed to possess it only to be liberal.

His Public Spirit
 Was not less ardent than his Private Benevolence :
 He considered Individuals as Brethren,
 And his Country as a Parent.

May his Talents be remembered with respect,
 His virtues with emulation !

Here also lies,
 Mingled with the same earth, the dust of
 NATHANIEL BAYLY EDWARDS,
 his Nephew :
 In whom distinguished abilities and an amiable
 disposition,
 Assisted by such an example,
 Gave the promise of equal excellence:
 When, on the 28th of January, 1771,
 In the 21st year of his age,
 He paid the debt to Nature;

His surviving Brother,
 BRYAN EDWARDS,
 Inscribes this Stone as a memorial of his Gratitude,
 Affection and Esteem.

APPENDIX TO BOOK II.



No. I.

A general state of agriculture, and Negro population in the island of Jamaica, at the close of 1791, from the report of a Committee of the House of Assembly.

	Number.	Negroes employed thereon.
Sugar plantations, - - - - -	767	140,000
Coffee plantations - - - - -	607	21,000
Grazing and breeding farms called pennis	1,047	31,000
Of small settlements for the growth of cotton, ginger, pimento, corn and other provisions, the number is not ascertained; they are supposed (including the negroes in the several towns) to give employment to - - -	- -	58,000
Total number of enslaved negroes in Jamaica in 1791 - - - - -		250,000

No. II.

An account of the number of sugar plantations in the island of Jamaica in 1772, and again in 1791, distinguishing the parishes; also the number in each parish which were sold in the interim, for the payment of debts;—the number remaining in 1791 in the hands of mortgagees, trustees or receivers;—the number thrown up and abandoned, or converted into other cultivation between the two periods. —and the number of new plantations recently settled, or which were settling at the end of the last period.

PARISHES.	Plantations in the hands of the proprietors	Sold for the payment of debts since 1772.	In the hands of mortgagees, trustees or receivers.	Abandoned since 1772	New plantations in 1792
Westmorland	39	7	16	11	4
Hanover	40	22	9	4	8
St. James	49	13	15	3	6
St. Elizabeth	16	2	3	11	2
Trelawny	65	14	4	1	7
Total in the county of Cornwall	209	58	47	30	27
St. Mary	37	21	8	0	2
Clarendon	37	18	2	1	2
Vere	22	3	1	1	3
St. Dorothy	6	6	0	0	3
St. John	13	3	3	1	0
St. Catharine	2	1	0	3	1
St. Thomas in the Vale	17	13	3	3	0
St. Anne	15	9	6	2	1
Total in the county of Middlesex	149	74	23	11	12

PARISHES.	Plantations in the hands of the proprietors.	Sold for the payment of debts since 1772.	In the hands of mortgagees, trustees, or receivers.	Abandoned since 1772.	New plantations in 1792.
St. Andrew	14	3	2	1	0
Port Royal	3	0	0	1	0
Portland	15	6	1	4	2
St. George	7	3	4	3	5
St. Thomas in the East	48	23	14	5	0
St. David	6	5	1	0	1
Kingston	0	0	0	0	0
<hr/>					
Total in the county of Surry	93	45	22	14	8
<hr/>					
GRAND TOTAL	451	177	92	55	47
<hr/>					

Summary.

Existing plantations in 1791	-	-	720
Plantations then recently settled or settling	-	-	47
			<hr/>
Total number of sugar estates in 1791	.	.	767
			<hr/>

Observations.

From the preceding table it is sufficiently obvious, that in the course of twenty years ending 1791, the planters of Jamaica (however profitably employed in the service of the mother-country) were labouring to little purpose for themselves: it appearing that no less than 177 sugar plantations had been sold during that period, for the payment of debts;—that 55 had been abandoned by the proprietors, and that 92 others re-

mained in the hands of creditors! Since the year 1791, a favourable change has taken place, and it is presumed that at this time (December 1797) near 200,000 negroes are employed solely in the cultivation of sugar; but the most rapid improvement which this island has experienced is a vast increase in the growth of coffee. The following is an authentic return from the naval officers:—viz.

Account of coffee exported from the island of Jamaica for ten years, viz. 1787, to 1797:

	lbs. to Great-Britain	lbs. to America.
From the 1st. August 1787 } to the 1st August 1788 }	808,528	393,273
1789	1,204,649	382,489
1790	1,412,241	427,130
1791	2,114,326	291,764
1792	2,708,548	144,849
1793	3,543,003	69,657
1794	4,314,290	257,103
1795	4,452,611	1,479,961
1796	5,273,814	1,757,444
1797	6,708,272	1,223,349
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	32,540,282	6,427,019
	<hr/>	<hr/>

IN addition to the foregoing the American Editor flatters himself the reader will not be displeas'd with a summary of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS from Oct. 1803 to Oct. 1804.

St. Jago de la Vega, (Jam.) December 1.

By a Return of the Naval Officer laid before the house of Assembly on Tuesday the 13th of November the following is a summary of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS of this island, from the 30th September 1803, to the 30th September 1804:—

IMPORTS

From the United States of America.

In American vessels.—6,4362 barrels corn meal and flour ; 16,119 bags, 6,223 barrels, 3,895 kegs of bread ; 3,063 tierces of rice ; 2,275 hhds. 15,743 barrels, 444 kegs, 2,743 boxes, and 267 quintals of fish ; 11,741 barrels of beef ; 17,038 barrels of pork ; 5,247 firkins of butter ; 65,435 bushels of corn ; 6,768,271 feet lumber ; 7,997,957 staves and heading ; and 12,733,207 shingles.

In British vessels:—12,937 barrels corn meal and flour ; 648 barrels, 513 kegs bread ; 561 tierces of rice ; 261 hhds. 854 barrels, 100 kegs, 565 boxes fish ; 667 barrels beef ; 1596 barrels pork ; 49 firkins butter ; 162 casks, 3,892 bushels corn ; 400,845 feet lumber ; 411,982 staves and heading ; 242,000 shingles ; 93 casks of tobacco ; and 1,467 barrels naval stores.

From British America.

816 barrels of flour ; 100 bags, 88 barrels, 109 kegs, 10 quintals of bread ; 1964 hhds. 13,798 barrels, 321 kegs, 368 boxes of fish ; 362 barrels of beef ; 191 barrels pork ; 80 firkins butter ; 4,300 bushels corn ; 719,971 feet lumber ; 302,750 staves and heading ; 139,750 shingles ; 153 logs, 60,000 feet mahogany ; 154 casks of oils ; 92 hhds. beer.

EXPORTS.

Total from Kingston:—41,562 hhds. 3,940 tierces, 144 bbls. of sugar ; 12,003 puncheons, 541 hhds. rum ; 64 casks of melleasses ; 573 bags, 1,024 casks ginger ; 5,645 bags, 632 casks pimento ; 16,313,386 lbs. coffee.

Total from the outports:—61,790 hhds. 8,862 trs. 767 bbls. of sugar ; 30,204 phns. 372 hhds. rum ; 365 casks of melleasses ; 981 bags, 70 casks ginger ; 13,927 bags, 785 casks pimento ; 5,750,594 lbs. of coffee.

Grand total :—103,552 hhds. 12,802 trs. 2,207 bbls. sugar ; 42,207 phns. 913 hhds. rum ; 429 casks melleasses ; 1,854 bags, 1,094 casks ginger ; 19,572 bags, 1,417 casks pimento ; 22,063,980 lbs. of coffee.

Increase since last year.

In coffee, only, 4,240,977 lbs.

Decrease.

About 6,000 hhds. of sugar ; 16,148 phns. 560 hhds. rum ; 93 casks melleasses ; 2,644 bags ginger ; 1,537 bags, 68 casks pimento.

The tonnage of vessels trading to this island between the 30th September 1803, and 30th September 1804, was—from Great Britain and Ireland, 93,433 tons ; from America, 69,525 tons ; from the Spanish Main, 4,101 tons ; traders under free port act, 14,826 tons ; and droggers, 3,382 tons.

During the above period 1,813 horses, 2,182 mules, 218 asses, and 2,107 horned cattle, have been imported. And from Great Britain and Ireland, 54,507 bbls. of herrings.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

CONSTITUTION OF JAMAICA.



HISTORICAL ACCOUNT, &c.

*JAMAICA.**

IT does not appear that there was any form of civil government established in the island of Jamaica before the restoration; when Colonel D'Oyley, who had then the chief command under a commission from the lord protector, was confirmed in that command by a commission from king Charles, dated the 13th of February, 1661.

* In the former editions, this account of the constitution of Jamaica was ascribed to governor (now lord) Lyttleton, who was captain-general of that island in 1764, but I have since had reason to believe it was an official paper drawn up by some person in the plantation office in Great Britain, and transmitted to the governor for his information. That it came last from the governor's office, is a fact within my own knowledge; but Lord Lyttleton having assured me that he had no recollection of its contents, I feel myself bound to apprise my readers of the circumstance. As there can be no possible doubt concerning the authenticity of the documents annexed to it, the question by whom the introductory part was prepared is of little importance in itself, but justice towards Lord Lyttleton, and regard to truth, require me to give this explanation.

His commission, which recites the king's desire to give all protection and encouragement to the people of Jamaica, and to provide for its security and good government, impowers him to execute his trust according to such powers and authorities as are contained in his commission and the instructions annexed to it, and such as should from time to time be given to him by his majesty, and according to such good, just, and reasonable customs and constitutions as were exercised and settled in other colonies; or such other as should, upon mature advice and consideration, be held necessary and proper for the good government and security of the island, provided they were not repugnant to the laws of England.

It further impowers him to take unto him a council of twelve persons, *to be elected by the people* according to the manner prescribed in the instructions; and by the advice of any five or more of them, to constitute civil judicatories, with power to administer oaths; to command all the military forces in the island, and to put in force, and execute, martial law; to grant commissions, with the advice of his council, for the finding out new trades; and to do and perform all other orders which might conduce to the good of the island. The instructions consist of fifteen articles:

The first directs the commission to be published, and the king proclaimed.

The third regulates the manner of electing the council, eleven of which to be chosen indifferently,

by as many of the officers of the army, planters, and inhabitants, as could be conveniently admitted to such election, either at one or more places; which said persons, with the secretary of the island, who was thereby appointed always to be one, were established a council, to advise and assist the governor in the execution of his trust, and five were to be a quorum.

The fourth and fifth articles direct the taking the oaths, and settling judicatories for the civil affairs and affairs of the admiralty, for the peace of the island, and determining controversy.

The sixth directs the governor to discountenance vice and debauchery, and to encourage ministers, that christianity and the protestant religion, according to the Church of England, might have due reverence and exercise amongst them.

The seventh directs the fortifications at Cagway to be compleated, and empowers him to compel, not only soldiers, but planters, to work by turns.

The eighth directs him to encourage the planters, and to assure them of his majesty's protection: and, by the ninth, he is to cause an accurate survey to be made of the island.

By the tenth it is directed, that the secretary shall keep a register of all plantations, and the bounds thereof; and that all persons shall be obliged to plant a proportionable part thereof within a limited time.

The eleventh and twelfth direct all encouragements to be given to such negroes and others as shall submit to the government, and to merchants and such as shall bring any trade there, and forbid monopolizing.

The thirteenth directs, that any vessel which can be spared from the defence of the island, shall be employed in fetching settlers from any other colonies, and that no soldiers be allowed to depart without license.

The fourteenth relates to the keeping of the stores and provisions sent to the island: and the fifteenth directs the governor to transmit, from time to time, a state of the island and all his proceedings.

In 1662, Lord Windsor was appointed governor of Jamaica, by commission under the great seal; which besides containing the same powers as those contained in Col. D'Oyley's commission, directs that in case of Lord Windsor's dying or leaving the island, the government shall devolve on the council, or any seven of them, and appoints a salary of two thousand pounds per annum, payable out of the exchequer.

His instructions consist of twenty-two articles. The first directs the publication of his commission: and the second, the appointment of the council, according to his commission and the instructions. But it must be observed upon this article, that no directions whatever are given, either in the commission, which refers to the instructions, or the instructions themselves, as

to the mode in which the council shall be appointed; BUT IT APPEARS THAT THE GOVERNOR NAMED THEM HIMSELF.

The third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh articles relate to the administering oaths, establishing judicatures, and providing for the security of the adjacent isles.

The eighth directs encouragement to be given to planters to remove to Jamaica from the other colonies.

The ninth directs 100,000 acres of land to be set apart in each of the four quarters of the island as a royal demesne, a survey to be made, and a register kept of all grants, and a militia formed.

The tenth directs the planters to be encouraged, their lands confirmed unto them by grants under the great seal, and appoints 50,000 acres of land to the governor, for his own use.

The eleventh relates to the encouragement of an orthodox ministry: and the twelfth establishes a duty of five per cent. upon all exports after the expiration of seven years.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth articles, contain general directions as to the liberty and freedom of trade, (except with the Spaniards), assistance to the neighbouring plantations, and the securi-

ty of the island, by obliging planters to reside in bodies together, and in contiguous buildings.

The seventeenth directs, that as an encouragement to men of ability to go to the island, no offices shall be held by deputy; and gives a power to the governor of suspension or removal, in case of bad behaviour.

The nineteenth empowers the governor to grant royalties and manors, or lordships, to contain less than five hundred acres.

The twentieth empowers the governor, with advice of the council, to call assemblies, to make laws, and, upon imminent necessity, to levy money; such laws to be in force two years, and no longer, unless approved of by the crown.

See the Proclamation of the 14th of December, 1661, upon which the people of Jamaica have upon any occasion laid so much stress.

This proclamation was published by Lord Windsor upon his arrival; but nothing else material arises out of his short administration worth notice, for he staid but two months, and left the island, and the execution of his commission, to Sir Charles Lyttleton, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor; and who governed with the advice of a council of twelve, appointed by himself, and called an assembly that made a body of laws, amongst which was one for raising a revenue.

Nothing, however, which appears to be material, as to the form of the constitution, occurred during his administration, which continued about twenty months; when he was superseded by the arrival of Sir Thomas Modyford, who was appointed governor in chief by a commission under the great seal, which empowered him either to constitute by his own authority, a privy council of twelve persons, or to continue the old one, and to alter, change, or augment it as he thought proper; to create judicatories; and make laws, orders and constitutions, provided they did not extend to take away any right or freehold, or the interest of any person in their rights or freeholds, goods or chattels, and that they were transmitted to his majesty for allowance or disapprobation.

He was further empowered to command and discipline all military forces, to use martial law upon persons in military service, and establish articles of war; to create courts of admiralty, according to such authority as he should receive from the lord high admiral; to erect forts and fortifications; to establish ports, cities, towns, boroughs, and villages; to create manors and lordships; to grant charters to hold fairs; to take surveys, and keep records of all grants of lands, under such moderate quit-rents, services, and acknowledgments, as he should think fit; and to prescribe terms of cultivation; and grants so made under the seal, and enrolled, were to be good and valid against the crown; to grant commissions for finding out new trades; to pardon all offences, except murder and

treason, and in those cases to reprieve for twelve months.

He was also empowered, with the advice of the majority of council, to frame a method for establishing general assemblies, and from time to time to call such assemblies together, and with their consent to pass all manner of laws, reserving to him a negative voice; as also, upon imminent occasions, to levy money. These laws not to extend to taking away any one's freehold, or to the loss of a member, and to be in force only two years, unless approved and confirmed by the crown.

This commission appoints a salary to the governor of one thousand pounds per annum, payable out of the exchequer.

The instructions, which consist of twenty articles, relate to the encouragement to be given to planters to come from the other colonies; to the allowance settled upon himself and the other officers; and extend to most of the points contained in Lord Windsor's instructions; but direct, that the measure of setting out the 400,000 acres, as a royal demesne, shall be suspended; that no duties shall be laid in the island upon the import or export of any goods for twenty-one years, nor shall any duty be laid here upon the produce of Jamaica for five years.

By these instructions it appears, that the crown allowed two thousand five hundred pounds per annum

for the support of government ; and what was wanted, over and above, was to be made good by a duty on strong liquors, either made or imported, to be levied by the authority of the governor and council.

In July, 1664, Sir Thomas Modyford issued writs for electing two assembly-men for each parish ; which assembly met in October following.

It does not appear that this assembly sat above a month or two before they were dissolved ; but, during their sessions, they passed a body of laws which was transmitted to the lord chancellor, to be laid before the crown ; but, not being confirmed, they would have expired at the end of two years ; but (as I find it asserted by lord Vaughan) the governor continued them in force to the end of his administration, by an order of council. I cannot, however, find this order upon record, but, after that time a great many ordinances of the governor and council, in the nature and form of laws ; in some of which it was declared, that they shall continue in force until another assembly was called, and then to be confirmed, altered, or repealed, as that assembly should see convenient : but no other assembly was called during Sir Thomas Modyford's administration.

In 1670, Sir Thomas Modyford was recalled, and Sir Thomas Lynch appointed lieutenant-governor and commander in chief, with the same powers as Sir Thomas Modyford had.

On the 1st of December 1671, he issued writs for calling an assembly, to consist of two persons for each parish; which met on the 8th of January, and sat till June following, when the governor dissolved them, after having passed a body of laws, which were transmitted to England, but were not confirmed.

In May, 1673, Sir Thomas Lynch called another assembly; but upon their refusing to grant money for the fortifications, he dissolved it after sitting only a few days; and, in January following, upon consideration that two years were almost expired since making the body of laws, and that his majesty had not been pleased to signify his royal consent to them, a new assembly was called, which met the 18th of February, and, on the 14th of March, a new body of laws was passed, which were transmitted to England; but, not being confirmed by the crown, expired at the end of two years.

On the 3d of December, 1674, lord Vaughan was appointed governor of Jamaica. A council consisting of twelve persons, was named in the commission, with power to him to expel or suspend any of them, and, in case of vacancies, to fill up the council to nine. He was also empowered to call assemblies, according to the usage of the island; and, with the council and assembly, to pass laws, which laws were to be in force for two years, unless the crown's pleasure was in the mean time signified to the contrary, and no longer, except they were approved and confirmed within that time. In the passing of these laws, the

governor was to have a negative voice, and to dissolve any assembly, as he should think proper.

Upon lord Vaughan's arrival in his government, he called an assembly, which met on the 26th of April, 1675, and passed a new body of laws.

It does not appear when this assembly was dissolved; but in March 1676-7, writs were issued for a new assembly, which met on the 26th of that month; and, having passed several other laws, they were dissolved on the 26th of July: and the laws passed by both assemblies having been transmitted to England, the council took them into their consideration, and, after frequent deliberations upon them, and many alterations proposed, they were referred, with the council's observations upon them, to the attorney-general to consider thereof, and to form a new body of laws for the good government of this island.

With these laws, the council took into consideration the state and constitution of Jamaica, and made the reports upon it hereunto annexed, *vide Documents No. 1, 2.*

These reports having been confirmed, a commission passed the great seal, constituting lord Carlisle governor of Jamaica, by which, and by the instructions annexed thereto, *vide No. 3, 4*, the form of government proposed in the council's report was adopted and established.

Upon lord Carlisle's arrival in his government, he found the people very much dissatisfied with, and averse to this new form of government, as will better appear by his letters, *vide* No. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

These letters and papers being taken into consideration by the council, as also a report thereon by the committee, the council, on the 4th of April, 1679, made the order No. 11; and on the 28th of May following, the annexed report, No. 12, was presented to his majesty, and being approved, was transmitted to the earl of Carlisle, with the annexed letter No. 13.

Upon receipt of these papers, the lord Carlisle communicated them to the assembly, who presented an address in answer to the report of the 28th of May; which address was transmitted to the council by lord Carlisle. *Vide* No. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

On the 5th of March 1679-80, the council took into consideration the letters received from the earl of Carlisle; and the annexed extracts (*No. 21 to 38 inclusive*) of their proceedings, will shew their several resolutions and directions in consequence thereof.

It is impossible, at this distance of time, to judge what motives could have induced the council, after they had shewn so much firmness and resolution to support the rights of the crown, by establishing in Jamaica the Irish constitution, to give the point up, as it appears they did by the annexed explanatory

commission to lord Carlisle, *No.* 39, which contains the same power of making laws in assembly as is now given to the governor of Jamaica, and which, from that time, has been minutely the same; excepting only, that, in 1716, the governor was directed, by instructions, not to pass any laws that should repeal a law confirmed by the crown, without a clause of suspension, or first transmitting the draft of a bill; and in 1734 this limitation was extended to all laws for repealing others, though such repealed law should not have been confirmed by the crown.†

† Neither of these orders are enforced, except in the case of private bills, the assembly having constantly refused to admit suspending clauses in any public act, and the crown has long since given up the point. E.

DOCUMENTS

ANNEXED TO THE

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT.

NUMBER I.

The right honourable the lords of the committee for Trade and Plantations having this day presented to the board the ensuing Report; viz.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WE having, according to the trust reposed in us in reference to your majesty's plantations, taken in consideration the present state and government of the island of Jamaica, particularly such matters as, from the nature of affairs as they now stand there, we have judged necessary to be recommended to the right honourable the earl of Carlisle, whom your majesty has been pleased to nominate and constitute governor of the said island; and having, after several meetings agreed upon the following particulars, we most humbly crave leave to lay them before your majesty, for your royal determination.

The first point that did occur most worthy to be considered by us was, the power and manner of enacting laws for the civil, military, and ecclesiastical government: and, upon taking a view of what has been practised since your majesty's happy restoration in the legislative, we find, that the methods and authorities for the framing and ordaining the said laws have been only such as were directed by your royal commission

unto your majesty's several governors, or prescribed by the instructions given them from time to time; and that as the constitution and exigency of affairs have often changed, so your majesty has thought fit variously to adapt your royal orders thereunto; and by the last commission, given unto the lord Vaughan, your majesty was pleased to empower his lordship, with the advice of your majesty's council, from time to time to summon general assemblies of freeholders, who have authority, with the advice and consent of the governor and council, to make and ordain laws for the government of the island; which laws are to be in force for the space of two years, except in the mean time your majesty's pleasure be signified to the contrary, and no longer, unless they be confirmed by your majesty within that time. Having, therefore, directed our thoughts towards the consequences and effects which have been produced, or may arise, from this authority derived unto the said freeholders and planters, which we observe to have received a daily increase by the resolutions they have taken, less agreeable to your majesty's intention, we do most humbly offer our opinions, that the laws transmitted by the lord Vaughan, which are now under consideration in order to be enacted by your majesty, may be intrusted in the hands of the earl of Carlisle, who, upon his arrival in the island, may offer them unto the next assembly, that they may be consented unto as laws originally coming from your majesty; and that, for the future, no legislative assembly be called without your majesty's special directions; but that, upon emergencies, the governor do acquaint your majesty by letters with the necessity of calling such an assembly, and pray your majesty's consent and directions for their meeting; and, at the same time, do present unto your majesty a scheme of such acts as he shall think fit and necessary, that your majesty may take the same into consideration, and return them in the form wherein your majesty shall think fit that they be enacted; that the governor, upon receipt of your majesty's commands, shall then summon an assembly, and propose the said laws for their consent, so that the same method in legislative matters be made use of in Jamaica as in Ireland, according to the form prescribed by Poyning's law; and that, therefore, the present style of enacting laws, *By the governor, council, and representatives of the commons assembled*, be converted into the style of, *Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the consent of the general assembly*.

