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Catherine Tuthill.

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THE
H I S T O R Y,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES IN THE WEST INDIES.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ.
OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA:

V O L. 1.

DUBLIN:

LUKE WHITE.

M.DCC.XCIII.

1974

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

WEST INDIES

IN TWO VOLUMES

BY BARRON EDWARDS ESQ.

OF THE BOARD OF TRADE

VOL. II.

DUBLIN

PRINTED BY

W. SMITH

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,

LONDON,
3d June, 1793.

B. EDWARDS.

Miss Mary A. ...

THE ...

the ...

UNDER HIS AID AND ASSISTANCE
GOVERNMENT

THE ...

WITH HIS ...

MOST ...

BY HIS ...

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P R E F A C E,

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,

mate, 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

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 eloquence, 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 combinations.

I have

I have been induced to make this remark from perusing the Speculations of Monf. 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 entitled '*Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*' declares, with
unexampled

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 these 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 the author is sometimes chargeable with repugnancy and contradiction. Thus we are told that “the Americans are, in an amazing degree,

* Dr. Robertson.

† History of America, Vol. I. p. 289 and 283.

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 dissoluteness 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 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-

* History of America, Vol. I. p. 292. † P. 296.

‡ P. 290.

|| P. 294.

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, 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 before 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

* History of America, Vol. I. p. 405.

† P. 406.

‡ P. 407.

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 condolance*. 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, appears to be as little founded in nature, as it is supported by analogy.

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

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 remarkable 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 lord 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

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

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 could supply what I sought, I 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

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 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

ance 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 chearful readines with which they satisfied my enquiries, 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;

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 patronized 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 interest of truth and humanity, that *such* men would now frank-

ly acknowledge their error, and ingenuously own, that we have been most cruelly traduced, and ignominiously treated: 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.

P. S. The author has to observe, that the first part of the work was written before his Return to the West Indies in the beginning of 1787;—a considerable part while he was there, and the remainder, with most of the notes, since his return to Great Britain, in the autumn of 1792. It may possibly be found therefore, that events and changes of a political and commercial nature have taken place, during the time which elapsed in the progress of the work, that have passed unnoticed in it; and the author is apprehensive also, that there are in some of his pages, from the same cause, appearances of anachronism; which, however, it was impossible wholly to remove, without newly arranging and modelling the work throughout.

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A MAP of the
WEST INDIES
in the Year of 1780
— — — — —
By J. H. K. S. P.

Printed and Sold by J. H. K. S. P. at the ...
No. 10. in the Strand ...

THE
HISTORY,

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BOOK I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THEIR ANCIENT
STATE AND INHABITANTS.

CHAP. I.

*Geographical arrangement.—Name.—Climate.
—Sea-breeze, and Land-wind.—Beauty and
singularity of the vegetable and animal crea-
tion.—Magnificence and sublimity of the
mountains; reflections concerning their ori-
gin, &c.*

GEOGRAPHERS, following the distribu-
tion 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 to-
gether, and forming a rampart against the
encroachments of the Atlantic on the one side,
VOL. I. B and

CHAP.
I.

Arrange-
ment.

BOOK I. 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. *

Name. To that prodigious chain of Islands which extend in a curve from the Florida Shore on the Northern Peninsula, to the Gulph of Maracaybo on 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 persuaded was Columbus

* 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, and, having been first entered towards the South, might, perhaps, have derived its name from that circumstance.

† "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 *Sinae* 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

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**.

CHAP.

I.

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

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 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 Bartholomew 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.

BOOK or *Antiles*: the name (according to Charlevoix) of an imaginary country, placed in ancient charts about two hundred leagues to the Westward of 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

* 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, Curaçoa, Bonair, Margarita, and some others near the coast of Caracas 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; "Ophirân Insularum sese reperisse refert: sed Cosmographorum tractu diligenter considerato, *Antilia* Insulæ sunt illæ et adjacentes aliæ: hanc Hispaniolam appellavit, &c."

separated from the main Ocean to the North and to the East, by the Islands I have 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 Charaibbean Sea*. The latter takes its name from that class of Islands which bound this latter 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, 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 Charaibbean 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 †.

Neither

* 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 India Islands in general, frequently distinguish them also into two classes, by the terms *Barlovento* and *Sotavento*, from whence our *Windward* and *Leeward* Islands; the Charaibbean 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 Charaibbean Islands only, subdividing them according

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I.

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 honour 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.

Climate.

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.

A tropical year seems properly to comprehend but two distinct seasons; the *wet* and the

cording 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.

* Guanahani. The whole group is called by the Spaniards *Lucayos*.

the *dry*; but as the rains in these climates constitute two great periods, I shall describe it, like the European year, under four divisions.

CHAP.

I.

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 75°.

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

80°.

BOOK 80°. I have seldom observed it higher than
 L 85° at noon, nor much below 75° at sun-rise.

The nights at this season are transcendently beautiful. The clearness of the heavens, the serenity of the air, and the soft tranquillity in which Nature repofes, 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*.

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 90°, and instead of a steady and refreshing wind from the sea, there are

* 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.

are usually faint breezes and calms alternately. CHAP.
I.
 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

BOOK
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 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 December to March, 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

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.

Of 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 having been traced and displayed with great diligence and accuracy by Dr. Halley, and repeated 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*.

But

* The account thus given of the land-wind, is chiefly in the words of Dr. Franklin, whose description is so precise

BOOK

I.

But I now turn to scenes of uncommon variety and lustre; to a retrospect of these islands as they must have appeared to the first discoverers; than which, beheld from the sea, no objects in nature could have been more striking to the imagination; not only from the novelty of the scene, but also from the beauty of the smaller islands, and the sublimity of the larger, whose 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 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) 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 bottom. The banks of this river are embellished with lofty palm-trees, whose shade gives a delicious freshness 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

to settle there, if I had not been informed that the air was not so pure 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 air of the mountains is not sufficiently dense to check the current which flows from the sea.

* In Cuba.

tion of staying here the remainder of my
 days; for believe me, Sire, these countries
 far surpass all the rest of the world in plea-
 sure and conveniency; and I have frequent-
 ly observed to my people, that, with all my
 endeavours to convey to your Majesty an
 adequate idea of the charming objects which
 continually present themselves to our view,
 the description will fall greatly short of the
 reality."

CHAP.
I.

How ill informed, or prejudiced, are those late 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 vegetation. 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

* 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

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I.

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; nor does it 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 underwood, 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 great Father of mankind has displayed his

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 over-run 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.

* 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.

his goodness even in the structure and formation of the trees themselves; for, 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 concave, 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 tropical 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

* The wild cotton tree.

† 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:

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I.

feffed 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, 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 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

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.

* 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 fifteen 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 Terre respecting Marisico and St. Lucia) that all the Islands are providentially exempted from this evil. Nevertheless it must be admitted, that the circum-

stance

of prey, to desolate their vallies. 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

CHAP.

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of

stance 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.

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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 maccaw to the perroquet, 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 blended 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,

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beetle, and appearing the link which connects the bird and insect creation.

CHAP.
I.

It has been frequently observed, 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 of music which in the vernal season renders every grove in Great Britain delightful, is unknown to the shades of equatorial 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 can-

BOOK not indeed be compared; but some of these
 I rise, nevertheless, in amazing grandeur, and
 are among the first objects that fix the atten-
 tion of the voyager. The mountains of His-
 paniola in particular, whose wavy ridges are
 descried from sea at the distance of thirty
 leagues, towering far above the clouds in stu-
 pendous 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 top-
 most 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, co-
 vering the whole face of the vallies. Its boun-
 daries being perfectly distinct, and visibly cir-
 cumscribed, 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 in-
 dustry, heightened and embellished by the full
 blaze of a tropical sun. In the equatorial sea-
 son, scenes of still greater magnificence fre-
 quently 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

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 every the most minute particular, 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. 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 volcanos and earthquakes: "the
" Almighty,"

CHAP.
I.

BOOK I. "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 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

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

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 these strata cannot have been the effect of a sudden revolution, but of causes slow, gradual, and successive in their operations. To the 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 the great changes which have happened in the original structure of our globe, and the rise of many of those heights and inequalities which in some parts embellish, and in others (to our limited view at least) deface it.

But by what means did these materials, when accumulated together, and raised to the utmost reach of the surrounding fluid, still continue to increase till they became elevated to the height at which we now behold the Alps and the Andes? Who can believe that the ocean, on Mr. Buffon's system, has at any time lifted up his waves to the peak of Teneriff, or the snows of Chimborazo*? These are points that mock our researches; for conjectures are endless,

* The highest of the Andes.

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 endless, and the labours of the wisest of men afford but a glimmering of light to direct us in tracing the wonders of creation. They who seem best qualified to contemplate the works of the Deity, will most readily acknowledge that it is not for men to unfold the page of Omnipotence!—Happy, if to conscious ignorance they add humble adoration.

 C H A P. 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 enquire after those

those inhabitants to whose support and conveyance they were chiefly found subservient, when they first came to the knowledge of Europe. CHAP.
II.

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 Antiles 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 above-mentioned, 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

BOOK. servable between the inhabitants of the larger
 L 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 discovered 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 Essequebe, 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

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

† Herrera, lib. ix. chap. ii.

‡ Bancroft's *History of Guiana*, p. 259.

§ Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 668.

|| P. Martyr, *Decad.* 2. lib. i.

stantly to Guiana*. It does not appear that they entertained the most remote idea of a Northern ancestry.

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It may be thought, perhaps, that the Continental Charaibes, were themselves emigrants from the Northern 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 †.

Enquiries 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 those 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,

* 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.

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

BOOK I. searches, 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 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 †.

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* 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 châtimens levés sur sa tête, et la violence toujours prêt

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 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

"à être soutenue par la politique et la sûreté publique?
 "Peut on juger de la valeur, quand elle est enchainée, et
 "sans armes?"—Voyage a la Martinique, p. 58.

* 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 contemporary 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 25 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, wounded several of the Spaniards although they had targets as well as other defensive armour, and even after the canoe was overset, 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.

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II.

BOOK I. tury 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 possession of the Charibes, 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 Borriquen (or Porto Rico) who, having been brought captives from thence, were reserved as victims for the same horrid purpose.‡

Thus

* 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

Thus far it must be confessed, the disposition of the Charaibes leaves no very favourable impression on 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.—The custom of eating the bodies of those they had slain in battle excites our abhorrence, yet it may be doubted whether this abhorrence does not arise as much from the bias of our education, as from the spontaneous and original dictates of our nature. It is allowed that with regard to the people of Europe, whenever any of them had acquired their confidence,

it

other tribe of Indians in Guiana eat human flesh but the Charaibes. Amongst these, the proof that this practice still subsists is incontestible.

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

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

BOOK I. 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*.

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 condition, and finding resistance or escape hopeless, sought refuge in death from the calamities of it †.

To this principle of conscious equality and native dignity, must be imputed the contempt which they manifested for the inventions and improvements

* Bancroft, p. 359.

† 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.

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, 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 quick-

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ness,

* Du Tertre, tom. ii. † Rochefort, c. xi.

‡ Ibid, c. xxii.

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ness, and a wildness in their eyes, that seemed an emanation from a fierce and martial spirit. But, not satisfied with the workmanship of nature, they called in the assistance of art, to make themselves more formidable. They painted their faces and bodies with arnotto so extravagantly, that it was with difficulty their natural complexion, which was nearly that of a Spanish olive, was discoverable 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 of the nostrils, and inserted the bone of some fish, a parrot's feather, or a fragment of tortoiseshell †,—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

* 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. "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, liv. ii. c. ix. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 539.

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

§ Hawketworth's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 171.

in battle, and wore them on their legs and arms, as trophies of successful cruelty *.

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

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towards

* Gumilla, tom. i. p. 193.

† 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 pledges 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 d'Alger d'un Voyageur, &c. par M. de la Gondamine*, and Bancroft's Hist. of Guiana.)

* Rochefort, c. xx. p. 559.

† Ordo, lib. iii.

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 towards the Arowauks. The means which they adopted for these purposes were in 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 records the prevalence

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

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

valence of a similar custom among the Lacedæmonians. "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 excruciating; 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, however, experience had taught them that subordination as was requisite as courage; they therefore elected their captains in their general assemblies with great solemnity †; but, as hath been observed, they put their pretensions

* Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xix. p. 519. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1162. Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 286. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 297, et seq.

† Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

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tenfions to the proof with circumftances of outrageous barbarity:—the recital however is difgufting, and may well be fuppreffed.

If it appears ftrange that where fo little was to be gained by preheminance, fo much fhould be fo willingly endured to obtain it, it muft be confidered that, in the eftimation of the candidate, the reward was doubtlefs more than adequate to the coft of the purchafe. If fuccefs attended his meafures, the feaft and the triumph awaited his return. He exchanged his name a fecond time; affuming in future that of the moft formidable Arrowauk that had fallen by his hand*. He was permitted to appropriate to himfelf, as many of the captives as he thought fit, and his countrymen prefented to his choice the moft beautiful of their daughters in reward of his valour †.

It was probably this laft mentioned testimony of public eftem and gratitude that gave rife in thefe Iflands to the inftitution of polygamy, which, as hath been already obferved, prevailed univerfally among them, and ftill prevails among the Charaibes of South America ‡;—an inftitution the more excufeable, as their women from religious motives, carefully avoided the nuptial intercourfe after pregnancy ||. I am forry to add, that the condition of thefe poor creatures was at the fame time truly wretched. Though frequently beftowed as the prize of fuccefsful courage, the wife thus honourably obtained, was foon confider-

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* Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

† Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 546.

‡ Bancroft, p. 254.

|| Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 548. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p.

ed 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 hamack*; nor were they allowed even the privilege of eating in presence of their husbands†: Under all these cruel circumstances it is not wonderful that they were far 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 ||.

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

* 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 as I do not find this fact recorded by any other writer, and because 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 before they had any intercourse with the Christians they had no established punishment for adulte-

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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 not sufficient materials to enable us to form a full and correct idea. We know but little for instance concerning their domestic œconomy, their arts, manufactures and agriculture; their sense of filial and paternal obligations, or 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 surrounded the small of each leg*. A distinction, however, which such of their females as had been taken in

ry, 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'excès, 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.

* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 446. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159. Labat, tom. ii. p. 12.

in the chance of war, dared not aspire to*. CHAP. II.
 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 clothing thought necessary to personal comfort, where the chill blast of winter was never felt.

Their hair was uniformly of a shining black, strait 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 respectable writers, but after much enquiry, and some instances of ocular inspection, I am satisfied that it is groundless.

The circumstance the most remarkable concerning their persons, was their strange practice of altering the natural configuration of the head.

* 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.

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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 the men (excluding the women) had their meals in common; "observing that law" (saith the Earl of Cumberland, who visited these Islands in 1596) "which in Lyncurgus's mouth was thought strange and needless §." These halls were also the theatres where their youth were animated to emulation and trained to martial

* 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.

§ Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159.

martial enterprize by the renown of their warriors, and the harangues of their orators. CHAP.
II.

Their arts and manufactures, though few, displayed a degree of ingenuity which one would have scarcely expected to have found 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 frequently 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 œconomical purposes, which are enumerated by Labat. The baskets which

* 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 *hammack*;—but Dr. Johnson derives the English word *hammock* from the Saxon.

‡ 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.”

BOOK I. which they composed of the fibres of the palmeto leaves, were singularly elegant, and we are told that their bows and arrows, 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.—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

* Bancroft, p. 254. † Gumilla, tom. i. p. 265.

‡ Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 22, 70, 237. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 515.

§ Rochefort, liv. ii. c. 16.

Labat observes that they scrupled likewise to eat the eel, which the rivers, in several of the islands, supply in great plenty*.

CHAP.
II.

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 Charibes 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 at first appears extraordinary and incredible, but it is too strongly attested by historians 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 ceremony 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

* Labat, tom. iv. p. 304.

† Gumilla, Adair, Du Tertre, and others.

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

BOOK
I.

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 it; for the ceremony 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

* Lafitau, tom. i. p. 257.

† 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.

No light, but rather darkness visible,
Serves only to discover sighs of woe:

CHAP.
II.

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 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 obnoxious to 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

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

p. 372.

† Rochefort, c. xiv. p. 484. Du Tertre, c. ii. p. 412.

Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1274

ments that disgrace manhood;—and this disgrace they supposed would be heightened by the greatest of all afflictions, captivity and servitude among the Arrowauks*.

One would imagine that the 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,” 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 energy 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 different representation in this respect, and allow that the Charaibes entertained an awful sense (perplexed indeed 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

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* Rochefort, c. xiv. p. 485.

† 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 descended, named the Supreme Being *Tamouffé*, or *Universal Father*.—Barrere.

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 symbols probably of their invisible Deities, to whom they offered sacrifices, similar to those of the ancient Romans 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.

VOL. I.

E

Strange

* Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 471.

† 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 journeys, 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.

BOOK I. 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 though they did not maintain the doctrine of pure Theism, yet their idolatry was probably founded on circumstances, the moral influence of which has not hitherto, I think, 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 also be remembered, that in these climates the tremendous irregularities of nature are dreadfully frequent;—the hurricane that sweeps nations to the deep, and the earthquake that swallows continents in his 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, it is not wonderful that 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, should fondly wish 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 encreasing, 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 entrusted,

entrusted, and its adorations paid: and while we lament the blindness of these poor savages, and exult in our own superiority in this respect, 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 they offered to them 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

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unequal.

* *De Terre*, tom. ii. p. 365.

BOOK I. unequal. 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; but the lesser calamities of daily occurrence,—the various appearances of physical and moral evil which hourly embitter 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 lustre on the Christian religion, if they serve not as a collateral evidence of its divine origin.

A minute detail of the rites and ceremonies which these and other religious tenets gave birth to 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

* Bishop of Chester's Sermons.

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roms of the ancient inhabitants 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 important 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 reciprocal hostility;

BOOK I. 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 refinement.—Still however, 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.

C H A P. 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 many cotemporary 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

BOOK
I.

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 enquiry 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 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 enquire.

In estimating the number of our islanders, when first discovered by Columbus, historians widely differ. Las Casas computes them at

* P. Martyr, Decad. iii. lib. x.

fix 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 hope that 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 those heads, will conclude the present chapter.

I. Both

BOOK

I.

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*, and they were universally graceful and well proportioned. 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, 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

* Oviedo, Som.

† F. Col. c. xxiii.

‡ The *fontanel*, or fore-part of the head from the eyebrows 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.

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 beauty, 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 strongly 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

* 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 Baxtere observes, *ils sont lubriques au suprême degré.*"

BOOK ^{1.} this cause 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 enquirer will still hesitate to subscribe*.

That

* "The venereal disease" (says Oviedo) "was certainly introduced into Europe from these islands, where the best medicine for the cure of it, the *Gaiacum*, 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 honor 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 deeply into this subject; neither does the full in-

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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, says Herrera, to dance from evening to the dawn;

vestigation 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. Transactions*, 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. Forster 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 stowholder 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.

BOOK dawn; and although fifty thousand men and
 I. 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 pub-
 lic dances (for they had others, highly licen-
 tious) were appropriated to particular solemn-
 ities, and being accompanied with historical
 songs, were called *Arietoes*; a singular feature
 in their political institutions, of which I shall
 presently speak.

Besides the exercise of dancing, another di-
 version 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 alternatively changed
 places, and the sport consisted in dexterously
 throwing and returning from one party to the
 other, an elastic ball; which however was not
 caught in the hand, or returned with an in-
 strument; but received on the head, the elbow,
 or the foot, and the dexterity and force with
 which it was thence repelled, was 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 of Europe, not only in bodily
 strength, but likewise in genius and natural en-
 dowments. This assertion has I think been
 advanced with more confidence than proof.

That

* Herrera, lib. ix. c. ii.

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

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

* Martyr. Herrera. P. Columbus, c. xxviii. xxxii. &c. &c.

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I.

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 proofs 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 surprise and admiration, he offered the Admiral (the tears flowing copiously down his cheeks as he spoke) all that he himself possessed, in reparation of his loss. †

This

* Martyr, Decad. i. lib. i.

† Fer. Col. c. xxxii. Herrera, Decad. i. lib. i. c. xviii.

This benevolence, unexampled in the history of civilized nations, was soon basely requited by the conduct of a band of robbers, whom Columbus, with no ill intention, 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, and gently conducting them into their habitations, seated them on stools of ebony curiously ornamented. These benches seem to have been seats of honor 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 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

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island

* Herrera, Decad. i. lib. ii. c. ix. Fer. Col. c. xl.

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

BOOK

II

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 Bebechio, 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 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,

* P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. v.

tiful, 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 distresses 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 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

BOOK of Leogane to the Westernmost part of the island,
 I. 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 all accountable to the supreme authority of Behechio*. They seem to have somewhat resembled the ancient barons or 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 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 Cuanahoa, 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 Charaibeian 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 unacquaint-

ed.

* P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. v.

† Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv.

‡ Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv.

§ Oviedo, lib. iii.

ed. 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 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; "Living 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

* P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ii. † Decad. iii. c. ix.

† Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

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according to priority of birth, succeeded to the father's honors; 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 brother, 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, alledging 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)

* Herrera, lib. vi. c. ii. † Herrera, lib. i. c. xvi.

‡ Martyr, Decad. i. c. i.

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

Oviedo) among these simple people the only 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 to 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 honor of the dead, than as incitements to the living.*

CHAP.
III.

These heroic effusions constituted a branch of those solemnities, which, as hath been observed, were called *Arietoes*; 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 gentleness in peace, formed a national history,‡ which

* 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 Anacoana, 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.* But Oviedo, though by no means partial towards the Indian character, denies that this custom was general among them.† Anacoana, 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.

* Martyr, Decad. iii. lib. ix. † Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

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

‡ Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

BOOK. 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 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, we were

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

“ were we inclined to resist it, 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 af-
 “ ter this life there is another, wherein a very
 “ different portion is allotted to good and bad
 “ men. If therefore you expect to die, and be-
 “ lieve, with us, that every one is to be reward-
 “ ed 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 how-
 ever to have been narrow and sensual. They sup-
 posed that the spirits of good men were convey-
 ed to a pleasant valley, which they called *Coyaba*;
 a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with
guavas and other delicious fruits, cool shades,
 and murmuring rivulets; † in a country where
 drought never rages, and the hurricane is never
 felt. In this seat of bliss (the Elysium of anti-
 quity) they believed that their greatest enjoy-
 ment would arise from the company of their de-
 parted 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 wil-
 ling to allow to any of the natives of the New
 Hemisphere. Although, like the Charaibes, our
 islands acknowledged a plurality of Gods, like
 them too, they believed in the existence of one
 supreme, invisible, immortal, and omnipotent
 Creator;

* Herrera, lib. ii. c. xiv. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. iii.

† Fer. Col. c. lxi.

‡ Herrera, lib. iii. c. iii.

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Creator; whom they named *Jocahuna*.^{*} But unhappily, with these important truths, these poor people blended 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 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 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

* Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ix. F. Columbus.

† F. Columbus. P. Martyr. Benzoni. ‡ Gibbon.

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 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 worshipped. 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, though grossly ridiculous, were well calculated however 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

* Martyr.

BOOK nearest and dearest concerns both of his life and
 I. 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, 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

Southern Pacific Ocean; amongst whom the practice of offering human sacrifices to their deities, is still as dreadfully prevalent, as it anciently was among 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 chearful 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; such as their national songs and dances, their domestic œconomy, 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 Otahiteans) “that they are upon the whole happier than
“ we,

BOOK " we, we must admit that the child is happier
 I. " than the man, and that we are losers by the
 " perfection of our nature, the increase of our
 " knowledge, and the enlargement 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

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

† Dr. Robertson, in his History of America, vol. i. p. 532, 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 *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.

tations 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 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 times of drought.† It may likewise be observed, that although the Otaheiteans possess the shrub which produces cotton, they neither improve it 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;

* 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 juck is as strong a poison as acornite. Negroes were not imported into the islands till many years after this account was published.

† Martyr, Decad. iii.

‡ Forster's Observations.

BOOK I. lours; 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 *Piragua's* 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.‡

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

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

† Martyr, Decad. i.

‡ Herrera, Decad. i. lib. v.

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.

CHAP.
III.

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 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 †.

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G

Yet

* P. Martyr, Decad. i.

† 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 enquiries, I am satisfied, that upon a more minute scrutiny into their early operations in the New World, however

"APPREHENSIBLE"

BOOK I. 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 greater lenity; but the Spaniards distributed them into lots, and compelled them to dig 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

* "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.

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 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†." After reading these accounts, who

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* P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. iii.

† History of America, book iii. p. 136. See likewise P. Martyr, Decad. vii. This author relates the following affecting particulars of the poor Lucayans thus fraudulently

BOOK
I.

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

lently 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 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 native country, he procured instruments of stone, and cut down a large spongy tree called *jarama*, the body of which he dexterously scooped into a canoe. He then provided himself with oars, some Indian corn, and a few gourds of water, and prevailed on another man and a 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 Hispaniola as a singular curiosity, considering the circumstances under which it was made."

* The *Ambar*, or wild cotton tree.

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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 therefore 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

BOOK

I.

forced or decoyed into slavery, from the neighbouring islands*. 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 officer 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.

* Oviedo, lib. iii. c. vi.

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CHAP. 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 Charaibbean Islands, possessed all that were possessed by the larger islands, and some species which the latter were without. 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 Agouï,
2. The Pecary,
3. The Armadillo,
4. The Opuffum,
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

BOOK I. 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 known in the Windward Islands only, and the Continent, has been honoured with no less variety of names than the agouti. According to Rochefort it was also called *javari* and *pacquiri*. By Dampier it is named *pelas*. By Acosta *saino* and *vaino*. 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

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 systematical 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 opussum (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 opussum, 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

BOOK by all sorts of people. Its abode was chiefly in
 I. 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. Ac-
 cording 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 Europe, though four times
 as large, probably proved fatal to the whole
 race. I am 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 pos-
 sessed 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 exceeding-
 ly 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 nou-
 rished them in their bosoms."

The monkey and its varieties require no de-
 scription.—An Englishman is not easily recon-
 ciled

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

† F. Col. c. xxiv.

ciled to them as food; but I have been assured by an officer of distinction, who was obliged to live on them some time for want of other animal food, that they have very much the flavour of hare.

CHAP.
IV.

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 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 a species 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 alligator, 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

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BOOK 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 diversion*; 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 iguana is equal in flavour and wholesomeness to the finest green turtle†.

Respecting

* 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 *à la 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 negroe 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 tickling 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 out like a cat before a fire, and at length fairly fell asleep; which

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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 seaside in a body of some millions at a time. As they multiply in great numbers, they chuse 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 surface 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 precision. No geometrician could send them

" to

" the negro perceiving, dexterously slips the noose over his head, and with a jerk brought him to the ground; and good sport it afforded" (continues the reverend historian) "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 it 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.