We are further of opinion, that no escheats, fines, forfeitures, or penalties, be mentioned in the said laws to be applied to the public use of the island; and that your majesty do instruct your governor to dis-

pose thereof for the support of the government. It is also our opinion, that in all laws for levying of money, and raising a public revenue, the clauses whereby the said levies are appropriated unto the public use of the island, without any mention made of your majesty, or unto your majesty for the said public use, are so far derogatory to your majesty's right of sovereignty, that they ought to be, for the future, altered and made agreeable to the style of England.

We do likewise offer it unto your majesty as necessary, that no minister be received in Jamaica without license from the right reverend the lord bishop of London; and that none having his lordship's license be rejected; without sufficient cause alleged; as also, that in the direction of all church affairs, the minister be admitted into the respective vestries.

And whereas it has upon some occasions proved inconvenient, that the members of the council have been constituted by your majesty's commission; we are of opinion, that for the future, they be only named in the instructions of the governor; for the strengthening of whose authority under your majesty we do offer, that he may have power to suspend any of the said members, if he see just cause, without receiving the advice and consent of the council; and also, that none of the said so suspended, or by your majesty's order displaced, from that trust, may be permitted to be received into the general assembly.

And whereas nothing can contribute more to the welfare of your majesty's island, than that all means be found out for the increase of trade; we do offer, for the encouragement thereof, that a mint be allowed in Jamaica, in such manner that no prejudice do arise unto your majesty's other dominions, or that what bullion is brought from thence may be coined here in England; provided that all such coins may bear your majesty's royal superscription, and not be imposed in payment elsewhere.

All which, &c.

FINCH,
DANBY,
WORCESTER,
ESSEX,
FAUCONBERRY,
CRAVEN,
H. COVENTRY.

Tho. Dolmax.

His majesty, taking the same in consideration, was pleased to approve thereof; and did order, that the right honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry do prepare a commission and instructions for his majesty's royal signature, for the earl of Carlisle, according to the tenor of the said report.

No. II.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 15th of February, 1677-8.

PRESENT, the Kings Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Upon reading this at the board, a report from the right honourable the lords of the committee for Trade and Plantations, in the words following:

May it please your Majesty,

Having received, on the 12th of January last past, from the right honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry, a draft of a commission and instructions for the earl of Carlisle, whom your majesty has appointed to be your governor of Jamaica; and having, after several additions and alterations, remitted the same unto Mr. Secretary Coventry, on the 2d instant, we crave leave to offer to your majesty the most material points which did occur unto us upon perusal of the said draft; which are as followeth:

1st. As we are of opinion that all members of council in Jamaica may, for the more easy passing of laws, be admitted into the assembly, if duly elected by the freeholders; so we cannot but advise your majesty, that as well the members of the said council suspended by your majesty's governor, as the members displaced by your majesty, may be rendered incapable during which suspension of being admitted into the assembly.

2d. That although your majesty has, by an order of the 16th of November last past, thought fit that no assembly be called without your majesty's especial leave and directions; we think it very important, for your majesty's service and safety of the island, that in case of invasion, rebellion, or some other very urgent necessity, your majesty's governor may have power, with the consent of the assembly, to pass acts for raising of money, to answer the occasions arising by such urgent necessities.

3d. That whereas hitherto, within your majesty's island of Jamaica, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy have not been imposed on persons that bear any part of the government, except the members and officers of the council, and all judges and justices; so, for the prevention of future inconveniencies, and greater assurance of loyalty towards your majesty, we are humbly of opinion, that all persons elected into the assembly shall, before their sitting, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which your majesty's governor shall commissionate fit persons, under the seal of the island, to administer unto them, and that, without taking the said oaths, none shall be capable of sitting, although elected.

We have likewise, pursuant to your majesty's orders, prepared a body of laws, such as the right honorable the Earl of Carlisle may be empowered to carry with him, and to offer unto the assembly of Jamaica for their consent. Whereas we do not find, since your majesty's happy restoration, that any laws transmitted from your majesty's plantations have been confirmed by your majesty, either under the great seal of England, or any other signification of your majesty's pleasure, (the act of four and a half per cent. in the Caribbee islands only excepted, which was confirmed by the order of council), and the intended method of enacting laws in Jamaica hath not as yet been put in practice; we humbly crave your majesty's royal determination, whether the said laws shall pass only by order of your majesty in council, or under the great seal of England, that we may accordingly be enabled fitly to present them unto your royal view.

All which, &c.

His majesty was pleased to order, that Mr. Secretary Coventry do prepare Lord Carlisle's commission and instructions concerning these matters accordingly: and as for the laws of the said island, his majesty by an order of the board, hath been pleased this day to declare his pleasure, that they shall pass under the great seal of England.

NUMBER III.

Extract of King Charles the Second's Commission to the Earl of Carlisle.

And we do hereby give and grant unto you, with the advice and consent of the said council, full power and authority, from time to time, as need shall require, to summon or call general assemblies of the freeholders

and planters within the said island, and other the territories under your government, in such manner and form as hath been formerly practised and used in the said island of Jamaica.

And our will and pleasure is, that the persons thereupon duly elected, and having before their sitting taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, (which you shall commissionate fit persons, under the seal of our island, to administer, and without taking which none shall be capable of sitting, though elected), shall be called and held the General Assembly of the said island of Jamaica, and other the territories thereon depending; and shall have full power and authority to agree and consent unto all such statutes and ordinances for the public peace, welfare, and good government of the said island, and other the territories thereon depending, and the people and inhabitants thereof, and such others as shall resort thereunto, and for the benefit of our heirs and successors, as having been by you, with advice and consent of the said council, framed and transmitted unto us, in order to be here enacted, by our giving our consent thereunto, shall be by us approved and remitted unto you under our great seal of England; which said statutes, laws, and ordinances, are to be by you framed as near as conveniently may be to the laws and statutes of our kingdom of England.

And we do hereby, nevertheless, authorise and empower you, in case of invasion, rebellion, or some very great necessity, to pass an act or acts, by and with the consent of the general assembly, without transmitting the same first to us, to raise money within the said island, and the territories within your government, to answer the occasions arising by such urgent necessities.

And we give you likewise full power, from time to time, as you shall judge it necessary, to dissolve all general assemblies, as aforesaid.

NUMBER IV.

Extract of King Charles the Second's instructions to the Earl of Carlisle.

And whereas by our commission we have directed that, for the future, no general assembly be called without our special directions; but that, upon occasion, you do acquaint us by letter with the necessity of calling such an assembly, and pray our consent and directions for their meeting; you shall, at the same time, transmit unto us, with the advice and consent of the council, a draft of such acts as you shall think fit and neces-

sary to be passed, that we may take the same into our consideration, and return them in the form we shall think fit to be enacted: in and upon the receipt of our commands, you shall then summon an assembly, and propose the said laws for their consent.

And accordingly we have ordered to be delivered unto you herewith, a certain body of laws for the use of our said island, framed in pursuance of other laws transmitted unto us by former governors, with such alterations and amendments as we have thought fit, with the advice of our privy council here; which, upon your arrival in our said island, you shall offer unto the next assembly, that they may be consented to and enacted as laws originally coming from us.

We are willing, nevertheless, that in case of invasion, rebellion, or some very urgent necessity, you pass an act or acts, with the consent of the general assembly, without transmitting the same first unto us, to raise money within the said island, and the territories depending thereon, to answer the occasions arising by such urgent necessities.

And you shall take care that the present style of enacting laws, *By the governor, council, and representatives of the commons assembled*, be converted into the style of, *Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the consent of the general assembly*.

NUMBER V.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Carlisle to Mr. Secretary Coventry.

I have spoken with several of the council, and find some of them much dissatisfied at the alteration in the laws and manner of passing them, particularly at the latter part of the clause in the militia bill: "but that in all things he may, upon all occasions or emergencies, act as captain-general and governor in chief, according to and in pursuance of all the powers and authorities given unto him by his majesty's commission; any thing in this case, or any other, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding;" which they are jealous of, lest that thereby they shall make it legal to execute all instructions that either are or shall be sent to me, or any other succeeding governor; which scruple might easily be avoided, but that the great seal being affixed to the laws, I have no power to make alteration, which I might have done both to their satisfaction and the preservation of the king's rights. The act for the revenue, too, I fear, will not without difficulty pass; but I shall endea-

vour all I can to bring them to pass, for which I have greater inducements than my being here, without any hopes from the present state of the treasury, which is exhausted and in debt for their new fortifications.

NUMBER VI.

Copy of a Letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry from the Earl of Carlisle.

St. Jago, 11th September, 1678.

SIR,

The assembly met on the 2d instant, and, I find, are so dissatisfied with the alteration of the government, that I question whether they will pass any of these laws: they have objections against several of them; as the act for the revenue that is perpetual, and may be diverted; they are nettled at the expression in the preamble, that the revenue was raised by the governor and council; and though they cannot deny it to be truth, yet they say that council was elected by the people, and, though continued under the name of a council, yet was in effect an assembly or representatives of the people.

I have given into their hands a copy of that act and fourteen more, and gave them liberty to compare them with the original. The act of militia and some others I keep by me, till I see what they will do with those they have. All the acts are not yet transcribed; for but one man can write at a time, and they are bulky; but I have enough to keep them employed. The speaker came to me on Saturday, to desire liberty to adjourn for a few days, which I consented to, and they adjourned till Thursday morning. Lieut. Col. Beeston is speaker, who I recommended to them upon Sir H. Morgan's assurances that he would behave himself well. He hath the general repute of an honest and discreet gentleman, though he signed the order about the privateer, at which so much offence was taken; but I am satisfied he was no further faulty, than in complying with the directions of the assembly: and I the rather proposed him (whom they had a mind to choose) to gain the point quietly of recommending, which my Lord Vaughan, I am told neglected to do.

The assembly appointed a committee to compare these laws with their former: it is said they differ in many things, especially from these laws last sent from Lord Vaughan, which are most usefully framed for their present benefit.

Popular discourses here as well as in England; and I find a few men's notions have taken such place with the leading men of the assembly, that they rather set themselves to frame arguments against the present constitution, than to accommodate things under it. I cannot yet tell you what course I shall take to remove this difficulty; but I will do the best I can. I find one of the council more faulty in this than any man in the island, but am unwilling to name him till I have tried the utmost to reclaim him.

Whilst we are here busy about small matters, I doubt your hands are full of greater, and may therefore forget us. We hear the French and Dutch are agreed.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

CARLISLE.

NUMBER VII.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Carlisle to the Committee, 24th October, 1678.

MY LORDS,

I have met with the difficulties here I foresaw, but could neither avoid nor prevent, in England. The general assembly meeting on the 2d of September last, I recommended and sent to them the several bills I brought over under the great seal of England, for their consent to be enacted; but being much dissatisfied at the new frame of government, and their losing their deliberative part of power in altering and amending laws, they would not pass any one of them, but threw them all out; but prepared an address, with a bill of impost upon wines and other strong liquors for one year, without giving me notice thereof, in such terms and form as was not fit for me to pass it: but afterwards changing the style of enacting, as directed in my instructions, with some other amendments to this bill, the public necessities of the island, having contracted many debts from new fortifications and salaries already due, requiring it, I gave the royal assent; and then, on the 12th this instant October, I dissolved them. My earnest suit to all your lordships is, that you'll please to have me in your thoughts, and the present state of this colony under your lordship's consideration, for some expedient which may be elucidatory to the power given me by my commission and instructions, which may quiet the minds of persons generally dissatisfied in this island, which is most

certainly under the greatest hopes of improvement of all the islands in the West Indies, and therefore most fit for to be encouraged, with the king's countenance and support, with good and acceptable laws.

What bills I shall send to Mr. Secretary Coventry, I pray may be despatched speedily when brought before your lordships and received; an order to be passed through all offices without delay, being in part of what is so very much wanting towards the support of the good government of this island.

NUMBER VIII.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Carlisle to the Committee.

MY LORDS,

A fortnight ago I gave you an account upon what terms I had parted with the assembly. I have since thoroughly considered of what might in this place most conduce to his majesty's service, and could not think of any better expedient than to send the bearer, Mr. Atkinson, to wait upon your lordships. He was secretary to Sir Thomas Lynch and my Lord Vaughan, and has been enough acquainted with all my proceedings since my arrival, so as perfectly able to satisfy your lordships in any thing you may desire to know concerning the place, and to lay before you all the several interests of his majesty relating to it.

My lords, I find that the present form appointed for the making and passing of laws, considering the distance of the place, is very impracticable, besides very distasteful to the sense of the people here, as you may observe by the assembly's address to me; and if your lordships will please to move his majesty to send me a general instruction to call another assembly, and to re-enact and make what laws are fit for this place, I could then order the matter to conclude effectually to his majesty's service. I have, by Mr. Atkinson, sent you the drafts of such bills as are the most fundamental, and chiefly concern his majesty's interest; and I do assure you, that I will not in any material point vary from them. He will, when your lordships order him to attend you, lay them all before you, and, I believe, give your lordships such thorough satisfaction, that you will rest assured, that what I desire is for his majesty's service, and that I shall be enough enabled by it to settle every thing upon so good a foundation, that neither his majesty nor your lordships will ever repent of

having made any deference to my opinion: in it, my lords, much success depends upon the despatch, and of the circumstances Mr. Atkinson will give you an account. His business is wholly to attend your lordships, and I believe, he will always be in the way. He has prayed me to intercede with your lordships, to excuse what errors he may commit, as having been a West-Indian for these eight years past, and do on his behalf beg that favour of your lordships; but hope that he will prove so discreet, as to give your lordships no manner of offence. I thought it the readiest and best way to have all things rightly understood, and do hope that issue will be produced from it.

I am, your Lordships' most
humble, and obedient servant,

CARLISLE.

St. Jago de la Vega, Nov. 15, 1678.

NUMBER IX.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Carlisle to Mr. Secretary Coventry.

On the 2d of September last, the general assembly met; but under so much dissatisfaction from the new frame of government, and their losing their deliberative part of power, in framing, altering, and amending laws, that they spent near a fortnight very uneasily about some of the laws, and would have begun with the bill of revenue, to have thrown that out first, as a mark of their disallowing the new method of government, being so highly incensed, that they were near questioning the king's power and authority to do it: insomuch, that I, taking the maintenance thereof to be in my charge, and finding some of the council equally disgusted at the change of government, and foreseeing that it was like to encourage discontent in the assembly, to take them off, and leave the assembly upon their humour by themselves, I thought it absolutely necessary to put this question to each of the counsellors, in these words: "Do you submit and consent to this present form of government which his majesty hath been pleased to order for this island of Jamaica?" To which the chief justice, col. Long, refused to answer, with two more, col. Charles Whitfield and col. Thomas Freeman. The chief justice, being a man of very great influence upon the assembly, I presently suspended, and gave the other two (less dangerous) till morning to consider on it: and then the chief justice sent to me his submission

under his hand, and col. Freeman submitted; but col. Charles Whitfield, otherwise a very good man, went away into the country.

The assembly received and examined all the laws I brought over, and drew up their reasons against passing them; of each, many were very frivolous, and the best was, because they were not compared with and amended by the last laws of my lord Vaughan's now with you, and received some two days before my coming away, the fleet then staying in the downs, and my departure much pressed upon the expectation of war. These reasons against the revenue bill I answered individually; but no means or endeavours either I myself, the council, or both could use, would prevail with them to pass any one of them; and I look upon this to be their chief reason, that by not passing them they might the better shew their dislike of that new way of government; though they urge this for their enjoying a power of altering and amending laws, the necessity of changing them as often as occasions do require, and the distance from this place is so great, that before the king's approbation can be obtained to a law, and returned hither, it may be fit for the public good either to lay that law aside, or much to change and alter it; and, indeed, in this part of the objection I think they are in the right, for that they will want temporary laws till the colony be better grown: and, upon thorough consideration of the whole matter in this part, I am of opinion, it is very advisable and requisite, that there should be leave and power from the king to make laws (not relating to his majesty's power or prerogative) to endure for some term till his royal approbation may be had therein; and of this I do earnestly entreat your care.

Having used all methods possible with the several members apart, and jointly with the body of the assembly, for the passing the laws, I was, after many conferences and debates, and several adjournments, frustrated, and they threw them all out. Afterwards, in a full body, by the speaker, they gave me the inclosed address, and presented to me a bill for public impost, prepared, without giving me notice thereof, in such terms and forms as was not fit for me to pass it in; but at last in some part consented to such amendments as I and the council thought fit, changing the style of enacting as directed in my instructions, but restraining it to one year, from a fear that if they should have made it perpetual, they should be assembled no more, but be governed by governor and council as they were in col. D'Oyley's time, when they enacted laws, not only for the revenue, but other occasions, by governor and council, and some part of Sir Charles Lyttleton's time, as appears by our council-

book upon the place; and Sir Thomas Modyford had an instruction to continue this revenue by order of governor and council, the assembly in his life-time passing it perpetual; and in Sir Thomas Lynch's time the assembly made it perpetual, but, for want of the king's consent they both are fallen; but now, the assembly say, they are of a better understanding than to give the reins out of their own hands.

To this bill, the island's affairs being under great pressures from public debts contracted for the new fortifications and salaries already due, I gave the royal assent; and then, being the 12th instant, I dissolved them.

Which having been done, and not being satisfied with the behaviour of the assembly in their proceedings in relation to the government I stood charged with, most of them being in military trusts, I put this question to each of them: "Do you submit to this form of government which his majesty hath been pleased to order for this island of Jamaica?" to which several of them neither gave me a dutiful nor cheerful answer; some did and at this some are much dissatisfied.

NUMBER X.

May it please your Excellency,

WE, the members chosen by his majesty's writ to be the general assembly for this his island of Jamaica, do, with a great deal of thankfulness, acknowledge the princely care which his majesty hath been ever pleased to have of this his colony, and of which your excellency hath likewise given to us very late and fresh assurances; and, in obedience to his majesty's commands, we have perused the several bills which your excellency sent us; and having duly examined the matters contained in them, we could not give our consent to any of them, there being divers fundamental errors, which we particularly observed, and did cause them to be entered in our journal; and from the consideration of them we cannot but reflect, and do humbly beg your excellency to represent unto his most sacred majesty, the great inconveniencies which are like to redound unto this his island by this method and manner of passing of laws, which is absolutely impracticable, and will not only tend to the great discouragement of the present planters, but likewise put a very fatal stop to any further prosecution of the improvement of this place, there being nothing that invites people more to settle and remove their family and stocks into this re-

mote part of the world, than the assurance they have always had of being governed in such manner as that none of their rights should be lost, so long as they were within the dominions of the kingdom of England: nor can we believe that his majesty would have made this alteration, had he been truly informed of his own interests, and of that which is proper and natural for the constitution of this island.

My lord, you that are now our governor, and here upon the place, cannot but distinguish both, and plainly see that which, at great distance, is impossible to be known, being always distinguished with the false colours of interest and design. It is to you, therefore, we address ourselves; and do humbly beg you to assure his majesty, which we do from the bottom of our hearts unfeignedly declare, that we are his true, faithful, and loyal subjects. In the next place, sir, we humbly beg you to lay before his majesty the true condition of this island, and the several circumstances wherein it stands: the situation and natural advantages of the place will very probably, by God's blessing, in a very short time, make it very considerable. It were pity, therefore, that any stop in its infancy should be put to it, which may hinder its future growth, and disappoint those hopes which his majesty hath ever had, and which will no doubt of it come to pass, that, if this island be encouraged by good government and wholesome laws, it will effectually serve very many interests; both of his majesty's crown and the nation's trade.

Sir, the present form of the government as it is now appointed, has these plain and manifest inconveniencies in it:

1st. That the distance of this place renders it impossible to be put in practice, and does not in any manner fall under the same consideration as Ireland does, from which, we conclude, the example is taken.

2d. The nature of all colonies is changeable, and consequently the laws must be adapted to the interest of the place, and must alter with it.

3d. It is no small satisfaction that the people, by their representatives, have a deliberative power in the making of laws; the negative and barely resolving power being not according to the rights of Englishmen, and practised no where but in those commonwealths where aristocracy prevails.

4th. This manner of form of the government brings all things absolute, and puts it into the power of a governor to do what he pleases, which is not his majesty's interest, and may be a temptation for even good men to commit great partialities and errors.

5th. The method which has been always used, both in this island and all other colonies, in the making of laws, was a greater security to his majesty's prerogative than the present form; for a governor durst not consent to any thing against his interest; and if he did, the signification of the king's pleasure determined the laws, so that his majesty had thereby a double negative.

Thus sir, we have truly laid before your excellency our real sense; and do hope that your excellency, being thoroughly satisfied of the mischiefs which will certainly arise to this place from the reasons we have given, will in that manner represent our condition to his majesty, that he may be thereby induced to give an instruction to your excellency to pass such laws as are municipal and fit for us, and in the same manner which has ever been practised in this island and other his majesty's colonies; we having no other claim in it than to express our duty to the king, and our unfeigned service and gratitude to your excellency, for mediating that which is so much for his majesty's and the island's interest.

And we do here likewise present unto your excellency a bill for the raising a public impost unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, for the support of this his government; and do hereby beg your excellency to accept of it as a real demonstration of our loyalty to our prince and service to your excellency, with assurance that we shall, upon all occasions, be ready to express such further testimonies of the same as may be suitable to our duty and allegiance.

No. XI.

At the Court at Whitehall, 4th of April, 1679.

PRESENT, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas the right honourable the lords of the committee for Trade and Plantations did this day make Report unto his Majesty in Council.