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" to their destined station by a shorter course ;
 " they neither turn to the right nor to the left
 " whatever obstacles intervene ; and if they meet
 " with a house, they will attempt to scale the
 " walls to keep the unbroken tenor of their way.
 " But though this be the general order of their
 " route, they upon other occasions are compelled
 " ed 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 pioneers, 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 ;
 " holding 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

“ 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 unactive 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 however 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

BOOK usually taken from the time they begin to move
 I 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 provisions are scarce, this never fails them."

Such plenty, if not variety, 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 swarms, 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 wav'd coats dropt with gold.

While the woods and the marshes equally abound with wild fowl of infinite variety, and exquisite

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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 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 antient Indians, of catching fish and wild fowl, with which I believe the reader will be amused.

VOL. I.

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“ The

* The most delicious bird in the West Indies is the *ortalan*, or *October-bird*. It is the *emberiza cryzivora* 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 month 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.

BOOK

I.

“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 darts 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, even at this day. In the ponds which these birds frequent, they used to throw calabashes (a species of gourd) which float about the water, and which being at length accustomed to, the wild fowl would approach without fear, and sometimes even rest upon. Having succeeded thus far,

* Herrera confirms this account. See also P. Martyr, Decad. l. lib. ii.

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 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 plantain, the manioc, 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 distant 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 productions, as it is one of the most useful employments of our faculties, so it is a subject

BOOK which well deserves the notice of the historian,
 I. 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.

APPEN-

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.

APPEN-
DIX.

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 conceive, 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

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

BOOK 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 Phenicians 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

Jantic 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 250 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 Ædificiorum*) a proof that they had been well inhabited in periods of which history is silent.

So far, we have clear historical evidence to guide us in our researches. Not less clear and certain

* 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. (*Bochart in Canaan, cap. xxiv.*)—that they navigated the Western Ocean (*cap. xxxvi.*) and were in Gaul and Britain (*cap. xlii.*) See also Sammes's Phœnician History of Britain.

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

BOOK I. 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

* Robertson's History of America, vol. i. p. 9.

It is as follows. "Lybia is every where encircled by the sea, except on that side where it adjoins to 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 Lybian 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 I can scarcely credit, but other people may, *that sailing round Lybia the sun rose on the right hand* †."

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 with which the venerable historian expresses himself, is remarkable; and the circumstance that the sun rose on the right, is decisive of the main fact; —for

* 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.

BOOK —for it demonstrates that they had then actually doubled the southern promontory, and were steering in a northerly direction;—the course they would necessarily pursue.

I.
 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 400 years before the birth of our Saviour, and Ptolemy 140 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 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

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.

APPEN-
DIX.

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 Glais, in his history of the Canary Islands, who observes that a small bark, bound from Lance-rota 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 Guaira 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 ex-
" pended a considerable time; so that the crew
" lived entirely on wine. They were reduced
" to the last extremity, and expected death eve-
" ry 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

BOOK I. " poor seamen; whose emaciated appearance, " would have sufficiently confirmed the truth of " their relation, even if the papers and docu- " ments 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, Vasco Nunez met with a colony of negroes*. The enquiry (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 †.

The

* Mancipia ibi nigra repererunt ex regione distante à Quarequa, diurno spatio tantum duorum quæ solos gignit nigritas 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 ship-wrecked

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 strange, and 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

APPEN-
DIX.

wrecked there in 1542. I believe that ships bound from Europe to the East Indies, at 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° 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."

BOOK

L

" 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 gradu-
 " ally to believe that a country so extensive
 " formed a part of some great continent. This
 " latter opinion was well founded. The coun-
 " try with which he fell in belongs to that pro-
 " vince in South America now known by the
 " name of Brasil. He landed; and having form-
 " ed a very high idea of the fertility of the
 " soil and agreeableness of the climate, he
 " took possession of it for the Crown of Por-
 " tugal, and dispatched a ship to Lisbon with
 " an account of this event, which appeared to
 " be no less important than it was unexpect-
 " ed. Columbus's discovery of the New World
 " was the effort of an active genius, enlight-
 " ened 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 con-
 " ducted 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 progeni-
 tors of that separate race of people of which I
 now treat. It remains for me however to assign
 my

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

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.

APPEN-
DIX.

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 even of the same nation, would sometimes represent the same sound by a very different combination of letters;—much more frequently would this happen, should the writers be of distant 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.

Charaibe.

* For this illustration, and other assistance in the course of this enquiry, I am indebted to a learned friend; by whom
I am

BOOK

I.



Meaning in English.

Words having the same meaning in the Original dialect.

Meaning in French, according to Rochefort.

Character.

Liani	לי הנהר [Li Hene]	His wife
Yene-neri	הנהר הנהר [Hene Hene ni]	My wife
Hac yeté	אמא אמא [Aca au]	Come hither
Karbet	קרית בית or קרית בית	Walled bouf Assembly bouf
Encka	ענק [Onk]	Necklace or collar
Yene kali	הענק אלי [E'Onk ali]	My necklace
Hue-Hue	עא עא [Oa]	Wood
Nora	עור ני [Oür ni]	My skin
Nané-guacte	נאנחתי [Nanecheti]	I am sick
Halca tibou	יחא לי e thibou	Good he is to you
Phoubae	פוחה [Phouche]	To blow
T'oubana ora	די בנה עור [Di Bne Oür]	Roof of a boufe
Bayou boukaa	בוא בואך [Boua Bouak]	Go thy way
Baika	בגה [Bge]	Eat
Aika	אכל [Aki]	To eat
Nichiri	ניחירי [Nchiri]	The wife
Natonï boman	נאטוני באמן [Natonï baman]	Give me nourishment.

To

To the proofs arising from language, I shall add another.—We have seen from Herodotus, that the Phenicians in their African voyages were accustomed to land on the Arabian and Lybian 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

VOL. I.

I

Charaibes,

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 *w* (S) to form the genitive case, and *א* (at) to form the accusative; all the others use *ך* (D) and *י* (it).

* *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 אים* as men who offer *קרבן אים* an offering, *קרבן אים* is the Greek word for a priest of *Cybele*, unde *COYBANTES*. *קרבן אים* *לוי* Leviticus i. 2. But if the national name be derived from their warlike and predatory way of life, then we may derive it from *חרב* the verb Chaldee. *Syr. Arab. to lay waste*. The noun signifies a sword or spear and *חרב* *Sam. War*.

BOOK Charaibes, I have, I think, sufficiently demonstrated, to those at least who are acquainted with oriental history, 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 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 the knees to the chin. That this was an ancient practice of some of the eastern nations, appears 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*”.

Equally prevalent among the Charaibes, and many of the ancient nations of the Old Hemisphere, were the superstitious rites of shortening the hair and wounding the flesh, 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 APPEN-
 laid on the children of Israel to avoid them. DIX.

"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 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 ‡.*"

But perhaps the instance the most apposite and illustrative, was the habit among the Charaibes of chewing the *betele*, 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
 I 2 progenitors,

* Levit. c. xix. v. 27.

† Deut. c. xiv. v. 1.

‡ 1 Kings, c. xviii. v. 28.

§ Decad. viii. c. vi.

BOOK progenitors, the first emigrants from the ancient
I. hemisphere, in order to point out, with any de-
 } gree 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.

THE

THE
H I S T O R Y,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

British Colonies in the West Indies.

BOOK II.

JAMAICA*.

CHAP. 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

* It may be proper to observe that the governor of Jamaica is styled in his commission Captain general &c. of Jamaica and the territories thereon depending in America. By these DE-
PENDENCIES

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.

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

PENDENCIES 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 1774 (by Governor Johnstone) was soon afterwards published in Almon's Parliamentary Register.

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 navigation, 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 the still greater honour of affording

* 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*.

BOOK II. 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 his ships, to bear away in the utmost distress for this Island. With great difficulty, he reached a little harbour on the north side (which to this hour bears the name of *Don Christopher's Cove*) 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, together with 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 however a name not to be extinguished, but with that world whose boundaries he had extended*.

After

* There is preserved among the Journals of the Hon. Council in Jamaica, a very old volume in MS. consisting of diaries

After the death of its illustrious discoverer, CHAP.
the transactions of the Spaniards, during a cen- I.
tury

diaries and reports of Governors, which relate chiefly to the proceedings of the army and other 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 Mendez, 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 Mendez 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 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 with so many aggravating

BOOK tury and a half, in the settlement of Jamaica,
 II. have scarcely obtained the notice of history.
 Happy

vating 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. Ah, 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 Saint 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 later 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, 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 ages to come 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

Happy indeed it would have been for their national character, if the records of many of their more extensive enterprizes, during 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 purer medium, and not, as now, serving chiefly to render visible the vices and enormities that surround and debase them!

The few particulars of the progress which, by diligent selection, aided by traditionary memorials,

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 expence 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.

BOOK als, I have been able to collect, I shall now pre-
 II. sent 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 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 unprincipally 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. After a minute and solemn investigation of his claims, the council pronounced him hereditary viceroy 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 Castile; that he was entitled to a tenth part of all 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

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 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 Nicuesa) not only two separate and distinct governments, which comprehended all the continent as far as it had been discovered by Christopher Columbus, but had also included the island of Jamaica, as a joint appendage to, and place of refreshment 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

BOOK
II.

rors of bloodshed and infectious rapine, were distinguished for generosity and humanity. An eminent instance of his greatness of mind is thus 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 calamities altogether without example, 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, and 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.—⁹ The affairs
of

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 cotemporaries, were tarnished by cruelty and rapine, or unhappily blended with a misguided and frantic zeal for religion, that rendered their possessors still more remorseless and 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 850 Spaniards, and a considerable body of Jamaica Indians, and 144 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

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II.

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 Columbus 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, being appointed abbot and chief missionary of the island. A fort was also erected, the remains of which, as well

* *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 of the ancient town are still visible in some of the cane-fields.

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 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, alledging, 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

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commerce.

* " 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 Madonna, 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. Edem. Hanc. Bis. Igne. Consumptam. Latericio. Et. Quadrato. Lapide. Primus. A. Fundamentis. Eruxit."

SLOANE.

BOOK commerce. These reasons might possibly have
 II. 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, 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 the catastrophe were true) could a just account be expected from the descendants of men, who 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 not less rapidly in this Island, after Esquivel's death, than in Hispaniola; for to this day caves are frequently discovered in the mountains, wherein the ground is covered, almost entirely, with human bones; the miserable remains, without all doubt, of some of the unfortunate aborigines, who, immured in
 those

* See the account 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 Hist. Jamaica, vol. i. p. 66.

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those recesses, were probably reduced to the sad
 alternative of perishing with hunger, or of bleed-
 ing under the swords of their merciless invad-
 ers *! When therefore we are told of the fate
 of the Spanish inhabitants of Seville, it is im-
 possible to feel any other emotion than an in-
 dignant wish that the story were better authen-
 ticated, and that Heaven in mercy had permitted
 the poor Indians in the same moment to have
 extirpated their oppressors altogether! But un-
 happily this faint glimmering of returning light
 to the wretched natives, was soon lost in ever-
 lasting darkness, since it pleased the Almighty,
 for reasons inscrutable to finite wisdom, to per-
 mit the total destruction of this devoted peo-
 ple; 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 †.

The loss of Seville was probably followed by
 that of Melilla, a small village situated about
 eleven leagues to the eastward, (some say at the
 harbour now called Port Maria) and the cata-
 strophe which attended these places is supposed
 to have caused the establishment of the capital
 of St. Jago de la Vega, or, as it is now called,
 Spanish Town.

Of the precise æra of these events, it is now
 perhaps useless to inquire; but if conjecture may

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be

* 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
Juanes, and have adopted the manners and language of the
 Spaniards.

BOOK II. be allowed, I should fix on the year 1523, immediately after the departure of the force under Garay; and if the new capital was really founded by Diego Columbus, as tradition reports, and which 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 encreased 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 deduction and explanation of it, will not be unacceptable.

Diego Columbus left issue three sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Don Lewis, succeeded 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 vice-roy, and high admiral of the West Indies. The emperor however, though he treated him with singular distinction,

inction, 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 not 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 Isabella, 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

CHAP.

I.

BOOK of many Portuguese families. The transfer of
 II. 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.

Such mutual distrust of and irreconcilable
 aversion among the inhabitants towards each
 other, was perhaps the cause 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 Passage Fort; but being overpowered, Jack-
 son, after losing forty men, entered St. Jago
 de la Vega sword in hand, and, having pillaged
 it of every thing valuable, received a considera-
 ble 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 usur-
 pation of Cromwell, I know nothing of its con-
 cerns, 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 terri-
 tories of Spain at a time when treaties of peace
 subsisted between the two nations; which I
 conceive have hitherto been greatly misunder-
 stood, or wilfully misrepresented, by historians
 in general.

CHAP.

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CHAP. 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

* Mrs. Macsuley's History of England.

BOOK of the Stewart family*, pronounces it a most
 II. 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.

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

* David Hume—History of Great Britain.

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*.

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.

CHAP.
II.

* 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's 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 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.

BOOK II. 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 in 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 Frederic de Toledo, ostensibly to attack the Dutch settlement in Brasil, secretly ordered the admiral to proceed in the first place to the island I have mentioned (which, although the Spaniards had indeed first discovered it 130 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 English, nor both together, were strong enough to oppose such an enemy. The French planters took refuge in the neighbouring island of Antego, 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

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 at that time was wholly unpeopled and deserted. Disputes 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 conquer-

BOOK
II.

ed but 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 them were commonly 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 schemes and proposals for attacking the Spaniards, which were presented to Cromwell on his elevation to the protectorate,

* 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. Trotter, 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

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testorate, 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.—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 introduce 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.

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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." The court members, who were averse to a war with Spain, hung down their heads, and some of them sneaked out of the house.

See Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. ix. p. 414.

* 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.

BOOK

II.

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 Tortugas, 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; entitled "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
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" 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, appertains to the natives themselves; who, if they should willingly and freely invite the English to their protection, what title soever they have in them, no doubt but 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 beginning, 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;

BOOK
II.

tions; 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 wherof 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

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“ of friendship laid in those parts for the future,
 “ between their respective subjects (the English
 “ there being very considerable, and whose safe-
 “ ty 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 in-
 “ quisition, &c.—To these two, Don Alonso was
 “ pleased to answer; that to ask a liberty from
 “ the inquisition, and *free sailing in the West In-*
 “ *dies, was to ask his master's two eyes; and that*
 “ *nothing could be done in those points, but accord-*
 “ *ing to the practice 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
 “ himself was for a war with Spain, *at least in the*
 “ *West Indies, if satisfaction were not given for the*
 “ *past damages, and things well settled for the fu-*
 “ *ture. 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 insignificant 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

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BOOK 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 an illustration 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 the expedition, embarked with and 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 1665, states them at twelve or fourteen hundred only, of which 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.

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, till within these few years, of the buildings consecrated to divine worship, particularly of the two churches and the abbey.

CHAP.
II.

Of the other principal settlements, the chief appears to have been at Puerto de Caguaya, 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*.

To the westward of Caguaya 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 Caguaya; but it was still resorted to by the galleons, as a place of shelter during the hurricane months, and, from

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* The following singular inscription appears on a tombstone, at Green-Bay, adjoining the Apostles' Battery.

" DIEU SUR TOUT.

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

BOOK its ancient reputation, the English named it *Old*
 II. *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 accounts are obscure and contradictory.

Returning eastward, to the north of Port Guaya 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 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

* "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.

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."

CHAP.
II.

Such is the account of Jamaica as transmitted in general Venables's letter to secretary Thurloe, dated 13th June 1655. The reader will perceive that no mention is made of the north side of the island; which gives room to conclude, as was undoubtedly 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.

BOOK II. 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 conducted 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 conveniency of it. They were neither polished by social intercourse, nor improved by education; but passed their days in gloomy languor, 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

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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.

CHAP.
II.

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CHAP. 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 reassumes the government.—Defeats the Spanish forces, which had invaded the island from Cuba.—His wise and steady administration.—Bucanneers.—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 commissioner 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 Winlow 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 Vega, the capital.

But

CHAP.
III.

BOOK II. 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 dispatched 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 advised 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 improvidence and wantonness of profusion, as on 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

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great earnestness, to cultivate the soil, and raise, 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 expence of maintaining so large a body 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

BOOK II. considerable time 140 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 830 men, had landed, some time before, from England; and Stokes, governor of Nevis, with 1500 persons collected in the Windward islands, had reached Jamaica, and begun an establishment near to the Port of Morant, where some of Stokes'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 £.5000, 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 be-

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tween 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.

CHAP.
III.

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 imminent 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,

BOOK mand, if I could have quitted with honour and
 II. 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. Ho-
 nours 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 refig-
 nation 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 sup-
 ported 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 coun-
 try, by the restoration of this island to its do-
 minion. Having communicated to the vice-roy
 of Mexico, a scheme built on this idea, and re-
 ceived 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 eight months provision, 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 themselves 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 entrenchments; 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, their fond attachment to
which,

BOOK which, it is not possible to reflect on, without
 II. 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 efforts 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 Beefton †, did his majesty disdain to become a partner in the bucaniering business. It

* European Settlements.

† MS. Journal *penes me*.

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is indeed related that he continued to exact and receive a share of the booty, even after he had publicly issued orders for the suppression of this species of hostility *.

CHAP.
III.

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 †.

VOL. I.

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But

* The favour extended by the King to Henry Morgan, the most celebrated of the English Buccaneers (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 after the Restoration unnoticed and unmolested. Waite and Blagrove are reckoned of the number, and General Harrison was earnestly pressed to follow their example;

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II.

But altho' 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 forbore also to awaken their jealousy, by enquiring 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 thirteenth 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 inhabitants*, 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

ple; 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, entitled *Memoirs of Thomas Hall*, an epitaph which is said to have been inscribed on a canon 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. From a daughter of this man was descended the late alderman Beckford.

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 INTENTS AND PURPOSES, AS OUR FREE-BORN SUBJECTS OF ENGLAND; and that all free persons 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 *."—

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* 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. 13to.

A PROCLAMACION, for the encouraging of Planters in his Majesty's island of Jamaica in the West-Indies.

WE being fully satisfied that our island of Jamaica, being pleasant and most fertile soyle, and scituate comodiously for trade and commerce, is likely, through God's blessing, to

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CHAP. III.

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II.

These important declarations have always been justly considered, by the inhabitants of Jamaica,

as

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VI. Pence.

bee a greate benefit and advantage to this, and other our kingdomes and dominions, have thought fit, 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, who now resides, or within two years next ensuing, shall reside upon the said island, and that the same shall bee assigned and set out by the governor and councill, within six weekees, next after notice shall be 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 behalf, 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 bee 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 be obliged to serve in armes upon any insurrection, mutiny, or forraigne 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 mannors, 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 councill in the lawe, and delivered to the governor to that purpose, and that all fishings and pischaries, and all copper, lead, tin, iron, coals 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 we doe further publish and declare, that all children of our naturall borne subjects of *England*, to bee borne in *Jamaica*, shall bee from their respective births, bee reputed to bee, and shall bee, free Denizens of *England*; and shall have the same priveledges, to all intents and purposes, as our free-borne subjects of *England*, and that all free per-

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as a solemn recognition and confirmation by the crown, of those rights which are 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 dependence on the parent state*.

CHAP.
III.

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sons 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 be inflicted thereupon. Given at our court at Whitehall, the fourteenth day of December. P^o. ipm^o. Regen.

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

VERA-COPIA. Henry Rooke, CP of the Rolls.

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

Ecce alium Ramos porrexit in orbem

Nec sterilis est crux.

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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 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 sovereign dominion, property and possession, all lands, countries, islands, colonies and dominions whatever, 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 pretence whatever, nothing may or ought ever to be urged, nor any question or controversy moved concerning 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

* From this recital may be seen the folly of a very prevalent notion, namely, 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.

its distant subjects the enjoyment of their possessions; but unhappily Charles II. was a monarch without steadiness, and a man without integrity. His general conduct was founded in motives of selfishness and deception. 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 with a jealousy, which encreasing with the encrease of their numbers, broke out at length into acts of open hostility and violence towards them.

In the beginning of 1678, 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 Poyning'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 only reflect on the distance of Jamaica from Great Britain, we may pronounce, without hesitation,

BOOK II. { tation, 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 determine. 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 $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, on the gross 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, Colonel 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.

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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 alledged 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 part of them had been constantly refused, and still continued to be withheld. It was indeed admitted, that the English who captured the

* I have subjoined, as an appendix to this book, "an Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica," by a late Chief Governor of distinguished abilities, 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.

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II.

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 expence of erecting and repairing fortifications, and for answering some other public contingencies, the ministers of Charles II. had procured, as hath been observed, from the assembly of Barbadoes, and indeed from most of the other British West Indian colonies, the grant of a perpetual internal revenue. The refusal of Jamaica, to concur in a similar establishment, the punishment provided for her contumacy, and the means of her deliverance, have been already stated; but it was found that the lenity of the crown in relinquishing the system of compulsion, was expected to produce the effect which oppression

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 which all the British ministers, from the restoration of King Charles to the reign of George II. very cordially justified.

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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 the assembly were equally resolute to pass their supply bills from year to year only, as usual, advised the sovereign, from a spirit of vindictive policy, to waive 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 £. 1,450 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

BOOK "time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or
 II. "received, as laws in the island, should be and
 "continue laws of Jamaica for ever." The re-
 venue act, with this important declaration there-
 in, was accordingly passed, and its confirmation
 by the king, put an end to a contest no less dis-
 graceful to the government at home, than injuri-
 ous 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, its outward form has been modified and regulated by various unforeseen events, and local circumstances. In its present appearance, 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 local occurrences and internal politics, would not, I presume, be interesting to the general reader*.

* In the year 1687 Christopher Duke of Albermarle 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,

Hispaniola, they sent out sloops from Jamaica, provided with faithful 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; among others, the following is not the least remarkable.—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 £.600 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 appeas'd for all the indignities he endured of the Spaniards, could he but know that his own beloved soil was hallow'd by such footsteps!" Their Honours of the Council could not have gone farther.

In the month 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 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 1,500 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

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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. Elizabeths 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, immediately 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.

CHAP. IV.

Situation.—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, about four thousand miles south-west of England. It has the island of Hispaniola, at the distance of thirty leagues, to the east: The Island of Cuba, about the same distance, to the north: The Gulph of Honduras to the west; and Carthagená, on the great continent of South America, to the South, distant one hundred and forty-five leagues.

The center of Jamaica lies in about $18^{\circ} 12'$ north latitude, and in longitude about $76^{\circ} 45'$ 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

BOOK twelve o'clock at noon in London, it is about seven in the morning in Jamaica.

II.

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, 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 are infinitely various, and to be understood 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 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

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,

Insufferable height of loftiest shade,
Cedar; and branching palm:

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 we have treated of, the prevailing characteristics are variety and beauty; in that which remains, the predominant

BOOK II. 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; till 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 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
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differ
is no

Old World, for the productions of the New, opens another, and, I might add, an almost untrodden field, for contemplation and reflection.

CHAP.
IV.

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 Fahrenheit's thermometer*. At a villa eight miles distant, in the highlands of Liguanea, the 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°. It has been observed so low as 44°; so that a fire there, even at noon day, is not only comfortable but necessary a great

N 2

part

* In the other months, viz. from December to May, the thermometer ranges from 70 to 80°. The night air in the months of December and January is sometimes surprisngly cool; I have known the thermometer so low at sun-rise as 69°, 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°.

BOOK part of the year *. It may be supposed, that
 II. a 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 sel-
 dom the case, if the traveller, as prudence dic-
 tates, 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 up-
 lands are always found safe, salubrious, and de-
 lightful. 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

* 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 nesherry, 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° at sun-rise, and never exceeded 64° 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° at sun-rise to 58° at noon, even in the month of August. See Med. Comment. Eding. 1780.

† Brydone.

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 it's earthly affections, and acquires something of celestial purity!"

CHAP.
IV.

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, (Sicily, 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 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, I conceive it is a moderate estimate to allow on that account $\frac{1}{2}$ more, which is

240,000

The Total is - - - 4,080,000 Acres.

Of

BOOK II. 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. Thus it appears that upwards of one half the lands are considered as of no kind of value, the expence of taking out a patent being of no great account; and even of the located lands, I conceive that little more than one million is at present in cultivation.

In sugar plantations, (including the land reserved for the purpose of supplying staves, timber, and fire-wood; or appropriated for common pasturage, all which is commonly two-thirds of each plantation) the number of acres may be stated at 639,000; it appearing that the precise number of those estates, according to returns made upon oath to March 1789, was 710, and an allowance of 900 acres to each, on an average of the whole, must be deemed sufficiently liberal.

Of breeding farms (or, as they are commonly called in the island, *pens*) the number is about 400; to each of which I will allow 700 acres, which gives 280,000, and no person who has inspected the country with an inquisitive eye, will allow to all the minor productions, as cotton, coffee, pimento and ginger, &c. including even the provision plantations, more than one half the extent assigned to the pens. The result of the whole is 1,059,000 acres, leaving upwards of three million 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 unimprovable, yet (such is the powerful influence of great heat and conti-
 nual

nal 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, brazil-to, and bully-trees; most of which sink in water, and are of a compactness and impenetrability inconceivable by European workmen. 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, sets fire to the rest, in order to clear his lands, it not answering the expence 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, flowing chiefly through a level country, is the deepest and gentlest, and admits flat-bottomed boats and canoes for about thirty miles.

Of the springs, which every where abound, even in the highest mountains, some are medicinal;

BOOK II.
 cinal; 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, immediately rose to 123°. 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

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,

CHAP.
IV.

The several species of grain cultivated in this island are, 1st. 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. 2dly. Guiney 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. 3dly. 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 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 quality; 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 *Scar'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

BOOK II. this plant, five horses may be maintained a whole year, allowing fifty-six pounds of grass a-day to each.

The other kind, called Guiney-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; which is such that few markets in Europe furnish beef at a cheaper rate, or of better quality than those of Jamaica. Perhaps the 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 Guiney 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, and 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

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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 spinnage) 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 desert; and I conceive that the following were spontaneously bestowed on the island by the bounty of nature;—the annana 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, nesbury, mammee, mammee-sapota, Spanish-goosberry, prickly-pear, and perhaps a few others. For the orange, civil

CHAP.
IV.

* This fruit, though introduced into Hispaniola at a very early period, was not originally a native of the West Indies: it 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.

† 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. Esq's princely garden, at the foot of the Liguanea mountains.

BOOK
II.

and china, the lemon, lime, shaddock and its numerous species, the vine, melon, fig and pomegranate, the West India islands were probably indebted to their Spanish invaders. Excepting 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 thousand 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
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the magnificent orchard 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 snatched 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*!

CHAP.
IV.

* Mr. East died in April 1792. His botanical garden, at the foot of the Liguanea mountains, in St. Andrew's parish, is perhaps the most magnificent establishment of the kind in the world. A catalogue of its contents I have the pleasure to hear is preparing for the press by Doctor Broughton, a very eminent and learned physician and botanist, now residing in Jamaica.

CATALOGUE

C A T A L O G U E

OF

EXOTIC PLANTS,

IN THE

Botanical Garden of JAMAICA, 1792.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

THOMAS DANCER, M.D. ISLAND BOTANIST.

Oriental, African, and South-sea Trees, Shrubs, &c.

- | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|--|
| <i>Laurus.</i> | <i>Cinnamo-
mum.</i> | RASSE <i>Coronde</i> , or true Ceylon Cinnamon. The specimens of Jamaica Cinnamon sent to Great Britain have been deemed equal, if not superior, to the best Ceylon Cinnamon. |
| <i>Mangifera.</i> | <i>Indica.</i> | Mango-Tree, several varieties. |
| <i>Artocarpus.</i> | <i>Macrocar-
pon.</i> | <i>Jaack</i> , a species of the Bread Fruit; <i>vide</i> Dissertation |

sertation of Thurn-
berg, for the vari-
ous uses of the Jaack
and Bread Fruit.

CHAP.
IV.

- Garcinia?* A supposed species of
Mangosteen.
- Pandanus* Chinese Hemp Palm.
- Spondias* Otaheite Plumb.
- Guilandina* *Moringa* *Moringa*, root used for
horle-radish; said,
but erroneously, to
be the *Lignum Ne-*
phriticum of the
Ihops.
- Mimosa* *Lebeck* *Bois Noir*, Oriental
Ebony.

N. B. The foregoing Plants were taken in a French Prize,
bound from the Isle of Bourbon to St. Domingo, and pre-
sented to the Botanical Garden by Lord Rodney; which
donation is commemorated by the following inscription on
an obelisk in the Botanical Garden, erected for that pur-
pose:

Perillæstri Viro

RODNEY

Qui

Patriam Virtute ejus conservatam

Ornare atq. ditare

exoptans

Cinnamomum

Pluresq. Stirpes Orientales

Quæ hic vigent

Largiebatur

A. D. 1782.

- Sapindus* *Edulis* *La-tji*, or *Lee-chee*, Chi-
nese Plumb. Intro-
duced by Dr. Clark.
Vide Du Halde.
- Cycas* *Circinalis* *Sagoe*. Introduced by
Dr. Clark. For an
account of the cul-
tivation and prepa-
ration

BOOK
II.

- * *Croton*? *Sebiferum* Tallow Tree. First introduced by Mr. Pinnock. Introduced into the Garden by Dr. Clark.
- Mimosa* *Nilotica*? Gum Arabic, produces fine gum. Introduced by Dr. Clark.
- Another species, said to produce Gum Arabic. Introduced by Mr. East.
- Morus* *Papyrifera* Paper Mulberry. Introduced by Dr. Clark. *Vide* Cook's Voyages, for an account of the manner in which paper and cloth are made from the bark of this tree.
- Thuja* *Occidentalis* Oriental *Arbor Vita*. Introduced by Dr. Clark. First introduced into the country by Mr. Wallen.
- Dracæna* *Ferrea* Dragon Tree. Introduced by Dr. Clark.
- Hedysarum* *Gyrans* Moving Plant. Introduced by Dr. Clark.
- Thæa* *Viridis* Tea. First introduced into the country by Mr.
- * *An Croton.*

- Mr. Baker, several years ago. CHAP. IV.
- Olea Fragrans* Chinese Olive, with the flowers of which it is said the best teas are scented. Introduced by Mr. East.
- Wampee* An unknown Genus of Fruit from China. Sent to Dr. Dancer by Sir Joseph Banks, 1790.
- Ginkgo Biloba* Maidenhair Tree. A tree from Japan, producing an excellent nut. See an account of it in Kœmpfer. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
- Philadelphus Aromaticus?* Tea of the Circumnavigators. Introduced by Mr. East.
- Metrosidera* Botany-Bay Spice Tree. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
- Lotus Similis* Botany-Bay Plant. Seeds sent to Dr. Dancer by Mr. Lee.
- Mimosa Heterophylla* Another Botany-Bay Plant. Seeds sent by Mr. Lee.
- Banksea Sinuata* Another Botany-Bay Plant. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.

- BOOK II. *Kaempferia Galanga* Galangal. Medicinal
 Root. Introduced
 by Dr. Clark.
- Curcuma Longa* Turmeric. Introduced
 by Mr. Pinnock.
- Piper Nigrum* Sumatra Black Pep-
 per. Sent by Dr.
 Anderson from the
 Royal Garden at
 St. Vincent's, and
 presented by Mr.
 Hylton.
- Amomum? Gr. Paradisi* Grains of Paradise, or
 Guiney Pepper. In-
 troduced by Mr.
 Hibbert, from A-
 frica.
- Cardamomum* Cardamom Seeds of
 the Shops. Intro-
 duced by Dr. Dan-
 cer, 1792.
- Oldenlandia Umbellata* Che. A valuable dye
 from the East In-
 dies.
- Basella Rubra* Another East India
 dye. Seeds brought
 out by Lord Effing-
 ham.
- * *Citrus Mandarina* Mandarin Orange.
 Introduced by Mr.
 East.
- Cola (gen. nov.) Africana* An African Fruit, in-
 troduced by the Ne-
 groes before Sloane's
 time, called Bichey
 or Bessai.

Aka

* Citrus non fl.

- Aka* (*gen. nov.*) *Africana* Another African Fruit, introduced by the Negroes. CHAP. IV.
- Adansonia* *Digitata* *Baobab.* Æthiopian Sour Gourd, or Monkey. Bread Fruit. Introduced by Mr. East.
- Phoenix* *Dactylifera* Date. Probably introduced by persons of the Jewish Nation.
- Elais* *Guiniensis* Palm Oil. Likewise introduced by the Jews.
- Aeschynomene* *Grandiflora* Choiseul Pea. Introduced by Mr. Kemeys.
- *Sesban* Sesban. Introduced by Dr. Clark.
- Camellia* *Japonica* Japan Rose. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
- Gardenia* *Florida* Introduced first by Mr. Wallen, afterwards by Dr. Clark.
- Hibiscus* *Rosa Sinensis* Chinese Rose. Introduced by Mr. Pinnock.
- *Mutabilis* Changeable Rose.
- *Populneus* East India Mahoe. Introduced by Mr. East.
- *Syriacus* Syrian *Hibiscus*. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
- Monsonia* *Speciosa* Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
- Rosa*

BOOK <i>Rosa</i>	<i>Alba Indica</i>	East India White Rose. Introduced by Mr. East.
II.		
<i>Limodorum</i>	<i>Chinense</i>	Introduced by Mr. East.
<i>Schinus</i>	<i>Molle</i>	Soft India Mastich. Introduced by Mr. East.
<i>Bauhinia</i>	—————	Seeds brought out by Lord Effingham.
<i>Cassia</i>	—————	From St. Vincent's Garden.
<i>Crotalaria</i>	<i>Abyssinica</i>	Crotall. Introduced by Dr. Clark.
—————	<i>Repanda</i>	Chinese Hemp. Seeds brought out by Lord Effingham.

European and North American Trees, Shrubs, &c. &c.

<i>Quercus</i>	<i>Robur</i>	English Oak. Intro- duced by Mr. Wal- len.
	<i>Cerris</i>	Turkey Oak. Dr. Dancer, 1792.
<i>Fagus</i>	<i>Castanea</i>	Chestnut. First intro- duced by Mr. Wal- len, several years ago; by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	<i>Pumila</i>	Chinquapin Chestnut; by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
		<i>Platanus</i>

<i>Platanus</i>	<i>Orientalis</i>	Oriental Plane. Dr. Dancer, 1792.	CHAP. IV.
	<i>Hispanic.</i>	Spanish Plane. Dr. Dancer, 1792.	
<i>Acer</i>	<i>Pseudoplatan</i>	Sycamore Maple.	
	<i>Monspeliens.</i>	Montpelier Maple.	
	<i>Saccharina</i>	Sugar Maple. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.	
<i>Æsculus</i>	<i>Hippocastan</i>	Horfe Chestnut. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.	
	<i>Pavia</i>	Dwarf Horfe Chestnut. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.	
<i>Juglans</i>	<i>Regia</i>	Walnut. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.	
—	<i>Alba</i>	Hicory. By the same.	
<i>Corylus</i>		Hazle Nut.	
<i>Amygdalus</i>	<i>Perfica</i>	Peach Tree. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.	
	<i>Commun.</i>	Almond. By the same.	
<i>Olea</i>	<i>Europæa</i>	Olive. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.	
<i>Pyrus</i>	<i>Malus</i>	Apple, several kinds. Introduced by various persons.	
	<i>Cydonia</i>	Quince. Introduced long ago by various persons.	
<i>Mespilus</i>	<i>Germanica</i>	Medlar. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.	
<i>Morus</i>	<i>Nigra</i>	Mulberry. Introduced long ago.	
	<i>Alba</i>	White Mulberry. Presented by Mr. Loofely.	
		<i>Rubus</i>	

BOOK II.	<i>Rubus</i>	<i>Idæus</i>	Raspberry. Introduced by Mr. Baker, and others.
		<i>Sylvaticus</i>	Blackberry, two species. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
	<i>Fragaria</i>		Strawberry, several kinds. Mr. Wallen, and others.
	<i>Pistachia</i>		Pistacia Nut. Introduced by Mr. East.
	<i>Prunus</i>	<i>Mahaleb</i>	Bird Cherry. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
		<i>Padus</i>	By Dr. Dancer.
	<i>Fraxinus</i>	<i>Ornus</i>	Manna Ash. Introduced by Dr. Clark.
	<i>Sambucus</i>	<i>Ebulus</i>	Dwarf Elder. By the same.
		<i>Niger</i>	Common Elder. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
	<i>Laurus</i>	<i>Saffras</i>	Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
		<i>Benzoin</i>	Gum Benjamin; by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	<i>Calycanthus</i>	<i>Floridus</i>	Carolina Allspice. Introduced by Mr. East.
	<i>Ceratonia</i>	<i>Siliqua</i>	Carob, or St. John's Bread. By the same.
	<i>Liquidamb.</i>	<i>Styraciflua</i>	Storax. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	<i>Sophora</i>	<i>Virginica</i>	Seeds sent to Dr. Dancer, by Mr. Lee.
	<i>Populus</i>	<i>Tacamahaca</i>	Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
			<i>Cistus</i>

<i>Cistus</i>	<i>Labdanif.</i>	Gum Cistus. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.	CHAP. IV.
<i>Rhus</i>	<i>Cotinus</i>	Venus's Sumach. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.	}
	<i>Radicans</i>	Poison Oak. Ditto.	
	<i>Vernix</i>	Varnish. Ditto.	
	<i>Sumach</i>	Sumach. Introduced by Mr. East.	
<i>Ximeria</i>	<i>Aculeat</i>	Introduced by Mr. East.	
<i>Myrica</i>	<i>Cerifera</i>	Candle-berry Myrtle. Introduced by Mr. East.	
<i>Magnolia</i>	<i>Grandiflora</i>	Laurel-leaved Tulip. Introduced by Mr. Wallen, and Dr. Clark.	
	<i>Glauca</i>	By Mr. Wallen.	
<i>Liriodendrum</i>	<i>Tulipifera</i>	Tulip Tree. Introduced by Mr. Barrett.	
<i>Chionanthus</i>	<i>Virginica</i>	Fringe Tree from North America. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.	
<i>Nyssa</i>	<i>Tupelo</i>	Tupelo Tree from North America. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.	
<i>Cercis</i>	<i>Siliquast.</i>	Judas Tree. Dr. Dancer, 1792.	
<i>Viburnum</i>	<i>Tinus</i>	Viburnum. Dr. Dancer, 1792.	
<i>Spiraea</i>	<i>Opulus</i>	Carolina Gelder Rose. Dr. Dancer, 1792.	
<i>Arbutus</i>	<i>Unedo</i>	Arbutus, or Strawberry Tree. Dr. Dancer, 1792.	
		<i>Arbutus</i>	

BOOK II.	<i>Arbutus</i>	<i>Andrachne</i>	Mock Orange. By Mr. Wallen.
	<i>Philadelphus</i>		Butchers Broom.
	<i>Ruscus</i>	<i>Alexandrin.</i>	The poor in Spain manufacture coats with the materials of this plant, which resist wet, and hardly ever wear out. Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	<i>Lygeum</i>	<i>Spartium</i>	Common Broom. Presented by Mr. Wallen.
	<i>Spartium</i>	<i>Scoparium</i>	Dr. Dancer.
	<i>Kalmia</i>	<i>Latifolia</i>	Presented by Mr. Wallen.
		<i>Angustifolia</i>	Cork Tree. Introduced by Mr. East.
	<i>Quercus</i>	<i>Suber</i>	Kermes Oak. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
		<i>Coccifera</i>	Weeping Willow. By Mr. East.
	<i>Salix</i>	<i>Babylon.</i>	Honey suckle. Mr. Wallen.
	<i>Lonicera</i>	<i>Tartarica</i>	Upright American ditto. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
		<i>Americana</i>	Virginia Spiderwort. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	<i>Tradescantia</i>	<i>Virginica</i>	Lilac. By Mr. East, and Mr. Wallen.
	<i>Syringa</i>	<i>Vulgaris</i>	Persian ditto. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
		<i>Persica</i>	Myrtle several species.
	<i>Myrtus</i>		Jasmine.
	<i>Jesminum</i>	<i>Officinale</i>	Odorat

	<i>Odorat.</i>	} Introduced by Mr. CHAP. IV.
	<i>Azoricum</i>	
<i>Rosa</i>	<i>Eglentaria</i>	Sweet Briar. By Mr. Wallen.
	<i>Albamoschat</i>	White Mosch Rose. By Mr. Wallen.
	<i>Cinnamom.</i>	Cinnamon ditto. By the same.
	<i>Muscosa</i>	Moss Provence. Dr. Dancer, 1792.
<i>Hypericum</i>	<i>Balearic.</i>	St. John's Wort. By Wallen.
	<i>Monogyn.</i>	By Mr. East.
<i>Sforalea</i>	two species,	By Major Greene.
<i>Colutea</i>	<i>Frutescens?</i>	By the same.
<i>Cupressus</i>	<i>Sempervirens</i>	Cypress.
<i>Pinus</i>	<i>Cedrus</i>	Cedar of Lebanon. By Mr. East.
	<i>Tada</i>	Frankincense. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	<i>Halapensis</i>	Aleppo Pine. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	<i>Balsamea</i>	Canadian Balsam. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.

South American and Exotic West Indian Plants.

<i>Smilax</i>	<i>Sarfa</i>	Sarsaparilla. Intro- duced by Zach. Bayly, Esq. in 1763.
<i>Annona</i>	<i>Cheremoja</i>	Peruvian Sweet Sop.
<i>Quassia</i>	<i>Amara</i>	Quassia Bark, Medici- nal. Sent from St. Vincent's

BOOK
IV.

		Vincent's Garden. Presented by Mr. Thame.
* <i>Epidendrum</i>	<i>Vanella</i>	Vanelloë.
<i>Cassine</i>	<i>Paragua</i>	Paragua Herb. Intro- duced by Mr. Wal- len.
<i>Cactus</i>	<i>Coccolifer</i>	Cochineal Opuntia, or Nopal.
<i>Tradescantia</i>	<i>Discolor</i>	Honduras Spiderwort. Introduced by Mr. Shakespear, 1778.
<i>Yucca</i>	<i>Alpifolia</i>	Adams's Needle, or Dagger Plant.— Brought by the Rev. Dr. Lindsay, from Barbadoes, 1772.
—	<i>Filamentosa</i>	Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
<i>Arundo</i>	<i>Bambu</i>	Bamboo Cane. Intro- duced by Mr. Wal- len.

* This, I am informed, is found in many of the mountains of Jamaica, growing spontaneously.

South American and Exotic
Indian Plants.

CHAP.

To
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CHAP. V.

Topographical description.—Towns, villages, and parishs.—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, N° I. N° II.

JAMAICA is divided into three counties;—Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. The county of Middlesex is composed of eight parishs, 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

BOOK that the legislature is convened, and the Court of
 II. 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 contains one thousand six hundred and sixty-five houses, besides negro-huts and ware-houses. The number of white inhabitants in the year 1788 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 butchers' 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 morality, that since the surrounding country is become cleared of wood this town is found to be as healthful as any in Europe.

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 excel-
 lent

least order, and vic in strength, as I am told, with any fortrefs in the king's dominions. CHAP. V.

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 almost entirely destroyed by a dreadful hurricane and inundation of the sea in 1780. It is now partly rebuilt, and may contain from sixty to seventy houses.

Montego-Bay is a flourishing and opulent town: it consists of two hundred and twenty-five houses, thirty-three of which are capital stores or warehouses, and contains about six hundred white inhabitants. 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,

BOOK. 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.

II.

The whole twenty parishes contain eighteen churches and chapels, and each parish is provided with a rector, and other church officers; the rector's livings, the presentation to which rests with the governor or commander in chief, are severally as follows, viz. St. Catharine £.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

* In the year 1788 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.

the church of England, but he is likewise vested with the power of suspending a clergyman of lewd and disorderly life *ab officio*, 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.

CHAP.
V.

The vestries are composed of the custos, and two other magistrates; the rector and ten vestrymen; the latter are elected annually by the freeholders. Besides their power of assessing and appropriating taxes, they appoint waywardens, and allot labourers for the repair of the public highways. They likewise nominate proper persons, who are called collecting-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 only £.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 *chose in action* be for a sum of £.300 sterling, or upwards, an appeal lies to the governor.

BOOK II. { verner and council, as a court of error; if sentence of death be passed for felony, the appeal is to the governor alone*.

Affize courts also are heldevery three months, in Kingston for the county of Surry, and in Savannah-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 affize 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 severall parish courts. The judges of the affize court act without salary or reward, as well as the assistant judges of the supreme court, any one of whom, if present, presides in the affize court. No appeal from the latter to the former is allowed, but judgments of the affize immediately following the supreme court, are considered as of one and the same court, and have

* 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 *fiere 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, or 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*.

an equal right in point of priority with those obtained in the grand court. CHAP. V.

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*.

As appendages of the supreme court, the several great offices, viz. the office of enrollments;

VOL. I. P or

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

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 300 acres, called the Government Peon, 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 50 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 expences of at least

1,000

Total in currency — £. 8,550

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 excheats.

N. B. A governor of Jamaica may live very honourably for £. 3,000 sterling per annum.

BOOK II. 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 required 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, attorneys 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 the 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 doubtless the office

was first instituted in this island before the introduction of civil government, and continued afterwards through necessity. 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: the acting officer is in fact 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.

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

CHAP.
V.

BOOK Royal, and two for each of the other parishes.
 II. 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 repre-
 sentative, 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 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 how-
 ever is still reserved in the crown; but until the
 royal disapprobation is signified, the laws are
 valid.

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*; on which, and other cases,
 the English laws being silent, the colonial legisla-
 ture has made, and continues to make, such pro-
 vision 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 al-
 ter 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

* 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 accord-
 ingly subject to the incidents of real property (for as they go to
 the heir, so may the widow have dower of them, and the sur-
 viving 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.

the clergy, and the relief of the poor, very great deviations from the practice of the mother country have been found indispensably requisite.

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 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 particularly appropriated, as I have elsewhere observed, and the surplus is applicable to the contingent expences 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 20s. per week, and every private to 5s.: 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 20s. 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 £.20 *per annum*,

BOOK for each white person deficient of the number
 II. 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*.

The

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

Governor's additional salary	£. 2,500	--	--
Subsistence of the Troops, and Hospital expenses	41,300	--	--
Salaries to Officers of the Assembly, Printing, &c.	2,300	--	--
Clerk of the Grand Court	100	--	--
Clerk of the Crown	100	--	--
Clerk to the Commissioners of Forts	150	--	--
Surveyor to the Bath	200	--	--
Port Officers and Waiters	1,600	--	--
Maroon Negro Parties	1,000	--	--
Superintendants residing in the Maroon-Towns	1,300	--	--
To the Engineer and Captain of different Forts	1,000	--	--
For the Support of the Botanic Garden	280	--	--
Salary to the Agent	420	--	--
To the Officers of the Troops for private Lodgings	1,430	--	--
Supplying the Forts with Water	1,089	--	--
To the Commissioners of the Forts	5,600	--	--
To the Kingston Hospital	500	--	--
Carried over	£. 60,869	--	--

Surds

The current coins are Portugal pieces of gold, called the half-johannes, valued in England at 36s. each; these pass here, if of full weight, at 55s. Spanish gold coins current here, are, doubloons at £. 5. 5s. each, and pistoles at 26s. 3d. Silver coins are Spanish milled dollars at 6s. 8d. and so in proportion for the smaller parts of this coin; the lowest coin is called a *bitt*, equal to about 5d. sterling. A guinea passes for 32s. 6d. 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

Carried over	£. 60,869	—	—
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.	9,783	6	—
	<u>£. 75,011</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>

WAYS and MEANS.

Outstanding Debts	£. 25,000	—	—
Negro Duty, computed at	6,000	—	—
Run Duty	14,000	—	—
Double Deficiency on Negroes	24,000	—	—
Poll-Tax	67,000	—	—
	<u>136,000</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
Deduct for prompt Payment 10 per cent.	13,600	—	—
	<u>122,400</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>

¶ The overplus was applied towards discharging the Public Debt, which was estimated at £. 180,000 currency.

BOOK II. is among the first objects of the policy of the legislature; and accordingly all persons from sixteen to sixty years of age are obliged by law to enlist themselves either in the horse or foot, and to provide at their own expence 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 I conceive of more than 7000 effective troops; neither do the usual employments and habits of life, either of the officers or privates, conduce very much to military subordination.—However, 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

—* Soon after the above was written (the Author being at that time in Jamaica) the lieutenant governor, by the advice of a council of war, proclaimed martial law. This was in December, 1791, and it arose from a notion very generally prevalent in the island, that conspiracies and projects of rebellion were afloat among the negroes, in consequence of the disturbances in St. Domingo. This apprehension induced a very strict observance of the militia laws; and the following was the return of the Cavalry and Infantry to head quarters on the 13th of January, 1792;

			Total
County of Surry	336 Cavalry	2,141 Infantry	2,477
Middlesex	375	2,647	3,022
Cornwall	368	2,305	2,673

Effectives 8,172
Free negroes and men of colour included; their number was 1889. The Maroons are not comprehended.

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 believe, 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 seafaring 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 a limited degree of freedom by treaty. These, by the

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BOOK the last returns that I have seen, amount to
II. about 1400*.

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
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
Total	- -	<u>210,894</u>

It

* It is generally supposed, and has been very confidently asserted, that these people have decreased ; but the fact is otherwise. The mistake has arisen from the circumstance that some of their towns have been deserted ; which is indeed true, but

It appears, however, from the report of a 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 least; and there is not a doubt that upwards of 10,000 have been left in the country from the importations of the last two years, exclusive of decrease. The whole number of inhabitants therefore, of all complexions and conditions, may be stated as follows:

Whites	- - - - -	30,000
Freed negroes, and people of colour	- - - - -	10,000
Maroons	- - - - -	1,400
Negro slaves	- - - - -	250,000
		<hr/>
Total	- - - - -	291,400
		<hr/>

The

cause has been, that the negroes have only removed from one town to another. It is sufficiently known that they are the descendants of negroes formerly in rebellion, with whom, in the years 1738 and 1739, Governor Trelawney entered into treaty, which the Assembly confirmed, and granted them freedom under certain limitations. The number that surrendered was under 600. In the year 1770 they consisted of 885 men, women and children. In the year 1773 they were 1028; and they were increased in 1788 to 1333.

* In Kingston, for instance, the real number is 16,659, instead of 6,162, the number on 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.

BOOK
H.

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	242	63,471	7,748
Ireland - - -	10	1,231	91
American States	133	13,041	893
Br. Amer. Colonies	66	6,135	449
Foreign W. Indies	22	1,903	155
Africa - - -	1	109	8
Total -	474	85,888	9,344

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

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.		Melasses.		Pimento.		Coffee.		Cotton Wool.		Indigo.	
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	
To Great Britain	324,706	2 25	1,590,540	—	3,316	606,694	3,706	3 27	1,899,967	—	—	—	—	
Ireland	6,829	—	206,700	—	—	2,160	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	
American States	6,167	—	327,325	—	1,800	6,450	2,566	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Br. Amer. Colonies	2,822	—	207,660	—	2,300	200	110	3	—	—	—	—	—	
Foreign W. Indies	24	—	2,200	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Africa	—	—	8,600	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Totals	340,548	2 25	2,543,025	—	6,416	616,444	6,395	3 9	1,903,467	—	—	—	—	

(continued.)

To what PARTS.	Ginger.		Cacao.		Tobacco.		Mahogany.		Logwood.		Miscellaneous Articles.		Total Value.
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	Tons. Cwt.	Tons. Cwt.	Tons.	Value.	Value.					
To Great Britain	3,553	2 15	18,140	5,783	4	6,701	14,716	3 4	—	—	—	—	£. 1, 4.
Ireland	918	—	—	95	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,023,824 7 10
American States	339	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25,778 10 —
Br. Amer. Colonies	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60,095 28 —
Foreign W. Indies	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26,558 2 5
Africa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	355 19 —
Totals	4,816	2 15	18,140	5,978	4	6,701	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,116,442 17 1

But

BOOK II. 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.