That having, in pursuance of his majesty's order, considered the present state and constitution of Jamaica, and the government thereof, as it is settled by his majesty's command, their lordships see no reasons why any alterations should be made in the method of making laws according to the usage of Ireland, for which their lordships are preparing reasons to evince the necessity and legality of the same. And that whereas a ship is now lying in the Downs, bound for that island, their lordships advise,

that the right honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry do, by this conveyance, inform the earl of Carlisle of his majesty's pleasure herein, with directions that all things be disposed to this end; and that, in the mean time, the present laws enacted by Lord Vaughan be continued by proclamation, or otherwise, until his majesty's pleasure be further known; as also that his lordship do, by the first conveyance, send over an authentic copy of the act for a public impost, lately enacted there, according to his lordships instructions for matters of that nature.

His majesty, having thought fit to approve thereof, was pleased to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the right honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry do signify his majesty's pleasure unto the earl of Carlisle, according to the said report.

NUMBER XII.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 23th of May, 1679.

PRESENT, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas there was this day read at the Board a Report from the right honourable the lords of the committee for Trade and Plantations, in the words following; viz.

May it please your Majesty,

We have, in obedience to your majesty's commands, entered into the present state of your majesty's island of Jamaica, in order to propose such means as may put an end to the great discouragement your majesty's good subjects there lie under by the unsettled condition thereof, occasioned by the refusal of the laws lately offered by the earl of Carlisle to the assembly for their consent; at which proceedings dissatisfaction appears to have risen in the manner following:

By the commission granted by your majesty unto the lord Vaughan, and several preceding governors, it was your royal pleasure to intrust the assembly of Jamaica with a power to frame and enact laws, by the advice and consent of the governor and council; which laws were to continue in force for the space of two years, and no longer: but so it hath happened, that your majesty, finding the inconveniencies which did attend that power and manner of making laws, by the irregular, violent, and unwarrantable proceedings of the assembly, was pleased, with the advice of your privy council, to provide, by the earl of Carlisle's commission, that on

laws should be enacted in Jamaica, but such as, being framed by the governor and council, and transmitted unto your majesty for your royal approbation, were afterwards remitted to Jamaica, and consented unto by the assembly there; and, in pursuance thereof, the earl of Carlisle carried over a body of laws under the great seal of England; which laws, upon his lordship's arrival there, have been rejected by the general assembly, upon grounds and reasons contained in an address to your majesty's governor, and in divers letters received from his lordship in that behalf.

1st. In the first place, we find, they are unsatisfied with the clause in the militia bill, whereby it is provided, that the governor may, upon all occasions or emergencies, act as governor in chief, according to and in pursuance of all the powers and authorities given unto him by your majesty's commission; fearing that thereby they shall make it legal to execute all instructions that either are or shall be sent your majesty's governor.

2dly. They have likewise rejected the bill for raising a public revenue, as being perpetual, and liable (as they say) to be diverted.

3dly. It is objected, that the said laws contain divers fundamental errors.

4thly. That they were not compared with, and amended by, the last laws sent over by Lord Vaughan.

5thly. That the distance of the place renders the present method of passing laws wholly impracticable.

6thly. That the nature of all colonies is changeable, and consequently the laws must be adapted to the interest of the place, and alter with it.

7thly. That thereby they lose the satisfaction of a deliberative power in making laws.

8thly. That this form of government renders your governor absolute.

9thly. That by the former method of enacting laws your majesty's prerogative was better secured.

These being the objections and pretences upon which the assembly has, with so much animosity, proceeded to reject those bills transmitted by your majesty, we cannot but offer, for your majesty's information and satisfaction, such a short answer thereunto, as may not only give a testimony of the unreasonableness of their proceedings, but also furnish your governor, when occasion shall serve, with such arguments as may be fit to be used in justification of your majesty's commission and powers granted unto him.

1st. It is not without the greatest presumption that they go about to question your majesty's power over the militia in that island, since it has been allowed and declared, even by the laws of this your kingdom, that the sole supreme government, command, and disposition of the militia, and of all forces by sea and land, and of all forts and places of strength, is residing in your majesty, within all your majesty's realms and dominions.

2d. The objection made against the bill for the public revenue hath as little ground, since its being perpetual is no more than what was formerly offered by them unto your majesty, during the government of Sir Thomas Lynch, in the same measure and proportion as is now proposed; nor can it be diverted, since provision is thereby expressly made, that the same shall be for the better support of that government; besides that it is not suitable to the duty and modesty of subjects to suspect your majesty's justice or care for the government of that colony, whose settlement and preservation have been most particularly carried on by your majesty's tender regard, and by the great expense of your own treasure.

3d. It cannot with any truth be said, that these laws contain many and great errors, nothing having been done therein but in pursuance of former laws, at divers times enacted by the assembly, and with the advice of your majesty's privy council, as well as the opinion and approbation of your attorney-general, upon perusal of the same.

4th. To the fourth objection it may be answered, that if any thing had been found of moment or importance in the last parcel of laws transmitted by the Lord Vaughan, your majesty's tender care of your subjects welfare would have been such as not to have sent those bills imperfect, or defective in any necessary matter.

5th. As to the distance of the place, which renders (as they say) the present method of making laws altogether impracticable, your majesty having been pleased to regulate the same, by the advice of your privy-council, according to the usage of Ireland, such care was taken as that no law might be wanting which might conduce to the well being of the plantation, and that nothing might be omitted which in all former governments had been thought necessary; nor is it likely that this colony is subject to greater accidents than your kingdom of Ireland, so as to require a more frequent and sudden change of laws in other cases than such as are already provided for upon emergencies, or in other manner than is directed by your majesty's commission; whereby the inhabitants have free access to make complaints to your governor and council, of any defect in

any old law, or to give reasons for any new one, which, being modelled by the governor and council into form of law, and transmitted unto your majesty, if by your majesty and council found reasonable, may be transmitted back thither to be enacted accordingly.

6th. It was sufficiently apparent unto your majesty, that laws must alter with the interet of the place, when you were graciously pleased to lodge such a power in that government, as might not only, from time to time, with your majesty's approbation, and by the advice both of your privy council here and of the governor and council there, enable the assembly to enact new laws answerable to their growing necessities, but even, upon urgent occasions, to provide, by raising money, for the security of the island, without attending your majesty's orders or consent.

7th. It is not to be doubted but the assembly have endeavoured to grasp all power, as well as that of a deliberative voice, in making laws : but how far they have thereby intrenched upon your majesty's prerogative, and exceeded the bounds of their duty and loyalty, upon this pretence, may appear by their late exorbitant and unwarrantable proceedings during the government of the Lord Vaughan, in ordering and signing a warrant under the marshal of the island, your majesty's officer of justice, for the stopping and preventing the execution of a sentence passed, according to the ordinary forms of law, upon a notorious pirate and disturber of your majesty's peace : and they have further taken upon them, by virtue of this deliberative power, to make laws contrary to those of England, and to imprison your majesty's subjects, nor have they forborne to raise money by public acts, and to dispose of the same according to their will and pleasure, without any mention made of your majesty, which has never in like ease been practised in any of your majesty's kingdoms. How far, therefore, it is fit to intrust them with a power which they have thus abused, and to which they have no pretension of right, was the subject of your majesty's royal commission, when you were pleased to put a restraint upon those enormities, and to take the reins of government into your own hands, which they in express words, against their duty and allegiance, have challenged and refused to part with.

8th. It cannot with any truth be supposed, that, by the present form of government, the governor is rendered absolute, since he is now, more than ever, become accountable unto your majesty of all his most important deliberations and actions, and is not warranted to do any thing but according to law and your majesty's commission and instructions, given by advice of your privy council.

9th. And whether your majesty's prerogative is prejudiced by the present constructions, is more the concernment of your majesty, and subject of your own care, than of their consideration.

Lastly, and in general; We humbly conceive, that it would be a great satisfaction to your subjects there inhabiting, and an invitation to strangers, when they shall know what laws they are to be governed by, and a great ease to the planters, not to be continually obliged to attend the assemblies to re-enact old laws, which your majesty has now thought fit, in a proper form to ascertain and establish; whereas the late power of making temporary laws could be understood to be of no longer continuance than until such wholesome laws, founded upon so many years experience, should be agreed on by the people, and finally enacted by your majesty, in such manner as hath been practised in either of your majesty's dominions to which your English subjects have transplanted themselves. For as they cannot pretend to further privileges than have been granted to them, either by charter or some solemn act under your great seal, so, having from the first beginning of that plantation been governed by such instructions as were given by your majesty unto your governors, according to the power your majesty had originally over them, and which you have by no one authentic act ever yet parted with, and having never had any other right to assemblies than from the permission of the governors, and that only temporary and for probation, it is to be wondered how they should presume to provoke your majesty, by pretending a right to that which hath been allowed them merely out of favour, and discourage your majesty from future favours of that kind, when what your majesty ordered for a temporary experiment, to see what form would best suit the safety and interest of the island, shall be construed to be a total resignation of the power inherent in your majesty, and a devolution of it to themselves and their wills, without which neither law nor government, the essential ingredients of their subsistence and well being, may take place among them.

Since, therefore, it is evident, that the assembly of Jamaica have, without any just grounds, and with so much animosity and undutifulness, proceeded to reject the marks of your majesty's favour towards them, and that your majesty's resolutions in this case are like to be the measure of respect and obedience to your royal commands in other colonies; we can only offer, as a cure for irregularities past, and a remedy against all further inconveniencies, that your majesty would please to authorise and empower your governor to call another assembly, and to represent unto them the great convenience and expediency of accepting and consent-

ing unto such laws as your majesty has under your great seal transmitted unto them; and that, in case of refusal, his lordship be furnished with such powers as were formerly given unto Col. D'Oyley, your first governor of Jamaica, and since unto other governors, whereby his lordship may be enabled to govern according to the laws of England, where the different nature and constitution of that colony may conveniently permit the same; and, in other cases to act, with the advice of the council, in such manner as shall be held necessary and proper for the good government of that plantation, until your majesty's further orders; and that, by all opportunities of conveyance, the governor do give your majesty a constant and particular account of all his proceedings, in pursuance of your instructions herein.

All which is most humbly submitted, &c.

Upon reading of which report, and full debate thereupon, his majesty was pleased to approve the same; and the right honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry is hereby directed to prepare such suitable orders and instructions as may answer the several parts and advices contained in the said report.

Robert Southwell.

NUMBER XIII.

Extract of a Letter from the Committee to the Earl of Carlisle.

After our very hearty commendation unto your lordships, we have received two letters from you, the one of the 24th October, the other of the 15th November, 1678; both of which gave us an account of the distaste the assembly had expressed at the new frame of government, and of their throwing out all the bills transmitted under the great seal; and your lordship having therein recommended unto us the speedy despatch of the bills sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry, for passing them through the offices here, we did thereupon take the same into our consideration: but finding that they contained such clauses as we had formerly (your lordship being present) disallowed in the laws enacted by the Lord Vaughan, as most prejudicial to his majesty's rights and prerogative, one of them appropriating and disposing of the quit-rents in the same terms as was formerly done, so much to his majesty's dissatisfaction; another, declaring the laws of England to be in force, which clause (your lordship cannot but remember) was postponed here, upon very serious deliberation; besides divers other particulars, altogether unfit to be passed by his ma-

jesty: we have, withal, perused the several letters which your lordship had written to Mr. Secretary Coventry, in relation to your government: and as for the laws, we could not advise his majesty to proceed in any other manner, than by giving power to call another assembly, and to offer unto them the same laws your lordship carried over, as being the most usefully framed and settled for the good of the island and his majesty's service: and, that in case of refusal, you might be enabled to govern according to commissions and instructions given unto former governors, as your lordship will more fully understand by our report unto his majesty, and the order of council thereupon, to which we refer your lordship, as setting forth at large the grounds and reasons inducing the resolutions his majesty has now taken.

NUMBER XIV.

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Carlisle to Mr. Secretary Coventry.

St. Jago de la Vega, 30th Aug. 1679.

Your packet by captain Buckingham, having inclosed his majesty's letter of the 31st of May last, and an order in council of the 28th of May, 1679, together with the animadversions of the council upon several points of the 22d of May last, and two letters from yourself, I received the 26th inst. at night. The next morning I read them in council. The assembly then having sat some seven days, to renew the bill for a revenue, the last being just expiring, I sent for the general assembly, and read the order of council and the king's letter thereupon to them, which I hope will have some good effect; but they came in as good time so much contrary to their expectation. I herewith send you a copy of their address thereupon, which they presented to me the 28th; and finding them nettled and warm, I thought it discretion to let them take time to digest their thoughts; and, having continued the revenue bill for six months longer from the 1st of September next, I passed it, and then prorogued them till the 28th of October following.

NUMBER XV.

Copy of a vote of the Assembly, Aug. 22, 1679.

DIE VENERIS.

The committee appointed to examine Mr. Martyn's accounts reported, that Mr. Martyn, appearing before them, said, that my lord had ordered him to come and tell them, that, both from the king and from my lord,

he was not obliged to shew his accounts to the assembly; but that he had given them unto my lord, and his excellency had told him, that, if any of the assembly had a mind to see them, they might see them there.

The house, considering the return of the committee ordered to inspect Mr. Martyn's accounts, reassumed that debate, and thereupon did vote, that, notwithstanding my lord's answer by Mr. Martyn to that committee, it was and is their undoubted and inherent right, that as all bills for money ought and do arise in their house, so they ought to appoint the disposal of it, and to receive and examine all the accounts concerning the same.

Vera Copia.

ROWLAND POWELL.

NUMBER XVI.

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Carlisle to the Committee.

St. Jago de la Vega, 15th Sept. 1679.

MY LORDS,

Your lordship's letters of the 25th of March, 4th of April, and 31st of May last, I received on the 26th of August, as also your lordship's orders and reports to his majesty, touching the laws and government of Jamaica; which I communicated to the council (the assembly then sitting, to continue the revenue bill, expiring the 2d of September) on the 27th of August; and afterwards, the same day, I communicated, the council being present, his majesty's letter of the 31st of May last, and your lordship's order and report of the same date, to the assembly, which came to me as seasonably as they received them surprisedly, making me the next morning the enclosed address; upon which, having passed a bill of impost for six months, I prorogued them, by advice of the council, till the 28th of October next, hoping in that time they would fall of their heat, and upon recollection, better bethink themselves of their duties and allegiance, and upon my offering them again the laws, which I propose to do upon their first meeting, better demonstrate their obedience by readily giving their consent that they might be enacted.

But, from what I can learn from the chief leaders among them, I find the same averseness as formerly, averring that they will submit to wear, but never consent to make, chains, as they term this frame of government, for their posterities; so that I scarce expect better success; of which I have writ at large to Mr. Secretary Coventry.

NUMBER XVII.

*Extract of a letter from the Earl of Carlisle to Mr. Secretary Coventry.
St. Jago de la Vega, 23d November, 1679.*

SIR,

The assembly meeting on the 28th of October, I, with the council, went to them; commanded the council's report of the 28th of May, and his majesty's letter of the 31st of May last, to be read again to them; pressed them very much to consider how much it imported at this juncture for the interest of the island, that they should pass these laws I brought to them under the great seal of England, or at least part of them; desiring that any one or more of the assembly would there and then argue the reasonableness of their objection, which none of them would undertake; and so I left the body of laws with them. They having the last session passed a vote, that the raising money and disposing of it, was the inherent right of the assembly (of which I had no account either from the members or their speaker, in fourteen days afterwards, they presuming it to be their privilege that their proceedings should be kept secret from me): I then appointed and swore them a clerk, which before used to be of their own choice; and this they are very uneasy under.

They proceeded to read over the body of laws: Notwithstanding the great care, pains, and trouble I had taken with them, both apart individually as well as assembled together, they threw out and rejected all the laws, again adhering to their former reasons, rather than admitting or honouring those from their lordships for rules of obedience.

I thereupon presently, with the council, framed a bill of revenue indefinite, and sent that to them: but that had no better success; and they then attended me with the address to be presented to his majesty, which I herewith send you; as also the humble desire of justification of his majesty's council thereupon, which I and they earnestly desire your favour in humbly presenting to his majesty, being unanimously agreed to by all the council: but col. Samuel Long (chief justice of the island, whom I have found all along since my arrival here to be a most pertinacious abettor and cherisher of the assembly's stubbornness in opposing this new frame of government, having had a hand, being their speaker, in the leaving the king's name out of the revenue bill) refuses to join with the council in this their genuine act, and has sufficiently possessed himself of the opinion of the assembly, by advising and assisting them in the framing of their address: thinking their resolutions to be unalterable as his own, he

is with drawn to his plantation, some thirty miles off from this town, where at this juncture we have most need of council.

Upon serious and deliberate consideration of all which, I have sent him his *quietus*; and appointed Col. Robert Byndloss chief-justice in his place, of whose fidelity to the king's interest I have many proofs, having formerly executed the place, and was now one of the judges of the supreme court.

I have also suspended Col. Long from being one of the council, purposing, by the advice of the council, to bring or send him, with six more of the assembly, to attend the king and council in England to support their own opinions, reasons and address, wherein they are not ordinarily positive; and this I do from the council here unanimously agreeing, that there is no other nor better expedient for the settlement of this government to a general consent.

NUMBER XVIII.

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Carlisle to the Committee.

St. Jago de la Vega, 23d Nov. 1679.

MY LORDS,

Mine of the tenth of September last to your lordships I hope you have received; and what I therein sent your lordships, as my conjecture in prospect, since the general assembly's meeting, on the 28th of October last, have found to be no vain prophecy.

Upon the assembly's meeting on that day, I, with the council, went to the place where they were met, and again, in the presence of the council and the assembly, commanded to be read your lordship's report of the 28th of May last past made to his majesty, as also his majesty's commands to myself of the 31st of the same; and thereupon offered to the assembly the body of laws brought over under the great seal of England for their consent; at the same time declaring to them the great expediency it would be to all the officers of the island, and reason to persuade his majesty they were another people than represented at home; that it would induce the king to gratify them in what was necessary; and that, otherwise, they could not appear but in great contempt, to the lessening of the island's interest in his royal favour: and what I urged in general to them at their meeting, I had not been wanting to press to them apart individually before it: then swore them a clerk of my appointing, which they took not well, alleging it was their right to choose their own clerk. I told them no;

for that the king did grant by patent the clerk of the parliament, so that they were uneasily overruled. The reason of my doing this was from their having an opinion that the votes of the house should be kept a secret from me, and their passing a vote the former sessions, that to raise money, and dispose of the same, was a right inherent in the assembly, of which I had no notice, in some fourteen days after, from any of them or their speaker.

I much urged the whole assembly freely to argue, in the presence of the council and their own members, for the reasonableness of the matter commanded by the king, that, upon their discoursing it openly and freely, they might be the better convinced of the necessity of their being dutiful therein: but none of them in my presence and the council's, would undertake it; so we left them, and the body of laws with them.

Some days they spent in reading over again the body of laws under the great seal left with them; but rejected the many arguments I had laboured them with, and threw all the laws out again: whereupon they appointed a committee to draw up an address, to be presented by me to his majesty on their behalfs: and in that time, with the council, I drew a bill of revenue indefinitely, and gave it myself to their speaker; but that bill had no better success, but was rejected also.

Upon this, on the 14th instant, the speaker and assembly being sent for to attend me in council, to shew cause why they did reject the bill of revenue so framed by us in pursuance of his majesty's pleasure therein, they gave me no answer; but by their speaker, desired to present to me their address, the speaker contending to give it its due accent by reading it himself; a copy whereof is here sent inclosed.

This address is founded greatly upon the advice of lieutenant-colonel Samuel Long, chief-justice of the island, and one of the king's council, who principally contends for the old frame of government, of whom the assembly is highly opiniated, and esteem him the patron of their rights and privileges as Englishmen, who had a hand in leaving the king's name out of the revenue bill, being then speaker, and denies not his having a hand in framing and advising some parts of the address, which in whole is not truth; for,

1st. Whereas, they allege that the civil government commenced in my lord Windsor's time; it is generally known and recorded in our council-book, fifteen months before, in colonel D'Oyley's time; and will be proved by Sir Thomas Lynch, who then himself had an occasion of a trial by jury, the foreman of which was colonel Byndloss.

3dly. They allege the readiness of governors to use martial law, particularly in Sir Thomas Lynch's time; which is here contradicted, for there was only an order in council for the putting it in force upon condition of any actual descent or invasion, and not otherwise; neither was it on foot really all this time here, as I am credibly informed upon good inquiry.

3dly. As for its being in force in my time, it was not from my effecting, but the council advising and their desiring it; as also the putting off the courts till February, in favour generally of the planters. Then, for their alleging so much to be done during the martial law, wholly at the charge of the country; that it is done is true, but the charge thereof they would clog the revenue bill with, amounting to twelve hundred and twenty-eight pounds, when *communibus annis*, the bill of impost is but fifteen hundred pounds; of which twelve hundred and twenty-eight pounds there is not yet made payment of one farthing, nor any prospect how it may, since the revenue is so much anticipated from the want of money in the treasury, occasioned by my lord Vaughan's letting fall the bill of revenue before his departure.

NUMBER XIX.

To his Excellency Charles Earl of Carlisle, captain-general, governor, and commander in chief of his majesty's island of Jamaica, &c.

The humble address of the assembly of this his majesty's island, in answer to the report of the right honourable the lords of the committee of Trade and Plantations, made to his majesty's council; which we entreat his excellency may be humbly presented to his most sacred majesty and his council.

WE, his majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, the assembly of this his island of Jamaica, cannot without infinite grief of mind read the report made to his majesty by the right honourable the lords of the committee for trade and plantations; wherein, by the relations made by their lordships unto his majesty, they have represented us as a people full of animosity, unreasonable, irregular, violent, undutiful, and transgressing both the bounds of duty and loyalty; the bitterness of which characters were we in the least part conscious to have deserved, we should, like Job, have said, "*Behold, we are vile: what shall we answer? we will lay our hands upon our mouths.*"

But, lest our silence should argue our guilt, we shall in all humility, endeavour to make appear we have always demeaned ourselves as becometh good and obedient subjects, and those who acknowledge and are truly sensible of the many favours received from his majesty; the truth of which resting only on matter of fact being related, and the false colours which hitherto have been thrown on us being washed off, we shall not doubt but his majesty will soon entertain a better opinion of his subjects of this island.

We must therefore, humbly beg that his majesty will with patience be pleased to hear the account of our proceedings; which truly to manifest we must be forced to look back so far as Sir Charles Lyttleton's and Sir Thomas Modyford's entrance upon their government:

At which time, we humbly conceive, the island began really to take up the form of a civil government, and wholly to lay aside that of an army, which, until that time, was deemed the supreme authority; when after, upon their several arrivals, by order from his majesty, and according to the method of his majesty's most ancient plantations, they called assemblies, and settled the government of the island in such good form, that, until his excellency the earl of Carlisle's first arrival, his majesty thought not fit to alter it, though several governors in that time were changed, which must necessarily infer the goodness and reason of it, as well as the satisfaction of the people, (since, from that time, they betook themselves to settle plantations), especially the merchants, by which means the estates here are wonderfully increased, as is evident by the great number of ships loaden here by the industry of the planter; and the satisfaction they received by those wholesome laws then began, and until that time continued the change of which laws we had no reason to expect, being done on such mature deliberation from home.

But to return to answer: the first thing their lordships are pleased to accuse us of is, presuming to question his majesty's power over the militia; which, how much they are misinformed in it, will hereunder appear: but we must first repeat the clause against which, we humbly conceive, we had just reasons to take exceptions, which clause is as followeth:

“ Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted and declared by
“ the authority aforesaid, that nothing in this act contained be expounded,
“ construed, or understood, to diminish, alter, or abridge, the power of
“ the governor or commander in chief for the time being; but that in all
“ things he may, upon all occasions or exigencies, act as captain-general
“ and governor in chief, according to and in pursuance of all the pow-

“ers and authorities given to him by his majesty’s commission ; any thing “in this act or any other to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.”

In their lordships observations, in which they take no notice that the power given by that clause extends as well to the governor as captain-general, nor of the words “any thing in this act or any other to the contrary notwithstanding,” which words, being plain, need no references to expound them, being consented to, there is no occasion of making any other law, because that makes all the powers and authorities given by his majesty’s commission, and, by that commission, the instructions which shall be after given to him, shall be law, though it be to the nulling of any beneficial law, made either here or in England, by which we are secured both in life and in estate ; the like of which was never done in any of his majesty’s dominions whatsoever, and is in effect to enact will to be law, and will be construed (we fear) to bind us by the old rule of law, that every man may renounce his own right : and if their lordships had been pleased to have as well remembered the other clauses of the act of the militia, we cannot think they would have said we had questioned his majesty’s power over it, for no act of England gives his majesty the like power over the militia as ours doth ; for on any apprehension of danger, the general with his council of officers have power to put the law martial on foot for what time they please, and to command us in our own persons, our servants, negroes, horses, even all that we have, to his majesty’s service ; which having been so often put in practice will need the less proof : but how readily and willingly we have obeyed, and in that faith is best justified by works, it will not be amiss to instance some times, and what hath been done in those times, by the charge and labour of his majesty’s subjects here, under the several governors ; none of which have left unexperimented the strength of his majesty’s commission, and the virtue or force of that act, upon the least seeming occasion.

In the government of Sir Thomas Modyford, in the years 1665 and 1666, the whole island was put under law martial for many months together ; in which time, by the inhabitants and their blacks, Fort-Charles was made close, which to that time wanted a whole line, and also the breast-work at Port-Royal was built, with a very small charge to his majesty.

In the time of Sir Thomas Lynch, in the year 1673, the law martial was again set on foot : Fort-James built by the contributions of the gentlemen of his majesty’s council and assembly, and several other of his majesty’s good subjects in this island, which amounted to a very consi-

derable sum of money; a breast work thrown up at Old-Harbour and several other places; and guns mounted on a platform placed at Port-Morant.

In lord Vaughan's time, though there was no probability of war, yet he wanted not the trial of his power also in the militia, and our obedience to it; for he commanded out a company of the inhabitants in search of a Spanish *barqua longa*, who was said to have robbed a sloop belonging to this island upon the coast of Cuba: he, likewise, in favour of the royal company, commanded out to sea two vessels, with a company of the militia and their captain, from Port-Royal, to seize an interloper riding in one his majesty's harbours, and there by force seized her.

In the time of Sir Henry Morgan being commander in chief, we were again put under martial law; in which time Fort-Rupert, Fort-Carlisle, and a new line at Fort James, were built.

Lastly, in his excellency the earl of Carlisle's time (the present governor) the law martial was again put in force for about three months; in which time Fort-Morgan with its platform, and another line at Fort-James, and the breast-work reinforced very considerably in thickness and height, and new carriages were made for the guns, those that came out of England not being fit for land service; all which fortifications are substantially built with stone and brick, at the charge and labour of the country.

Neither have we ever been wanting in due respect to his majesty's governors; the militia having always waited on them to church, in their progresses, and on all public occasions: and we may safely affirm with truth, that no militia in his majesty's dominions undergo the like military duty as his subjects in Jamaica; as is evident to all men that ever set foot in Port-Royal, which cannot be distinguished from a garrison, either in time of peace or war, but by their not being paid for their service.

To answer their lordships objections to the bill of revenue, wherein his majesty's name was left out, there are several members of this assembly now sitting who were members when that bill passed three times in form in the assembly; and, upon the best recollection of their memories, they are fully persuaded and do believe the bill was again sent down with that amendment from the governor and council, according as it passed at the last: but should it have risen in the assembly, they are very unfortunate if they must bear the censure of all mistakes that may happen in presenting laws to be passed, when both the governor and his council have their

negative voices, which, had either of them made use of in this point, would have been readily consented to by the assembly, as they had formerly done, both under the government of Sir Thomas Modyford and Sir Thomas Lynch, before whose time it had been raised without mentioning his majesty's name, and that without check; and we always concluded the governor's name in the enacting part to be of the same effect as his majesty's is in England, whom, in this particular, he seems rather to personate than represent: for which reasons we hope, it ought not to have been imputed to the assembly as their crime altogether, being consented unto by his majesty's governor, without any debate, and all applied by the act whereby it was raised to the very same public use his majesty directs; and we are certain no instance can be given of any money disposed of to any private use, but was always issued by the governor's warrant, for the payment of his own and other his general officers salaries in this island, with some small contingent charges of the government.

Their lordships also affirm, that the assembly offered this bill, in the same measure and proportion as it is now proposed, to Sir Thomas Lynch; in which their lordships are misinformed: for his majesty's instructions were, that the laws should be in force for two years and no longer, which their lordships also acknowledge in the prior part of the report; so that the assembly needed not to have expressed any time, and the particular uses therein appointed.

But had their lordships known how great sums of money have been raised here, and how small a part hath been applied to his majesty's service for the defence and strengthening the island, we humbly conceive their lordships would have been of opinion; that we have no reason to bar ourselves to perpetuity, and pass the said act without limitation of uses or time; nor can we be so presumptuous as to imagine the king can be hindered from making such use of his own money as he shall think fit, and apply it where he finds it most necessary.

It is very true the laws contain many and great errors, as their lordships may see by the assembly's journal; so that were the assembly as much petitioners to his majesty for this new form as they are to be restored to their old, above half the body of these laws, without amendment, would never be reasonable to pass.

As, to instance some few amongst many: in the act for preventing damages by fire, a single justice of the peace hath power of life and death; and the act of the militia empowers the governor and council to levy a tax on the whole island; and in the act directing the marshal's proceedings,

there is a clause that makes it felony for any person to conceal his own goods, left in his own possession, after execution levied by that law, so that a man may be hanged for being poor, which, though inconvenient, was never till then accounted capital; with others too long to be repeated.

And whereas their lordships are pleased to say that there is nothing imperfect or defective in these bills transmitted hither; yet we humbly conceive, that no notice being taken in this body of laws how or in what nature we are to make use of the laws of England, either as they have reference to the preservation of his majesty's prerogative or the subjects' rights, we ought not in reason to consent to these bills; for nothing appearing to the contrary, the governor is left, *ad libitum*, to use or refuse as few or as many as he pleases, and such as suit with his occasions; there being no directions in them how to proceed according to the laws of England, either in causes criminal or testamentary, and in many other cases which concern the quiet of the subject, both in life and estate.

We conceive also, that, whatsoever is said to the contrary by their lordships in answer to the distance of places, this very last experiment is sufficiently convincing of the truth of that allegation; since it is a year since this model came over and was debated, and before their lordships report came back, notwithstanding one of the advices went home by an express. And,

Whereas their lordships say, we cannot be subject to more accidents than his majesty's kingdom of Ireland; to that we object, that advice and answers thence may be had in ten or fourteen days, and that kingdom is already settled, our plantation but beginning. But further we cannot imagine that the Irish model of government was, *in principio*, ever intended for Englishmen: besides, their lordships cannot but know, that that model was introduced amongst them by a law made by themselves in Ireland, and so consequently bound them, which, being now generally known to all those who remove thither, they have no cause to repine at, that being their choice to live under it or stay from it, and was made for the preservation of the English against the Irish faction. As there is not the same cause, so there is not the same reason, for imposing the same on us, unless we did it ourselves, who are all his majesty's natural born subjects of his kingdom of England; which is the reason the parliament give, in all their acts concerning the plantations, for obliging us by them to what, and with whom, and in what manner, we may trade, and impose a tax on us here in case of trade from one colony to another; and it is but equity

then, that the same law should have the same power of loosing as binding.

His majesty giving a power, on urgent occasions, to raise monies the old way, only secures the king's officer's their salaries, which else they had been disappointed of; the act of the militia which was heretofore consented to, ever providing, that, on alarm or invasion, the commander in chief should have unlimited power over all persons, estates, and things, necessary on such urgencies.

As to the 7th, the assembly say, they never desired any power but what his majesty's governors assured them was their birth-rights, and what they supposed his majesty's most gracious proclamation allowed them: also his majesty was graciously pleased to write a letter to his governor Sir Thomas Lynch, after the double trial of one Peter Johnson, a pirate, signifying his dislike that any thing should be done that should cause any doubt in his subjects, in not enjoying all the privileges of subjects of the kingdom of England, or to that effect.

But as to the obstructing of justice against Brown, the pirate, what they did, though not justifiable in the manner, was out of an assurance, that we had no law in force then to declare my lord chancellor of England's power and our chancellor's here equal, in granting commissions in pursuance of the statute of Henry the eighth; which also his majesty and council perceiving, have, in the new body of laws, sent one to supply that want: and if they, not meddling with the merits of the cause, endeavoured to preserve the form of justice, and justice itself, and after denial of several petitions, joined with the council, were led beyond their duty, (for which they were sharply reprimanded by the then governor), they do hope for and humbly beg his majesty's pardon.

And as for the act upon which he came in, it arose not in the assembly, but was sent from the council, to be consented to by them, which was accordingly done.

And as to the imprisonment of Mr. Thomas Martyn, one of their members, for taking out process in chancery in his own private concern against several other members, and of the council, the assembly then sitting, and for other misdemeanors and breach of the rules of the house; they hope it is justifiable, the king's governor having assured them, that they had the same power over their members which the house of commons have, and all speakers here praying, and the governors granting, the usual petitions of speakers in England.

Seeing the governor hath power to turn out a counsellor, and turning out incapacitates him from being an assembly man, no counsellor dares give his opinion against the governor, under danger of less penalty than losing that which he thinks his birth right : also, a governor being chancellor, ordinary, and admiral, joined with his military authority, lodges so great a power in him, that being united and executed in one person to turn it *totum in qualibet parte*, so that he may invalidate any thing done under his own commission.

There is no doubt but, by this new way, it is in the assembly's power to consent to and perpetuate such laws as are wholly of benefit to them, and leave unpassed all that may be thought most necessary for his majesty ; which advantage they not laying hold on, hope it will be an evidence they are careful of his majesty's prerogative, as it is the duty of every good subject to be.

It is without controversy, that the old form of government, which was ordered so like his majesty's kingdom of England, must of consequence be of greater encouragement to all his majesty's subjects, as well as strangers to remove themselves hither. Upon his majesty's proclamation in my lord Windsor's time, and by those gracious instructions given to sir Thomas Modyford, all or most part of the sugar plantations have been settled ; and the major part of the said planters being such who arrived here and settled upon the general liking of the model first constituted, and in belief that they lost not any of the privileges of his majesty's subjects of the kingdom of England by their removal hither, and having by no act, as we believe, either provoked his majesty or forfeited our rights, or ever desiring or attempting to lessen or question his majesty's prerogative, the preservation whereof we ever deemed the best means of preserving our own privileges and estates, we shall presume to hope for the continuance of his majesty's favour, which is impossible for us ever to forget.

And whereas their lordships are pleased to offer their advice to his majesty, to furnish his governor with such powers as were formerly given to col. D'Oyley and others, in whose time the then accounted army was not disbanded, but so continued till lord Windsor's arrival, who brought over the king's royal donative, and order to settle the civil government : we hope their lordships intend not that we are to be governed by or as an army, or that the governor be empowered to levy any tax by himself and council ; since his majesty having discharged himself and council, by an act of parliament, of any such power over any of his majesty's subjects

of his kingdom of England, as we undoubtedly are, it will be very hard to have any imposition laid on us but by our own consents; for their lordships well know, that no derived power is greater than the primitive.

However, if his most gracious majesty, shall not think fit to alter this model, but we are to be governed by the governor and council, according to their lordship's advice, yet we humbly beseech his majesty to do us the grace to believe, that we are so sensible of our duty and allegiance, that our submission to and comportment under his majesty's authority shall be such, as that, we hope, he, in his due time, will be graciously pleased to restore unto us our ancient form of government, under which it hath hitherto pleased God to prosper us; ending with our hearty prayers for his majesty's long and happy reign over us, and most humbly begging his majesty's pardon of all our errors and mistakes, and a gracious interpretation of this our answer; protesting, from the bottom of our hearts, that we are and resolve to die his majesty's true, loyal, and obedient subjects.

A true copy.

ROWLAND POWELL, *Cl. Conc.*

NUMBER XX.

The humble desire and justification of the members of his Majesty's Council, to his Excellency the Governor in Jamaica.

The alteration of the frame of government in this his majesty's island of Jamaica unto that of his kingdom of Ireland, which his majesty, the best and greatest of kings, hath graciously commanded us to submit unto and own, we his majesty's truly loyal and dutiful subjects, hitherto have and yet do, by a willing readiness, and ready willingness, declare our entire obedience and hearty conformity thereunto, because his majesty commands.

And although his majesty's great perspicuity and truly royal prudence is best able to determine what government is the fittest for his subjects in this island, yet with all due submission, in all humility we beg leave to represent to his majesty the great inconvenience attending the present frame, in transmitting our laws home.

The vast distance of place will of necessity require a great expense of time, between the first framing our laws here and the transmitting and return of them hither again: so that, before they can be passed into laws by the assembly here, there will probably as great cause arise to alter as there were at first to make them.

And, with all due submission, we judge it even impossible to adapt laws to the present constitution, so as not to admit of often and great alterations; for, according to our experience hitherto, we have found urgent occasions to alter and amend the laws, that have more immediately concerned us here, at the least every two years; and we cannot foresee but we shall lie under the same necessity still; so that if his majesty graciously please to take it into his princely consideration, and either restore to us our former power and way or method of passing laws, or at least remit that part of the present method of making laws which only concerns us here, as they may pass without transmitting the same, we hope, by our present submission and entire obedience to all his laws here, his majesty will be a glorious prince and his subjects here a happy people.

And whereas the gentlemen of the assembly, in their address to his majesty read here in council the 15th of November, 1679, do declare, that as to the bill of revenue wherein his majesty's name was left out, that there are several of the members of their assembly now sitting who were members when the bill passed three times in form in the assembly, and upon the best recollection of their memories, they are fully persuaded and do believe the bill was again sent down with that amendment from the governor and council, according as it passed at the last: we, the gentlemen of his majesty's council here present at the passing of the bill, do most humbly and with all seriousness aver and declare, that we were so far from consenting the said bill should pass without his majesty's name in it, that we do not remember it was ever debated or mentioned in council; and further, that to the best of our respective knowledge, it was read three times, and passed the council board with his majesty's name in it: and we are the rather induced to this our confidence, because we find the original act was razed, and by the then speaker's own hand, interlined; and moreover, the several amendments of the said bill, that were made in council, were all taken notice of in the minutes in our council books, and no mention made of this; and the gentlemen of the assembly do produce nothing out of their journal to justify the reflections upon us; therefore it is to be presumed they cannot.

And we do further humbly and unanimously declare, we never did at any time, either jointly or severally, make any complaint to the assembly, or any of them, of the power given by his majesty to his excellency our present governor to suspend any of his majesty's council here: for as we have hitherto yielded all due obedience and submission to his majesty's royal will and pleasure concerning us, so we hope we shall approve our-

selves such, and as in duty bound, ever pray for his majesty's long life, and that he may prosperously and triumphantly reign over us,

This was unanimously agreed to in council by the respective members thereof who were present at the passing the bill of revenue: colonel Thomas Ballard, colonel John Cope, colonel Robert Byndloss, colonel Thomas Freeman, colonel William Joy, colonel Thomas Fuller, John White, Esquire;

And consented to by the whole council, excepting lieutenant colonel Samuel Long.

Received from the earl of Carlisle, 26th February, 1679-80.

NUMBER XXI.

Extract of an order in council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, the 5th of March, 1679-80,

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Marquis of Worcester,	Mr. Hyde,
Lord President,	Earl of Bridgewater,	Mr. Sec. Coventry,
Lord Privy Seal,	Earl of Essex,	Sir Leolin Jenkins.

A letter from the earl of Carlisle to the committee, dated 23d of November last, is read, wherein his lordship acquaints the committee, that, having called the council and assembly together, he had caused their lordships report of the 28th of May to be publicly read; which their lordships think to be disagreeable to the directions of the report, which was only presented to his majesty for his information, and in order to furnish the earl of Carlisle, when occasion should serve, with such arguments as might be fit to be used in justification of his majesty's commission and instructions; and their lordships particularly take notice, that it was neither necessary nor convenient for him to expose his instructions to the assembly: and as to the clerk of the assembly, which his lordship had appointed, the committee does very much approve his lordships proceedings therein, and will desire him to continue the same method for the future.

And whereas colonel Long is represented to have a hand in leaving out the king's name in the late bill of revenue, and in framing and advising the address of the assembly now transmitted to his majesty; their lordships

will report, that the earl of Carlisle may be ordered to send him to England, to answer what is laid to his charge.

The address of the assembly of Jamaica to his majesty, in answer to a report of the committee approved on the 28th of May last, being read, their lordships observe, that there are many falsities and mistakes contained therein.

First, it is alleged by the assembly, that the island took up the civil form of government in the time of Sir Thomas Modyford and Sir Charles Lyttleton; whereas it is certain that colonel D'Oyley had a commission, soon after his majesty's restoration, to govern by the civil power.

As to their denial of having left out his majesty's name in the revenue bill, it is evident, by the justification of the council, and assurance of the lord Vaughan, that the bill passed the governor and council with his majesty's name, which was afterwards left out, or erased, as may be supposed by the interlineation that yet appears upon the original bill.

And whereas it is said, that their lordships are misinformed, in affirming that the assembly had before offered the bill of revenue in the same measure and proportion as is now proposed, since the laws were to be in force for two years, and no longer: the assembly have quite forgotten, or pretended to be ignorant of, the powers settled by his majesty's commission to Sir Thomas Lynch, whereby the laws were to be in force for two years, and no longer, unless confirmed by his majesty within that time; so that the bill transmitted by Sir Thomas Lynch wanted only his majesty's approbation to render it perpetual.

The assembly further mentions the great sums raised in Jamaica, which had not been employed to his majesty's service; but does not instance the misapplication of any part of the revenue by any of the governors.

It is also to be observed, that the law for preventing damages by fire, of which they complain, was first made by them; as also the act directing the marshal's proceedings cannot be but very reasonable, and for the advantage of the planters, since it gives them the use of their goods after execution, and enables them the better to pay their debts.

And whereas the assembly complains, that there is no law transmitted to them for ascertaining the laws of England; it is thought reasonable, that his majesty should retain within himself the power of appointing the laws of England to be in full force in that island, as he shall find necessary.

The delays and length of time, alleged by them in reference to the model prescribed by his majesty, were wholly occasioned by the refractoriness of the assembly, and not by the distance of places, or other reasons.

What they object concerning Ireland, in reference to Jamaica, is frivolous; since the English there have right to the same privileges as those of Jamaica, and are bound up by acts of parliament in England, as well as the inhabitants of Jamaica.

To the 7th objection it is replied, that nothing has been done to take away their enjoyment of all the privileges of English subjects, since they are governed by the laws and statutes of this realm.

Their unwarrantable proceedings in obstructing of justice against Brown the pirate is confessed, and his majesty's pardon prayed by them.

Their lordships think the imprisonment of Martyn, and the articles preferred against him, altogether unjustifiable, not only as he was his majesty's collector, but as the assembly ought not, by the pretensions of privilege, to shelter themselves from justice, there being no such usage in Barbadoes and other plantations.

In the 9th place, it is altogether erroneous in the assembly to think it is, by the present model, in their own power, to accept such laws as are wholly of benefit to themselves, and to reject such as are most necessary for his majesty; since the governor yet retains a negative voice, after the consent of the assembly.

And whereas they very much insist upon his majesty's proclamation in my lord Windsor's time: his majesty has not in any instance withdrawn the effects of his promise to them, nor imposed several rules and instructions that were prescribed in Sir Thomas Modyford's commission and instructions, whereby he had power, with the advice of the council, to raise money on strong liquors: and the assembly can as little believe they have not provoked his majesty to keep a strict eye upon them, after their several unwarrantable proceedings during the government of the lord Vaughan, and since, of the earl of Carlisle, by their votes and otherwise.

In the last place, it is falsely insinuated by the assembly, that the government remained under an army in colonel D'Oyley's time; since it appears plainly by his commission, that it was otherwise provided, and that the martial law was then laid aside: so that, upon the whole matter, they have reason to beg his majesty's pardon for all their errors and mistakes.

The justification of the council of Jamaica, in answer to the imputation of the assembly, of their leaving out the king's name in the revenue bill, is also read; and to be made use of by the governor, to disprove the allegations of the assembly in their own behalf.

NUMBER XXIII.

Extract of an order in Council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, Monday the 8th of March, 1679-80.

PRESENT,

Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Bridgewater, Sir Leolin Jenkins.