Year	From the West Indies	From the Continent	From Great Britain	Total
1763	£ 100,000	£ 200,000	£ 300,000	£ 600,000
1764	£ 120,000	£ 250,000	£ 350,000	£ 720,000
1765	£ 150,000	£ 300,000	£ 400,000	£ 850,000
1766	£ 180,000	£ 350,000	£ 450,000	£ 980,000
1767	£ 200,000	£ 400,000	£ 500,000	£ 1,100,000
1768	£ 250,000	£ 500,000	£ 600,000	£ 1,350,000
1769	£ 300,000	£ 600,000	£ 700,000	£ 1,600,000
1770	£ 350,000	£ 700,000	£ 800,000	£ 1,850,000
1771	£ 400,000	£ 800,000	£ 900,000	£ 2,100,000
1772	£ 450,000	£ 900,000	£ 1,000,000	£ 2,350,000
1773	£ 500,000	£ 1,000,000	£ 1,100,000	£ 2,600,000
1774	£ 550,000	£ 1,100,000	£ 1,200,000	£ 2,850,000
1775	£ 600,000	£ 1,200,000	£ 1,300,000	£ 3,100,000
1776	£ 650,000	£ 1,300,000	£ 1,400,000	£ 3,350,000
1777	£ 700,000	£ 1,400,000	£ 1,500,000	£ 3,600,000
1778	£ 750,000	£ 1,500,000	£ 1,600,000	£ 3,850,000
1779	£ 800,000	£ 1,600,000	£ 1,700,000	£ 4,100,000
1780	£ 850,000	£ 1,700,000	£ 1,800,000	£ 4,350,000
1781	£ 900,000	£ 1,800,000	£ 1,900,000	£ 4,600,000
1782	£ 950,000	£ 1,900,000	£ 2,000,000	£ 4,850,000
1783	£ 1,000,000	£ 2,000,000	£ 2,100,000	£ 5,100,000
1784	£ 1,050,000	£ 2,100,000	£ 2,200,000	£ 5,350,000
1785	£ 1,100,000	£ 2,200,000	£ 2,300,000	£ 5,600,000
1786	£ 1,150,000	£ 2,300,000	£ 2,400,000	£ 5,850,000
1787	£ 1,200,000	£ 2,400,000	£ 2,500,000	£ 6,100,000
1788	£ 1,250,000	£ 2,500,000	£ 2,600,000	£ 6,350,000
1789	£ 1,300,000	£ 2,600,000	£ 2,700,000	£ 6,600,000
1790	£ 1,350,000	£ 2,700,000	£ 2,800,000	£ 6,850,000
1791	£ 1,400,000	£ 2,800,000	£ 2,900,000	£ 7,100,000
1792	£ 1,450,000	£ 2,900,000	£ 3,000,000	£ 7,350,000
1793	£ 1,500,000	£ 3,000,000	£ 3,100,000	£ 7,600,000
1794	£ 1,550,000	£ 3,100,000	£ 3,200,000	£ 7,850,000
1795	£ 1,600,000	£ 3,200,000	£ 3,300,000	£ 8,100,000
1796	£ 1,650,000	£ 3,300,000	£ 3,400,000	£ 8,350,000
1797	£ 1,700,000	£ 3,400,000	£ 3,500,000	£ 8,600,000
1798	£ 1,750,000	£ 3,500,000	£ 3,600,000	£ 8,850,000
1799	£ 1,800,000	£ 3,600,000	£ 3,700,000	£ 9,100,000
1800	£ 1,850,000	£ 3,700,000	£ 3,800,000	£ 9,350,000

IMPORTS

IMPORTS INTO JAMAICA.

	British manu- factures	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From <i>Great Britain</i> , direct, according to a return of the Inspector General for 1787	Foreign mer- chandize	686,657	2	3	758,932	5	4
		72,275	3	1			
From <i>Ireland</i> , I allow a moiety of the whole import to the British West Indies, consisting of manufactures and salted provisions to the amount of £.277,000					138,500	—	—
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	—	—
From the <i>British Colonies in America</i> (including about 20,000 quintals of salted cod from Newfoundland)					30,000	—	—
From the <i>United States</i> , Indian corn, wheat flour, rice, lumber, Raves, &c. imported in British ships					190,000	—	—
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	—	—
From the <i>Foreign West Indies</i> , under the free-port law, &c. calculated on an average of three years †					150,000	—	—
					<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	241
Sheep	98
	1,202 No.
Dying Woods	5,077 Tons.
Gum Guaiacum	79 Barrels.
Hides	4,537 No.
Indigo	4,663 lbs.
Mahogany	9,993 Planks.
Tortoise Shell	655 lbs.
Dollars	53,850 No.

Some

BOOK

II.

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 makes 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 computed in the custom-house books, appears to have been

£.147,675. 2. 31.

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The medium of our imports*
from Jamaica, in the same
year, is - - - £.539,499 18 3¹.

So that the annual excess of
our imports, in that period,
is no less than - - - 391,824 15 11¹.

"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."

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,

VOL. I.

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may

* The Custom House prices of goods imported, are considerably less than the real or mercantile prices—perhaps, in general, about one third.

BOOK

II.

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

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 ministry 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 to 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

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II.

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 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 encrease the evil which was meant to be redressed. By an unfortunate oversight, the collectors at the several British 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

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 *guardacostas*. 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, cambrics, 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

BOOK and cotton manufactories of Great Britain are of
 II. 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 sub-
 ject 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, disre-
 garding all colonial opposition, came to a resolu-
 tion, “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 oppor-
 tunity 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 planter's use and for the foreign demand;
 and

and it was added, that at all events the French CHAP. V.
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 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 first 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 Asiento 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 in 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, from the circumstances stated, that the ancient contraband system is nearly at an end. In like manner it may be said of the importation

BOOK of foreign indigo and cotton, that if it be not
 II. 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 spi-
 rit of that celebrated law; for, by furnishing an
 augmentation of freights to Great Britain, it
 tends ultimately to the encrease of our shipping.

Having now, to the best of my judgment and
 knowledge, furnished my readers with such par-
 ticulars 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 (ob-
 serves the governor) has been seasonable, and the
 success in planting miraculous. Major General
 Bannister is not now 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 up-
 on, and that Blome, who asserts there were seven-
 ty sugar-works in 1670, was misinformed. So
 late as the year 1722, the island made only eleven
 thousand hogheads 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

* 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.

island to Great Britain, about this period, were stated (as we have seen) by the Commissioners of Trade, at £. 539,499. 18. 3d sterling. Of the particulars I have no account. In the year 1739, the export of sugar was 33,155 hogshheads.

In 1744, the numbers were 9,640 whites, 112,428 negroes, and 88,036 head of cattle. The exports at this period, were nearly about 35,000 hogshheads 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:

EXPORTS FROM JAMAICA, 1768,

	Hhds. of Sugar, of 16 cwt.	Puns of Rum, of 110 gallons.	Bags of Pinen, of 100 lbs.	Bags of Ginger, of 50 lbs.	Bags of Cotton, of 200 lbs.	Bags of Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Tons of Fustick and Log-wood.
To Great Britain and Ireland	54,182	11,127	13,116	2,551	2,211	1,491	4,015
To North America	2,580	4,424	738	610	251	2,712	—
Total	55,762	15,551	13,854	3,161	2,462	4,203	4,015

(continued)

	Feet of Mahogany.	Tons of Lig. Vitæ.	Tons of N. c. Wood and Ebony.	Galls. of Metalfes.	Hides.	Miscellaneous Articles.
To Great Britain and Ireland	443,920	120	16	—	—	£. s. d. Value
To North America	424,080	—	—	201,960	2,287	unknown.
Total	868,000	120	16	201,960	2,287	

Cultivation,

BOOK
II.

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.

	Hhds. of Sugar, of 16 cwt.	Puns of Rum, of 110 gal.	Bags of Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Barrels of Indigo, of 300 lbs.	Bags of Ginger, of 70 lbs.	Bags of Pimento, of 100 lbs.
To Great Britain and Ireland	76,544	17,348	3,684	437	2,348	15,797
To North America	1,550	3,726	2,863	1	579	552
Total	78,094	21,074	6,547	438	2,927	16,349

(continued)

	Casks of ditto, of 300 lbs.	Bags of Cotton, of 100 lbs.	Hhds. of Melaf- tes, of 50 gal.	Tons of Log- wood, and Furick	Feet of Mahog- gany.	Hides.
To Great Britain and Ireland	476	2,021	6	1,286	117,300	656
To North America	47	88	95	26	12,080	8,636
Total	523	2,110	1,020	1,312	129,380	9,292

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.

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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 this 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, spread ruin and desolation throughout every island! The last of these terrible visitations in Jamaica, happened in 1786. 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

* 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 three last years, of which I have any account, the export was as follows:

1788	-	1,035,368 lbs.
1789	-	1,493,282
1790	-	1,783,740

I have obtained this account from the books of the naval officer kept in the island.

BOOK
II.

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 million 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 more; amounting in the whole to thirty-nine millions of pounds sterling.

APPENDIX

County of Cornwall. County of Sarry. County of Middlesex.

APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

APPEN-
DIX.

NUMBER I.

A RETURN of the number of SUGAR PLANTATIONS in the Island of JAMAICA, and the NEGRO SLAVES thereon, on the 28th March, 1789, distinguishing the several Parishes.

		No. of Sugar Plant.	Negroes thereon.	Plantations.	Total Number of Negroes in each County.	Total of Sugar Plantations.	Total of Negroes employed in the Cultivation of Sugar.
County of Middlesex.	Parish of St. Mary - - -	63	12,065				
	St. Anne - - -	30	4,908				
	St. John - - -	21	3,713				
	St. Dorothy - - -	12	1,776				
	St. Thomas in the Vale	33	5,327				
	Clarendon - - -	56	10,150				
	Vere - - -	26	5,279				
	St. Catharine - - -	3	408				
	Total in the County of Middlesex - -				244	43,626	
County of Surry.	Parish of St. Andrew - - -	24	3,540				
	St. George - - -	14	2,795				
	Portland - - -	23	2,968				
	Port Royal - - -	3	358				
	St. David - - -	12	1,890				
	St. Thomas in the East	83	15,786				
	Kington. - - -	Nil.					
Total in the County of Surry - - -				159	27,337		
County of Cornwall.	Parish of Trevelyan - - -	83	15,692				
	St. James - - -	67	12,482				
	Hanover - - -	69	13,330				
	Westmoreland - - -	62	11,219				
	St. Elizabeth - - -	26	5,112				
Total in the County of Cornwall - -				307	57,835		
Total in Jamaica - -				710	128,798		

NUMBER

NUMBER II.

*An Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica; drawn up in 1764, for the information of his Majesty's Ministers, by his Excellency William Henry Lyttelton *, Governor and Commander in Chief of that Island.*

BOOK
II.

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.

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, empowers 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

* Created Lord Westcote, of the kingdom of Ireland, in 1776.

It further empowers 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 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:

APPEN-
DIX.

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 among them.

The seventh directs the fortifications at Cagway to be completed, and empowers him to compel,

BOOK compel, not only soldiers, but planters, to work
 II. 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 licence.

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 ann.* payable out of the exchequer.

His instructions consist of twenty-two articles. The first directs the publication of his commission:

mission: 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.

APPEN-
DIX.

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 security 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

BOOK II. 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 Windfor 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;

per; 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 relieve 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.

BOOK
II.

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

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.

APPEN-
DIX.

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,

BOOK 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.

II.

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 his new form of government;

ment, as will better appear by his letters, *vide* APPEN-
 No. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. DIX.

These letters and papers being taken into consideration by the council, as also a report thereon by the committee, the council, on the 21st 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

BOOK to all laws for repealing others, though such re-
 II. pealed 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. It is impossible to quit this Historical Account, without lamenting that its able and accomplished author should have committed himself as he has done in the concluding paragraph. The wicked attempt to introduce an arbitrary form of government, he terms *supporting the just rights of the crown*, and seems very seriously to lament that the privy council had not firmness and resolution to persist in their project.

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

APPEN-
DIX.

BOOK
II.

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 exigencies 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, lest 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 entrusted 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 considered 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

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that, therefore, the present style of enacting laws, *By the APPEN-
governor, council, and representatives of the commons as-
sembled, 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.* DIX.

We are further of opinion, that no ecclesiastics, 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 dispose 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 licence from the right reverend the lord bishop of London; and that none having his lordship's licence be rejected, without sufficient cause alledged; 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

BOOK that all such coins may bear your majesty's royal superscription, and not be imposed in payment elsewhere.

II.

All which, &c.

FINCH,
DANBY,
WORCESTER,
ESSEX,
FAUCONBERRY,
CRAVEN,
H. COVENTRY.

The. Dalmar.

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.

NUMBER II.

*At the Court at Whitehall, the 15th of February,
1677-8.*

PRESENT, the King's 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,

Coventry, on the 2d instant, we crave leave to offer to APPEN-
 your majesty the most material points which did occur DIX.
 unto us upon perusal of the said draft; which are as fol-
 loweth:

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 honourable 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.

BOOK cont. in the Charaibee 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

statutes and ordinances for the public peace, wellfare, 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 therunto, 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 therunto, 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, authorize 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 meetings; 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 necessary 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

BOOK

II.

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 alterations 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

pow^r

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 endeavour 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.

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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. Lieutenant Colonel 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

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offence

BOOK II. 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 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 lordships' 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 dispatched 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

BOOK 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 dispatch, 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

NUMBER IX.

*Extract of a letter from the Earl of Carlisle to Mr. Secretary
Coventry.*

ON the 2d of September last, the general assembly APPEN-
met; but under so much dissatisfaction, from the new DIX.]
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 reve-
nue to have thrown that out first, as a mark of their dis-
allowing 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 main-
tenance 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, Colonel Long, refused to answer, with two
more, Colonel Charles Whitfield and Colonel Thomas
Freeman. The chief-justice, being a man of very
great influence upon the assembly, I presently suspend-
ed, 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

BOOK II. 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 a 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 Lyttelton'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,

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 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.

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DIX.

N U M B E R 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 remote part of the

BOOK the world, than the assurance they have always had of
 II. being governed in such manner as that none of their
 rights should be lost, so long as they were within the do-
 minions 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 circum-
 stances wherein it stands: the situation and natural advan-
 tages of the place will very probably, by God's blessing,
 in a very short time, make it very considerable. It were
 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 con-
 clude, the example is taken.

2d. The nature of all colonies is changeable, and con-
 sequently 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 pre-
 vails.

4th. This

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 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.

APPEN-
DIX.



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 lordship's 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 28th 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 entrust 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 no laws should be enacted in Jamaica, but such as, being framed by the governor and council, and transmitted to your majesty for your royal approbation, were afterwards remitted to Jamaica, and consented unto by the assembly there; and, in pursuance there-

of,

BOOK II. of, 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. APPEN-
DIX.

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 expence 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

BOOK frequent and sudden change of laws in other cases than such
 II. 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 interest 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 unto 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 forbore 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 case been practised in any of your majesty's kingdoms. How far, therefore, it is fit to entrust 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,

ties, 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 considerations.

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

BOOK II. 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 authorize and empower your governor to call another assembly, and to represent unto them the great inconvenience and expediency of accepting and consenting 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.

WEST INDIES.

NUMBER XIII.

Extract of a letter from the Committee to the Earl of Carlisle.

AFTER our very hearty commendation unto your lordship, we have received two letters from you, the one of the 24th of October, the other of the 15th of 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 dispatch 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 majesty: 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.

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DIX.

NUMBER XIV.

*Extract of a letter from the Earl of Carlisle to Mr.
Secretary Coventry.*

St. Jago de la Vega, 30th Aug. 1679.

BOOK II. 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

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, re-assumed 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 lordships letters of the 25th of March, 4th of April, and 31st of May last, I received on the 26th of August, as also your lordships 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 lordships order and report of the same date, to the assembly; which came to me as seasonably as they received them surpris'dly, 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.

T 2

But,

BOOK II. But, from what I can learn from the chief leaders among them, I find the same averfeness 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.

Extrait 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 put 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

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 as unalterable as his own, he is withdrawn 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 Byndlofs 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,

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BOOK lordships, as my conjecture in prospect, since the general
 II. 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 lordships 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, alledging 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 over-ruled. 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 discouraging 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 with them, 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 individually, and gave it myself to their speaker; but that bill had no better success, but was rejected also.

Upon

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.

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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 opiated, 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 alledge, 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 a jury, the foreman of which was Colonel Byndlofs.

2dly. They alledge 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 enquiry.

3dly. As for its being in force in my time, it was not from my affection, 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 alledging 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

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 for 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 powers 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

BOOK
II.

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 considerable sum of money; a breast-work thrown up at

Old-

Old-Harbour and several other places; and guns mounted on a platform placed at Port-Morant.

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DIX.

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 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 of 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

BOOK II. 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, and 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 most necessary.

It is very true the laws contain many and great errors, APPEN.
as their lordships may see by the assembly's journal; so that DIX.
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
bath 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 proceed-
ings, there is a clause that makes it felony for any person to
conceal his own goods, left in his own possession, after exe-
cution 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 con-
trary 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 re-
port 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 set-
tled, our plantation but beginning. But further, we can-

BOOK not imagine that 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 officers 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

pling 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 assemblyman, 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

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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 Colonel 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 lordships 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

that we are and resolve to die his majesty's true, loyal, APPEN-
and obedient subjects. DIX.

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 alterations 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 expence 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

BOOK into his princely consideration, and either restore to us our
 II. 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 glo-
 rious prince and his subjects here an happy people.

And whereas the gentlemen of the assembly, in their
 address to his majesty read here in council the 15th of No-
 vember, 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 that bill passed three times in form in
 the assembly, and, upon the best recollection of their me-
 mories, they are fully persuaded and do believe the bill
 was again sent down with that amendment from the gover-
 nor and council, according as it passed at the last: we, the
 gentlemen of his majesty's council here present at the pas-
 sing 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, in-
 terlined; 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 no-
 thing 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 con-
 cerning us, so we hope we shall approve ourselves
 such, and, as in duty bound, ever pray for his majesty's
 long

long life, and that he may prosperously and triumphantly **APPEN-
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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 Byndlofs, 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.

N U M B E R X X I .

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,

P R E S E N T,

Prince Rupert,	Earl of Essex,
Lord President,	Mr. Hyde,
Lord Privy-Seal,	Mr. Secretary Coventry,
Marquis of Worcester,	Sir Leolin Jenkins.
Earl of Bridgewater,	

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

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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 lordship's 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 falsties and mistakes contained therein.

First, it is alledged by the assembly, that the island took up the civil form of government in the time of Sir Thomas Modyford and Sir Charles Lyttelton; 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

Sir Thomas Lynch wanted only his majesty's approbation to render it perpetual. APPEN-
DIX.

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, alledged 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,

BOOK 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 privity; 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, Earl of Bridgewater,
Lord Privy-Seal, Sir Leolin Jenkins.
Marquis of Worcester,

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 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

full duty of tonnage and poundage which it should have APPEN-
paid if consumed in England, deducting only such part of DIX.
the said duty as shall not be repaid in England upon ex-
portation 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

NUMBER

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,	Viscount Fauconberg,
Lord President,	Mr. Hyde,
Earl of Sunderland,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins.
Earl of Effex,	

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 be 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 alledges, 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?

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?

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.

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 Bath,
Archbp. of Canterbury,	Lord Bishop of London,
Lord Chancellor,	Mr. Hyde,
Lord President,	Mr. Finch,
Lord Privy-Seal,	Lord Chief Justice North,
Duke of Albemarle,	Mr. Coventry,
Marquis of Worcester,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins,
Earl of Ossory,	Mr. Chancellor of the Ex-
Lord Chamberlain,	chequer,
Earl of Sunderland,	Mr. Godolphin.
Earl of Clarendon,	

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.

N U M B E R 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, Marq. of Worcester, Mr. Sec. Jenkins.

MR. Secretary Jenkins acquaints the committee, that Colonel 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.

N U M B E R XXX.

Copy of an order in council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall,

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Earl of Clarendon,
Lord President,	Earl of Bath,
Marquis of Worcester,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

THE Earl of Carlisle is called in, and delivers a paper containing a charge against Colonel 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

BOOK that he had granted an *habeas corpus*, being judge, for a
 II. 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 Moleworth, 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's*, 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.

APPEN-
DIX.*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 Halifax,
Lord President,	Viscount Fauconberg,
Lord Privy-Seal,	Mr. Hyde,
Marquis of Worcester,	Mr. Godolphin,
Earl of Sunderland,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins,
Earl of Clarendon,	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 Lyttelton and his council, being a supplemental act to the former:

And his lordship acquainting the committee, that, as for licences of taverns he had set them on foot before he passed any bill of revenue:

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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 assembly-men 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,	Earl of Essex,
Lord President,	Earl of Halifax,
Lord Privy-Seal,	Viscount Fauconberg,
Marquis of Worcester,	Lord Chief Justice North,
Earl of Clarendon,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

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 Lyttelton 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 Lyttelton 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 grievances 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,

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 expence of the government.

Their lordships tell Colonel Long, that, in case they be willing and pass the act of revenue 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 Colonel D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttelton before mentioned, and how far the English laws and methods of government ought to take place in Jamaica; and it is there alledged, "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 question 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 Colonel D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttelton 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 Halifax,
Lord Privy-Seal,	Lord Visc. Fauconberg,
Lord Chamberlain,	Lord Chief Justice North,
Earl of Essex,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins,
Earl of Clarendon,	Mr. Seymour.

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 Colonel D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttelton, 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,	Lord Chief Justice North,
Earl of Sunderland,	Lord Bishop of London,
Earl of Bridgwater,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins,
Earl of Essex,	Mr. Seymour.
Earl of Halifax,	

MY Lord Chief Justice North having delivered his opinion in writing upon the question recommended to him at the last meeting, Colonel 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 Lyttelton 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 Colonel Long objects, that there was a law made by Sir Thomas Modyford, which declares all laws passed at Sir Charles Lyttelton'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.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in
the council-chamber at Whitehall, Thursday
21st of October, 1680,

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Visc. Fauconberg,
Lord President,	Mr. Hyle,
Marquis of Worcester,	Lord Chief Justice North,
Earl of Bridgewater,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins,
Earl of Clarendon,	

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 issue 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 Colonel D'Oyley, and Sir Charles Lyttelton, and the *constitution of the island thereupon*, the acts of council made by Colonel D'Oyley and Sir Charles Lyttelton 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 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 Beeton, 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, Mr. Chancellor of
Earl of Bridgewater, Earl of Halifax, the Exchequer.
Lord Chamberlain,

MY Lord Chief Justice North reports, that he has been attended by the gentlemen of Jamaica, who have declared themselves willing to grant the king a 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 take 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 the 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.

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. Secretary 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-licences, 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.

Extract of an order in council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, on Saturday the 30th of October, 1680,

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Earl of Clarendon,
Duke of Albemarle,	Earl of Essex,
Lord Chamberlain,	Viscount Fauconberg,
Earl of Bridgwater,	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

BOOK Charles Earl of Carlisle, captain-general and governor in
 II. 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 establish-
 ed for the government and support of our island of Jamaica:
 we do hereby give and grant unto you full power and au-
 thority, 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 (hav-
 ing, before their sitting, taken the oaths of allegiance and
 supremacy, which you shall commissionate fit persons, un-
 der the public seal of that island, to administer, and without
 taking which none shall be capable of sitting, though elect-
 ed) 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, con-
 stitute, 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

to 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 us, 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 happens 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.

APPEN-
DIX.

Given at our court at Whitehall, this 3d day of November, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

THE
H I S T O R Y,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

British Colonies in the West Indies.

B O O K III.

ENGLISH CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS.

C H A P. I.

B A R B A D O E S.

First Arrival of the English at this Island.—Origin, progress, and termination of the Proprietary Government.—Revenue granted to the Crown of 4½ per centum on all Produce exported—how obtained.—Origin of the Act of Navigation.—Situation and extent of the Island.—Soil and Produce.—Population.—Decline, and Causes thereof.—Exports and Imports.

THE Island of Barbadoes, of which I now propose to treat, was probably first discovered by the Portuguese in their voyages from Brasil; and

CHAP. I.

BOOK and from them it received the name which it still
 III. retains*. It was found without occupants or
 claimants. The Charaibes, for reasons altogether
 unknown to us, had deserted it, and the Portu-
 guese, satisfied with the splendid regions they
 had acquired on the Continent, seem to have
 considered it as of little value. Having furnish-
 ed it with a breed of swine for the benefit of
 such of their countrymen as might navigate the
 same track, they left the island in all other re-
 spects as they found it.

Of the English, the first who are known to
 have landed in this island, were the crew of a
 ship called the *Olive Blossom*, bound from Lon-
 don to Surinam, in 1605, and fitted out at the ex-
 pence of Sir Olive Leigh, whom Purchas styles
 'a worshipful knight of Kent.' Finding it with-
 out inhabitants, they took possession of the coun-
 try, by fixing up a cross on the spot where *James-
 Town* was afterwards built, with this inscription,
 "James King of England and this island;" but
 they began no settlement, nor made any consi-
 derable stay in a country entirely uninhabited
 and overgrown with woods; yet it furnished
 them with fresh provisions. They found pigs,
 pigeons, and parrots, and the sea abounded with
 fish.

Some years after this, a ship of Sir William
 Courteen's, a merchant of London, returning
 from Brazil, was driven by stress of weather in-
 to this island, and finding refreshments on it,
 the master and seamen, on their arrival in Eng-
 land, made so favourable a report of the beauty
 and fertility of the country, that Lord Ley (af-
 terwards Earl of Marlborough, and Lord High
 Treasurer)

* It is said not to have been noticed in any sea-chart be-
 fore the year 1600.

Treasurer) immediately obtained from King CHAP. I.
James the First a grant of the island to himself
and his heirs in perpetuity.

Courteen himself was a man of extensive views and magnificent projects. He immediately began (probably under the patronage of Marlborough) to form ideas of establishing a colony in the distant but promising territory. Having engaged about thirty persons, who undertook to settle in the island, and furnished them with tools, provisions and necessaries of all kinds for planting and fortifying the island, he appointed William Deane their governor, and sent them away in a ship called the *William and John*, commanded by John Powell. They arrived safe in the latter end of the year 1624, and laid the foundations of a town, which, in honour of the sovereign, they denominated JAMES-TOWN; and thus began the first English settlement in the island of Barbadoes.

For some time previous to this, it had become fashionable for men of high rank and distinction to engage in sea adventures, proclaiming themselves the patrons of colonization and foreign commerce. In the lists of those who contributed to the British settlements in Virginia, New England, the Bermuda Islands, and other places in the New World, may be found the names of many of the first nobility and gentry of the kingdom. Among others who distinguished themselves in such pursuits, at the time that Barbadoes was thus planted by a private merchant, was James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. This nobleman was at that juncture engaged in the establishment of a colony in the island of St. Christopher (as we shall hereafter have occasion more particularly to relate) and, either not knowing of the Earl of Marlborough's patent, or conceiving that it interfered with his own pretensions,

BOOK
III.

sions*, he applied for and obtained, in the first year of Charles I. a warrant for a grant, by letters patent under the great seal of England, of all the Charaibean Islands, including also Barbadoes; but when the grant came to be actually passed, the Earl of Marlborough opposed it, on the ground of priority of right. The dispute between these noble lords continued for a considerable time; at length the contending parties thought it prudent to compromise the matter, and, on the Earl of Carlisle's undertaking to pay the annual sum of £.300 to the Earl of Marlborough and his heirs for ever, Marlborough waved his patent, and, in consequence of this arrangement, on the 2d of June 1627, the Earl of Carlisle's patent passed the great seal, whereupon became sole proprietor †.

During

* It is said that he had obtained from James I. a grant, or warrant for a grant, under the great seal, of all the Charaibean Islands, which the king erected into a province by the name of *Carlisle*, on the model of the palatinate of *Durham*.