THE lord Vaughan attends concerning the charge against colonel Long, of Jamaica, for razing out the king's name in the act of revenue; and declares, that he is very confident that the bill came up from the assembly to the council with the king's name in it, and that it was not put out by the council, nor by his privy; and that when Mr. Martyn came to Jamaica, with the king's patent to be collector, his lordship then sent for the act, and perceived the interlineation to be in colonel Long's hand; and that his lordship does absolutely agree with the council of Jamaica, in the matter of their justification.

NUMBER XXIV.

Extract of an order in Council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, Thursday the 11th of March, 1679-80.

PRESENT,

Lord President. Marq. of Worcester, Sir Leolin Jenkins,
Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of Bridgewater.

THEIR lordships take into consideration the state of the government in Jamaica, and agree to refer the queries following to Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General, for their opinions therein; viz.

1st. Whether, from the past and present state of Jamaica, his majesty's subjects, inhabiting and trading there have a right to the laws of England, as Englishmen, or by virtue of the king's proclamation, or otherwise?

2d. Whether his majesty's subjects of Jamaica, claiming to be governed by the laws of England, are not bound as well by such laws as are

beneficial to the king, by appointing taxes and subsidies for the support of the government, as by other laws, which tend only to the benefit and ease of the subject?

3d. Whether the subsidies of tonnage and poundage upon goods that may by law, or shall be directly carried to Jamaica, be not payable, according to law, by his majesty's subjects inhabiting that island, or trading there, by virtue of the acts of tonnage, and poundage, or other acts made in England?

4th. Whether wine or other goods, once brought into England and transported from thence, upon which the respective abatements are allowed upon exportation, according to law, the same being afterwards carried to Jamaica and landed there, shall not be liable to the payment of the full duty of tonnage and poundage which it should have paid if consumed in England, deducting only such part of the said duty as shall not be repaid in England upon exportation of the said goods from thence?

Which queries were accordingly transmitted to Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General, with a paper containing the past and present state of Jamaica, in relation to the government.

NUMBER XXV.

Letter to Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General.

Council-chamber, 11th March, 1679-80.

Gentlemen,

THE right honourable the lords of the committee for trade and plantations, upon consideration of the affairs of Jamaica, have stated the questions following: viz.

[Here were recited the queries stated in the preceding number.]

To which questions their lordships desire your answer in writing, with all convenient speed: and, for your information, I have inclosed a paper, containing a short account of the past and present state of the government in Jamaica; and in case you should require any further satisfaction therein, or touching the queries referred unto you, I am ordered by the lords of the committee to attend you at any time or place you shall think fit to appoint. I am, with all respect, gentlemen, &c.

NUMBER XXVI.

Extract of an order in Council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council-chamber at
Whitehall, the 27th of April, 1680,

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Earl of Essex,	Mr. Hyde,
Lord President,	Visc. Fauconberg,	Mr. Sec. Jenkins.
Earl of Sunderland,		

Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General having likewise acquainted the committee, that, upon consideration of the four questions concerning Jamaica, referred unto them the 11th of March, they did find them of such difficulty and moment as to deserve the opinion of the judges: it is agreed that they accordingly referred unto the judges, upon whom Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General are desired to attend with them; Mr. Attorney having first delivered his opinion, "that the people of Jamaica have no right to be governed by the laws of England, but by such laws as are made there, and established by his majesty's authority." But whereas Mr. Solicitor General doth deliver his opinion that the word "dominion," in the act of parliament for tonnage and poundage, may seem rather to imply the dominion of Wales and Berwick upon Tweed only, than to extend to the plantations; and more especially, as Mr. Attorney alleges, since the islands of Guernsey and Jersey are not concerned in that act; their lordships order the two first questions only to be sent unto the judges, without any mention to be made of the two last, which particularize the act of tonnage and poundage.

NUMBER XXVII.

*References to the Judges about Jamaica.**Council-chamber, 27th April, 1680.*

Gentlemen,

I am commanded by the right honourable the lords of the privy-council appointed a committee of trade and foreign plantations, to signify their desires that you attend his majesty's judges with the questions following:

1st. Whether from the past and present state of Jamaica, his majesty's subjects inhabiting and trading there have a right to the laws of England, as Englishmen, or by virtue of the king's proclamation, or otherwise?

zd. Whether his majesty's subjects of Jamaica, claiming to be governed by the laws of England, are not bound as well by such laws as are beneficial to the king, by appointing taxes and subsidies for the support of the government, as by other laws, which tend only to the benefit and ease of the subject?

Which questions their lordships desire his majesty's judges to consider and answer in writing, and to return the opinions to the committee with convenient speed.

I am, with respect, &c.

NUMBER XXVIII.

Order to the Judges about the question of Jamaica.

At the court at Whitehall, the 23d of June, 1680,

PRESENT,

His Majesty,

Prince Rupert,	Earl of Ossory,	Mr. Finch,
Abp. of Canterbury,	Lord Chamberlain,	Lord Chief Justice North,
Lord Chancellor,	Earl of Sunderland,	Mr. Coventry,
Lord President,	Earl of Clarendon,	Mr. Sec. Jenkins,
Lord Privy-Seal,	Earl of Bath,	Mr. Chancellor of the
D. of Albemarle,	Ld. Bp. of London,	Exchequer,
Marq. of Worcester,	Mr. Hyde,	Mr. Godolphin.

It is this day ordered in council, that Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General do attend his majesty's judges, and desire them to assemble with all convenient speed, and, being assembled, to confer with them concerning this question; viz.

Whether, by his majesty's letter, proclamation, or commissions, annexed, his majesty hath excluded himself from the power of establishing laws in Jamaica, it being a conquered country, and all laws settled by authority there being now expired?

And that, upon receiving the opinions of his majesty's judges, *under their hands in writing*, they do report the same to the lords of the privy-council appointed a committee for trade and foreign plantations.

NUMBER XXIX.

Extract of an order in Council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council chamber at Whitehall, the 7th of September, 1680,

PRESENT.

Lord President, Marquis of Worcester, Mr. Sec. Jenkins.

Mr. Secretary Jenkins acquaints the committee, that col. Long, of Jamaica, had some days before surrendered himself to him, upon a bond of ten thousand pounds given to the earl of Carlisle to that purpose; and that he had taken his security for the like sum, that he would attend the first council, on Friday next, being the 10th instant.

NUMBER XXX.

Copy of an order in Council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council chamber at Whitehall.

PRESENT.

Prince Rupert, Marquis of Worcester, Earl of Bath,
Lord President, Earl of Clarendon, Mr. Sec. Jenkins.

The earl of Carlisle is called in, and delivers a paper containing a charge against col. Long, which is read, consisting chiefly in three points, viz. That he had razed the king's name out of the act for raising a public revenue; that he had granted an *habeas corpus*, being judge, for a person condemned by law; and had opposed the settlement of the country pursuant to the king's orders.

And his lordship declaring, that he had nothing more to say against colonel Long than was contained in that paper, only reserving to himself the liberty of explaining what he had therein mentioned, colonel Long is called in, and the paper read to him; whereupon he positively denies that he had done any thing to the bill without the directions of the assembly; and that he believes the rasure happened, inasmuch as the clerk of the assembly had transcribed the bill passed in sir Thomas Lynch's time, which was now blotted out by the agreement of the governor, council and assembly, and the words written in his hand were only added to make up the sense, which otherwise would have been wanting, which he did as speaker of that assembly from whom he had directions; which is confirmed by the letters of Major Molesworth, Mr. Bernard, Mr. Ashurst, Mr. Burton, and of the clerk of the assembly.

As to the granting an *habeas corpus*, he declares he did not know the person was condemned; and that it is usual for the judges to sign blank *habeas corpus*, which the clerk gives out in course.

And that he never opposed the king's orders, otherwise than by expressing his opinion, that they were not for his majesty's service, nor the good of the country.

NUMBER XXXI.

Extract of an order in Council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council chamber at Whitehall, Tuesday the 12th of October, 1680.

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Earl of Sunderland,	Mr. Hyde,
Lord President,	Earl of Clarendon,	Mr. Godolphin,
Lord Privy-Seal,	Earl of Halifax,	Mr. Sec. Jenkins,
Marquis of Worcester,	Viscount Fauconberg,	Mr. Seymour.

The earl of Carlisle attending, acquaints the committee, that the act for raising a public revenue will expire in March next, and that the government will be left under very great necessities, in case the king do not give Sir Henry Morgan leave to pass a temporary bill, until the full settlement of affairs shall be agreed on, which is like to take up a considerable time; and therefore proposes, that the order in council, dated the 14th of January last (which is read) forbidding the governor to raise money by any other act or order whatsoever than by the bill transmitted by his majesty, which the assembly will not be willing to pass until the government be entirely settled in such manner as may be more agreeable to them than the Irish model, be suspended. His lordship proceeds to give an account of his transactions with the assembly, to persuade them to pass the revenue bill, and reads the objections of the assembly, and his answer to them; whereof, and of the council books, his lordship is desired to give a transcript to the committee.

There having been two laws read which were entered therein, the one made by colonel D'Oyley and the council, for raising imposts on liquors, the other by sir Charles Lyttleton and his council, being a supplemental act to the former:

And his lordship acquainting the committee, that, as for licenses of taverns, he had set them on foot before he passed any bill of revenue:

It is thereupon thought fit, by some of their lordships, that the assembly of Jamaica be induced to pass a perpetual bill, by having leave to appropriate the revenue to the support of the government.

And the committee is appointed to meet again on this business on Thursday at nine o'clock in the morning; when colonel Long, and the other assemblymen lately come over, are to attend.

NUMBER XXXII.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council chamber at Whitehall, Thursday the 14th of October, 1680.

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	E. of Clarendon,	Visc. Fauconberg,
Lord President,	E. of Essex,	Ld. Ch. Just. North,
Lord Privy-Seal,	E. of Halifax,	Mr. Sec. Jenkins.
Marq. of Worcester,		

The earl of Carlisle attends, and produces an entry in the council-book of Jamaica, of a law passed by colonel D'Oyley and the council, for raising a public revenue, and of another passed by Sir Charles Lyttleton and the council, being a supplemental act to the former, both which are indefinite, and not determined by the commissions of colonel D'Oyley or my lord Windsor, whose deputy Sir Charles Lyttleton was.

After which, colonel Long and Mr. Ashurst are called in, (the other gentlemen of Jamaica being in the country), and being asked, Why they were not willing that a perpetual bill of revenue should pass in Jamaica? they made answer, that they have no other way to make their aggrivances known to the king, to have them redressed, than by the dependance of the governor upon the assembly, which is preserved by passing temporary bills of revenue; and that, a perpetual bill being passed, all the ends of government would be answered, and there would be no further need of calling assemblies. To which my lord of Carlisle replies, that, notwithstanding any act for raising an impost on liquors should be passed in that manner, yet the necessities and contingencies of the government are such as to require the frequent calling of assemblies, for raising money by other means, and doing public works, the present revenue coming far short of the expense of the government.

Their lordships tell colonel Long, that in case they be willing and pass the act indefinitely, the king may be induced to settle other perpetual laws, which they shall propose as beneficial to them.

The gentlemen of Jamaica being withdrawn, their lordships enter upon a debate concerning a continuance of the two laws made by col. D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttleton before mentioned, and *how far the English*

laws and methods of government ought to take place in Jamaica; and it is there alleged, "that the laws of England cannot be in force in another country, where the constitution of the place is different from that of England."

Upon the whole matter, the committee desire my lord chief justice North to report his opinion in writing, on Monday next, upon the questions following, viz.

1st. Whether the king, by his proclamation published during my lord Windsor's government, *his majesty's letter dated 15th of January 1672-3*, or any other act, appearing by the laws of England or any laws of Jamaica, or by his majesty's commissions or instructions to his governors, has divested himself of the power he *formerly had* to alter the forms of government in Jamaica?

2d. Whether any act of the assembly of Jamaica, or any other act of his majesty or his governors, have totally repealed the acts made by col. D'Oyley, and Sir Charles Lyttleton, for raising a public revenue, or whether they are now in force?

Memorandum. His majesty being present, my lord chief justice North was added to the committee.

Memorandum. Colonel Long having mentioned some transactions of my lord Vaughan's during his government, his lordship is to be summoned for the next meeting.

NUMBER XXXIII.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, on Monday the 18th of October 1680.

PRESENT,

Lord President,	Earl of Clarendon,	Lord Chief Justice North,
Lord Privy-Seal,	Earl of Halifax,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins,
Lord Chamberlain,	Lord Visc. Fauconberg,	Mr. Seymour.
Earl of Essex,		

My lord chief justice North having acquainted the committee, that he had considered of the two questions proposed by their lordships; and that, although some further time would be requisite for him to give in his answer, yet, in respect of the haste that was necessary for settling the revenue, his lordship undertakes to return his answer at the next meeting upon the second question; wherein his lordship is desired to take to his assistance some other of his majesty's judges; viz.

Whether any act of the assembly of Jamaica, or any act of his majesty or his governors, have totally repealed the acts made by col. D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttleton, for raising a public revenue, or whether they are now in force?

NUMBER XXXIV.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, on Wednesday the 20th of October, 1680,

PRESENT.

Lord President, Earl of Essex, Lord Bishop of London,
 Earl of Sunderland, Earl of Halifax, Mr. Secretary Jenkins,
 Earl of Bridgewater, Lord Chief Justice North, Mr. Seymour.

My lord chief justice North, having delivered his opinion in writing upon the question recommended to him at the last meeting, col. Long, Mr. Beeston, Mr. Ashurst, and other planters and merchants of Jamaica, together with the earl of Carlisle, are called in, and his lordship's opinion is read to them; whereby his lordship concludes, that the act of revenue made in 1663 by Sir Charles Lyttleton, is yet in force, as being not repealed by any subsequent acts, which were limited to the term of two years by his majesty's commands. But col. Long objects, that there was a law made by Sir Thomas Modyford, which declares all laws passed at Sir Charles Lyttleton's assemblies void, for want of due form in the writs, and other particulars: whereupon they are bid to withdraw; and whereas my lord chief justice North was not present when this objection was made, their lordships think fit that he be acquainted therewith, and desired to renew his opinion; and the gentlemen of Jamaica are also desired to be ready with the objections they have to make to his lordship's report, at the next meeting, which is appointed for to-morrow at three in the afternoon.

NUMBER XXXV.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, Thursday 21st of October, 1680.

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert, Earl of Bridgewater, Mr. Hyde,
 Lord President, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chief Justice North,
 Marquis of Worcester, Viscount Fauconberg, Mr. Secretary Jenkins,

The lords, being met to consider the business of Jamaica, order the proclamation published in my Lord Windsor's time to be read: and thereupon their lordships express their opinion, that his majesty did thereby assure and settle the property of the inhabitants *but not the government and form*: thence these questions did arise; viz.

1st. Whether, upon the consideration of the commission and instructions to col. D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttleton, and the *constitution of the island thereupon*, the acts of council made by col. D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttleton were perpetual laws, binding to the inhabitants of the island?

2d. Whether, supposing those laws good and perpetual, any of the subsequent laws, or the proclamation in my lord's Windsor's time, have taken away the force of these laws?

And because the gentlemen of Jamaica made divers objections against the validity of those laws, as being made by the governors and council without an assembly, and against the perpetuity of them, as being repealed by subsequent laws; their lordships do therefore think it most conducing to his majesty's service, that colonel Long, major Beeston, and Mr. Ashurst, do attend my lord chief justice North, in order to explain to his lordship what is chiefly expected by them, whereby they may be induced to settle the revenue for the support of the government, to the end matters may be brought to an accommodation.

NUMBER XXXVI.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, Wednesday the 27th of October, 1680,

PRESENT,

Lord Privy Seal,

Earl of Bath,

Earl of Bridgewater,

Earl of Halifax,

Lord, Chamberlain,

Mr. Chan. of the Exchequer.

MY lord chief justice North reports, that he has been attended by the gentlemen of Jamaica, who have declared themselves willing to grant the perpetual bill for the payment of the governors, and another bill for the payment of contingencies to continue for seven years, provided they may be restored to their ancient form of passing laws, and may be assured of such of the laws of England as may concern their liberty and property.

Their lordships taking notice, that the revenue of Jamaica will expire in March next, direct a letter to be prepared, for the approbation of

the council, empowering Sir Henry Morgan to call an assembly, and to endeavour the passing a temporary bill, with their consent, for the revenue; and in case of their refusal, to raise the same in such manner as hath been done by former governors.

Memorandum, At a council on the instant, a draught of the
aforementioned letter was read.

And upon reading the petition of the planters, merchants and inhabitants of Jamaica, praying to be restored to their ancient method of making laws, the lords of the committee are ordered to meet *de die in diem*, until they shall have agreed on such a method for the making of laws, and the settlement of the government, as they shall find most convenient for his majesty's service.

NUMBER XXXVII.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, on Thursday the 28th of October, 1680.

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Earl of Halifax,
Lord Privy Seal,	Viscount Fauconberg,
Lord Chamberlain,	Bishop of London,
Earl of Bridgewater,	Mr. Hyde,
Earl of Sunderland,	Lord Chief Justice North,
Earl of Clarendon,	Mr. Sec. Jenkins.
Earl of Essex,	

THEIR lordships having considered that part of the letter from the council of Jamaica, dated 20th May last, that concerns the laws, and having read the petition of the merchants and planters of Jamaica, presented in council on the as also a paper prepared by Mr. Blackwayt, concerning the manner of making laws in Jamaica, their lordships, upon full consideration and debate of what may best conduce to his majesty's service, agree *that the present method of making laws in Barbadoes, as settled by the commission of Sir Richard Dutton, be proposed unto his majesty in council*: and that powers be drawn up for the earl of Carlisle, with instructions suitable to that scheme, and with respect to the present circumstances of Jamaica, and that the assembly may be the more easily induced to grant a revenue for the support of the government, their lordships are of opinion, that his majesty's quit rents, and the tax on the wine-licenses, as well as all other levies which now are or shall be

made, be appropriated to the support of the government, and to no other use whatsoever.

NUMBER XXXVIII.

JAMAICA.

At the Committee of Trade and Plantations, in the council-chamber at
Whitehall, on Saturday the 30th of October, 1689,

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Earl of Clarendon,
Duke of Albemarle,	Earl of Essex,
Lord Chamberlain,	Viscount Fauconberg,
Earl of Bridgewater,	Earl of Halifax,
Earl of Sunderland,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

Colonel Long and the other gentlemen of Jamaica attend, and are acquainted with the resolutions of the committee to report to his majesty, that they may enjoy the same method of making laws as is now appointed for Barbadoes; with which the gentlemen express themselves very well satisfied.

NUMBER XXXIX.

Copy of powers to the Earl of Carlisle for making laws:

Charles the second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin Charles earl of Carlisle, our captain general and governor in chief in and over our island of Jamaica, and other the territories depending thereon; and to our deputy governor and commander in chief of our said island; and in case of their death or absence, to our council of Jamaica.

Whereas, by our royal commission bearing date the first of March, in the thirtieth year of our reign, we having thought fit to constitute and appoint you, Charles earl of Carlisle, captain-general and governor in chief in and over our island of Jamaica, and the territories depending thereon, thereby commanding and requiring you, or in your absence our deputy-governor, or our council, to do and execute all things belonging to the said command, and the trust reposed in you, according to the several powers or directions granted or appointed you by the said commission and the instructions therewith given you, or by further powers and instructions to be granted or appointed you under our signet and sign manual, as by our said commission (reference being thereunto had) doth more at large

appear: and whereas it is necessary that good and wholesome laws and ordinances be settled and established for the government and support of our island of Jamaica: we do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority, with the advice and consent of the said council, from time to time, as need shall require, to summon or call general assemblies of the freeholders and planters within the said island, in manner and form as is now practised in Jamaica. And our will and pleasure is, that the persons thereupon duly elected by the major part of the freeholders of the respective parishes and places, and so returned, (having, before their sitting, taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which you shall commissionate fit persons, under the public seal of that island, to administer, and without taking which none shall be capable of sitting, though elected), shall be called and held the General Assembly of our island of Jamaica; and that they, or the major part of them, shall have full power and authority, with the advice and consent of yourself and of the council, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the public peace, welfare, and good government of the said island, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, and such other as shall resort thereto, and for the benefit of our heirs and successors; which said laws, statutes, and ordinances, are to be (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable to the laws and statutes of our kingdom of England: provided, that all such laws, statutes, and ordinances, of what nature or duration whatsoever, be, within three months, or by the first conveyance after the making the same, transmitted unto us under the public seal, for our allowance and approbation of them, as also duplicates thereof by the next conveyance: and in case all or any of them (being not before confirmed by us) shall at any time be disallowed and not approved, and so signified by us, our heirs or successors, under our or their sign manual or signet, or by order of our or their privy-council, unto you, the said earl of Carlisle, or to the commander in chief of our said island for the time being, then such or so many of them as shall be so disallowed and not approved shall from thenceforth cease, determine, and be utterly void and of none effect, any thing to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And to the end nothing may be passed or done in our said island by the said council or assembly to the prejudice of, our heirs or successors, we will and ordain that you the said Charles earl of Carlisle, shall have and enjoy a negative voice in the making or passing of all laws, statutes, and ordinances, as aforesaid; and that you shall and may likewise, from time to time, as you shall judge it necessary, dissolve all general assemblies, as aforesaid;

any thing in our commission bearing date as aforesaid, to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. And our will and pleasure is, that, in case of your death or absence from our said island, our deputy-governor for the time being exercise and enjoy all and singular the powers and authorities hereby granted unto you, or intended to be granted you, the said Charles earl of Carlisle; and in case he likewise happen to die, or be absent from our said island, we do hereby authorize and empower our council of Jamaica to execute the powers hereby given you, until we shall declare our further pleasure therein.

Given at our court of Whitehall, this 3d day of November, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

APPENDIX.

Observations on the disposition, character, manners, and habits of life, of the MAROON NEGROES of the island of JAMAICA, and a detail of the origin, progress, and termination of the late war between those people and the white inhabitants.

SECTION I.