† Among other clauses in this grant are the following: "Further know ye, that we, for us our heirs and successors, have authorized and appointed the said *James Earl of Carlisle* and his heirs (of whose fidelity, prudence, justice, and wisdom, we have great confidence) for the good and happy government of the said province, whether for the public security of the said province or the private utility of every man, to make, erect, and set forth, and under his or their signet to publish, such laws as he the said *Earl of Carlisle* or his heirs, with the consent, assent, and approbation of the free inhabitants of the said province, or the greater part of them, thereunto to be called, and in such form as he or they in his or their discretion shall think fit and best. And these laws must all men for the time being, that do live within the limits of the said province, observe; whether they be bound to sea, or from thence returning to *England*, or any other our dominions, or any other place appointed, upon such impositions, penalties, imprisonment, or restraint that it behoveth, and the quality of the offence requireth, either upon the body, or death itself, to be executed by the said *James Earl of Carlisle*, and by his heirs, or by his or their deputy, judges, justices,

magistrates

During this contest about the disposal of countries, most of which were at that time in the hands of their proper owners, the Charaibes; the man, who alone had the merit of annexing the plantation of Barbadoes to the crown of England seems to have been shamefully neglected. The Earl of Marlborough, having secured

to magistrates, officers, and ministers, according to the tenor and true meaning of these presents, in what cause soever, and with such power as to him the said *James Earl of Carlisle*, or his heir, shall seem best; and to dispose of offences or riots whatsoever, either by sea or land, whether before judgment received, or after remitted, freed, pardoned, or forgiven; and to do and to perform all and every thing and things, which to the fulfilling of justice, courts or manner of proceeding in their tribunal, may or doth belong or appertain, although express mention of them in these presents be not made, yet we have granted full power by virtue of these presents therein to be made; which laws so absolutely proclaimed, and by strength of right supported as they are granted, we will, enjoin, charge, and command all and every subject and liege people of us, our heirs and successors, so far as them they do concern, inviolably to keep and observe, under the pains therein expressed; so as notwithstanding the aforesaid laws be agreeable and not repugnant unto reason, nor against it; but as convenient and agreeable as may be to the laws, statutes, customs, and rights of our kingdom of *England*.—"We will also, of our princely grace, for us, our heirs and successors, straightly charge, make, and ordain, that the said province be of our allegiance, and that all and every subject and liege people of us, our heirs and successors, brought or to be brought, and their children, whether there born or afterwards to be born, become natives and subjects of us our heirs and successors, and be as free as they that were born in *England*; and so their inheritance within our kingdom of *England*, or other our dominions, to seek, receive, take, hold, buy, and possess, and use and enjoy them as his own, and to give, sell, alter, and bequeath them at their pleasure; and also freely, quietly, and peaceably to have and possess all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of this kingdom, and them to use and enjoy as liege people of *England*, whether born, or to be born, without impediment, molestation, vexation, injury, or trouble of us our heirs and successors, any statute, act, ordinance, or proviso, to the contrary notwithstanding."

BOOK
III

to himself and his posterity, the gratification I have mentioned, deserted him; and the Lord Carlisle, having done him premeditated injury, became his irreconcilable enemy. Courteen, however, found a friend in William Earl of Pembroke, who represented his case in such a light to the King, as to obtain a revocation of Carlisle's patent, and a grant to himself in trust for Courteen.

But the hopes of this worthy citizen were of short continuance. The Earl of Carlisle was, at that juncture, absent from the kingdom, a circumstance which gave some colour to his charge of injustice and precipitancy in the proceeding. On his return to England, he complained that he had been condemned and deprived of his property unheard; and the monarch on the throne, who seems, through the whole of his unfortunate reign, rather to have wanted resolution to pursue the right path, than sagacity to discern it, trod back his ground a second time; for, unable to resist the clamorous importunity of a worthless favourite, he actually annulled the grant to the Earl of Pembroke, and, by second letters patent to the Earl of Carlisle, again restored to him the privileges of which he had himself, a short time before, deprived him.

Thus by an act of power, which its repugnancy and absurdity alone, rendered illegal, the Earl of Carlisle again found himself lord paramount of Barbadoes; and in order completely to ruin all the interests in the colony of his competitor, he proceeded to distribute the lands to such persons as chose to receive grants at his hands on the terms proposed to them. A society of London merchants* accepted ten thousand acres,

* The names of those merchants were Marmaduke Brandon, William Perkin, Alexander Banister, Robert Wheatly, Edmond

acres, on conditions which promised great advantage to the proprietor; but they were allowed the liberty of sending out a person to preside over their concerns in the colony, and they made choice for this purpose of Charles Woolferstone, who repaired to the island, accompanied with sixty-four persons, each of whom was authorized to take up 100 acres of land.

These people landed on the 5th of July, 1628, at which time Courteen's settlement was in a very promising condition; but Woolferstone declared it an inroad and usurpation, and, being supported by the arrival of Sir William Tufton, who was sent out as chief governor by Lord Carlisle, in 1629, with a force sufficient for the maintenance of his pretensions, he compelled the friends of Courteen to submit; and the interests of the latter were thenceforth swallowed up and forgotten*.

The facts which I have thus recited have been related so often by others, that an apology might be necessary for their insertion in this work, were it not, that by comparing one account with another, I have been enabled to correct some important errors in each. And the claim of the Earl of Carlisle having originally introduced and established the very heavy internal imposition on their gross produce, to which the planters of this, and some of the neighbouring islands, are to this day liable; I have thought it necessary to be particular and minute, in tracing the claim itself from the beginning. In what manner it

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produced

Edmond Forster, Robert Swinnerton, Henry Wheatly, John Charles, and John Farrington.

* In this year, Sir William Tufton gave 140 grants of land, comprizing in the whole 15,872 acres, and on the 23d of February, 1630, he passed divers laws, and among others one for dividing the island into six parishes.

BOOK III. produced the burthen in question, and how Barbadoes reverted from a proprietary to a royal government, I shall now proceed to relate.

The administration of Sir William Tufton, the first governor appointed by Lord Carlisle, proving disagreeable to his lordship, Captain Henry Hawley was sent over in 1631 to supersede him. Tufton resenting this measure, procured the signatures of some of the planters to a petition complaining of Hawley's conduct. Hawley construed this petition into an act of mutiny on the part of Tufton, for which he had him tried and condemned by a court-martial, and with very little ceremony caused him to be shot to death; a proceeding universally exclaimed against as a most horrid and atrocious murder. Hawley, however, though recalled on this account, not only escaped punishment through the interest of his noble patron, but was soon afterwards sent back again as chief governor; in which capacity he remained till 1638, when he was driven from the country by the united voice of all the inhabitants; who however permitted his brother William Hawley to act as commander in chief until a governor should be nominated at home. He was succeeded by Major Hunckes, who, leaving the island in 1641, appointed Philip Bell, Esquire, his deputy, and Bell, in 1645, was appointed chief governor*.

But

* During the administration of this gentleman, many salutary laws were passed; among others the following:

11. "An act for the continuance and observation of all acts and statutes not repealed;" which Act recites that there were divers and sundry good and wholesome laws, statutes, and ordinances provided, enacted, and made, assigned, and agreed upon, by and with the assent, consent, and approbation of the governor, council, and freeholders out of every parish of the island, intituled *A General Assembly for that purpose*

But the conduct of Hawley, thus violent and bloody, and the support which he received from the proprietor, had alienated the minds of the new settlers from power thus delegated and abused; and the proprietor's authority lost ground every day. In the mean time, the civil war in England caused many people, of peaceable tempers and dispositions, to take refuge in this island; and the consequent ruin of the King's affairs induced a still greater number, many of whom had been officers of rank in his service, to follow their example. The emigration from the mother country to this island was indeed so great during the commotions in England, that in 1650 it was computed there were 20,000 white men in Barbadoes, half of them able to bear arms, and furnishing

Y 2

even

pose elected, made, and chosen. And it is thereby enacted, that none of those laws shall be altered, or any thing added to them, without the consent of a like *General Assembly*. And that every parish should have two representatives at least, to be elected by the freeholders.

2d. "An addition to an Act intitled, "An Act for settling the estates and titles of the inhabitants of this island to their possessions in their several plantations within the same:" it is therein recited, that in a clause in the first act it is ordained, that all the inhabitants of this island, that were in quiet possession of any lands or tenements by virtue of any warrant from any former governor, or by conveyance or other act in law, from them who had the same warrant, should have, hold, and enjoy the same, *as their free estate*: and, as some scruples had since arisen, whether an estate for life or inheritance might be construed from the same, for want of the words *their heirs*; to the intent the same might be more fully explained, and all disputes of that kind for the future abolished, it is enacted, that by the words *as their free estate*, was meant, *the whole estate and inheritance* of the respective plantations within this island, so that by such possession in manner as by the said act is expressed, the said inhabitants are thereby adjudged and declared to have and to hold their lands of right to them, to dispose of or alienate, or otherwise to descend, or be confirmed to their heirs for ever."

CHAP.
I.

BOOK III. even a regiment of horse to the number of one thousand.

“These adventurers,” says Lord Clarendon, planted without any body’s leave, and without being opposed or contradicted by any body.” The case seems to have been, that the governor for the time being granted lands to all who applied, on receiving a gratuity for himself; and the claim of the proprietor, whether disputed in the island, or disregarded amidst the confusions at home, was at length tacitly and silently relinquished.*

The colony, left to its own efforts, and enjoying an unlimited freedom of trade, flourished beyond example. In the year 1646, however, the then Earl of Carlisle, who was son and heir of the patentee, stimulated by the renown of its wealth and prosperity, began to revive his claims as hereditary proprietor; and, entering into a treaty with Lord Willoughby of Parham, conveyed to that nobleman all his rights by lease for twenty-one years, on condition of receiving one half the profits in the mean time; but justly apprehending that the resident planters might dispute his pretensions, he very readily concurred with Lord Willoughby in soliciting a commission for the latter, as chief governor, under the sanction of regal authority†.

This, though an absolute dereliction of the proprietaryship, was asked and obtained; and the Lord Willoughby, thus commissioned, embarked

* Lord Carlisle had originally stipulated for an annual tribute of forty pounds of cotton wool from each person who held lands under his grant.

† When this application was made, the King was in the hands of the parliament; the commission therefore, with his Majesty’s privity and approbation, was signed by the Prince of Wales, at that time in Holland.

barked for his government; and, in consideration of the royal appointment, was received by the inhabitants, who were warmly attached to the King's interest, with respect and obedience. It seems probable, that, at his first coming, he said nothing of his lease from Carlisle; trusting rather to future management for the re-establishment of that lord's pretensions, than to an open avowal of them on his arrival. We are told, however, by Clarendon, that he obtained from the planters a promise of a contribution to the proprietor; but before it was carried into effect, the regal authority was abolished in England, and Barbadoes reduced to the obedience of the new republic, by whom another governor was appointed.

On the restoration of Charles II. and the re-establishment of the royal authority over all the British dominions*, Lord Willoughby, who had eight or nine years of his lease unexpired, applied to the King for leave to return to his government of Barbadoes. To this application no objection would have been made by the inhabitants, if his lordship had considered himself merely as representative of the crown; but his connection and contract with the Earl of Carlisle, were by this time sufficiently understood by the planters, who saw with astonishment that they were regarded by those great lords as mere tenants at will of their possessions. They solicited therefore the King's support and protection. "They pleaded," says Clarendon, "that they were

* On the 18th of February, 1661, his Majesty honoured thirteen gentlemen of Barbadoes with the dignity of baronetage, in consideration of their loyalty and sufferings during the civil war: They were, Sir John Colleton, Sir James Modiford, Sir James Drax, Sir Robert Davers, Sir Robert Hacker, Sir John Yeamans, Sir Timothy Thorahill, Sir John Witham, Sir Robert Legard, Sir John Worlum, Sir John Rawdon, Sir Edwyn Stede, Sir Willoughby Chamberlayne.

BOOK III. were the King's subjects; that they had repaired to Barbadoes as to a desolate place, and had by their industry obtained a livelihood there, when they could not with a good conscience stay in England; that if they should now be left to those lords to ransom themselves and compound for their estates, they must leave the country, and the plantation be destroyed, which yielded his Majesty so great a revenue." Respecting the charter granted to the Earl of Carlisle, they insisted positively that it was void in law; and they made two humble propositions to the King, either that his Majesty would give them leave to institute in his name, but at their own cost, a process in the Exchequer for trying the validity of the earl's patent; or that he would leave those who claimed under it (for the second Earl of Carlisle dying in the interim, had bequeathed his rights in the West Indies to the Earl of Kinnoul) to their legal remedy, absolutely denying that either the late or former Lord Carlisle had sustained the smallest expence in settling the colony.

Instead of consenting to either of those most reasonable propositions, the King ordered enquiry to be made into the several allegations and claims of the parties concerned, by a committee of the privy-council; before whom some of the planters being heard, one of them, in order more readily to induce the King to take the sovereignty of the island into his own hands, offered, in the name of the inhabitants, to consent, in that case, to lay an imposition of so much in the hundred on the produce of their estates, out of which his Majesty's governor might be honourably supported, and the King dispose of the overplus as he should think fit. To a monarch of Charles's disposition, this was too tempting a proposition

proposition to be resisted. We are informed that his Majesty *received the offer very graciously*; "and the next care of the committee," adds the noble historian, who was himself of that body, "was to make some computation, that might be depended upon, as to the yearly revenue, that would arise upon the imposition within the island." But the planters, when called up the next day to give satisfaction in this particular, insisted that Mr. Kendall, the person who had made the offer, had no authority to undertake for them, or the inhabitants within the island; and the utmost they could be brought to promise for themselves was, that they would use their endeavours with their friends in the island, to settle such a revenue on the crown as the circumstances of the colony would admit of, which they said the assembly alone was competent to determine.

The prospect of a revenue, though stidant and uncertain, brought forward the creditors of the Earl of Carlisle, the patentee, who was indebted, it seems, at his death, in the sum of £.80,000, and they had no hopes of being paid but from the profits of his West Indian possessions. The heirs of the Earl of Marlborough likewise put in their claim for the arrearage of the annuity of £.300, granted under the original compromise which I have before mentioned; and the Lord Willoughby insisted at the same time on receiving a moiety of whatever profits might arise during the remainder of the term yet unexpired in his lease. The other moiety, during that time, and the whole in reversion, was claimed by the Earl of Kinnoul.

To satisfy these several claimants, and secure a perpetual revenue to the crown, was a work of difficulty, and its accomplishment seems to have been the sole aim of the King's ministers;

by

BOOK by whom, after a tedious but partial investi-
 III. gation (considering the colony as wholly at the
 King's mercy) it was finally ordered, that the
 Lord Willoughby should immediately repair to
 his government, and insist on the grant and
 establishment by the assembly of a permanent
 and irrevocable revenue of four and a half per
 cent. to be paid in specie, on all dead commodi-
 ties, the growth of the island, shipped to any
 port of the world; the money arising therefrom
 to be applied as follows:

First, towards an honourable and immediate
 provision for the Earl of Kinnoul, who, it was
 alledged, had sacrificed his fortune in the King's
 service, and who covenanted, on such provision
 being secured to him, to surrender the Carlisle
 patent to the crown.

Secondly, towards satisfaction and full dis-
 charge of Earl of Marlborough's annuity.

Thirdly, it was stipulated that the surplus
 should be divided equally between the credi-
 tors of the Earl of Carlisle and the Lord Wil-
 loughby, during the term yet unexpired of his
 lordship's lease. On the expiration thereof,
 the remainder, after providing £.1,200 per
 annum for the King's governor for the time
 being, was ordered to be paid among the said
 creditors till their demands were fully satisfied
 and discharged.

Fourthly, on the extinction of those several
 incumbrances, it was stipulated that the whole
 revenue, subject to the charge of £.1,200 per
 annum to the governor, should be at the disposal
 of the crown.

On these terms it was understood that the pro-
 prietary government was to be dissolved, and
 that the planters were to consider themselves
 as legally confirmed in possession of their estates,
 and

and to carry into effect the important point, on which the whole arrangement depended (the grant of a perpetual revenue by the assembly) the Lord Willoughby returned to his government in 1663.

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It is not wonderful that the planters, on his lordship's arrival, though devoted to the interests of the crown, should have loudly murmured at the conduct and determination of the British government in the progress and conclusion of the whole business. Clarendon himself confesses that the grant to Carlisle was voidable by law. The King therefore laid them under no great obligation in obtaining a surrender of it. Many of the planters had been obliged to quit their native country in consequence of the exertions in support of the regal cause during the civil war: by the late settlement they perceived a regard expressed towards every interest concerned but their own; and the return which they met with, both for their former services, and also for augmenting the trade, revenue, and dominion of the parent state by their recent labours, was a demand of a contribution, which they stated would amount to ten per cent. on the clear profits of their estates for ever.

But their complaints, though well founded, were unavailing. The king and his governor, were too deeply interested to recede. The assembly was called upon to forge chains for themselves and their children; and, if persuasion should fail, force was not only at hand, but was actually employed to compel them to submission. Colonel Farmer, who led the party in opposition, was arrested and sent prisoner to England, on a charge of mutiny and treason, nor was he released till after a tedious and severe confinement. Awed by this example, and sensible that no support

support could be expected from the people at home, whose privileges lay prostrate at the feet of the restored monarch, the assembly passed an act for the purposes required of them; and their posterity still bear, and it is apprehended will long continue to bear, the burthen of it*.

The

* I have thought it may be satisfactory to the reader to have an opportunity of perusing the Act at large, which I therefore subjoin, premising, that the clause which exempts the lands called the 10,000 acres, and also that which stipulates for the building a sessions house, and a prison, and providing for all other public charges incumbent on the government, out of the monies to be raised by the Act, have been equally disregarded by the crown. The sessions house and prison were not finished until the year 1730, and the expence (upwards of £.5,000) was then defrayed by a special tax on the inhabitants; and there was raised by other taxes no less a sum than £.19,44. 1s. 4d. in three years (viz. from 1745 to 1748) for the repair of the fortifications.

An ACT for settling an Impost on the Commodities of the Growth of this Island; passed the 12th of September, 1663.—N^o 36.

WHEREAS our late Sovereign Lord Charles the First, of blessed memory, did, by his letters patent under the great seal of England, grant and convey unto James Earl of Carlisle and his heirs for ever, the propriety of this island of Barbadoes: And his sacred Majesty that now is having by purchase invested himself in all the rights of the said Earl of Carlisle, and in all other rights which any other person may claim from that patent, or any other; and thereby, more immediately and particularly, hath taken this island into his royal protection. And his most excellent Majesty having, by letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date the twelfth of June, in the fifteenth year of his reign, appointed his Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain general and chief governor of Barbadoes, and all the Carribee Islands, with full power and authority to grant, confirm, and assure to the inhabitants of the same, and their heirs, for ever, all lands, tenements, and hereditaments under his Majesty's great seal appointed for Barbadoes and the rest of the Carribee Islands, as, relation being thereunto had, may
and

The conduct of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon in this affair, who indeed appears to have been

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I.

and doth more at large appear. And whereas, by virtue of the said Earl of Carlisle's patent, divers governors and agents have been sent over hither, with authority to lay out, set, grant, or convey in parcels the lands within this island, to such persons as they should think fit: which was by them, in their respective times, as much as in them lay, accordingly performed. And whereas many have not their grants, warrants, and other evidences for their said lands, and others, by reason of the ignorances of those, want sufficient and legal words to create inheritances in them and their heirs, and others that never recorded their grants, or warrants, and others that can make no proof of any grants or warrants they ever had for their lands; and yet have been long and quiet possessors of the same, and bestowed great charges thereon. And whereas the acknowledgment of forty pounds of cotton per head, and other taxes and compositions formerly raised to the Earl of Carlisle, was held very heavy: For a full remedy thereof for all the defects afore-related, and quieting the possessions and settling the tenures of the inhabitants of this island; Be it enacted by his Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, &c. his council, and gentlemen of the assembly, and by the authority of the same, that, notwithstanding the defects afore-related, all the now rightful possessors of lands, tenements, and hereditaments within this island, according to the laws and customs thereof, may at all times repair unto his Excellency for the full confirmation of their estates and tenures, and then and there shall and may receive such full confirmation and assurance, under his Majesty's great seal for this island, as they can reasonably advise or desire, according to the true intent and meaning of this Act. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the payments of forty pounds of cotton per head, and all other duties, rents, and arrears of rent which have or might have been levied, be from henceforth absolutely and fully released and made void; and that the inhabitants of this island have and hold their several plantations to them and their heirs for ever, in free and common socage, yielding and paying therefore, at the feast of St. Michael every year, if the same be lawfully demanded, one ear of Indian corn to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for ever, in full and free discharge of all rents and services for the future whatsoever, in consideration of the release of the said forty pounds,

and

BOOK been the person chiefly consulted in it, was afterwards thought so justly reprehensible, as to give

and in consideration of the confirmation of all estates in this island as aforesaid, and in acknowledgment of his Majesty's grace and favour in sending to and appointing over us his said Excellency, of whose prudence and moderate government we have heretofore had large experience, and do rest most assured thereof for the future. And, forasmuch as nothing conduceth more to the peace and prosperity of any place, and the protection of every single person therein, than that the public revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the public charges and expences; and also well weighing the great charges that there must be of necessity in maintaining the honour and dignity of his Majesty's authority here; the public meeting of the sessions, the often attendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, *the building a sessions house and a prison, and all other public charges incumbent on the government*; do, in consideration thereof, give and grant unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, and do most humbly desire your Excellency to accept these our grants; and we humbly pray your Excellency that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by his Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain general and chief governor of this island of Barbadoes, and all other the Caribbee Islands, and by and with the consent of the council and the gentlemen of the assembly, representatives of this island, and by authority of the same, That an impost or custom be, from and after publication hereof, raised upon the native commodities of this island, after the proportions, and in manner and form as is hereafter set down and appointed; that is to say, upon all dead commodities of the growth or produce of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, shall be paid to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors for ever, four and a half in specie for every five score.

And be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That if any goods before-mentioned, on which the said custom is imposed, and due, by this act, shall at any time hereafter be shipped or put into any boat or other vessel, to the intent to be carried into any parts beyond the seas, the said imposition due for the same not paid, compounded for, or lawfully tendered to the collectors or their deputies, or not having agreed with the commissioners for
that

give occasion to the eighth article of his im-
 peachment by the House of Commons in the
 year

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I.

that purpose to be appointed, or their deputies, for the same, according to the true intent and meaning of the said act, that then, and from thenceforth, shall the said goods be forfeit, the moiety thereof to be to our sovereign lord the king, and the other to him that shall inform, seize, and sue for the same in any court of record within this island; which grants are left to your excellency's own way of levying, in full confidence and assurance that your excellency will take such course for the collecting and gathering of the said impost, without any charge, duty or fees, as may be most for the ease of the people of this island.

Provided nevertheless, That neither this act, nor any thing therein contained, shall extend or be construed to bar his majesty, or his said excellency, from his or their right to any land granted, or any incroachments made upon the sea, since the year one thousand six hundred and fifty, or to any lands commonly called or known by the name of the *Ten Thousand Acres*; the merchants land, granted by the late Earl of Carlisle, or his father, unto Marmaduke Rawden, Esquire, William Perkins, Alexander Bannister, Edmund Forster, Captain Wheatley, and others their associates, on certain covenants and conditions: *Provided also, that the growth and produce of the said lands, mentioned in the preceding proviso, be not liable to any tax, impost, or custom, imposed by this act; any thing in the same seeming to the contrary notwithstanding.*

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That one act made the seventeenth day of January one thousand six hundred and fifty, intituled, An act importing the customs imposed and granted by the council, and gentlemen of the assembly, to the Right Honourable Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lord Lieutenant General of the Province of Carlisle, and Governor of Barbadoes; as also, his lordship's confirmation of the right of the inhabitants of this island to their several estates, with the tenure and rent thereon created, be, and is from henceforth repealed, made void, frustrate, of none effect to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.

In 1684, the assembly of this island proposed to farm the four and half per cent. for eleven years, for the annual rent of £.6,000 sterling, to be paid into the exchequer; the governor

BOOK III. year 1667. From his answer to that article, I have collected (chiefly in his own words) great part of the account that I have given; and there cannot be a stronger demonstration of the tendency of power to pervert the judgment, and cloud the faculties of the wisest and worthiest of men, than the justification he has offered. He even claims great merit in not having advised the king to possess himself of the whole island of Barbadoes, without any regard to the planters or creditors concerned in the issue.

The prosecution of this great statesman, however, on this account, was of no advantage to the suffering planters; for in this, as in many other cases, the redress of a grievance, and the punishment of its author, were objects of very distinct consideration. Those who fought the ruin of Clarendon, had nothing less in view than the removal of oppression, from subjects so remote as those of Barbadoes.

In thus tracing the origin, progress, and termination of the Proprietary Government in this island,

vernor and council concurred, and it was agreed that £. 7,000 currency per annum should be raised by a tax of twenty-one pence per acre, on all lands amounting to ten or more acres. The towns and traders to be taxed £. 500 sterling. An act passed March 19th 1684, for this purpose, and was sent home; but the lords of the committee for trade and plantations reported, that the commissioners of the customs with whom they had advised, were of opinion that they could make no estimate of the duty, until they had experienced the produce thereof, under the then management, for one year at least; and that the commissioners appointed for managing the said duty in Barbadoes, had assured them the duty would be worth from £. 8,000 to £. 10,000 per annum. So the act was repealed.

This proposal to farm the four and a half per cent. duty, was made in consequence of Governor Dutton's signifying to the council and assembly, on his arrival in 1680, that his majesty was inclined to commute the tax, for a reasonable recompence.

island, I have purposely chosen not to break the thread of my narration, by recording any intermediate events of a nature foreign to that subject. Soon after the establishment of the Commonwealth in England, circumstances however arose, respecting this colony, which have produced such effects on the general commerce of Great Britain, as cannot be overlooked in an historical and commercial survey of her West Indian plantations, and of which I shall now give some account.

The reader has been sufficiently apprized of the attachment of the Barbadians to the regal government. One of the first acts passed by the assembly, after the arrival of the Lord Willoughby for the first time, (1647) was a declaration of their allegiance and fidelity to the unfortunate Charles the First, at that time a prisoner to the army; and on the death of that monarch, the popular resentment against his persecutors ran so high in this island, that the few planters who were suspected to be in the interest of the parliament, thought it necessary to seek protection in England.

To punish such stubborn defenders of a ruined cause, the parliament resolved, in 1651, to send a powerful armament for the reduction of all the English colonies in America and the West Indies; but particularly Barbadoes, at that time the most important and hostile of them all.

Many, indeed, were the motives which instigated the parliament to this determination. From the beginning of the commotions in the mother country, the planters, having no other means of conveying the produce of their lands to Europe, had employed in this necessary navigation, many of the ships and seamen of Holland; and at this juncture the English government entertained very hostile intentions towards the subjects of that republic.

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BOOK public. The reduction of Barbadoes would at
 III. once punish the colonists, and enable the English
 parliament to deprive the Dutch of so profitable
 an intercourse with them; it would also enrich the
 treasury of the new government, by the confisca-
 tion of many valuable ships and cargoes in the
 harbours of that and the other islands. The par-
 liament had reason likewise, it was said, to ap-
 prehend that Prince Rupert, with a squadron of
 the king's ships, was about crossing the Atlantic,
 to secure all the English American possessions for
 Charles the Second.

Ayscue, who commanded the parliament's
 forces employed in this expedition, arrived at
 Barbadoes on the 16th of October, 1651, and
 succeeded at length in bringing the island to ca-
 pitulate*: But this was not effected without
 great difficulty; for he met with so stout a resis-
 tance, as determined his employers at home im-
 mediately to enforce a scheme they had projected
 a short time before, of altering the whole system of
 the Barbadian commerce; by prohibiting by an act
 of the commonwealth, all foreign shipping from
 trading with the English plantations; and not
 permitting any goods to be imported into Eng-
 land, or any of its dependencies, in any other
 than English bottoms; or in ships of that Eu-
 ropean nation of which the merchandize im-
 ported was the genuine growth and manufac-
 ture.

* Ayscue agreed, among other things, that the govern-
 ment should consist of a governor, council and assembly,
 according to the ancient and usual custom of the island.
 The assembly to be chosen by a free and voluntary election
 of the freeholders of the island, in the several parishes. That
 no taxes, customs, imposts, loans or excise, should be laid,
 nor levy made on any of the inhabitants of this island, with-
 out their consent in a general assembly; and that all laws
 that had been made by general assemblies, not repugnant to
 the laws of England, should be good.

ture. And thus arose the famous navigation act of this kingdom; for, immediately after the restoration, its provisions were adopted by Charles the Second, with this addition, that the master and three fourths of the mariners, should also be English subjects. CHAP. I.

Whatever advantages the general commerce and navigation of England may have derived from this celebrated law, it must be allowed that its original framers were actuated by no better motives (as a great writer* hath observed) than those of punishing the planters, and clipping the wings of the Dutch. The inhabitants of Barbadoes, justly considering the law as a chastisement inflicted on them by the commonwealth for their loyalty to Charles the Second, were filled with amazement and indignation, on finding its provisions adopted and confirmed on the restoration of that monarch. By the regulations of this act, and the establishment of the internal duty on their produce, of which I have so largely spoken, they thought themselves treated with a rigour which bordered on ingratitude, and they predicted the decline of their population, agriculture and wealth, from the effects of those measures. How far their predictions have been accomplished, a comparative state of the island at different periods will demonstrate; with which, and a few miscellaneous observations, I shall dismiss my present account.

Barbadoes is situated in $13^{\circ} 10'$ N. lat. and in longitude 59° W. from London. It is about twenty-one miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, and contains 106,470 acres of land, most of which is under cultivation. The soil in the low lands is black, somewhat reddish in

Vol. I. Z the

* Blackstone.

BOOK III. the shallow parts; on the hills of a chalky marl, and near the sea generally sandy. Of this variety of soil, the black mould is best suited for the cultivation of the cane, and, with the aid of manure, has given as great returns of sugar, in favourable seasons, as any in the West Indies, the prime lands of St. Kitts excepted.

That the soil of this island is, to a great degree, naturally fertile, we must necessarily admit, if we give credit to the accounts which are transmitted down to us, of its ancient population and opulence. We are assured that, about the year 1670, Barbadoes could boast of fifty thousand white, and upwards of one hundred thousand black inhabitants, whose labours, it is said, gave employment to sixty thousand tons of shipping*. I suspect that this account is much

* The earliest planters of Barbadoes were sometimes reproached with the guilt of forcing or decoying into slavery the Indians of the neighbouring continent. The History of *Inkle and Yarico*, which the Spectator has recorded for the detestation of mankind, took its rise in this Island; but happily this species of slavery has been long since abolished: and perhaps such of my readers as have sympathized with the unfortunate Yarico, may not be sorry to hear that she bore her misfortunes with greater philosophy than they have hitherto fancied. The story was first related by *Ligon*, who (after praising poor Yarico's excellent complexion, which, he says, was "a bright bay," and her small breasts "with nipples of porphyrie") observes, that "she chanc'd afterwards to be with child by a Christian servant, and being very great, walk'd down to a woode, in which was a pond of water, and there, by the side of the pond, brought herself a-bed, and in three hours came home with the childe in her arms, a lusty boy, frolicke and lively." The crime of *Inkle* the merchant, however, admits of no palliation; but it is ridiculous enough to hear *Abbé Raynal* (willing to improve upon *Addison*) ascribe to it an intended revolt of all the Negroes in Barbadoes, who, as he asserts, moved by indignation at

Inkle's

much exaggerated. It cannot however be doubted, that the inhabitants of this island have decreased with a rapidity seldom known in any other country. I have now before me authentic returns of the number of its whites in 1724, and of its negroes in 1753: the former consisted of no more than eighteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five, the latter of sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and seventy. In 1786 the numbers were sixteen thousand one hundred and sixty-seven whites, eight hundred and thirty-eight free people of colour, and sixty-two thousand one hundred and fifteen negroes.

It appears too that the annual produce of this island (particularly sugar) has decreased in a much greater proportion than in any other of the West Indian colonies. Postlethwayte states the crop of sugar, in 1736, at 22,769 hogshheads of 13 cwt. which is equal to 19,800 of 15 cwt.; and the author of the *European Settlements*, published in 1761, calculates the average crop at 25,000 hogshheads. As the author first quoted, gives a precise number, it is probable his statement was grounded on good authority. If so, the island has fallen off nearly one half in the annual growth of its principal staple. On an average of eight years (from 1740 to 1748) the exports were 13,948 hogshheads of sugar, 15 cwt. 12,884 puncheons of rum of 100 gallons, 60 hogshheads of melasses, 4,667 bags of ginger, 600 bags of cotton, and 327 gourds of aloes. The

Z 2

exports,

Inkle's monstrous cruelty, vowed with one accord the destruction of all the Whites; but their plot was discovered the night before it was to have been carried into effect. The *Histoire Philosophique* has a thousand beauties; but it grieves me to say, that in point of historical accuracy, it is nearly on a level with the History of *Robinson Crusoe*.

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BOOK exports, on an average of 1784, 1785 and 1786, had fallen to 9,554 hogheads of sugar, 5,448 puncheons of rum; 6,320 bags of ginger, 8,331 bags of cotton; exclusive of some smaller articles, as aloes, sweetmeats, &c. of which the quantities are not ascertained.

That the dreadful succession of hurricanes, with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit this, and the other West Indian islands, within the last twelve years, has contributed to this great defalcation, cannot be doubted. The capital of this island was scarce risen from the ashes to which it had been reduced by two dreadful fires, when it was torn from its foundations, and the whole country made a scene of desolation, by the storm of the 10th of October 1780, in which no less than four thousand three hundred and twenty-six of the inhabitants (blacks and whites) miserably perished; and the damage to the country was computed at £1,320,564. 15s. sterling.

It might have been presumed, however, from the favourable seasons which have been experienced for the last three or four years, that the prospect was at length beginning to brighten; but although, since the failure of their sugar plantations, the inhabitants have found some resource in the cultivation of cotton, it does not seem probable, that any encouragement is capable of ever restoring this island to its ancient splendour and opulence; unless it be relieved from the heavy imposition of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their exported produce, of the origin of which I have so largely treated. It is to be hoped, that an enlightened minister will one day arise, who will have the courage and virtue to signify to the sovereign, that it is neither becoming the dignity, nor consistent with the character

character of the common father of all his subjects, CHAP.
 to insist on a tribute from a part of them, which I.
 though nominally granted by themselves, was
 assuredly obtained by fraud and oppression, and
 of which the continuance is a check to honest
 industry, and perhaps the immediate cause of
 the decline of this beautiful and once valuable
 colony.

Barbadoes is divided into five districts, and
 eleven parishes; and contains four towns, Bridge-
 town, Ostins or Charles Town, St. James's (former-
 ly called The Hole) and Speight's Town. Bridge-
 town, the capital, before it was destroyed by the
 fires of 1766, consisted of about fifteen hundred
 houses, which were mostly built of brick; and
 it is still the seat of government, and may be
 called the chief residence of the governor, who
 is provided with a country villa called Pilgrims,
 situated within a mile of it: his salary was
 raised by Queen Ann from twelve hundred to
 two thousand pounds per annum, the whole
 of which is paid out of the exchequer, and
 charged to the account of the four and a half
 per cent. duty. The form of the government
 of this island so very nearly resembles that of
 Jamaica, which has already been described, that
 it is unnecessary to enter into detail, except
 to observe that the council is composed of
 twelve members, and the assembly of twenty-
 two. The most important variation respects the
 court of chancery, which in Barbadoes is
 constituted of the governor *and council*, whereas
 in Jamaica the governor is sole chancellor.
 On the other hand, in Barbadoes, the gover-
 nor sits in council, even when the latter are
 acting in a legislative capacity. This, in Ja-
 maica would be considered improper and un-
 constitutional

BOOK
III.

constitutional. It may also be observed, that the courts of grand sessions, common pleas and exchequer, in Barbadoes, are distinct from each other, and not, as in Jamaica, united and blended in one supreme court of judicature.

I shall close my account of Barbadoes with the following authentic document:

[Faint, illegible text, likely a historical document or charter.]

AN

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Number of Men (including their repated Voyages) that cleared Outwards from the Island of BARBADOES to all parts of the World, between the 5th of JANUARY 1787 and the 5th of JANUARY 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London, as made out by the Inspector General of Great Britain.

Winter Board.	Shipping.		Sugar.	Rum.	Melassita.	Ginger.	Cotton.	Futle.	Miscellaneous Articles.	TOTAL Value in Sterling Money agreeable to the London Market.				
	No.	Tons.									Men.	Cwt. qrs. Bu.	Gallons.	Gallons.
To Great Britain	66	17,221	311	376,222	28,689	7,087	5,417	28	2,640,729	49	486,570	4	8	
Ireland	—	—	2	2,112	25,202	—	—	—	35	2	31,221	15	10	
American States	54	6,226	379	2,668	213,408	900	—	5	28	5	23,217	11	4	
Br. Amer. Colonies	41	3,187	237	2,723	248,100	31,700	—	—	69	16	28,080	6	—	
Foreign W. Indies	76	5,664	452	—	2,000	—	—	—	32	—	207	—	—	
Africa	1	8	7	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	8	15	—	
Total	244	26,937	1,924	37,766	475,489	31,205,401	3	28	2,705,972	225	546,124	7	11	550,600

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Grenada and its Dependencies.

First discovery, name and inhabitants.—French invasion and establishment in 1650.—War with, and extermination of the natives.—This island and its dependencies conveyed to the Count de Cerillac.—Misconduct and punishment of the deputy governor.—The colony reverts to the crown of France.—State of the island in 1700.—And again in 1762, when captured by the English.—Stipulations in favour of the French inhabitants.—First measures of the British government.—Claim of the crown to levy a duty of 4½ per cent. on produce exported.—Arguments for and objections against the measure.—Decision of the court of king's bench on this important question.—Strictures on some positions advanced by the lord chief justice on this occasion.—Transactions within the colony.—Royal instructions in favour of the Roman Catholic capitulants.—Internal dissensions.—Defenceless state.—French invasion in 1779.—Brave defence of the garrison.—Unconditional surrender.—Hardships exercised towards the English planters and their creditors.—Redress given by the court of France.—Grenada, &c. restored to Great Britain by the peace of 1783.—Present state of the colony in respect to cultivation, productions and exports; government and population.

GRENADA was discovered by, and received its name from, Christopher Columbus in his third voyage, in the year 1498. He found it possessed by a numerous and warlike people, amongst

amongst whom it does not appear that the Spaniards ever attempted to force a settlement. They had a nobler prize to contend for on the continent, and a century elapsed before the other nations of Europe considered the regions of the new world as countries, wherein all men might seize on what suited their convenience, without any regard to the proper inhabitants. Thus the Charaibes of Grenada happily remained in peaceful obscurity until the year 1650, when the avarice and ambition of a restless individual devoted them to destruction.

This person was Monf. Du Parquet, the French governor of Martinico, nephew and heir of Desnambuc, of whom memorable mention is made in the annals of St. Christopher. Notwithstanding that the French establishment in Martinico was itself of recent date, and that a great part of that island still remained uncultivated; and although another establishment was, at the same time, begun by the same nation, in the large and fertile island of Guadaloupe, yet such was the rapaciousness of this people, that upwards of two hundred hardy ruffians were easily collected by Du Parquet's encouragement for an attempt on Grenada; and it is apparent, from the nature and magnitude of the preparations, that it was considered as an enterprize of difficulty and danger.

The history of this expedition, which took place in June 1650, is related at large by Father du Tertre, whose account exhibits such a monstrous mixture of fanaticism and knavery in the conduct of its leaders, as cannot be contemplated without indignation and horror. Although it is evident that the French had not the smallest justifiable pretence for this invasion, yet we find the commanders administering the holy

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BOOK III. holy sacrament, in the most solemn manner, to all the soldiers on their embarkation; and again, on their landing, Du Parquet, causing a cross to be erected, compelled them to kneel down before it, and join in devout prayer to Almighty God, for success to their enterprize.

This commander seems however to have had a few scruples of conscience concerning the justice of his proceedings; for, having been received and entertained with the utmost kindness and cordiality by the natives (contrary to his expectation, and perhaps to his wishes) he thought it necessary to affect some little regard to moderation, by pretending to open a treaty with the chief of the Charaibes for the purchase of the country. He gave the natives (observes Du Tertre) *some knives and hatchets, and a large quantity of glass beads, besides two bottles of brandy for the chief himself*; and thus (continues he) was the island fairly ceded to the French nation by the natives themselves in lawful purchase! After this notable transaction, it is not wonderful that the French should consider the refusal of the poor savages to confirm the agreement, as contumacy and rebellion.

Du Parquet, having thus established a colony in Grenada, and built a fort for its protection, left the government of the island to a kinsman, named Le Compte, a man, according to Du Tertre, who possessed very singular talents for government; *and was remarkable for clemency and humanity*. We find this gentleman however, eight months afterwards, engaged in a most bloody war with the Charaibes; in the prosecution of which he authorized such acts of cruelty as furnish a portrait of him very different from that which the historian has exhibited. On receiving news of the revolt of the natives,

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Du Parquet sent a reinforcement of three hundred men from Martinico, with orders to extirpate the natives altogether; but Le Compte seems not to have wanted any incitement to acts of barbarity; for Du Tertre admits that he had already proceeded to murder, without mercy, every Charaibe that fell into his hands; not sparing even the women and children.

Of the manner in which this humane and accomplished commander, and his civilized followers, conducted hostilities against these miserable people, we may form an idea, from a circumstance that occurred in one of their expeditions, of which the reverend historian concludes his narrative as follows: "Forty of the Charaibes were massacred on the spot. About forty others, who had escaped the sword, ran towards a precipice, from whence they cast themselves headlong into the sea, and miserably perished. A beautiful young girl of twelve or thirteen years of age, who was taken alive, became the object of dispute between two of our officers, each of them claiming her as his lawful prize; a third coming up, put an end to the contest, by shooting the girl through the head. The place from which these barbarians threw themselves into to the sea, has been called ever since *le Morne des Sauteurs*.* Our people (having lost but one man in the expedition) proceeded in the next place to set fire to the cottages, and root up the provisions of the savages, and, having destroyed, or taken away, every thing belonging to them, returned in high spirits," (*bien joyeux*.)

By a series of such enormities, the whole race of Charaibes that possessed Grenada in 1650, was speedily

* Leapers Hill.

BOOK III. } speedily exterminated, and the French, having in this manner butchered all the natives, proceeded, in the next place, to massacre each other.

The particulars of this civil contest may, without injury to my readers, be omitted. I shall therefore only observe, that the supreme authority of Du Parquet and his lieutenant, was at length established in Grenada; but the expence which had attended the plantation from its outset, and the maintenance of the force which Du Parquet had been compelled to furnish in support of his authority, had so greatly injured his fortune, as to induce him to look out for a purchaser of all his rights and possessions in this island and its dependencies. In 1656 such a purchaser offered in the Count de Cerillac, to whom the whole was conveyed for 30,000 crowns.

The conduct of Cerillac towards the inhabitants of his newly acquired dominion was highly injudicious and oppressive. He appointed a governor of so arrogant and rapacious a disposition, and supported him in his extortions with such obstinacy, as to compel the most respectable of the settlers to quit the country and seek for safety under a milder government. At length the people that remained took the administration of justice into their own hands; by seizing on the person of the governor, and bringing him to a public trial. The criminal was condemned to be hanged; but he pleaded noble birth, and demanded the honour of decollation. His request would have been granted, but unluckily an expert executioner in the business of beheading could not readily be found; the judges therefore compounded the matter with his excellency, by consenting that he should be shot, and he suffered in that mode with great composure.

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Some years after this, Monsieur de Cerillac, the proprietor, receiving, as it may be supposed, but little profit from his capital, conveyed all his rights and interest in Grenada, &c. to the French West-Indian company; whose charter being abolished in 1674, the island from thenceforward became vested in the crown of France.

Under the various revolutions and calamities which had thus attended this unfortunate plantation, it may well be imagined that cultivation had made but little progress in it; but although order and submission were at length introduced by the establishment of the royal authority, various causes concurred to keep the colony in a state of poverty and depression for many years afterwards. Even so late as 1700, if Raynal has been rightly informed, the island contained no more than 251 whites and 525 blacks; who were employed on 3 plantations of sugar, and 52 of indigo.

After the peace of Utrecht, the government of France began to turn its attention towards her West Indian possessions. Grenada however, for many years, partook less of its care than the rest. It had no constant correspondence with the mother country: some oppressive regulations of the farmers-general ruined the cultivation of one of its staples, tobacco: and the planters had not the means of obtaining a supply of negroes from Africa, sufficient for the purpose of cultivating sugar to any extent. These inconveniencies led them into a smuggling intercourse with the Dutch: a resource which at length changed their circumstances for the better; increased their numbers and occasioned a great part of the country to be settled, insomuch that when, in the year 1762, the fortune of war made the English masters of this and the rest of the French Charaibee Islands, Grenada and the Grenadines are said to have yielded

BOOK III. yielded annually, in clayed and muscovado sugar, a quantity equal to about 11,000 hogshheads of muscovado of 15 cwt. each, and about 27,000 lbs. of indigo.

Grenada surrendered on capitulation in February 1762, and, with its dependencies, was finally ceded to Great Britain by the definitive treaty of peace at Paris on the 10th of February 1763; St. Lucia being restored at the same time to France. The chief stipulations in favour of the inhabitants, as well by the treaty, as by the articles of capitulation, were these; 1st. That, as they would become by their surrender, subjects of Great Britain, they should enjoy their properties and privileges, and pay taxes, *in like manner as the rest of his Majesty's subjects of the other British-Leeward Islands.* 2dly, with respect to religion, they were put on the same footing as the inhabitants of Canada, viz. liberty was given them to exercise it according to the rites of the Romish church, *as far as the laws of Great Britain permitted.* 3dly. Such of the inhabitants of Grenada as chose to quit the island, should have liberty so to do, and eighteen months should be allowed them to dispose of their effects.

The island and its dependencies being thus become a British colony, one of the first measures of government was to issue a proclamation under the great seal, bearing date the 7th of October 1763, wherein, amongst other things, it is declared "that all persons inhabiting in, or resorting to, the island of Grenada, might confide in the royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of England, with the right of appeal to the king in council, as fully as the inhabitants of the other British Colonies in America under the king's immediate government."—It also sets forth, "that the king, by letters

“ letters patent under the great seal, had given
 “ express power and direction to the governor, as
 “ soon as the state and circumstances of the colo-
 “ ny would admit thereof, with the advice and
 “ consent of the council, and the representatives
 “ of the people, to make, constitute, and ordain
 “ laws, statutes, and ordinances for the good go-
 “ vernment thereof, as near as may be agreeably
 “ to the laws of England, and under such regula-
 “ tions and restrictions as are used in the other
 “ British colonies.”

This proclamation was followed by another, dated the 26th of March 1764, inviting purchasers upon certain terms and conditions.

The governor thus said to have been appointed, was general Melville, whose commission however did not bear date until the 9th of April 1764, and the assembly which he was directed to summon, met for the first time in 1765; previous to which, the British inhabitants were irresistibly called to the discussion of a great constitutional question; of which it is proper I should now give some account.

The question arose from the information, that the crown, conceiving itself entitled by the terms of the capitulation to the duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon all produce exported from the newly ceded islands, as paid at Barbadoes, &c. had issued letters patent, bearing date the 20th July 1764, ordering and directing, by virtue of the prerogative royal, that from and after the 29th of September, then next ensuing, such duty or import in specie, should be levied in Grenada; in lieu of all customs and duties formerly paid to the French king.

We have seen, in the history of Barbadoes, in what manner the inhabitants of that island became subject to the duty in question; and to what purposes

BOOK III. purposes the money was expressly stipulated to be applied; but, unjustifiable as were the means by which that imposition was originally established in Barbadoes, the grant was, apparently, the grant of the people themselves, by their representatives in their legislative capacity. Even Charles the II. in whose reign the grant passed, though a rapacious and unprincipled monarch, did not openly claim the right of laying taxes by his own authority in a colony which had an assembly of its own, competent to that purpose. The king was ready enough to overawe, or to corrupt the members which composed that assembly; but he left them the form and semblance at least, of a free government.

In defence of the present measure, it was urged that Grenada being a conquered country, the king was invested with the power of putting the inhabitants under what form of government he thought best; that he might have granted them what terms of capitulation, and have concluded what articles of peace with them he saw fit; and further, that the assurance to the inhabitants of Grenada, in the articles of capitulation, that they should enjoy their properties and privileges in like manner as the other his Majesty's subjects in the British Leeward Islands, necessarily implied that they were bound to submit to the same consequences of their being subjects as were submitted to by the inhabitants of those islands; one of which was the payment of the duty in question. It was said therefore that the demand of this duty was most reasonable, equitable and political; for that it was only putting Grenada, as to duties, on the same footing with all the British Leeward Islands. If Grenada paid more, it would be detrimental to her, if less, it would be detrimental to the other Leeward Islands.

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On the other side, it was contended, that the letters patent were void on two points, the first was "that although they had been granted before the proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, yet the king could not exercise such a legislative power over a conquered country."—The second point was, "that although the king had sufficient power and authority, before the 7th of October 1763, to do such a legislative act, he had divested himself of such authority previous to the letters patent of the 20th of July 1764."

The crown however persisting in its claim, and the inhabitants in opposing it, issue was joined on the arguments that I have stated, and the question was at length referred to a solemn adjudication before the judges of the Court of King's Bench in England*.

The case was elaborately argued in Westminster-hall, four several times; and in Michaelmas term 1774, Lord chief justice Mansfield pronounced judgment, *against the crown*. The consequence was, that the duty in question was abolished, not only in Grenada, but also in the ceded islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

It may be reasonably supposed that the inhabitants of all these islands had sufficient cause for gratulation at a verdict so favourable to their interests; but the circumstances on which the decision was founded, and the doctrines which were promulgated along with it, became the subject of much animadversion; and indeed (if I may intrude my own opinion in such a case) they appear to me to be of a dangerous and unconstitutional tendency.

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* The case is related at large in Cowper's Reports.

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The noble and venerable judge who pronounced the opinion of the Court, rested the determination solely on the circumstance that the proclamations of October 1763, and March 1764, were of prior date to the letters patent; observing that the king had precluded himself from the exercise of legislative authority over Grenada, *before* the letters patent were issued. "Through inattention, he said, of the king's servants, in inverting the order in which the instruments should have passed, the last act was contradictory to, and a violation of the first, and on that account null and void." But, although the noble lord confined the mere legal question to a narrow compass, he judged it necessary, at the same time, to enter on a wide and extensive field of discussion in support of the regal authority over conquered countries; maintaining "that it is left to the king to grant or refuse a capitulation;—if he refuses, *and puts the inhabitants to the sword, or otherwise exterminates them*, all the lands belong to himself. If he receives the inhabitants under his protection, and grants them their property, he has a power to fix *such terms and conditions as he thinks proper*. He may (said the noble judge) yield up the conquest, or retain it, *on what terms he pleases*, and change part, or the whole, of the law, or political form of its government, *as he sees best*." In reply to an observation, that no adjudged case, in point, had been adduced, the noble lord declared that this was not to be wondered at. "inasmuch as no question was ever started before, but that the king has a right to a legislative authority over a conquered country;" and he quoted an opinion of the crown lawyers in 1722, in respect of Jamaica. The assembly of that island being refractory, it was referred to Sir Philip Yorke

Yorke and Sir Clement Wearge to know "what could be done if the assembly should obstinately continue to withhold all the usual supplies." They reported, that "if Jamaica was still to be considered as a *conquered island*, the king had a right to levy taxes upon the inhabitants; but if it was to be considered in the same light as the *other colonies*, no tax could be imposed on the inhabitants, but by an *assembly of the island*, or by an *act of parliament*."

It is impossible, I think, not to perceive, throughout these, and other parts of the learned judge's argument, a certain degree of bias arising from the unhappy dissensions which, about that period, broke out into a civil war between Great Britain and her colonies; in the progress of which, it is believed, this noble person distinguished himself as an active partizan, and a powerful advocate for the unconditional supremacy of the mother country. I might otherwise be chargeable with great arrogance in presuming to differ from such weight of authority; but surely it will be permitted me to examine the doctrine maintained on this occasion, by the test of those cases, which the noble judge himself adduced in its support. In such an examination, plain argument and common sense may supply the subtleties of legal refinement, and the want of professional learning.

The cases chiefly relied on by the learned judge, were those of Ireland, Wales, Berwick and New York; in all which places it was asserted that the king, after their conquest, had, of his own authority, exercised the powers of legislature, by introducing an alteration of their former laws, and establishing a new system of government over the inhabitants. "No man (observed his lordship, in the case of Ireland,) ever said that the change in the laws of that coun-

BOOK try was made by the parliament of England: no
 III. man ever said the crown could not do it."

With the utmost deference however to the sentiments of this great and enlightened lawyer, I presume to think that the question was not simply, Whether the crown alone, or the parliament of England, had the right of exercising the authority contended for?—I will even admit that the interposition of parliament was unnecessary. Still however the main question remains to be answered, which is, *To what extent may the royal prerogative in such cases be exerted?* Did the noble judge mean to assert that conquest destroys all the rights of the conquered, and that the king, in changing their laws and form of government, has a right to prescribe to them, *not merely the English constitution*;—but any other system, he thinks best? If such was the opinion, it may be affirmed that the cases which his lordship adduced in support of his argument, warrant no such conclusion.

The first case was that of Ireland. "The fact, says the noble lord, comes out clearly to be, that Ireland received the laws of England by the charters and commands of Henry II. King John and Henry III."

Of Wales, the noble lord observes "that the statute of Wales (12 Edward I.) is certainly no more than regulations made by the king in his council for the government of Wales, and that the king governed it as a conquest;" but let us hear on this subject the learned judge Blackstone. "This territory, observes Blackstone, being then entirely re-annexed (by a kind of feudal resumption) to the dominion of the crown of England, or, as the statute of Rutland expresses it, *terra Walliae cum incolis suis, prius regi jure feudali subiecta*, (of which homage was the sign)

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jam in proprietatis dominium totaliter et cum integritate conversa est, et coronae regni Angliae tanquam pars corporis ejusdem annexa et unita. But the finishing stroke to their independency, was given by the statute 27 Henry VIII. c. 26. which at the same time gave the utmost advancement to their civil prosperity, by admitting them to a thorough communication of laws with the subjects of England. Thus were this brave people gradually conquered into the enjoyment of true liberty; being insensibly put upon the same footing, and made fellow citizens with their conquerors."