JAMAICA, as we have seen, was conquered from the Spaniards, during the protectorate of Cromwell, in the year 1655, by an armament under the command of Admiral Penn and General Venables. The Spanish inhabitants are said to have possessed, before the attack, about 1,500 enslaved Africans, most of whom, on the surrender of their masters, retreated to the mountains, from whence they made frequent excursions to harrass the English. Major-General Sedgewick, one of the British officers, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe (1656) predicts, that these

blacks would prove a thorn in the sides of the English. He adds, that they gave no quarter to his men, but destroyed them whenever they found opportunity; scarce a week passing without their murdering one or more of them; and as the soldiers became more confident and careless, the negroes grew more enterprising and bloody-minded. "Having no moral sense," continues he, "and not understanding what the laws and customs of civil nations mean, we know not how to capitulate or treat with 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 settling of the country." What he foretold soon came to pass. At the latter part of the same year (1656) the army gained some trifling success against them; but this was immediately afterwards severely retaliated by the slaughter of forty soldiers, cut off as they were carelessly rambling from their quarters. A detachment was immediately sent in pursuit of the enemy, which came up with and killed seven or eight of them; but they still found means to hold out, until being hard pressed the year following by colonel D'Oyley, who, by his final overthrow of the Spaniards, had taken from them all hope of future succour from their ancient masters, they became very much straitened for want of provisions and ammunition. The main body, under the command of a negro named *Juan de Bolos*, (whose place of retreat in the parish of Clarendon still retains his name), at length solicited for peace, and surrendered to the English on terms of pardon and freedom. A large party, however, (who had now acquired the name

of Maroons),* remained in their retreats within the mountains; where they not only augmented their numbers by natural increase, but, after the island became thicker sown with plantations, they were frequently reinforced by fugitive slaves. At length they grew confident enough of their force to undertake descents upon the interior planters, many of whom they murdered, from time to time, without the least provocation; and by their barbarities and outrages intimidated the whites from venturing to any considerable distance from the sea coast.

In 1663 the lieutenant-governor, Sir Charles Lytleton, and his council, issued a proclamation, offering a full pardon, twenty acres of land, and freedom from all manner of slavery, to each of them who should surrender. But I do not find that any of them were inclined to accept the terms offered, 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 grounds were not yet encroached upon by settlements. They

* The word signifies, among the Spanish Americans, according to Mr. Long, *Hog hunters*: the woods abounding with the wild boar, and the pursuit of them constituting the chief employment of fugitive negroes. *Marráno* is the Spanish word for a young pig. The following is the derivation, however, given in the *Encyclopédia*, article *Maron*: “On appelle *marons*, dans les isles Françoises les nègres fugitifs. Ce terme vient du mot Espagnol *Simaran* qui signifie un Singe. Les Espagnols crurent ne devoir pas faire plus d’honneur à leurs malheureux esclaves fugitifs, que de les appeller *singes*, parcequ’ils se retiroient comme ces animaux aux fonds des bois et n’en sortoient que pour cueillir des fruits qui se trouvoient dans les lieux les plus voisins de leur retrait.” The reader will accept which of these derivations he likes best.

took effectual care, indeed, that no settlement should be established near them; for they butchered every white family that ventured to seat itself any considerable distance inland. When the governor perceived that the proclamation wrought no effect, 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 into an ambuscade, and was cut to 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 the Maroons, 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 the Maroons no sooner found themselves in a condition to act, and the white inhabitants lulled into security, than they began to renew hostilities, murdering, as before, every white person, without distinction of sex or age, who came within their reach.

In this way, they continued to distress the island for upwards of forty years, during which time forty-four acts of assembly were passed, and at least £.240,000 expended for their suppression. In 1730, they were grown so formidable, under a very able general, named Cudjoe, 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, in their reduction. In the year 1734, captain Stoddart, who commanded one of these parties, projected, and ex-

ecuted with great success, an attack of the Maroon windward town, called Nanny, situate on one of the highest mountains in the island. Having provided some portable swivel guns, he silently approached, and reached within a small distance of their quarters 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 asleep, he fixed his little train of artillery to the best advantage, and fired upon them so briskly, that many were slain in their habitations, and several threw themselves headlong down the precipice. Captain Stoddart pursued the advantage; killed numbers, took many prisoners, and in short so completely destroyed, or routed the whole body, that they were unable afterwards to effect any enterprize of moment in this quarter of the island.

About the same time another party of the Maroons, having perceived that a body of the militia stationed at the barrack of Bagnel's thicket, in St. Mary's parish, under the command of colonel Charlton, strayed heedlessly from their quarters, and kept no order, formed a project to cut them off, and whilst the officers were at dinner, attended by a very few of their men, the Maroons rushed suddenly from the adjacent woods and attacked 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 Ma-

rooms were repulsed, and forced to take shelter in the woods, but the militia did not think fit to pursue them. 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 alarm, from apprehensions that the Maroons had defeated Charlton, and were in full march to attack the town. Ayscough, then commander in chief, participating in the general panic, 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 to a place where, by the fires which remained unextinguished, they supposed the Maroons 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 Maroons declined engaging, and fled different ways. Several of them, however, were slain in the pursuit, and others made prisoners. These two victories reduced their strength, and filled them with so much terror, that they never afterwards 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-fields and out-houses, kill-

ed all the cattle they could find, and carried the 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 disproportionally inferior to themselves, 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 shift their ravages from place to place, as circumstances required. Such were the many disadvantages under which the English had to deal with those 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 a wild and savage freedom.

Previous to the successes above mentioned, the distress into which the planters were thrown, may be collected from the sense which the legislature of Jamaica expressed in some of their acts. In the year 1733, they set forth, that “the Maroons had, within a few years, greatly increased, notwithstanding all the measures that had 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 western 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. Ann, St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, Hanover, and St. James’s, 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 the further increase of the 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 subsisting them in the woods for so long a time as the service required, and the facility with which the Maroons eluded their pursuit, 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 each of these they placed a strong garrison, 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 ten pounds, the lieutenants each five pounds, and serjeants four pounds, and privates two pounds per month. They were subjected to the 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 de-

stroy the provision gardens and haunts of the Maroons; 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 also furnished with a pack of dogs, provided by the churchwardens of the respective parishes*; it being foreseen that these animals would prove extremely serviceable, not only in guarding *against surprises 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 the Maroons 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 1737, the assembly resolved on taking two hundred of the Mosquito Indians into their pay, to hasten the suppression of the Maroons. They passed an act for rendering free negroes, mulattoes, and Indians more useful, and forming them into companies, with proper encouragements. Some sloops were despatched to the Mosquito shore; and that number of Indians was brought into the island, formed into companies under their own officers, and allowed forty shillings a month for pay, besides shoes and other articles. White guides were assigned to conduct them to the enemy, and they gave proofs of great sagacity in this service. 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 Maroons.

For in 1738, governor Trelawney, by the advice of the principal gentlemen of the island, proposed overtures of peace with the Maroon 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 the army. The Maroons 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 afterwards declared, that if peace had not been offered to them, they had no choice left but either to be starved, lay violent hands on themselves, or surrender to the English at discretion. The extremity of their case, however, was not at that time known to the white inhabitants, and their number was supposed to be twice as great as it was afterwards found to be. The articles of pacification (which I have subjoined) were therefore ratified with the Maroon chiefs, and fifteen hundred acres of land assigned to one body of

them,† and one thousand acres to another, which the legislature secured to them and their posterity in perpetuity. The assembly, by subsequent laws, augmented the premium allowed the Maroons for apprehending fugitive slaves, to three pounds per head; and they passed many other regulations for their better government and protection, for preventing their purchasing and harbouring negro slaves, and for directing in what manner they should be tried in the case of felony, and other crimes committed against the whites,‡ and thus an end was at length happily put

† This was the body that settled in Trelawney town, and are the ancestors of those who have lately taken up arms. The other Maroon negroes were those of Accompong town, Crawford town, and Nanny town, to each of which lands were allotted. The aggregate number in 1795, was about 1600 men women and children.

‡ On complaint made, on oath, to a justice of peace, of any felony, burglary, robbery, or other offence whatsoever, having been committed by Maroon negroes, he is required to grant a warrant to apprehend the offenders, and to have all persons brought before him, or some other justice, that can give evidence; and if, upon examination, it appears that there are grounds for public trial, the justice is to commit the accused, unless the offence be bailable, and bind over the witnesses. They are to be tried where the quarter sessions are held, or where parochial business is usually transacted, in the following manner:—The justice is to call in two other justices, (who must attend, or forfeit twenty pounds each), and they are to summon fifteen persons, such as are usually impanelled to serve on juries, to appear at a specified time, who forfeit five pounds each if they neglect. There must be ten days between the complaint and the trial. Of the fifteen persons summoned, the first twelve who appear are to compose a jury. If the Maroon be found guilty, the justices may give sentence according to law, of death, transportation, public whipping, or confinement to hard labour for not more than twelve months. Execution of women with child is to be respited until a reasonable time after delivery; and where sentence of death or transportation shall be passed, (except for rebellious conspiracies), execution is to be respited until the

to this tedious and ruinous contest; a contest which, while it lasted, seemed to portend nothing less than the ruin of the whole colony.

Articles of pacification with the Maroons of Trelawney Town, concluded March the 1st, 1738.

In the Name of God, Amen. Whereas captain Cudjoe, captain Accompong, captain Johnny, captain Cuffee, captain Quaco, and several other negroes, their dependents and adherents, have been in a state of war and hostility, for several years past, against our sovereign lord the king, and the inhabitants of this island; and whereas peace and friendship among mankind, and the preventing the effusion of blood, is agreeable to God, consonant to reason, and desired by every good man; and whereas his Majesty, King George the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, of Jamaica Lord, Defender of the Faith, &c. has, by his letters patent, dated February the twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight, in the twelfth year of his reign, granted full power and authority to John Guthrie and Francis Sadler, esquires, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid captain Cudjoe, and the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles:—
First, That all hostilities shall cease on both sides for

governor's pleasure be signified; the justices may also respite the execution of any other sentence till his pleasure be known, if they see cause. Where several are capitally convicted for the same offence, only one is to suffer death, except for murder or rebellion.

ever. Secondly, that the said captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by them, or fled to them, within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said masters and owners with full pardon and indemnity from the said masters or owners for what is past; provided always, that, if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to captain Cudjoe, and in friendship with us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty. Thirdly, That they shall enjoy and possess, for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands situate and lying between Trelawney town and the Cockpits, to the amount of fifteen hundred acres, bearing northwest from the said Trelawney town. Fourthly, That they shall have liberty to plant the said lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided always, that when they bring the said commodities to market, they shall apply first to the custos, or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods to sale, for a license to vend the same. Fifthly, That captain Cudjoe, and all the captain's adherents, and people now in subjection to him, shall all live together within the bounds of Trelawney town, and that they have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit, except within three miles of any settlement, crawl, or pen; provided always, that in case the hunters of captain Cudjoe and those of other settlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both

parties. Sixthly, that the said captain Cudjoe, and his successors, do use their best endeavours to take, kill, suppress, or destroy, either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that service by his excellency the governor, or commander in chief for the time being, all rebels wheresoever they be, throughout this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to captain Cudjoe, and his successors. Seventhly, That in case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy, the said captain Cudjoe, and his successors hereinafter named or to be appointed, shall then, upon notice given, immediately repair to any place the governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the said invaders with his or their utmost force, and submit to the orders of the commander in chief on that occasion. Eighthly, That if any white man shall do any manner of injury to captain Cudjoe, his successors, or any of his or their people, they shall apply to any commanding officer or magistrate in the neighbourhood for justice; *and in case captain Cudjoe, or any of his people, shall do any injury to any white person, he shall submit himself, or deliver up such offenders to justice.* Ninthly, That if any negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into captain Cudjoe's hands, they shall immediately be sent back to the chief magistrate of the next parish where they are taken; and those that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint.* Tenth, that all negroes taken, since the raising of

* The Assembly granted a premium of thirty shillings for each fugitive slave returned to his owner by the Maroons, besides expenses.

this party by captain Cudjoe's people, shall immediately be returned. Eleventh, That captain Cudjoe, and his successors, shall wait on his excellency, or the commander in chief for the time being, every year, if thereunto required. Twelfth, That captain Cudjoe, during his life, and the captains succeeding him, shall have full power to inflict any punishment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themselves, death only excepted; in which case, if the captain thinks they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before any justice of the peace, who shall order proceedings on their trial equal to those of other free negroes. Thirteenth, That captain Cudjoe with his people, shall cut, clear, and keep open, large and convenient roads from Trelawney town to Westmoreland and St. James's, and if possible to St. Elizabeth's. Fourteenth, That two white men, to be nominated by his excellency or the commander in chief for the time being, shall constantly live and reside with captain Cudjoe and his successors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island. Fifteenth, That captain Cudjoe shall during his life, be chief commander in Trelawney town; after his decease the command to devolve on his brother captain Accompong; and in case of his decease, on his next brother captain Johnny: and failing him, captain Cuffee shall succeed; who is to be succeeded by captain Quaco; and after all their demises, the governor or commander in chief for the time being, shall appoint, from time to time, whom he thinks fit for that command.

In testimony, &c. &c.

SECTION II.

THE preceding Section consists chiefly of an extract from the History of Jamaica, by EDWARD LONG, Esq. published in 1774, whose account I have chosen to adopt, rather than offer a narrative of my own, for two reasons; first, because I have nothing to add, concerning the origin of the Maroons, to what Mr. Long has so distinctly related; and, secondly, because its adoption exempts me from all suspicion of having fabricated a tale, calculated to justify certain circumstances and transactions, of which complaint was lately made in the British Parliament,* and to which due attention shall hereafter be paid. In the meanwhile, I shall take up and continue the subject where Mr. Long left it, beginning with some reflections on the situation, character, manners and habits of life of the Maroon negroes; and thus tracing the cause of their late revolt to its origin.

The clause in the treaty, by which these people were compelled to reside within certain boundaries in the interior country, apart from all other negroes, was founded, probably, on the apprehension that, by suffering them to intermix with the negroes in slavery, the example which they would thereby continually present of successful hostility, might prove contagious, and create in the minds of the slaves an impati-

* March 1796.

ence of subordination, and a disposition for revolt: but time has abundantly proved that it was an ill-judged and a fatal regulation. The Maroons instead of being established into separate hordes or communities, in the strongest parts of the interior country, should have been encouraged by all possible means to frequent the towns and to intermix with the negroes at large. All distinction between the Maroons and the other free blacks would soon have been lost; for the greater number would have prevailed over the less: whereas the policy of keeping them a distinct people continually inured to arms, introduced among them what the French call an *esprit de corps*, or a community of sentiments and interests; and concealing from them the powers and resources of the whites, taught them to feel, and at the same time highly to over-value, their own relative strength and importance.

It has been urged against the colonial legislature, as another, and a still greater, oversight; that after the conclusion of the treaty, no manner of attention was given to the improvement of these ignorant people in civilization and morals. The office of *superintendent*; it has been said, and I believe truly, was commonly bestowed on persons of no education or consequence, and soon became a mere *sinecure*. Mr. Long observed, many years ago, that the Maroons would probably prove more faithful allies, and better subjects; if pains were taken to instil into their minds a few notions of honesty and religion; and the establishment of schools, and the erection of a chapel in each of the

towns, were recommended as measures of indispensable necessity.

That these observations are altogether ill founded, I will not presume to affirm. Man, in his savage state, in all parts of the world, is the slave of superstition; and it is the duty and policy of a good government (let its system of religion be what it may) to direct the weaknesses of our fellow creatures to the promotion of their happiness. The Christian is not only the best system of religion calculated for the attainment of that end, but, by leading the mind to the knowledge of truth and immortality, contributes more than any other to amend the heart, and exalt the human character.

Of this high and important truth I hope that I am fully sensible: Yet I cannot suppress the opinion which I have long since entertained, that the conversion of savage men, from a life of barbarity to the knowledge and practice of Christianity, is a work of much greater difficulty than many pious and excellent persons in Great Britain seem fondly to imagine.

Concerning the Maroons, they are in general ignorant of our language, and all of them attached to the gloomy superstitions of Africa (derived from their ancestors) with such enthusiastic zeal and reverential ardour, as I think can only be eradicated with their lives. The Gentoos of India are not, I conceive, more sincere in their faith, than the negroes of Gui-

nea in believing the prevalence of *Obi*,* and the supernatural power of their *Obeah* men. Obstacles like these, accompanied with the fierce and sordid manners which I shall presently describe, few clergymen would, I think, be pleased to encounter, lest they might experience all the sufferings, without acquiring the glory of martyrdom.

Under disadvantages of such magnitude was founded the first legal establishment of our Maroon allies in Jamaica. Inured, for a long series of years, to a life of warfare within the island, it is a matter of astonishment that they submitted, for any length of time, to any system of subordination or government whatever. It is probable they were chiefly induced to remain quiet by the great encouragement that was held out to them for the apprehending fugitive slaves, and being allowed to range over the uncultivated country without interruption, possessing an immense wilderness for their hunting grounds. These pursuits gave full employment to the restless and turbulent among them. Their game was the wild boar, which abounds in the interior parts of Jamaica; and the Maroons had a method of curing the flesh without salting it. This commodity they frequently brought to market in the towns; and with the money arising from the sale, and the rewards which they received for the delivery to their owners of runaway slaves, they purchased salted beef, spirituous liquors, tobacco, fire-arms, and ammunition, setting little or no account on cloathing of

* A species of pretended magic, described at large in vol. ii. book 4.

any kind, and regarding as superfluous and useless most of those things which every people in the lowest degree of civilization, would consider as almost absolutely necessary to human existence.

Their language was a barbarous dissonance of the African dialects, with a mixture of Spanish and broken English; and their thoughts and attention seemed wholly engrossed by their present pursuits, and the objects immediately around them, without any reflections on the past, or solicitude for the future. In common with all the nations of Africa, they believed, however, as I have observed, in the prevalence of *Obi*, and the authority which such of their old men as had the reputation of vizards, or *Obeah-men*, possessed over them, was sometimes very successfully employed in keeping them in subordination to their chiefs.

Having in the resources that have been mentioned, the means of procuring food for their daily support, they had no inclination for the pursuits of sober industry. Their repugnance to the labour of tilling the earth was remarkable. In some of their villages I never could perceive any vestige of culture; but the situation of their towns, in such cases, was generally in the neighbourhood of plantations belonging to the whites, from the provision grounds of which they either purchased, or stole, yams, plantains, corn, and other esculents. When they had no supply of this kind, I have sometimes observed small patches of Indian corn and yams, and perhaps a few straggling

plantain trees, near their habitations ; but the ground was always in a shocking state of neglect and ruin.

The labours of the field, however, such as they were, (as well as every other species of drudgery), were performed by the women, who had no other means of clearing the ground of the vast and heavy woods with which it is every where incumbered, than by placing fire round the trunks of the trees, till they were consumed in the middle and fell by their own weight. It was a service of danger ; but the Maroons, like all other savage nations, regarded their wives as so many beasts of burthen ; and felt no more concern at the loss of one of them, than a white planter would have felt at the loss of a bullock. Polygamy too, with their other African customs, prevailed among the Maroons universally. Some of their principal men claimed from two to six wives, and the miseries of their situation left these poor creatures neither leisure nor inclination to quarrel with each other.

This spirit of brutality, which the Maroons always displayed towards their wives, extended in some degree to their children. The paternal authority was at all times most harshly exerted ; but more especially towards the females, I have been assured, that it was not an uncommon circumstance for a father, in a fit of rage or drunkenness, to seize his own infant, which had offended him by crying, and dash it against a rock, with a degree of violence that often proved fatal. This he did without any apprehension of punishment ; for the superintendant, on such occasions,

generally found it prudent to keep his distance, or be silent. Nothing can more strikingly demonstrate the forlorn and abject condition of the young women among the Maroons, than the circumstance which every gentleman who has visited them on festive occasions, or for the gratification of curiosity, knows to be true; the offering their own daughters, by the first men among them, to their visitors; and bringing the poor girls forward, with or without their consent, for the purpose of prostitution.

Visits of this kind were indeed but too acceptable both to the Maroons and their daughters; for they generally ended in drunkenness and riot. The visitors too were not only fleeced of their money, but were likewise obliged to *furnish the feast*, it being indispensably necessary, on such occasions, to send beforehand wine and provisions of all kinds; and if the guests expected to sleep on beds and in linen, they must provide those articles also for themselves. The Maroons, however, if the party consisted of persons of consequence, would consider themselves as highly honoured, and would supply wild-boar, land-crabs, pigeons, and fish, and entertain their guests with a hearty and boisterous kind of hospitality, which had at least the charms of novelty and singularity to recommend it.

On such occasions, a mock fight always constituted a part of the entertainment. Mr. Long has given the following description of a scene of this kind, which was exhibited by the Trelawney-town Maroons, in the presence of the governor, in 1764.

“ No sooner (he observes) did the horn sound the signal, than they all joined in a most hideous yell, or war-whoop, and bounded into action. With amazing agility they ran, or rather rolled, through their various firings and evolutions. This part of their exercise, indeed, more justly deserves to be stiled *evolution* than any that is practised by the regular troops; for they fire stooping almost to the very ground; and no sooner are their muskets 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 extremely uncertain. When this part of their exercise was over, they drew their swords; and winding their horn again, began, in wild and warlike gestures, to advance towards his excellency, endeavouring to throw as much savage fury into their looks as possible. On approaching near him, some 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, &c. &c.

With all this seeming fury and affected bravery, however, I suspect that they are far below the whites in personal valour. Their mode of fighting in real war, is a system of stratagem, bush-fighting, and ambuscade. I will not, indeed, affirm that such a system alone, though it displays no proof of courage, is absolutely evidence to the contrary. I be-

lieve it is the natural mode of attack and defence, and that the practice of open war, among civilized nations, is artificial and acquired. It is rather from their abominable and habitual cruelty to their captives, and above all to women and children, and from the shocking enormities which they practice on the dead bodies of their enemies, that I infer the deficiency of the Maroons, in the virtue of true courage. In their treatment of fugitive slaves, they manifest a blood-thirstiness of disposition, which is otherwise unaccountable; for, although their vigilance is stimulated by the prospect of reward, they can have no possible motives of revenge or malice towards the unfortunate objects of their pursuit: yet it is notoriously true, that they wish for nothing more than a pretence to put the poor wretches to death, frequently maiming them without provocation; and, until mile-money was allowed by the legislature, oftentimes bringing home the head of the fugitive instead of the living man; making the plea of resistance an excuse for their barbarity.