Another case was that of Berwick, which, observed the noble lord, "after the conquest of it, was governed by charters from the crown, without the interposition of parliament, till the reign of James I." The noble judge would have stated this case more fairly, had he said that Edward I. at the request of the inhabitants, confirmed to them the enjoyment of their ancient laws; but that "its constitution was put on an English footing, by a charter of king James." These are the very words of Blackstone.

The case next quoted by the learned judge was that of New York, which was conquered from the Dutch in 1664, and, like Wales, remained in possession of most of its former inhabitants. "King Charles II. (observes the noble judge) changed the form of their constitution and political government; by granting it to the duke of York, to hold of his crown under all the regulations contained in the letters patent."—So far is true; but what followed? This duke of York (afterwards James II.) was a man whose principles of government were in the highest degree repugnant and inimical to those of the English constitution. Accordingly he attempted at first to introduce into the newly acquired country, a system

BOOK III. a system little consonant to British freedom; but he was disappointed and defeated. He was compelled, much against his inclination, to allow the people to choose deputies to represent them in the legislature; and these deputies actually voted "that all the ordinances which had been made by the governor and council, before the people were admitted to a share in the legislature, were invalid, *because they were passed in a manner repugnant to the constitution of England!*"

From this recital, it is I think evident that the noble and learned judge mistook the *gist* of the question; or rather confounded together two things which are totally distinct and repugnant in their nature; for he appears to have considered the prerogative in the king, of extending to his newly acquired subjects, the benefits of the English constitution, as equivalent to the right of ruling them by whatever constitution or system of government he pleases; or, *by none at all.*

It would seem then that, if the cases which have been adduced prove any thing, they prove that the crown neither has prescribed, nor could prescribe, any form of government incompatible with the principles of the British constitution, to any colony or territory whatever, whether acquired by conquest or settlement;—and good authorities are not wanting in support of this doctrine. "The king of Great Britain (says an excellent writer *) although at the head of a free state, may, in his own right, hold other states, under a form of government *that is not free*; as he does, for instance, the states of the electorate of Hanover. He may too even as king of Great Britain, by virtue of his prerogative and as generalissimo of the empire, hold a conquered state

* Mr. Edwick.

state (for the time being) under a form of government that is not free; that is, under military law: but, in the instant that such conquered state is, by treaty of peace, or otherwise, ceded to the crown of Great Britain, in that instant it imbibes the spirit of the constitution, it is naturalized; it is assimilated to the government, it is governable and to be governed by, and under all those powers with which the governing power of king, lords and commons is invested by the constitution; but it is not governable, neither is to be governed, by any powers which the governing power of king, lords and commons does not possess from the constitution: as for example, it cannot be governed on the principles of slavery; because the governing power of king, lords and commons is appointed by the constitution to govern on the principles of liberty." Surely it is a proposition absurd and monstrous on the very face of it, to say that a limited monarch, in a free state, may govern any part of the dominions of such a state in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner. A body of subjects so governed, would, if sufficiently numerous, be fit instruments to enslave the rest!

The intelligent reader will admit the vast importance of this question, both to the present age and to posterity; and perceive how greatly the dearest interests of men, who, in the contingencies of war, shall hereafter fall under the British dominion, may possibly be concerned in its discussion. To such readers no apology will be necessary for the detail which I have thought it my duty to give on a subject of such constitutional magnitude.—I now return to transactions with the colony.

It has been stated that the first assembly met in 1765. At that time none of the French Roman Catholic

Catholic

BOOK III. Catholic inhabitants claimed a right, or even expressed a desire, of becoming members, either of the council or assembly: but in 1768 the governor received instructions from the crown, to admit two of them into the council, and to declare others to be eligible into the assembly, on taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The governor was directed also to include the names of certain persons of this description, in the commission of the peace.

These instructions, and the measures which were taken in consequence thereof, gave rise to violent commotions and party divisions in the colony, which, being embittered by religious controversy, continue to divide the inhabitants to the present hour. It were highly unbecoming in me (a stranger to the island) to flatter the passions of one party or the other; and I should readily consign all the circumstances to oblivion, but that it is my duty as an historian, to state without prejudice such particulars as may, in their consequences, affect the general welfare of the colony, that the errors of one age may serve as a lesson to the next.

The opposition that was given by the British inhabitants to the appointment of any of the Roman Catholic capitulants to seats in the legislature, arose, I believe, originally from an idea that the royal instructions in this case were in direct violation of the test act of Charles II. which requires "that all persons enjoying any place of trust or profit shall, in addition to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, subscribe a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper." By the king's instructions, above cited, his Roman Catholic subjects of Grenada were declared eligible without subscribing to this declaration.

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Liberal and enlightened minds at this day are not easily reconciled to the doctrine that an adherence to mere speculative opinions in matters of faith, ought to drive any loyal subject from the service of his country, or deprive a man (otherwise entitled) of the enjoyment of those honours and distinctions, the distribution of which the wisdom of the laws has assigned to the sovereign. Much less will it be thought that such a man is unworthy of that confidence which his neighbours and fellow citizens, who are best acquainted with his principles and virtues, and are themselves of a different persuasion, shall think fit to repose in him. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the recent and then depending claim in the crown, to lay taxes on Grenada by its own authority, gave the inhabitants just cause of apprehension that the royal instructions in the present case were founded, in like manner, on a pretension to legislative authority, subversive of their own colonial assembly.

On the other hand, it was alledged that the test act was never meant to extend to the British plantations; that it was confined, both in its letter and spirit, to the kingdom of England and the town of Berwick; and though it were true that it is the practice of the courts of Grenada to adopt both the common and statute law of England, it was contended nevertheless, that the adoption could extend only to such of the English statutes as were applicable to the peculiar situation of the colony. It was urged that the act in question originated in an age of religious frenzy and fanatic violence. The authority of history was adduced to prove that it was particularly promoted by a worthless individual, from animosity to the Duke of York, who was obliged, in consequence of it, to resign the great office of Lord

Lord High Admiral. A law thus founded and supported, instead of being considered as suited to the circumstances of a new and infant colony, ought, it was said, to be expunged from the English statute book.

What influence these, or other considerations, had on the British Ministry, I presume not to say. It is certain that the king refused to revoke his instructions; in consequence whereof the most zealous of the protestant members of the assembly declining to attend, it was seldom that a house could be formed. Public affairs soon fell into the utmost confusion, and in this state of faction and perplexity, the island continued, until its re-capture by the French in 1779.

On this occasion, charges were brought against the French inhabitants which I will not repeat, because I have no other evidence to support them than the mutual reproaches, and reciprocal accusations of the parties. The complaints indeed which were loudly made on the part of the French, of an usurpation of their dearest rights by the prevailing faction, seemed to imply that they relied rather on justification than denial.

The French ministry however required no other encouragement for attacking this island, than the defenceless state in which all the British settlements in the West Indies were at that juncture notoriously left. The hopeless and destructive war in North America had drawn to its vortex all the powers, resources, and exertions of Great Britain. Already had Dominica and St. Vincent become a sacrifice to that unfortunate contest; when it fell to the lot of Grenada to experience her share of the general misfortune.

On the 2d of July 1779, a French armament, CHAP. II.
 consisting of a fleet of 25 ships of the line, 10 frigates, and 5000 troops, under the command of the Count D'Estaing, appeared off the harbour and town of St. George: the whole force of the island was composed of 90 men of the 48th regiment, 300 militia of the island, and 150 seamen from the merchant ships; and its fortifications consisted chiefly of an entrenchment which had been hastily thrown up, round the summit of the Hospital hill. This entrenchment the Count D'Estaing invested the next day, at the head of 3,000 of his best forces, which he led up in three columns, and after a hard conflict and the loss of 300 men carried the lines. Never did so small a body of men make a nobler defence against such inequality of numbers. The governor (Lord Macartney) and the remains of his little garrison, immediately retired into the old fort, at the mouth of the harbour; which however was wholly untenable, being commanded by the Hospital-hill battery, the guns of which having been most unfortunately left unspiked, were now turned against them. At day-break, the French opened a battery of two twenty-four pounders against the walls of the old fort. In this situation, the governor and inhabitants had no resource but in the hopes of obtaining favourable terms of capitulation; and herein they were disappointed. Their proposals were scornfully rejected, and such hard and extraordinary terms offered and insisted on by Count d'Estaing, as left them no alternative but the sacrifice of their honour, or an unconditional surrender. They embraced the latter; and it must be acknowledged that the protection which was offered to the helpless inhabitants of the town, and their property,

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BOOK not only while the treaty was depending, but also
 III. after the surrender of the island at discretion, reflected the highest lustre on the discipline, as well as humanity of the conquerors. Protection and safe-guards were granted on every application, and thus a town was saved from plunder, which by the strict rules of war, might have been given up to an exasperated soldiery. →

It is to be lamented that the subsequent conduct of the French government of Grenada, towards its new subjects, was not quite so generous. By an ordinance of the Count de Durat, the new governor, they were enjoined, under the penalty of military execution and confiscation of property, from the payment, directly or indirectly, of all debts due by them to British subjects, residing in any part of the British dominions; and by another ordinance, the prohibition was extended to such debts owing to the subjects of the united provinces of Holland, as were guaranteed by any of the subjects of Great Britain. The Count D'Estaing had inserted clauses to the same effect, in the form of capitulation which he had tendered to the garrison, and it was those prohibitions that induced the British inhabitants, with an honest indignation, to risque the consequence of an unconditional surrender, rather than submit to them. With the virtue and integrity that it is to be hoped will for ever distinguish the British character, they considered no sacrifice so great as the violation of that confidence, which had been reposed in them by their friends and creditors in Europe. But the ordinances went still further. By the regulations which they contained, it was enacted that all the estates belonging to English absentees, should be put into the hands of certain persons to be nominated by the governor,
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called *conservators*; and the produce be paid into the public treasury. Thus was plunder sanctioned by authority; and the absent proprietors were not the only victims. The shameful facility with which every French claimant was put into possession of estates, to which the slightest pretension was set up, gave the resident planters reason to apprehend, that the only indulgence they were to expect, was that which Poliphemus promised Ulysses, *of being devoured the last*.

Most of these injurious proceedings, and various acts of personal oppression, inflicted on the conquered inhabitants of Grenada, were, by them, imputed to the too great influence with the governor of their late fellow subjects and neighbours, the French planters; and it is much easier to account for, than to justify their conduct. Let it be remembered however, to the honour of the French nation, that these nefarious proceedings were no sooner made known to the court of France, than they were disapproved and reprobated. The appointment of conservators was abolished, and restoration ordered to be made of the estates of absent proprietors. Redress was likewise very generally given, by appeals in the last resort, to such of the resident planters as had been illegally deprived of their possessions. But it was not long, before the island itself reverted to the British dominion.

Grenada and the Grenadines were restored to Great Britain, with all the other captured islands in the West Indies (Tobago excepted) by the general pacification which took place in January 1783; a pacification upon which, whatever may be its general merits, it is impossible but that the English sugar planters (except per-
haps

CHAP.
II.

BOOK III. haps those of the ceded island) must reflect with grateful satisfaction. It might indeed have been wished, by those who have at heart the present repose and future prosperity of mankind, that some salutary regulations had been framed, at the same time, for preventing the revival of those unhappy national animosities among the white inhabitants of Grenada, of which I have so largely spoken, and which, I am sorry to be informed, were renewed on the restoration of the island with additional force and aggravated violence. It is not my intention however to enter into any further detail on the subject. As a friend to the interests of humanity, independent of religious opinions, and locality of birth, I shall rejoice if means can be found to restore to this little community that peace, confidence and unanimity, without which its inhabitants must be a ruined people, and a prey to the first invader.

Having thus, as I conceive, sufficiently treated of the historical and political concerns of this valuable colony, I shall conclude with a short display of its present state, in respect of soil, population, productions and exports, premising that many of those little islands which are called the Grenadines, no longer appertain to the government of Grenada. By an arrangement of the British administration, which has taken effect since the peace, a line of division passes in an east and west direction, between Carriacou and Union island. The former of these, and some smaller islands south of it, are all that are now comprised in the Grenada government; Union Island, with all the little islands adjoining, to the north, being annexed to the government of St. Vincent.

Grenada

Grenada contains about 80,000 acres of land; of which although no less than 72,141 acres paid taxes in 1776, and may therefore be supposed fit for cultivation, yet the quantity actually cultivated has never exceeded 50,000 acres. The face of the country is mountainous, but not inaccessible in any part, and it abounds with springs and rivulets. To the north and the east, the soil is a brick mould; the same, or nearly the same, as that of which mention has been made in the history of Jamaica. On the west side, it is a rich black mould on a substratum of yellow clay. To the south, the land in general is poor, and of a reddish hue, and the same extends over a considerable part of the interior country. On the whole however, Grenada appears to be fertile in a high degree, and by the variety, as well as excellence, of its returns, seems adapted to every tropical production. The exports of the year 1776, from Grenada and its dependencies, were 14,012,157 lbs. of muscavado, and 9,273,607 lbs. of clayed sugar; 818,700 gallons of rum; 1,827,166 lbs. of coffee, 457,719 lbs. of cacao, 91,943 lbs. of cotton, 27,638 lbs. of indigo, and some smaller articles; the whole of which, on a moderate computation, could not be worth less, at the ports of shipping, than £. 600,000 sterling, excluding freight, duties, insurance and other charges. It deserves to be remembered too, that the sugar was the produce of 106 plantations only, and that they were worked by 18,293 negroes, which was therefore rather more than one hogshhead of muscavado sugar, of 16 cwt. from the labour of each negro, old and young, employed in the cultivation of that commodity; a prodigious return, equalled, I believe, by no other British island in the West Indies, St. Christopher's excepted.

BOOK III. } cepted.—The exports of 1787 will be given hereafter: they will be found, except in one or two articles, to fall greatly short of those of 1776; a circumstance for which I know not wholly how to account.

This island is divided into six parishes, St. George, St. David, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, St. Mark, and St. John; and its chief dependency, *Cariacou*, forms a seventh parish. It is only since the restoration of Grenada to Great Britain by the peace of 1783, that an island law has been obtained for the establishment of a protestant clergy. This act passed in 1784, and provides stipends of £. 330 currency, and £. 60 for house rent per annum, for five clergymen, viz. one for the town and parish of St. George, three for the other five out parishes of Grenada, and one for *Cariacou*. Besides these stipends, there are valuable glebe lands, which had been appropriated to the support of the Roman catholic clergy, whilst that was the established religion of Grenada. These lands, according to an opinion of the attorney and solicitor general of England (to whom a question on this point was referred by the crown) became vested in his Majesty as public lands, on the restoration of the island to the British government, and I believe have since been applied by the colonial legislature, with the consent of the crown, to the further support of the protestant church, with some allowance thereout (to what amount I am not informed) for the benefit of the tolerated Romish clergy of the remaining French inhabitants.

The capital of Grenada, by an ordinance of governor Melville, soon after the cession of the country to Great Britain by the peace of Paris, is called St. George. By this ordinance, English

lish names were given to the several towns and parishes, and their French names forbidden to be thereafter used in any public acts. The French name of the capital was Fort Royale. It is situated in a spacious bay, on the west or lee side of the island, not far from the south end, and possesses one of the safest and most commodious harbours for shipping in the English West Indies, which has been lately fortified at a very great expence.

The other towns in Grenada, are, properly speaking, inconsiderable villages or hamlets, which are generally situated at the bays or shipping places in the several out parishes. The parish town of Cariacou is called Hillsborough.

Grenada has two ports of entry, with separate establishments, and distinct revenue officers, independent of each other, viz. one at St. George, the capital, and one at Grenville bay, a town and harbour on the east or windward side of the island. The former, by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. is made a free port.

Whether it be owing to the events of war, to domestic dissentions, or to calamities inflicted by the hand of Divine Providence, I know not, but it appears that the white population of Grenada and the Grenadines has decreased considerably since these islands first came into possession of the English. The number of white inhabitants, in the year 1771, were known to be somewhat more than 1600; in 1777 they had decreased to thirteen hundred; and at this time they are supposed not to exceed one thousand, of which about two thirds are men able to bear arms, and incorporated into five regiments of militia, including a company of free blacks or mulattoes, attached to each. There are likewise about 500 regular

BOOK troops from Great Britain, which are supported
 III. on the British establishment*.

The negro slaves have also decreased. By the last returns preceding the capture of the island in 1779, they were stated at 35,000, of which 5000 were in Carriacou, and the smaller islands. In 1785 they amounted to no more than 23,926 in the whole. The decrease was owing partly to the want of any regular supply during the French government, and partly to the numbers carried from the island by the French inhabitants, both before and after the peace. It is also to be observed, that of the African cargoes sold at Grenada, some part (perhaps a fourth or fifth) are exported to the neighbouring French and Spanish colonies.

The free people of colour amounted in 1787, to 1,115. To prevent the too great increase of this mixed race, every manumission is, by an act of this island, charged with a fine of one hundred pounds currency, payable into the public treasury. But this law has neither operated as a productive fund, nor as a prohibition; for it is usually evaded by executing and recording acts of manumission in some other island or government where there is no such law. The evidence of all free coloured people, whether born free or manumitted, is received in the courts of this island, on their producing sufficient proof of their freedom; and such free people are tried on criminal charges in the same manner as whites, without distinction.

* Besides the regular troops which are sent from Great Britain for the protection of Grenada, there are in its garrison three companies of king's negroes, which came from America, where they served in three capacities, as pioneers, artificers and light dragoons. In Grenada they form a company of each, and are commanded by a lieutenant of the regulars, having captain's rank.

distinction of colour. They are also allowed to possess and enjoy lands and tenements to any amount, provided they are native born subjects or capitulants, and not aliens.

CHAP.
II.

The governor, by virtue of his office, is chancellor, ordinary and vice admiral, and presides solely in the courts of chancery and ordinary, as in Jamaica. His salary is £. 3,200 currency *per annum**, which is raised by a poll tax on all slaves; and it is the practice in Grenada to pass a salary bill on the arrival of every new governor, to continue during his government. In all cases of absence beyond twelve months, the salary ceases and determines.

The council of Grenada consists of twelve members, and the assembly of twenty-six. The powers, privileges and functions of both these branches of the legislature, are the same, and exercised precisely in the same manner, as those of the council and assembly in Jamaica. A freehold, or life estate, of fifty acres, is a qualification to sit as representative for the parishes, and a freehold, or life estate, in fifty pounds house rent in St. George, qualifies a representative for the town. An estate of ten acres in fee, or for life, or a rent of ten pounds in any of the out towns, gives a vote for the representatives of each parish respectively; and a rent of twenty pounds *per annum* issuing out of any freehold or life estate in the town of St. George, gives a vote for a representative for the town.

The law courts in Grenada, besides those of chancery and ordinary, are, first, the court of grand sessions of the peace, held twice a year, viz. in March and September. In this court the

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first

* The currency of Grenada, or rate of exchange, is commonly 65 *per cent.* worse than sterling.

BOOK first person named in the commission of the peace
 III. presides, who is usually the president or senior in
 council.

2dly, The court of common pleas. This court consists of one chief and four assistant justices, whose commissions are during pleasure. The chief justice is usually appointed in England, a professional man, and receives a salary of £.600 *per annum*. The four assistant justices are usually appointed by the governor from among the gentlemen of the island, and act without salary.

3dly, The court of exchequer. The barons in this court are commissioned in like manner as in the court of common pleas. But this court is lately grown into disuse.

4thly, The court of admiralty, for trial of all prize causes of capture from enemies in war, and of revenue seizures in peace or war. There is one judge of admiralty and one surrogate.

Lastly, The governor and council compose a court of error, as in Jamaica, for trying all appeals of error from the court of common pleas.

Although there is no law of Grenada declaring an adoption of the laws of England, yet it has been always the practice of the courts, to consider both the common and statute law of England to extend to Grenada in all applicable cases, not otherwise provided for by particular laws of the island. So in like manner the practice of the courts in Westminster Hall, and authentic reports of adjudged cases there, are resorted to, when precedents and authorities are wanting in the island. In the case of its *slave laws*, it may be said with truth and justice, that the assembly of this island have shewn a liberality of sentiment which reflects the highest honour on their characters, both as legislators and christians.

I have

I have now furnished the reader with all the information I have collected concerning the past history and present state of the island of Grenada, and if it shall be thought deficient or uninstruc- tive, the fault is not in the want of materials, but in the workman. Something however re- mains to be observed concerning such of the Gre- nadines as are dependent on the Grenada govern- ment, the chief of which are Cariacou and Isle Ronde. The former contains 6913 acres of land, and in general it is fertile and well cultivated; producing in seasonable years a million of pounds of cotton for exportation, besides corn, yams, potatoes and plantains sufficient for the mainte- nance of its negroes. The cultivation of sugar has been found less successful in this island than cotton, though it still continues to be made on two plantations. Isle Ronde contains about 500 acres of excellent land, which are wholly applied to pasturage, and the cultivation of cotton. It is situated about midway between Cariacou and the north end of Grenada, about four leagues from each.

I close my account of this colony, as of Barba- does, with an authentic return by the Inspector General of Great Britain, of the exports from Grenada and its dependencies, for the year 1787; containing also an estimate of the actual value of the several articles of the British market :

An

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Island of Grenada, &c. to all parts of the World, between the 5th of JANUARY 1787 and the 5th of JANUARY 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inspector General of Great Britain.

Vessel's Band.	Shipping.		Sugar.	Rum.	Melasses.	Coffee.	Cacao.	Cotton.	Indi. go.	Value of Miscellaneous Articles, as Hides, Dying Woods, &c.		Total Value according to the current Prices in London.					
	No.	Tons.								Men.	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	lbs.
To Great Britain	65	13,276	969	172,880	9	202,500	8,550	4,264	1	2,050	177	1,660	54,439	3	555,222	11	6
Ireland	7	771	59	1,248	—	86,100	19	16	—	32	50	150	24	10	23,560	4	5
American States	47	6,373	410	290	—	272,060	44	—	—	—	—	—	27	4	24,597	4	—
Br. Amer. Colonies	30	2,610	194	1,130	—	209,620	218	—	—	—	—	—	15	6	21,469	9	4
Foreign W. Indies	39	2,734	192	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39	—	—	—	—
Total	188	25,764	1834	175,543	9	670,300	4,100	2,716	3	2,082	177	2,810	64,545	3	614,908	9	3

CHAP. III.

ST. VINCENT AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,

AND

DOMINICA.

THE civil history of these Islands may be comprised within a narrow compass; for the sovereignty of them having been long an object of dispute between the crowns of Great Britain and France, the rightful possessors, the Charaibes, derived that security from the reciprocal envy and avarice of the contending parties, which they might have expected in vain from their justice and humanity. As both St. Vincent and Dominica were included, with many other Islands, in the Earl of Carlisle's patent, it is not wonderful that attempts were made, at different times, to bring them under the English dominion. These attempts the French constantly opposed, with design, it was urged, secretly and surreptitiously to occupy the Islands themselves; and their conduct towards the Charaibes on other occasions seems to justify the suggestion.

But,

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But, whatever might have been their motives, they exerted themselves with such effect, that the English were compelled to relinquish all hopes of obtaining these Islands by force;—for by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (1748) St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia and Tobago, were declared neutral, and the ancient proprietors (such as remained of them) were at length left in unmolested possession.

The disputes and hostilities which these attempts of the English on the one hand, and resistance of the French on the other, gave rise to, in this part of the world, are no longer interesting, and therefore need not be brought again to remembrance. The injustice and depravity of mankind are at all times subjects of unpleasing speculation; but the subsequent conduct of both nations, respecting the Islands which they had declared neutral, is too remarkable to be overlooked, even if historical precision did not, as in the present case it does, require me to relate the circumstances attending it.

The treaty of neutrality was no sooner concluded, than both English and French appeared dissatisfied with the arrangement which they had made. The latter seem not to have considered until it was too late, that by restricting the English from the occupancy of those countries, on the ground of right in a third party, they precluded themselves at the same time. The English, on the other hand, discovered that by acceding to the compromise, they had given up St. Lucia, an Island worth all the rest, and to which it must be owned we had some colourable pretensions, founded on a treaty entered into with the Charaibbean inhabitants in 1664, six hundred of whom attended an armament that was sent thither

ther by Lord Willoughby, and actually put the English publicly and formally into possession. CHAP.
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Both nations being thus alike dissatisfied with an arrangement which left nothing to either, it may be supposed that on the conclusion of the war which broke out a few years afterwards, a very different stipulation took place. The French no longer pleaded scruples on behalf of the Charaibes, but very cordially concurred with the English in dividing the spoil. By the 9th article of the peace of Paris, signed the 10th of February, 1763, the three Islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, were assigned to Great Britain; and St. Lucia to France, in full and perpetual sovereignty; the Charaibes not being once mentioned in the whole transaction, as if no such people existed.

They were in truth reduced to a miserable remnant.—Of the ancient, or, as they were called by the English, *Yellow* Charaibes, not more than a hundred families survived in 1763, and of all their ancient extensive possessions, these poor people retained only a mountainous district in the Island of St. Vincent. Of this Island and its dependencies I shall now treat, reserving Dominica for a separate section.



SECTION I.

ST. VINCENT, &c.

“ THE Spaniards (says Doctor Campbell) bestowed the name of St. Vincent upon this island, because they discovered it upon the 22d of January, which in their calendar is St. Vincent’s day, but it does not appear that they were ever, properly speaking, in possession of it; the Indians being very numerous here, on account of its being the rendezvous of their expeditions to the continent.” Unfortunately, however, neither their numbers, nor the natural strength of the country, exempted them from hostility. What avarice had in vain attempted, accident accomplished, by procuring an establishment among them for a race of people, whom, though at first beheld by the native Charaibes with contempt or pity, they have since found formidable rivals and merciless conquerors. These people have been long distinguished, however improperly, by the name of the *Black Charaibes*.

Of the origin of these intruders, and their ancient connection with the native Charaibes, the best account that I have been able to find is in a small treatise of the author above quoted, (Doctor Campbell) entitled “Candid and impartial considerations

derations on the nature of the Sugar-trade," which being equally authentic and curious, I shall present to my readers entire; and with the less scruple, because it consists chiefly of an official paper which cannot be abridged without injury.

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"In 1672, King Charles thought fit to divide these governments, and by a new commission appointed Lord Willoughby Governor of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica; Sir William Stapleton being appointed Governor of the other Leeward Isles, and this separation has subsisted ever since, the same islands being constantly inserted in every new Governor's patent. On the demise of Lord Willoughby, Sir Jonathan Atkins was appointed Governor of Barbadoes, and the rest of these islands, and so continued till 1680, when he was succeeded by Sir Richard Dutton, who being sent for to England in 1685, appointed Colonel Edwin Stede Lieutenant Governor, who vigorously asserted our rights by appointing Deputy Governors for the other Islands; and particularly sent Captain Temple hither to prevent the French from wooding and watering without our permission, to which they had been encouraged by the inattention of the former Governors; persisting steadily in this conduct, till it was signified to him, as we have had occasion to remark before, that the King had signified an act of neutrality, and that commissioners were appointed by the two courts, to settle all differences relative to these Islands."