In the year 1760, an occasion occurred of putting the courage, fidelity, and humanity of these people to the test. The Koromantyn slaves, in the parish of St. Mary, rose into rebellion, and the Maroons were called upon, according to treaty, to co-operate in their suppression. A party of them accordingly arrived at the scene of action, the second or third day after the rebellion had broken out. The whites had already defeated the insurgents, in a pitched battle, at *Heywood-Hall*, killed eight or nine of their number, and driven the remainder into the woods. The

Maroons were ordered to pursue them, and were promised a certain reward for each rebel they might kill or take prisoner. They accordingly pushed into the woods, and after rambling about for a day or two, returned with a collection of human ears, which they pretended to have cut off the heads of rebels they had slain in battle, the particulars of which they minutely related. Their report was believed, and they received the money stipulated to be paid them; yet it was afterwards found that they had not killed a man; that no engagement had taken place, and that the ears which they had produced, had been severed from the dead negroes which had lain unburied at Heywood-Hall.

Some few days after this, as the Maroons and a detachment of the 74th regiment, were stationed at a solitary place, surrounded by deep woods, called Downs's cove, the detachment was suddenly attacked in the middle of the night by the rebels. The centinels were shot, and the huts in which the soldiers were lodged, were set on fire. The light of the flames while it exposed the troops, served to conceal the rebels, who poured in a shower of musquetry from all quarters, and many of the soldiers were slain. Major Forsyth, who commanded the detachment, formed his men into a square, and by keeping up a brisk fire from all sides, at length compelled the enemy to retire. During the whole of this affair the Maroons were not to be found, and Forsyth, for some time, suspected that they were themselves the assailants. It was discovered, however, that immediately

on the attack, the whole body of them had thrown themselves flat on the ground and continued in that position until the rebels retreated, without firing or receiving a shot.

A party of them, indeed, had afterwards the merit (a merit of which they loudly boasted) of killing the leader of the rebels. He was a young negro of the Koromantyn nation, named Tackey, and it was said, had been of free condition, and even a chieftain, in Africa. This unfortunate man, having seen most of his companions slaughtered, was discovered wandering in the woods without arms or cloathing, and was immediately pursued by the Maroons, *in full cry*. The chase was of no long duration; he was shot through the head; and it was painful to relate, but unquestionably true, that his savage pursuers, having decollated the body, in order to preserve the head as the trophy of victory, *roasted and actually devoured the heart and entrails of the wretched victim!**

The misconduct of these people in this rebellion, whether proceeding from cowardice or treachery, was, however, overlooked. Living secluded from the rest of the community, they were supposed to

* The circumstances that I have related concerning the conduct of the Maroons, in the rebellion of 1760, are partly founded on my own knowledge and personal observation at the time, (having been myself present), or from the testimony of eye witnesses, men of character and probity. The shocking fact last mentioned was attested by several white people, and was not attempted to be denied or concealed by the Maroons themselves. They seemed indeed to make it a subject of boasting and triumph.

have no knowledge of the rules and restraints to which all other classes of the inhabitants were subject; and the vigilance of justice (notwithstanding what has recently happened) seldom pursued them, even for offences of the most atrocious nature.

In truth, it always seemed to me, that the whites in general entertained an opinion of the usefulness of the Maroons, which no part of their conduct, at any one period, confirmed.—Possibly their personal appearance contributed, in some degree, to preserve the delusion; for, savage as they were in manners and disposition, their mode of living, and daily pursuits, undoubtedly strengthened the frame, and served to exalt them to great bodily perfection. Such fine persons are seldom beheld among any other class of African or native blacks. Their demeanour is lofty, their walk firm, and their persons erect. Every motion displays a combination of strength and agility. The muscles (neither hidden nor depressed by cloathing) are very prominent and strongly marked. Their sight withal is wonderfully acute, and their hearing remarkably quick. These characteristics, however, are common, I believe, to all savage nations, in warm and temperate climates; and, like other savages, the Maroons have only those senses perfect, which are kept in constant exercise. Their smell is obscure, and their taste so depraved, that I have seen them drink new rum fresh from the still, in preference to wine which I offered them; and I remember, at a great festival in one of their towns, which I attended, that their highest luxury, in point of food, was some rotten beef, which had been originally salted in Ireland, and

which was probably presented to them, by some person who knew their taste, *because it was putrid.*

Such was the situation of the Maroon negroes of Jamaica, previous to their late revolt; and the picture which I have drawn of their character and manners, was delineated from the life, after long experience and observation. Of that revolt I shall now proceed to describe the cause, progress, and termination; and, if I know myself, without partiality or prejudice.

SECTION III.

IN the month of July 1795, two Maroons from Trelawney town, having committed a felony in stealing some pigs, were apprehended, sent to Montego bay, and there tried for the offence, according to law. Having been found guilty by the jury, the magistrates ordered each of them to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back. The sentence was executed accordingly. They were whipped in the workhouse, by the black overseer of the workhouse negroes; the person whose office it is to inflict punishment on such occasions. The offenders were then immediately discharged; and they went off, with some of their companions, abusing and insulting every white person whom they met in the road.

On their return to Trelawney town, and giving an account of what had passed, the whole body of Maroons immediately assembled; and after violent debates and altercations among themselves, a party of them repaired to captain Craskell, the superintendent, and ordered him, in the name of the whole, to quit the town forthwith, under pain of death. He retired to Vaughan's field, a plantation in the neighbourhood; and exerted himself, by friendly messages and otherwise, to pacify the Maroons; but without effect. They sent a *written defiance* to the magistrates of Montego bay, declaring their intention to meet the white people in arms, and threatening to attack the town on the 20th of that month (July). In the meanwhile an attempt was made on captain Craskell's life, and he very narrowly escaped.

Alarmed by the receipt of this letter, and the intelligence which was received of the temper and disposition of the Maroons, the magistrates applied to general Palmer, requesting him to call out the militia; which was done; and the general sent an express to the earl of Balcarres, in Spanish town, praying his lordship to send down a detachment of the Jamaica dragoons. Eighty men were accordingly sent, well accoutred and mounted.

The militia assembled on the 19th of July, to the number of four hundred; and while they were waiting for orders, one of the Maroons, armed with a lance, made his appearance, and informed the commanding officer, that they wished to have a conference in Trelawney town, with John Tharp, Esq. (the

custos and chief magistrate of Trelawney), Messrs. Stewart and Hodges, the members in the assembly, and Jarvis Gallimore, Esq. colonel of the militia.

As this message seemed to manifest a disinclination on the part of the chief body of the Maroons, to proceed to hostilities, the gentlemen above named very readily accepted the invitation, and proceeded to the town the next day (the 20th). They were accompanied by col. Thomas Reed, of the St. James's militia, a very distinguished and gallant officer, and a man of the highest honour and character; by other persons of consideration; and also by major James, whose son had formerly acted as superintendant of the town, who was himself superintendant general of all the Maroon towns in the island, and was supposed to have more weight, and to possess greater influence, with the Maroons, than any other man in the country.

The Maroons received them under arms. There appeared about three hundred able men, all of whom had painted their faces for battle, and seemed ready for action; and they behaved with so much insolence, that the gentlemen were at first exceedingly alarmed for their own safety. A conference however ensued; in which it was observable, that the Maroons complained—not of the injustice or severity of the punishment which had been inflicted on two of their companions; but—of the disgrace which they insisted the magistrates of Montego bay had put on their whole body, by ordering the punishment to be inflicted in the workhouse by the black overseer or driver, and

in the presence of fugitive and felon negro slaves, many of whom they had themselves apprehended.* They concluded by demanding reparation for this indignity; an addition to the lands they possessed, the dismissal of captain Craskell, and the appointment of Mr. James, their former superintendant.

The gentlemen had certainly no authority to agree to any of these requisitions; they promised however to state their grievances to the commander in chief, and to recommend to the legislature to grant them an addition of land. In the mean while, they assured the Maroons they would request the governor to provide otherwise for captain Craskell their superintendant, and to re-appoint in his room their favourite Mr. James. With these assurances the Maroons seemed pacified, and declared they had nothing further to ask; and the gentlemen having distributed a considerable sum of money amongst them, returned to Montego bay.

It soon appeared however, that the Maroons, in desiring this conference, were actuated solely by motives of treachery. They were apprized that a fleet of 150 ships was to sail for Great Britain on the morning of the 26th; and they knew that very few British troops remained in the island, except the 83d regiment, and that this very regiment was, at that

* It certainly is to be wished, that some little attention had been paid, by the magistrates, to the pride or the prejudices of the Maroons in this respect. The law however, is wholly silent on this head, and the court had a right to exercise its discretion.

juncture, under orders to embark for St. Domingo; they hoped, therefore, by the specious and delusive appearance of desiring a conference, to quiet suspicion, until the July fleet was sailed, and the regulars fairly departed. In the meanwhile, they pleased themselves with the hope of prevailing on the negro slaves throughout the island to join them: and by rising in a mass, to enable them to exterminate the whites at a blow.

The very day the conference was held, they began tampering with the negroes on the numerous and extensive plantations in the neighbourhood of Montego bay.* On some of these plantations their emissaries were cordially received and secreted: on others, the slaves themselves voluntarily apprized their overseers, that the Maroons were endeavouring to seduce them from their allegiance. Information of this nature was transmitted from many respectable quarters; but most of the gentlemen who had visited the Maroons on the 20th, were so confident of their *fidelity* and *affection*, that the governor, disbelieving the charges against them, was prevailed on to let the troops embark as originally intended, and they actually sailed from Port Royal on the morning of the 29th, under convoy of the Success frigate.

In the course of that, and the two succeeding days, however, such intelligence was received at the government house, as left no possible room to doubt the

* Trelawney town is situated within twenty miles of the town and harbour of Montego bay.

treachery of these *faithful* and *affectionate* people; and the earl of Balcarres, with that promptitude and decision which distinguish his character, determined on a line of conduct adapted to the importance of the occasion. The course from Port Royal to St. Domingo (as the reader is perhaps informed) is altogether against the wind, and there is sometimes a strong lee current; as was fortunately the case at this juncture. These were favourable circumstances; and afforded the governor room to hope, that the transports which conveyed the troops might possibly be overtaken at sea, by a fast sailing boat, from the east end of the island, furnished with oars for rowing in the night. His lordship was not mistaken; the boat which was provided came up with them on the 2d of August, off the north east end of Jamaica, and delivered orders to captain Pigot of the *Success*, forthwith to change his course, and proceed with the transports down the north side of the island to Montego Bay. Captain Pigot immediately obeyed; and it is probable that by this happy accident the country was saved.

The 83d regiment, consisting of upwards of one thousand effective men, commanded by colonel Fitch, landed at Montego bay, on Tuesday the 4th of August. At this moment, although the militia of this part of the country were under arms, and had been joined by the detachment of light dragoons, the utmost anxiety was visible in every countenance. The July fleet was sailed; and the certainty that the Maroons had collected great quantities of arms and am-

munition;—that they had been tampering with the slaves, and the uncertainty of the success and extent of their machinations, had cast a gloom on the face of every man; and while rumours of plots and conspiracies distracted the minds of the ignorant, many among the most thoughtful and considerate, anticipated all the horrors of St. Domingo, and in imagination already beheld their houses and plantations in flames, and their wives and children bleeding under the swords of the most merciless of assassins.

The sudden and unexpected arrival of so powerful a reinforcement, in the most critical moment, immediately changed the scene. But further measures were adopted. By the advice of a council of war, composed chiefly of members of the assembly, the governor put the whole island under martial law. A further reinforcement of 130 well mounted dragoons under the command of colonel Sandford, and a detachment of 100 men of the 62d regiment, were sent down on the 3d: colonel Walpole, with 150 dismounted dragoons, embarked at the same time for Black river, to command the forces of St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland, and on the morning of the 4th, the governor himself left Spanish town for Montego bay; determined to command on the scene of action in person.

The reader will easily conceive, that measures of such extent and magnitude were not adopted solely in the belief that the Maroons alone were concerned. It must be repeated, that the most certain and abundant proofs had been transmitted to the com-

mander in chief, of their attempts to create a general revolt of the enslaved negroes, and it was impossible to foresee the result. The situation of the slaves, under prevailing circumstances, required the most serious attention. With the recent example before their eyes of the dreadful insurrection in St. Domingo, they had been accustomed, for the preceding seven years, to hear of nothing but Mr. Wilberforce, and his efforts to serve them in Great Britain. Means of information were not wanting. Instructors were constantly found among the black servants continually returning from England; and I have not the smallest doubt that the negroes on every plantation in the West Indies, were taught to believe, that their masters were generally considered in the mother country, as a set of odious and abominable miscreants, whom it was laudable to massacre!

The wisdom, decision, and activity of the earl of Balcarres, on the present occasion, defeated their projects. The effect of his lordship's conduct thenceforward, on the minds of the enslaved negroes throughout the whole country, was wonderful. Submission, tranquillity, and good order prevailed universally among them. The circumstance attending the return of the 83d regiment, induced them to believe, that Heaven itself had declared in favour of the whites, and that all attempts at resistance were unavailing and impious.

The Maroons themselves became divided in their councils. Many of the old and experienced among them, even in Trelawney town, the head quarters of

sedition, recommended peace; and advised their companions to postpone their vengeance to a better opportunity; and the whole of the *Acompong* people declared in favour of the whites. It was determined, however, by a very great majority of the Trelawney Maroons, *to fight the bucras*, (meaning the white people). The violent councils of the younger part of their community prevailed; most of whom were inflamed with a degree of savage fury against the whites, which set at nought all considerations of prudence and policy.

The commander in chief, however, previous to any hostile movement, determined to try once more to effect an accommodation. As it was evident the Maroons consulted some person who could read and write, his lordship, on the 8th of August, sent into their town a written message or summons in the following words:

To the Maroons of Trelawney town.

“ You have entered into a most unprovoked, ungrateful, and most dangerous rebellion.

“ You have driven away the superintendent placed over you by the laws of this country.

“ You have treated him, your commander, with indignity and contempt. You have endeavoured to massacre him.

“ You have put the magistrates of the country, and all the white people at defiance.

“ You have challenged and offered them battle.

“ You have forced the country, which has long cherished and fostered you as its children, to consider you as an enemy.

“ Martial law has in consequence been proclaimed.

“ Every pass to your town has been occupied and guarded by the militia and regular forces.

“ You are surrounded by thousands.

“ Look at Montego bay, and you will see the force brought against you.

“ I have issued a proclamation, offering a reward for your heads ; that terrible edict will not be put in force before Thursday the 13th day of August.

“ To avert these proceedings, I advise and command every Maroon of Trelawney town, capable of bearing arms, to appear before me at Montego bay on Wednesday the 12th day of August instant, and there submit themselves to his majesty’s mercy.

“ On so doing, you will escape the effects of the dreadful command, ordered to be put into execution on Thursday, the 13th day of August ; on which day, in failure of your obedience to this summons, your town shall be burnt to the ground, and for ever destroyed.

“ And whereas it appears that other negroes, besides the Maroons of Trelawney town, were there under arms on the day that town was visited by John Tharp, Esq. and several other magistrates of the parish of Trelawney, you are strictly commanded and enjoined to bring such stranger negroes to Montego bay, as prisoners, on or before the beforementioned Wednesday, the 12th day of August instant.

“ BALCARRES.”

Apprehensive, however, that this summons would have but little effect, the governor at the same time gave orders that the regulars and militia should take possession of all the known paths leading to Trelawney town from the surrounding parishes; and the troops arrived at their respective stations early on the 9th.

On the morning of the 11th, thirty-eight of the Trelawney Maroons, being chiefly old men, surrendered themselves to the governor's mercy, at Vaughan's-field, and frankly declared, that, with regard to the rest of the town, they were determined on war. "*The devil, they said had got into them,*" and nothing but superiority of force would bring them to reason.

Two of the thirty-eight were, however, sent back to try, for the last time, if persuasion would avail; but they were detained by the rest, who, having secreted their women and children, *passed the Rubicon* the ensuing night, by setting fire themselves to their town, and commencing hostilities on the outposts of the army. The attack fell chiefly on the St. James's company of free people of colour, of whom two were killed and six wounded: and thus began this unfortunate war.

The Maroons immediately afterwards assembled in a body, near a small village which was called their *New town*, behind which were their provision grounds.—On the afternoon of the 12th, orders were given to lieutenant colonel Sandford to march with a detach-

ment of the 18th and 20th dragoons, and a party of the horse militia, and take possession of those grounds the same evening; it being the governor's intention to attack the Maroons at the same time, in front. Colonel Sandford proceeded accordingly, accompanied by a body of volunteers; but having been informed that the Maroons had retired to the ruins of their old town, he was persuaded, instead of waiting at his post for further orders from the governor, to proceed beyond his limits, and to push after the enemy; a most unfortunate and fatal determination, to which this gallant officer, and many valuable men, fell a sacrifice. The retreat of the Maroons from the New town, was a feint to draw the whites into an ambuscade, which unfortunately succeeded. The road between the new and old towns was very bad and very narrow; and the troops had marched about half way, the regulars in front, the militia in the centre, and the volunteers in the rear, when a heavy fire ensued from the bushes. colonel Sandford was among the first that fell, and with him perished quarter master M'Bride, six privates of the 20th, and eight of the 18th light dragoons. Of the militia, thirteen were slain outright, and among the rest, the commanding officer, colonel Gallimore; eight of the volunteers also were killed, and many of all descriptions wounded. The troops, however pushed forward, and drove the Maroons from their hiding places, and after a night of unparalleled hardship, the survivors got back to Vaughan's-field in the morning, and brought with them most of their wounded companions.*

* Among the officers of the militia who escaped on this occasion, was my late excellent and lamented friend *George Goodin Parrett*. He was

Thus terminated this disastrous and bloody conflict; in which it was never known with certainty, that a single Maroon lost his life. Their triumph therefore was great, and many of the best informed among the planters, in consequence of it, again anticipated the most dreadful impending calamities. So general was the alarm, that the governor thought it necessary, in a proclamation which he issued on the occasion, to make public the orders he had given to colonel Sandford, and to declare in express terms, that if the detachment under that officer's command had remained at the post which it was directed to occupy, the Maroons, in all probability, would have been compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. "Soldiers will learn from this fatal lesson (adds his lordship most truly) the indispensable necessity of strictly adhering to orders. An excess of ardour is often as prejudicial to the accomplishment of any military enterprize, as cowardice itself."—The truth was, that the whole detachment held the enemy in too great contempt. They marched forth in the confidence of certain victory, and never having had any experience of the Maroons mode of fighting, disregarded the advice of some faithful negro attendants, who apprized them of it. Happily the class of people on whom the Ma-

attended on that day by a favourite negro servant; of whom it is related, that during the first attack, perceiving a Maroon from behind a tree present his gun at his beloved master, he instantly rushed forward to protect him, by interposing his own person; and actually received the shot in his breast. I rejoice to add, that the wound was not mortal, and that the poor fellow has been rewarded as he deserved, for such an instance of heroic fidelity as history has seldom recorded.

roons relied for support, remained peaceably disposed; nor did an instance occur to raise a doubt of their continuing to do so.

By the death of Sandford, the command, in the governor's absence, devolved on colonel Fitch, an officer whose general deportment and character excited great expectation; but the Maroons found means to elude his vigilance. They had now established their head quarters at a place in the interior country, of most difficult access, called the *Cockpits*; a sort of valley or dell, surrounded by steep precipices and broken rocks, and by mountains of prodigious height; in the caverns of which they had secreted their women and children, and deposited their ammunition. From this retreat (almost inaccessible to any but themselves) they sent out small parties of their ablest and most enterprising young men, some of which were employed in prowling about the country in search of provisions, and others in setting fire by night to such houses and plantations as were unprovided with a sufficient guard. In the beginning of September, they burnt the habitation and settlement of Mr. George Gordon, called *Kenmure*; and soon afterwards the dwelling house and buildings of a coffee plantation, called *Lapland*; the proprietor too sustained the still greater loss of thirty valuable negroes, whom the Maroons compelled to go with them, loaden with plunder. Another plantation called *Catadupa*, was destroyed by them in the same manner, and ten of the negroes carried off. About the same time, they burnt the property of John Shand, Esq. as ettle-

ment belonging to Messrs. Stevens and Bernard, a plantation called Bandon, a house of a Mr. Lewis, and various others.

At these places several white people unfortunately fell into their hands, all of whom were murdered in cold blood, without any distinction of sex, or regard to age. Even women in child-bed, and infants at the breast, were alike indiscriminately slaughtered by this savage enemy; and the shrieks of the miserable victims, which were distinctly heard at the posts of the British detachments, frequently conveyed the first notice, that the Maroons were in the neighbourhood.

The fate of Mr. Gowdie, a respectable and venerable planter, who lived within a few miles of Trelawney town, was remarkable. This gentleman, having a better opinion of the Maroons than they deserved, had employed one of their chief men to act as the overseer or superintendant of his plantation, whom he treated with singular kindness, and allowed him the same wages as would have been paid to a white person in the same capacity. Although, on the commencement of hostilities, this man had joined the insurgents, Mr. Gowdie continued to place a fatal dependance on his fidelity, and was induced to visit his own plantation, as often as his necessary attendance on military duty would allow. He had the most perfect confidence that his Maroon overseer would interfere to protect him from danger; yet did this barbarous villain come himself to the house of his benefactor, at the head of a band of savages, and having coolly informed Mr. Gowdie, that the Ma-

rooms had taken an oath, after their manner, to murder all the whites without distinction, he massacred both him and his nephew (the only white person with him) without compunction or remorse.

But, perhaps, no one circumstance in the course of this most unfortunate war excited greater indignation, or awakened more general sympathy, than the death of colonel Fitch, who notwithstanding the recent example of colonel Sandford's fate, perished nearly in the same manner as that unfortunate officer had done; being like him surprised by an enemy in ambush. On the 12th of September he went out with a detachment of the 83d regiment, consisting of thirty-two men, to relieve some distant out-posts; at one of which he left a guard, and proceeded onwards with the rest of his men; but after getting about half a mile farther, he was attacked by a volley of musquetry from the bushes, and received a wound in the breast with which he dropt. After expressing a wish, and receiving assurances, that he should not fall alive into the hands of the merciless savages, he raised himself up; when another ball took place in the forehead, which instantly put an end to his life. A corporal and three privates of the 83d, and two negro servants, were also killed, and captain Leigh and nine of the party wounded; and if the guard, which had been left behind, had not pushed forward to their assistance, immediately on hearing the firing, not one of the whole detachment would have escaped with life; two of them actually fell into the hands of the enemy, and were put to death with circumstances of outrageous barbarity, and captain Leigh afterwards

died of his wounds. The misfortune of this day was aggravated too by a circumstance, which, though shocking to relate, must not be omitted, as it strongly marks the base and ferocious character of the Maroons. When the remains of colonel Fitch were found, a day or two afterwards, by a party sent to give them the rights of sepulture, it was perceived that the head had been separated from the body, and was entombed *in the ill-fated officers own bowels!*

It now became evident, that it would prove a work of greater difficulty than was imagined, to stop the depredations which were daily and hourly committed by this horde of savages, and it was allowed that extraordinary measures were necessary in order to counteract their constant practice of planting ambushes. Neither the courage nor conduct of the best disciplined troops in the world could always avail against men, who, lurking in secret like the tygers of Africa, (themselves unseen), had no object but murder. The legislative bodies of the island were soon to meet, and the hopes of the whole community rested on their councils.

SECTION IV.

The general assembly was convened the latter end of September, and their first deliberations were directed to the subject of the Maroon rebellion, with a solicitude equal to its importance. On this occasion it was natural to recur to the experience of former times, and to inquire into the measures that had been successfully adopted in the long and bloody war, which previous to the treaty of 1738, had been carried on against the same enemy. The expedient which had then been resorted to, of employing dogs to discover the concealment of the Maroons, and prevent the fatal effects which resulted from their mode of fighting in ambuscade, was recommended as a fit example to be followed in the present conjuncture; and it being known that the Spanish Americans possessed a certain species of those animals, which it was judged would be proper for such a service, the assembly resolved to send to the island of Cuba for one hundred of them, and to engage a sufficient number of the Spanish huntsmen, to attend and direct their operations. The employment to which these dogs are generally put by the Spaniards, is the pursuit of wild bullocks, which they slaughtered for their hides; and the great use of the dog is to drive the cattle from such heights and recesses in the mountainous parts of the country, as are least accessible to the hunters.

The assembly were not unapprized that the measure of calling in such auxiliaries, and urging the canine species to the pursuit of human beings, would probably give rise to much observation and animadversion in the mother-country: Painful experience on other occasions, had taught them, that their conduct in the present case, would be scrutinized with all the rigid and jealous circumspection, which ignorance and hatred, and envy and malice, and pretended humanity, and fanaticism, could exercise. The horrible enormities of the Spaniards in the conquest of the New world, would be brought again to remembrance. It is mournfully true, that dogs were used by those Christian barbarians against the peaceful and inoffensive Americans, and the just indignation of all mankind has ever since branded, and will continue to brand the Spanish nation with infamy, for such atrocities. It was foreseen, and strongly urged as an argument against recurring to the same weapon in the present case, that the prejudices of party and the virulent zeal of faction and bigotry, would place the proceedings of the assembly on this occasion, in a point of view equally odious with the conduct of Spain on the same blood-stained theatre, in times past. No reasonable allowance would be made for the wide difference existing between the two cases. Some gentlemen even thought that the co-operation of dogs with British troops, would give not only a cruel but also a very dastardly complexion to the proceedings of government.

To these, and similar objections it was answered, that the safety of the island, and the lives of the inhabitants were not to be sacrificed to perverse mis-

construction or wilful misrepresentation in the mother country. It was maintained that the grounds of the measure needed only to be fully examined into, and fairly stated, to induce all reasonable men to admit its propriety and necessity. To hold it as a principle, that it is an act of cruelty or cowardice in man to employ other animals as instruments of war, is a position contradicted by the practice of all nations.—The Asiatics have ever used elephants in their battles; and if lions and tygers possessed the docility of the elephant, no one can doubt that these also would be made to assist the military operations of man, in those regions of which they are inhabitants. Even the use of cavalry, as established among the most civilized and polished nations of Europe, must be rejected, if this principle be admitted; for wherein, it was asked, does the humanity of that doctrine consist, which allows the employment of troops of horse in the pursuit of discomfited and flying infantry; yet shrinks at the preventive measure of sparing the effusion of human blood, by tracing with hounds the haunts of murderers, and rousing from ambush savages more ferocious and blood-thirsty than the animals which track them?

The merits of the question, it was said, depended altogether on the origin and cause of the war; and the objects sought to be obtained by its continuance; and the authority of the first writers on public law, was adduced in support of this construction. “If the cause and end of war (says Paley*) be justifiable, all

* Moral Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 417.

the means that appear necessary to that end are justifiable also. This is the principle which defends those extremities to which the violence of war usually proceeds: for since war is a contest by force between parties who acknowledge no common superior, and since it includes not in its idea the supposition of any convention which should place limits to the operations of force, it has naturally no boundary but that in which force terminates; the destruction of the life against which the force is directed." It was allowed (with the same author) that gratuitous barbarities borrow no excuse from the license of war, of which kind is every cruelty and every insult that serves only to exasperate the sufferings, or to incense the hatred of an enemy, without weakening his strength, or in any manner tending to procure his submission; such as the slaughter of captives, the subjecting them to indignities or torture, the violation of women, and in general the destruction or defacing of works that conduce nothing to annoyance or defence. These enormities are prohibited not only by the practice of civilized nations, but by the law of nature itself; as having no proper tendency to accelerate the termination, or accomplish the object of the war; and as containing that which in peace and war; is equally unjustifiable, namely, *ultimate and gratuitous mischief*.—Now all these very enormities were practised, not by the Whites against the Maroons, but by the Maroons themselves against the Whites. Humanity therefore, it was said, was no way concerned in the sort of expedient that was proposed, or any other, by which such an enemy could most speedily be extirpated. They were not an unarmed, innocent and defenceless

race of men, like the ancient Americans; but a banditti of assassins: and tenderness towards such an enemy, was cruelty to all the rest of the community.

Happily, in the interval between the determination of the assembly to procure the Spanish dogs, and the actual arrival of those auxiliaries from Cuba, such measures were pursued as promised to render their assistance altogether unnecessary.—On the death of colonel Fitch, the chief conduct of the war, in the absence of the governor, was entrusted to major general Walpole, an officer whose indefatigable zeal and alacrity, whose gallantry, circumspection, and activity, in a very short time gave a new aspect to affairs, and reduced the enemy to the last extremity. Although the country to which the Maroons retired, was perhaps the strongest and most impracticable of any on the face of the earth, it was entirely destitute of springs and rivers. All the water which the rains had left in the hollows of the rocks was exhausted, and the enemy's only resource was in the leaves of the *wild pine*; a wonderful contrivance, by which Divine Providence has rendered the sterile and rocky deserts of the torrid zone in some degree habitable:*

* The botanical name is *Tillandsia maxima*. It is not, properly speaking, a tree, but a plant, which fixes itself and takes root on the body of a tree, commonly in the fork of the greater branches of the wild cotton tree. By the conformation of its leaves, it catches and retains water from every shower. Each leaf resembles a spout, and forms at its base a natural bucket or reservoir, which contains about a quart of pure water, where it remains perfectly secure, both from the wind and the sun; yielding refreshment to the thirsty traveller in places where water is not otherwise to be procured.

but even this resource was at length exhausted, and the sufferings of the rebels, for want both of water and food, were excessive. By the unremitting diligence and indefatigable exertions of the troops, all or most of the passes to other parts of the country were effectually occupied; and a perseverance in the same system must, it was thought, soon force the enemy to an unconditional surrender.

In spite of all these precautions, however, a rebel captain of the name of Johnson, found means to conduct a small detachment of the Maroons into the parish of St. Elizabeth, and to set fire to many of the plantations in that fertile district. His first attempt was against the habitation of a Mr. M'Donald, whose neighbour, a Mr. Haldane, together with his son, hastened to his assistance. The elder Haldane unfortunately fell by a musket ball, but the son shot the Maroon dead that fired it, and carried his wounded father in his arms to a place of safety, where he happily recovered.—The Maroons were repulsed; but proceeding to a plantation of Dr. Brooks, they burnt the buildings to the ground, and killed two white men. They left, however, a white woman and her infant unmolested; and as this was the first instance of tenderness shewn by the rebels to women and children, it was imputed rather to the consciousness of their inability to continue the war, and the hopes of getting better terms on a treaty by this act of lenity, than to any change in their disposition.

The earl of Balcarres, as soon as the business of the assembly would allow him to be absent from the

capital, returned in person to the scene of action, and it is impossible to speak of his, and general Walpole's exertions, in terms of sufficient approbation, or to convey any just idea of the fatigues and hardships which the troops underwent, without entering into a copious detail of the various enterprizes and skirmishes that ensued, and the difficulties they had to encounter from the nature of the country. The line of operation extended upwards of twenty miles in length, through tracks and glades of which the military term *défile*, gives no adequate conception. The caves in which the Maroons concealed their ammunition and provisions, and secured their women and children, were inaccessible to the whites. The place called the *Cock-pits* before mentioned, could be reached only by a path down a steep rock one hundred and fifty feet in almost perpendicular height. Strange as it may appear, this obstacle was surmounted by the Maroons without difficulty. Habituated to employ their naked feet with singular effect, in climbing up trees and precipices, they had acquired a dexterity in the practice, which to British troops was altogether astonishing and wholly inimitable. On the other hand, all the officers and privates, both of the regulars and militia, from a well founded confidence in their chief commanders, seem to have felt a noble emulation which should most distinguish themselves for zeal in the cause, obedience to orders, and a cheerful alacrity in pushing forward on every service of difficulty and danger; sustaining without a murmur many extraordinary hardships; among which, distress for want of water, and thirst even to extremity, were none of the least.

It was easily foreseen that a perseverance in the same line of conduct, must ultimately prove successful; and intimations were at length received, by means of enslaved negroes whom the Maroons had forced into their service, and purposely dismissed, that they were extremely desirous of an accommodation, on any terms short of capital punishment, or transportation from the country. They expressed a willingness, it was said, to deliver up their arms, and all the fugitive slaves that had joined them, to surrender their lands, and intermix with the general body of free blacks, in such parts of the country as the colonial government should approve. Although these overtures were evidently dictated by deprecation and despair; it was the opinion of many wise and worthy men among the inhabitants, that they ought to be accepted; and it was said that general Walpole himself concurred in the same sentiment. It was urged that the war, if continued on the only principle by which it could be maintained, must be a war of extermination. Some few of the Maroons, however, would probably, elude the last pursuit of vengeance; and these would form a central point to which the runaway negroes would resort. Thus hostilities would be perpetuated for ever; and it was observed that a single Maroon, in the season of crop, with no other weapon than a firebrand, might destroy the cane-fields of many opulent parishes, and consume in a few hours, property of immense value. To these considerations was to be added the vast expense of continuing the war. The country had already expended £.500,000, exclusive of the loss which was sustained by individual proprietors, consequent on the remo-

val from their plantations of all the white servants, to attend military duty. In the meanwhile, cultivation was suspended, the courts of law had long been shut up; and the island at large seemed more like a garrison, under the power of the law-martial, than a country of agriculture and commerce, of civil judicature, industry and prosperity.

On the other hand, it was loudly declared, that a compromise with a lawless banditti who had slaughtered so many excellent men, and had murdered in cold blood even women in child-bed, and infants at the breast, was a shameful sacrifice of the public honour; a total disregard to the dictates of justice; an encouragement to the rest of the Maroons to commit similar outrages, and a dreadful example to the negroes in servitude; tending to impress on their minds an idea, not of the lenity of the whites, but of their inability to punish such atrocious offenders. It was alleged withal, that the rebel Maroons were not themselves seriously desirous of such an accommodation. Their only purpose was to gain time, and procure an opportunity to get into better quarters; judging, perhaps, that the militia of the country, a large proportion of whom were at the distance of one hundred miles from their places of residence, would soon be tired of the contest. Many facts were indeed related, and some strong circumstances adduced, which gave a colour to this charge; and proved, that the Maroons had not altogether relinquished their hopes of creating a general revolt among the enslaved negroes. Such an event was not likely to happen, while the country continued in arms. The dismissal of the

troops, on the fallacious idea of an accommodation with the Maroons, would alone, it was said, realize the danger.

Fortunately for all parties, this unnatural and destructive revolt, was brought to a happy termination much sooner than might have been apprehended. On the 14th of December, the commissioner who went to the Havanna for assistance, arrived at Montego bay with forty *chasseurs* or Spanish hunters (chiefly people of colour) and about one hundred Spanish dogs. Such extraordinary accounts were immediately spread of the terrific appearance, and savage nature of these animals, as made an impression on the minds of the negroes that was equally surprising and unexpected.*

Whether these reports were propagated through folly or design, they had certainly a powerful and very salutary effect on the fears of the rebel Maroons, a large party of whom now displayed strong and indubitable evidences of terror, humiliation, and submission, and renewed their solicitations for peace with great earnestness and anxiety. A negotiation was at length opened, and a treaty concluded on the 21st of December, of which the chief articles were, 1st,

* Though these dogs are not in general larger than the shepherds dogs in Great Britain, (which in truth they much resemble), they were represented as equal to the mastiff in bulk, to the bull-dog in courage, to the blood-hound in scent, and to the grey-hound in agility. If entire credit had been given to the description that was transmitted through the country of this extraordinary animal, it might have been supposed, that the Spaniards had obtained the ancient and genuine breed of *Cerberus* himself, the many headed monster that guarded the infernal regions.

That the Maroons should, on their knees, ask the king's pardon. 2dly, That they should fix their future residence in such part of the island, as the legislature should point out: And 3dly, That they should deliver up all the fugitive negro slaves that had joined them. On these conditions it was stipulated and agreed, that their lives should be granted them, and that they should not be transported from the island; and they were allowed ten days to collect their families and perform the treaty.

So great however was the terror of these wretched people, arising from the consciousness of their enormities, or their unaccountable infatuation, that only twenty-one of their number surrendered by the time limited; and thirteen others three days afterwards.

On the 14th of January, therefore, orders were issued from the commander in chief to general Walpole, to march without further delay against the rebels. These orders were punctually obeyed; but from regard to humanity, the Spanish dogs were ordered in the rear of the army. The effect, however, was immediate. General Walpole had advanced but a short way in the woods, when a supplication for mercy was brought him from the enemy, and two hundred and sixty of them soon afterwards surrendered *on no other condition than a promise of their lives*. It is pleasing to observe, that not a drop of blood was spilt after the dogs arrived in the island.

Some of the young men, however, still held out, and it was not until the middle of March that the

rebellion was entirely extinguished by the surrender of the whole body; *nor even then, or at any time before, were any of the fugitive negroes that had joined them delivered up.*

It might be supposed therefore, that no question could have arisen whether the treaty was observed or not, on the part of the Maroons. Nevertheless it did so happen, that doubts on this head were suggested on such respectable authority, as induced the commander in chief, with great prudence and propriety, to leave the whole matter to the investigation and determination of the council and assembly, who appointed a joint and secret committee to receive evidence and report on the facts before them.

On the report of this committee the assembly, by a majority of 21 to 13, came to the following resolutions, among others, viz.

“ That all the Maroons who surrendered after the first of January, not having complied with the terms of the treaty, are not entitled to the benefit thereof, and ought to be shipped off the island; but that they ought to be sent to a country in which they will be free, and such as may be best calculated, by situation, to secure the island against the danger of their return; that they ought to be provided with suitable clothing and necessaries for the voyage, and maintained at the public expense of this island for a reasonable time after their arrival at the place of their destination.

“ That it is the opinion of this house, that as there may be among the rebels a few who, by their repentance, services, and good behaviour, since their surrender, have merited protection and favour, it be recommended to the lieutenant-governor to permit such to remain in the island, together with their wives and children ; and to distinguish them by any other marks of favour he may think proper.”

Of the policy of ridding the country of such an enemy (admitting the justice of the war on the part of the whites) there could not have been, I should have thought, but one opinion. After such a war, carried on in such a manner, it is impossible to believe, that a cordial reconciliation between the White inhabitants and the Maroons could ever have taken place. The latter would probably have continued a sullen, subjugated people, employed only in seducing the enslaved negroes from their fidelity, and ready to revolt themselves, whenever occasion should offer. “ No country on earth,” says Rutherford, “ would suffer a body of men to live within its territories, unless they would agree to be accountable to its laws, as far as the general security requires.” To expect such conduct from the Maroons was to manifest a total ignorance of their disposition. The determination therefore of the legislature of the colony to transport these people from the island being thus fixed, it remains only to point out in what manner it was enforced.

In the beginning of June 1796, his majesty's ship the *Dover*, with two transports in company, having on board the Trelawney Maroons, (in number about six hundred), provided with all manner of necessaries, as well for their accommodation at sea, as for the change of climate, sailed from Blue-fields in Jamaica, for Halifax in North America. They were accompanied by William Dawes Quarrell, and Alexander Ouchterlony, Esquires, commissioners appointed by the assembly, with authority and instructions (subject to his majesty's approbation and further orders) to purchase lands in Nova Scotia, Lower Canada, or where else his Majesty should please to appoint, for the future establishment and subsistence of those Maroons as a free people. The commissioners had orders withal, to provide them the means of a comfortable maintenance, until they were habituated to the country and climate. The sum of £,25,000 was allowed by the assembly for those purposes. They arrived at Halifax in the month of July, and the following letter from Sir John Wentworth, Bart. the governor of the province, to a friend in London, dated the 10th of November, 1796, will convey to the reader, the clearest and most satisfactory account of their reception in the province, and of the measures happily adopted for their future establishment and improvement. With this letter, which I have been permitted to copy from the original, I shall close my account.

“The Maroons are now comfortably settled, and their situation will be daily improving. They are

hitherto quiet, orderly and contented. I have long had experience useful for this occasion, and have not a doubt, but that these will be an happy and useful people. In this country they can do no harm; nor do they seem disposed to do any. They are exceedingly attached to me. I have appointed a missionary and chaplain, with an assistant teacher, to perform the service of the Church of England; to instruct them in Christianity, and to teach the youth and children to read, write, and cypher. Last Sunday I attended public worship in their chapel, at opening the church. The Maroons were particularly attentive, decent, and most exceedingly delighted. Next Sunday many are to be baptized, and the remainder in due course. They are solicitous for this duty, and appear desirous of instruction, from whence civilization will naturally result. The climate is and will be salutary to them. The children were emaciated, and most of the adults worn down by war, imprisonment, and sea-sickness; they are now healthy, strong, and as hearty as any white people in the province. They are therefore, and I have no doubt will continue to be, infinitely benefited by their removal to Nova Scotia; and the most judicious and sensible among them, are perfectly satisfied, and happy in their future prospects."

The following Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly, are added by way of Illustration.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

Friday, April 22, 1796.

RESOLVED, *nem. con.* That the Receiver General do remit the sum of seven hundred guineas to the agent of the island, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to the Right Hon. ALEXANDER Earl of BALCARRES, as a testimony of the grateful sense which the house entertain of his distinguished services, displayed both in the field and cabinet; and under whose auspices, by the blessing of Divine Providence, a happy and complete termination has been put to a most dangerous rebellion of the Trelawney town Maroons, whereby the general value of property, as well as security of the island, have been highly augmented.

ORDERED, That a copy of the above resolution be sent to his honour the lieutenant governor.

RESOLVED, *nem. con.* That Mr. Speaker be requested to present the thanks of the house to the Hon. Major General WALPOLE; for the signal services performed by him to this island, in the late rebellion of the Trelawney town Maroons.

RESOLVED, *nem. con.* That the Receiver General do remit to the agent of this island, five hundred guineas, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to the Hon. Major General WALPOLE; as a testimony of the grateful sense which the house entertain of his important services and distinguished merit, in the suppression of the late rebellion of the Trelawney town Maroons.

RESOLVED, *nem. con.* That Mr. Speaker be requested to give the thanks of the house to the brave officers and privates of the regulars and militia, for their gallant services to the island, during the late rebellion of the Trelawney town Maroons; and that the Commander in Chief, under whose auspices they fought, be requested by Mr. Speaker, to communicate the high sense which the house entertain of their distinguished merit.

Thursday, April 28.

A motion being made, that a committee be appointed to inquire and report to the house the names of such persons as have fallen in battle during the late rebellion, that a monument may be erected to perpetuate their memories, and the gratitude of this country for their eminent services;

ORDERED, That Mr. Fitch, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Mathison, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Hodges, be a committee for that purpose.

Saturday, April 30.

The Lieutenant-Governor's answer to the message from the house, with the resolution of the 22d instant.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

The present you have made me, by your unanimous resolution of the 22d instant, is inestimable.

A soldier's honour, with emblem and emphasis, is placed in his sword; and I shall transmit your precious gift to my posterity, as an everlasting mark of the reverence, the attachment, and the gratitude, I bear to the island of Jamaica.

BALCARRES.

The following address was this day presented to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor:

WE, his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to offer to your Honour, our most sincere and cordial congratulations on the happy and complete termination of the rebellion of the Trelawney town Maroons.

This great and important event must be productive of substantial benefits and salutary consequences to the country, in every point of view in which it can be contemplated: tranquillity and the enjoyment of our civil rights, are restored; public credit, so essential to the support of government, and to the prosperity, if not to the very existence of the country, is re-established, and our internal security greatly increased and confirmed.

From all these inestimable advantages, we look forward with confidence to the augmentation of the value of property, which is likely to take place; and which, in time, we trust will compensate all the losses and expenditure of treasure unavoidably incurred in the prosecution of the war.

It is with peculiar satisfaction and gratitude we acknowledge the lively impression made on us by the energy displayed by your lordship in the difficult operations of war: which affords the most convincing proof, that the zeal, ardour, and activity manifested in your military conduct, have only been equalled by the sound policy, and decisive measures, which marked the wisdom of your councils.

HIS HONOUR'S ANSWER.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.

Your address excites in my bosom every sensation of pleasure the mind of man is capable of receiving.

The picture you have drawn of the future prosperity of the island, is strong and impressive.

After contemplating the unavoidable calamities of war, a sentiment arises, grateful and soothing to a feeling heart—

That, during your contest with an enemy the most ferocious that ever disgraced the annals of history :

That, during your contest with an army of savages, who have indiscriminately massacred every prisoner whom the fortune of war had placed in their power—no barbarity, nor a single act of retaliation, has sullied the brightness of your arms.

I pray that the energy, the vigour, and the humanity, which you have so honourably displayed, may descend to your children; and secure to them for ever, those blessings which you have hitherto enjoyed, under the mild and happy government of the illustrious house of Hanover.

☞ It must not be omitted (though I mention it with great concern) that major general Walpole, being dissatisfied with the resolution of the legislature to transport the Maroons from the country, declined the acceptance of the sword voted by the assembly.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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