"Some years after, a ship from Guinea, with a large cargo of slaves, was either wrecked or run on shore upon the island of St. Vincent, into the woods and mountains of which great numbers of the negroes escaped. Here, whether willingly or unwillingly is a little uncertain, the Indians suffered

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 suffered them to remain, and partly by the accession of runaway slaves from Barbadoes, partly by the children they had by the Indian women, they became very numerous; so that about the beginning of the current century they constrained the Indians to retire into the north-west part of the island. These people, as may be reasonably supposed, were much dissatisfied with this treatment; and complained of it occasionally both to the English and to the French, that came to wood and water amongst them. The latter at length suffered themselves to be prevailed upon to attack these invaders, in the cause of their old allies; and from a persuasion that they should find more difficulty in dealing with these negroes, in case they were suffered to strengthen themselves, than with the Indians. After much deliberation, in the year 1719, they came with a considerable force from Martinico, and landing without much opposition, began to burn the negro huts and destroy their plantations, supposing that the Indians would have attacked them in the mountains, which if they had done, the blacks had probably been extirpated, or forced to submit and become slaves. But either from fear or policy, the Indians did nothing, and the Negroes sallying in the night, and retreating to inaccessible places in the day, destroyed so many of the French (amongst whom was Mr. Paulian, major of Martinique, who commanded them,) that they were forced to retire. When by this experiment they were convinced that force would not do, they had recourse to fair means, and by dint of persuasions and presents, patched up a peace with the Negroes as well as the Indians, from which they received great advantage."

" Things were in this situation when Captain Uring came with a considerable armament to take possession

possession of St. Lucia and this island, in virtue of a grant from our late sovereign King George I. to the late Duke of Montague. When the French had dislodged this gentleman, by a superior force from St. Lucia, he sent Captain Braithwaite to try what could be done at the Island of St. Vincent, in which he was not at all more successful, as will best appear from that gentleman's report to Mr. Uring, which, as it contains several curious circumstances relative to the country, and to the two independent nations who then inhabited it, belongs properly to this subject, and cannot but prove entertaining to the reader. The paper is without date, but it appears from Mr. Uring's memoirs that this transaction happened in the spring of the year 1723." CHAP. III.

"THE REPORT."

"In pursuance of a resolution in council, and your order for so doing, the day you failed with his Grace's colony for Antego, I failed with the Griffin sloop, in company with his Majesty's ship the Winchelsea, to St. Vincent. We made the Island that night, and next morning run along shore, and saw several Indian huts, but as yet no Indians came off to us, nor could we get ashore to them, by reason there was no ground to anchor in. Towards the evening, two Indians came on board, and told us, we might anchor in a bay to leeward, and when we were at anchor they would bring their general on board. Here we came to an anchor in deep water, and very dangerous for the sloop. One, whom they call General, came on board, with several others, to the number of twenty-two. I entertained them very handsomely,

BOOK III. *—* somely, and made the chief some trifling presents, but found he was a person of no consequence, and that they called him *Chief* to get some present from me. Here two of the Indians were so drunk, they would not go ashore, but staid on board some days, and were well entertained. After this, little winds and great currents drove us off for several days; but at last, we came to an anchor in a spacious bay, to leeward of all the Island, the draught of which I ordered to be taken by our surveyor, for your better understanding the place, being the only one where a settlement could be made. The ship and sloop were scarce come to anchor, before the strand of the shore was covered with Indians, and among them we could discover a white, who proved to be Frenchman. I took Captain Watson in the boat with me, with a Frenchman, and immediately went ashore. As soon as I came amongst them, I asked them, why they appeared all armed? For every man had cutlasses, some had musquets, pistols, bows and arrows, &c. They with very little ceremony inclosed me, and carried me up the country about a mile, over a little rivulet, where I was told I was to see their general. I found him sitting amidst a guard of about a hundred Indians, those nearest his person had musquets, the rest bows and arrows, and great silence. He ordered me a seat, and a Frenchman stood at his right hand, for an interpreter: he demanded of me, what brought me into his country, and of what nation? I told him English, and I was put in to wood and water, as not caring to say any thing else before the Frenchman; but told him if he would be pleased to come on board our ships, I would leave Englishmen in hostage for him and those he should

" should be pleased to bring with him; but I
 " could not prevail with him either to come on
 " board, or suffer me to have wood and water.
 " He said he was informed we were come to force
 " a settlement, and we had no other way to re-
 " move that jealousy but to get under sail. As
 " soon as I found what influence the French-
 " man's company had upon them, I took my
 " leave, after making such replies as I thought
 " proper, and returned to my boat under a guard.
 " When I came to the shore I found the guard
 " there were increased by a number of Negroes,
 " all armed with fuses. I got in my boat, with-
 " out any injury, and went on board to Captain
 " Orme, and told him my ill success.
 " Immediately after, I sent on shore the ship's
 " boat with a mate, with rum, beef and bread,
 " &c. with some cutlasses, and ordered a French-
 " man who went with the mate, to desire the
 " guard to conduct them to their general, and to
 " tell him, that though he denied me the com-
 " mon good of water and a little usefess wood,
 " nevertheless I had sent him such refreshments
 " as our ships afforded. Our people found the
 " Frenchman gone, and that then the Indian ge-
 " neral seemed pleased, and received what was
 " sent him, and in return sent me bows and ar-
 " rows.
 " Our people had not been long returned be-
 " fore their general sent a canoe, with two chief
 " Indians, who spoke very good French, to thank
 " me for my presents, and to ask pardon for his
 " refusing me wood and water, and assured me
 " I might have what I pleased; and they had orders
 " to tell me, if I pleased to go ashore again, they
 " were to remain hostages for my civil treatment.
 " I sent them on board the man of war, and with
 " Capt. Watson went on shore. I was well receiv-
 " ed, and conducted as before. But now I found
 " the

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“ the brother of the chief of the Negroes was
 “ arrived, with five hundred Negroes, most armed
 “ with fuzees. They told my interpreter
 “ they were assured we were come to force a settlement, or else they would not have denied
 “ me what they never before denied any English,
 “ viz. wood and water: But, if I pleased, I might
 “ take in what I wanted under a guard. Finding
 “ them in so good a humour, I once more introduced
 “ the desire I had to entertain them on
 “ board our ships, and with some difficulty prevailed
 “ with them, by leaving Captain Watfon
 “ on shore under their guard as a hostage. I
 “ carried them on board the King’s ship, where
 “ they were well entertained by Captain Orme,
 “ who gave the Indian General a fine fuzee of
 “ his own, and to the Chief of the Negroes
 “ something that pleased him. Captain Orme
 “ assured him of the friendship of the King of
 “ England, &c. The Negro Chief spoke excellent
 “ French, and gave answers with the French
 “ compliments. Afterwards I carried them on
 “ board the Duke’s sloop, and after opening
 “ their hearts with wine, for they scorned to
 “ drink rum, I thought it a good time to tell them
 “ my commission, and what brought me on their
 “ coast. They told me it was well I had not
 “ mentioned it ashore, for their power could not
 “ have protected me; that it was impossible; the
 “ Dutch had before attempted it, but were glad
 “ to retire. They likewise told me two French
 “ sloops had, the day before we came, been
 “ amongst them, gave them arms and ammunition,
 “ and assured them of the whole force
 “ of Martinico for their protection against us.
 “ They told them also, that they had drove us
 “ from St. Lucia, and that now we were come to
 “ endeavour to force a settlement there; and,
 “ notwithstanding

" notwithstanding all our precious pretences,
 " when we had power, we should enslave them;
 " but declared they would trust no Europeans;
 " that they owned themselves under the protec-
 " tion of the French, but would as soon oppose
 " their settling amongst them, or any act of force
 " from them, as us, as they had lately given an
 " example, by killing several; and they further
 " told me, it was by very large presents the
 " French ever got in their favour again; but
 " they resolved never to put it in the power of
 " any European to hurt them. They advised
 " me to think what they said was an act of friend-
 " ship. This being all I could get from them,
 " I dismissed them with such presents as his
 " Grace ordered for that service, with a discharge
 " of cannon, and received in return as regular
 " vollies of small shot as I ever heard. In the
 " night the Winchelsea drove from her anchors,
 " which as soon as I perceived, and had receiv-
 " ed Captain Watson from the shore, I got under
 " sail, and stood to the man of war."

Such is the history of a very weak and fruit-
 less attempt which was made, under the authori-
 ty of the British Government, to obtain posses-
 sion of this Island in the year 1723: an interval
 of forty years succeeds, in which I find no oc-
 currence in its history that deserves recital. The
 country became a theatre of savage hostilities be-
 tween the Negroes and the Charaibes, in which
 it is believed that the former were generally vic-
 torious; it is certain that they proved so in the
 end, their numbers, in 1763, being computed at
 two thousand; whereas of the yellow or native
 Charaibes, there were not left (as hath already
 been observed) more than one hundred families,
 and most of these, if I am rightly informed, are
 by this time exterminated. It is however worthy

BOOK III. of remark, that the African intruders have adopted most of the Charaibean manners and customs; among the rest, the practice of flattening the foreheads of their infants, as described in the first part of this work, and perhaps it was chiefly from this circumstance that they acquired the appellation of the black Charaibes.

The first measure of the English government in respect to this Island, after the peace of Paris, was to dispose of the lands—I dare not say to the best advantage; for no less than 24,000 acres, being more than one-fourth part of the whole country, were gratuitously assigned over to two individuals*. The remainder was ordered to be sold for the benefit of the public, and 20,538 acres were accordingly disposed of by auction for the sum of £.162,854. 11s. 7d. sterling †. As nearly one half the country was judged unfit for any profitable cultivation, these grants and sales comprehended all the lands, of any kind of value, from one end of the Island to the other. The

commissioners

* Mr. Swinburne had twenty thousand acres, and General Monckton four thousand.

† The Lords of the Treasury fixed a minimum, below which no land could be sold, which was £.5 sterling per acre for every acre of cleared land, and twenty shillings for every acre in wood, and the principal conditions of sale were these, that every purchaser should pay down twenty per cent. of the whole purchase money, together with six pence sterling per acre, for the expence of surveying the land, and that the remainder of the purchase money should be secured by bonds; to be paid by equal instalments in the space of five years next after the date of the grant. That each purchaser should keep on the lands so by him purchased, one white man, or two white women, for every hundred acres of land, as it became cleared, for the purpose of cultivating the same; or in default thereof, or non-payment of the remainder of the purchase money, the lands were to be forfeited to the crown. Some of the lands sold extravagantly high, as far as fifty pounds sterling per acre.

commissioners indeed were directed not to survey or dispose of any of the lands inhabited or claimed by the Charaibes, until they should receive further instructions from the crown; but as it was impossible to ascertain how far the claims of these people extended, the survey alone was postponed, and the sales were suffered to proceed, to the amount that I have mentioned; no doubt being entertained by the several purchasers, that the British Government would ratify the acts of its commissioners, and put them into possession of the lands which they had bought, without any regard to the claims of the Charaibes of either race; which in truth were considered as of no consequence or validity.

By what arts of persuasion the British government was induced to give its sanction and support to the measures which followed, it is now useless to enquire; but posterity will learn with indignation, that the sales and allotments I have mentioned, gave rise to a war with the Charaibes, in the course of which, it became the avowed intention of government to exterminate those miserable people altogether, or, by conveying them to a barren island on the coast of Africa, consign them over to lingering destruction. By repeated protests and representations from the military officers employed in this disgraceful business, and the dread of parliamentary enquiry, administration at length thought proper to desist, and the Charaibes, after surrendering part of their lands, were permitted to enjoy the remainder unmolested, and they possess them, I believe, to this hour.

On the 19th of June 1779, St. Vincent's shared the common fate of most of the British West Indian possessions, in that unfortunate war with America, which swallowed up all the resources

BOOK
III.

of the nation, being captured by a small body of troops from Martinico, consisting of only four hundred and fifty men, commanded by a Lieutenant in the French navy. The Black Charaibes however, as might have been expected, immediately joined the enemy, and there is no doubt that the terror which seized the British inhabitants, from an apprehension that those people would proceed to the most bloody enormities, contributed to the very easy victory which was obtained by the invaders; for the Island surrendered without a struggle. The terms of capitulation were favourable, and the Island was restored to the dominion of Great Britain by the general pacification of 1783. It contained at that time sixty-one sugar estates, five hundred acres in coffee, two hundred acres in cacao, four hundred in cotton, fifty in indigo, and five hundred in tobacco, besides land appropriated to the raising provisions, such as plantains, yams, maize, &c. All the rest of the country, excepting the few spots that had been cleared from time to time by the Charaibes, retained its native woods, and most of it, I believe, continues in the same state to the present hour.

St. Vincent's contains about 84,000 acres, which are every where well watered, but the country is very generally mountainous and rugged; the intermediate vallies, however, are fertile in a high degree, the soil consisting chiefly of a fine mold, composed of sand and clay, well adapted for sugar. The extent of country at present possessed by British subjects is 23,605 acres, and about as much more is supposed to be held by the Charaibes. All the remainder is thought to be incapable of cultivation or improvement.

The

The Island, or rather the British territory within it, is divided into five parishes, of which only one was provided with a church, and that was blown down in the hurricane of 1780: whether it is rebuilt I am not informed. There is one town, called Kingston, the capital of the Island, and the seat of its government, and three villages that bear the name of towns, but they are inconsiderable hamlets, consisting each of a few houses only.

In the frame of its government and the administration of executive justice, St. Vincent seems to differ in no respect from Grenada.—The council consist of twelve members, the assembly of seventeen. The Governor's salary is two thousand pounds sterling, one half of which is raised within the Island, the other half is paid him out of the Exchequer of Great Britain.

The military force consists at present of a regiment of infantry, and a company of artillery, sent from England; and a black corps raised in the country—but provided for, with the former, on the British establishment, and receiving no additional pay from the Island. The militia consists of two regiments of foot, serving without pay of any kind.

The number of inhabitants appears, by the last returns to Government, to be one thousand four hundred and fifty Whites, and eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty-three Negroes.

Of the labour of these people I have no other means of shewing the returns, than from the Inspector General's account of the exports from this Island for 1787, a table of which, as in the case of the other Islands, is subjoined. In this table, however, I conceive is comprehended the produce of the several Islands dependent on the St. Vincent Government, viz. Bequia, containing

BOOK taining 3,700 acres; Union, containing 2,150
 III. acres; Canouane, containing 1,777 acres; and
 Mustique, containing about 1,200 acres*; the
 Negroes employed in the cultivation of these Is-
 lands (in number about 1,400) being, I believe,
 included in the 11,853 before mentioned.

* There are likewise the little islots of Petit Martinique, Petit St. Vincent, Maillereau, and Ballefeau, each of which produces a little cotton.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared Outwards from the Island of ST. VINCENT, &c. to all parts of the World, between the 5th of JANUARY 1787 and the 5th of JANUARY 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inspector General of Great Britain.

Whitlar Bond	Shipping.		Cut Sugar.	Rum.	Melasses.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cacao.	Miscellaneous Articles, as Hides, Dying Woody, &c.	Totals, according to the current Prices in London.	
	No.	Tons.									Men.
To Great Britain	30	6,086	463	15,766	9,656	632	1 5	760,380	99	2 24	£. l. s.
American States	21	2,527	174	51,300	—	—	—	11,500	43	2 —	175,571 9 6
Foreign W. Indies	71	1,963	332	21,200	—	—	—	—	5	3 6	9,019 1 8
Total	122	11,576	969	88,266	9,656	632	1 5	771,880	143	24	186,450 14 8

SECTION



SECTION II.

D O M I N I C A.

THE Island of Dominica was so named by Christopher Columbus, from the circumstance of its being discovered by him on a Sunday*. My account of it will be very brief, for its civil history, like that of St. Vincent, is a mere blank previous to the year 1759, when by conquest it fell under the dominion of Great Britain, and was afterwards confirmed to the British crown, by the treaty of peace concluded at Paris in February 1763.

Notwithstanding that Dominica had, until that time, been considered as a neutral island, many of the subjects of France had established coffee plantations, and other settlements, in various parts of the country; and it reflects honour on the British administration, that these people were secured in their possessions, on condition of taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty and paying a small quit-rent †. The rest
of

* November 3d, 1493.

† The crown granted them leases, some for fourteen, and others for forty years, renewable at the expiration thereof, with conditions in every lease, "that the possessor, his heirs or assigns, should pay to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, the sum of two shillings sterling per annum, for every acre of land, of which the lease should consist." And further, "that they should not sell or dispose of their lands, without

of the cultivable lands were ordered to be sold on the same conditions as those of St. Vincent, by commissioners nominated for that purpose, and no less than 96,344 acres (comprehending one half of the island) were accordingly disposed of by auction, in allotments from fifty to one hundred acres, yielding the sum of £.312,092. 11s. 1d. sterling money*.

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III.

It does not however appear that the purchases thus made by British subjects have answered the expectation of the buyers; for the French inhabitants of Dominica are still more numerous than the English, and possess the most valuable coffee plantations in the Island, the produce of which has hitherto been found its most important staple. They differ but little, in manners, customs, and religion, from the inhabitants of the other French Islands in the West Indies, and their priests have been hitherto appointed by superiors in Martinico; to the government of which Island, and to the laws of their own nation, they consider themselves to be amenable.

I am sorry historical justice obliges me to observe, that the liberal conduct of the British government towards these people, after they became adopted subjects, did not meet with that grateful return from them, which, for the general interests of mankind, ought to be religiously manifested on such occasions.

At the commencement of the hopeless and destructive war between Great Britain and her Colonies

without the consent or approbation of the governor, or commander in chief of that Island, for the time being." This indulgence however did not extend to more than three hundred acres of land occupied by each French subject.

* No person was allowed to purchase, either in his own name or in the name of others in trust for him, more than three hundred acres, if in Dominica, or five hundred acres if in St. Vincent.

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III.

Colonies in North America, the island of Dominica was in a flourishing situation. The port of Roseau having been declared a free-port by an act of parliament, was resorted to by trading vessels from most parts of the foreign West Indies, as well as from America. The French and Spaniards purchased great numbers of Negroes there for the supply of their settlements, together with vast quantities of the merchandize and manufactures of Great Britain; payment for all which was made chiefly in bullion, indigo, and cotton, and completed in mules and cattle; articles of prime necessity to the planter*.

Thus the island, though in itself certainly not so fertile as some others of less extent in its neighbourhood, was becoming very rapidly a colony of considerable importance; but unfortunately it wanted that protection, which alone could give its possessions stability and value.

To those who recollect the frantic rage, with which all the faculties and means of Great Britain were directed towards, and applied in, the subjugation of America, the utter disregard which was manifested by the then administration towards the security of this and the other British islands in the West Indies, may not perhaps be matter of surprise; but it will hereafter be scarcely believed, that the whole regular force allotted, during the height of the war, for the protection of Dominica, consisted of six officers and ninety-four privates! This shameful neglect was the more remarkable, as this island, from its local situation, between Martinico and Guadaloupe, is the best calculated of all the possessions of Great-

* Roseau is still a free-port, but the restrictions and regulations of the late act are so rigid, that foreigners have no encouragement to resort to it, and, since some late seizures, consider the law as a snare to invite them to ruin.

Great-Britain in that part of the world, for securing to her the dominion of the Charaibbean sea. A few ships of war stationed at Prince Rupert's Bay, would effectually stop all intercourse of the French settlements with each other, as not a vessel can pass, but is liable to capture by ships cruizing off that bay, and to windward of the island. This indeed was discovered when it was too late.

It is probable that this, and the other circumstances which I have recounted, namely, the growing prosperity of the colony, and the criminal inattention of the British Ministry towards its security, had already attracted the vigilant rapaciousness of the French government; but it is asserted, that many of the inhabitants within the colony, who had formerly been subjects of France, scrupled not, on the first intimation of hostilities having been commenced in Europe, in the year 1778, to invite an attack from Martinico. Proofs of this may not perhaps easily be made, but it is certain that their subsequent conduct gave too much cause for such a suspicion.

On Monday, the 7th of September, in that year, a French armament, consisting of a forty-gun ship, three frigates, and about thirty sail of armed sloops and schooners, having on board upwards of two thousand regular troops, and a lawless banditti of volunteers, about half that number, appeared off the island, under the command of the Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico, and general of the French Windward West-Indian Islands. Part of the troops having soon afterwards landed without opposition, the enemy proceeded to the attack of Fort Cashacrou, the chief defence of the island, and in which a detachment of the regulars was stationed, This fort

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III.

BOOK III. fort was built on a rock, about three hundred feet in perpendicular height, surrounded on three sides by the sea, and was considered so very defensible, that it was supposed a few hundred men, well provided, would maintain it against as many thousands. Great therefore was the astonishment of the English in the town of Roseau, in perceiving, by the French colours flying on it, that this fort had surrendered without resistance; but, strange as it may seem, the case appeared afterwards to be, that some of the French inhabitants had insinuated themselves into the fort a few nights before, and having intoxicated with liquor the few soldiers that were there on duty, had contrived to spike up the cannon.

Having thus made themselves masters of Fort Casbacrou, the enemy landed their whole force about noon, and began their march for the town, which was defended by Fort Melville, and three other batteries; but unfortunately these batteries were ill provided, and worse manned. The whole number of the militia did not exceed one hundred; for but few of the French inhabitants thought proper to assemble, and of those that made their appearance, many withdrew themselves again, and were no more seen until after the island had surrendered.

The small force however that was collected, behaved with that spirit and gallantry, which give room to lament that they were not better supported. Three times was the enemy driven out of Fort Loubiere, of which they had possessed themselves in their march, and twice were the colours which they had hoisted thereon shot away. Their commissary general, and upwards of forty of their soldiers, were killed, and de
Bouillé

Bouillé himself had a very narrow escape; his sword being shot away from his side.

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But gallantry was unavailing against such superiority of numbers; for about two thousand of the French having shortly after gained possession of the heights above Roseau, this last circumstance determined the fate of the island. The bravery of the inhabitants, however, obtained for them very honourable terms of capitulation. Besides being permitted to march out with all military honours, they were allowed to retain their civil government, and the free exercise of their religion, laws, customs, and ordinances; to preserve the administration of justice in the same persons, in whom it was then vested *, and to enjoy their possessions, of what nature soever, unmolested; a privilege also which was expressly extended to absent as well as resident proprietors.

De Bouillé having thus completed his conquest, departed for Martinico, leaving the Marquis Duchilleau commander in chief of Dominica, whose conduct, during four years that he continued in the island, is said to have been so wantonly oppressive and tyrannical, that we are left to wonder at the patient long-suffering and forbearance of the people under his government, in submitting to it for half the time.

His first measure was to disarm the English inhabitants, and distribute their arms among the runaway negroes, with whom he actually entered into an engagement for their assistance, if wanted. He issued a proclamation, forbidding the English to assemble together more than two in a place, under the penalty of military execution, and

* It was stipulated that the members of the council should constitute a court of chancery, the powers of which were vested solely in the governor before the surrender.

BOOK III. and he commanded the centinels to shoot them if they passed in greater numbers. He ordered that no lights should be seen in their houses after nine o'clock at night, and that no English person should presume to walk the streets after that hour, without a candle and lanthorn. Mr. Robert How, an English merchant, and owner of a ship then in the bay, attempting to go on board his own vessel after that hour, was shot dead in the attempt, and the centinel who killed him was raised to a higher station in his regiment for having thus (as the governor expressed it) *done his duty.*

So very apprehensive was this governor that the English inhabitants were forming designs to retake the island, that every letter of theirs was opened for his inspection before it was delivered. And, deeming this measure insufficient to furnish him with the knowledge of their private transactions, he adopted the practice of going himself in disguise, or employing others who better knew the English language, in order to listen at their doors and windows in the night-time, to the conversation which passed in domestic intercourse.

He repeatedly threatened to set fire to the town of Roseau, in case the Island should be attacked, and, though this was never attempted by the English forces, yet that town was set fire to by the French soldiers, who, there is every reason to suppose, did it by the governor's private orders. This supposition was strongly corroborated by his behaviour on the night of that melancholy event, at which he himself was present the best part of the time, like another Nero seemingly diverted with the scene, and would not allow his soldiers to assist in extinguishing the flames (save only in houses that belonged to the French inhabitants) but permitted them to pillage the sufferers.

This fire happened the evening of Easter Sunday, 1781, by which upwards of five hundred houses were consumed in a few hours; and a vast quantity of rich merchandize and effects destroyed, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

While the wretched inhabitants were thus groaning under domestic despotism, they had no resources from without. Their trade was entirely cut off, infomuch, that during five years and three months, the time that the island of Dominica was in possession of the French, it was resorted to by no vessels from Old France, nor was any of its produce exported to that kingdom; but part of it was sent in neutral bottoms to the Dutch Island of St. Eustatius, before its capture by Admiral Rodney; and from thence it was exported to England, under the most extravagant expences and loss to the proprietors.

Other parts of their produce were sent in Dutch vessels, which were engaged for the purpose in England, to Rotterdam; and after the breaking out of the war with the Dutch, the produce of Dominica was sent under imperial colours to Ostend, where the sugar sold from six to eight pounds sterling the hoghead.

These accumulated distresses ended in the absolute ruin of many of the planters, and we are assured, on good authority, that no less than thirty sugar plantations were, in consequence thereof, thrown up and abandoned by the proprietors. At length however the day of deliverance arrived; for, in the month of January 1783, Dominica was restored to the government of England. The joy which, on this event, animated the bosom and enlightened the countenance of every man, whom painful experience, under an arbitrary government, had taught to set a right value

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III

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III.

value on the British constitution, may be conceived, but cannot be described. The inhabitants were now restored to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, under a civil establishment, similar to those of the other British colonies in the West Indies, which being hereafter to be described at length, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon in this place, except to observe, that the legislative authority of this island is vested in the commander in chief, a council of twelve gentlemen, and an assembly of nineteen members*. The few observations therefore which follow, concerning its present state and productions, will conclude my account.

Dominica contains 186,436 acres of land; and is divided into ten parishes. The town of Roseau is at present the capital of the island, and is situated in the parish of St. George, being about seven leagues from Prince Rupert's bay. It is on a point of land on the S. W. side of the island, which forms two bays, viz. Woodbridge's bay to the north, and Charlotte-ville bay to the southward.

Roseau is about half a mile in length, from Charlotte-ville to Roseau river, and, mostly two furlongs in breadth, but less in some parts, being of a very irregular figure. It contains not more than five hundred houses, exclusive of the cottages occupied by negroes. Before its capture by the French, it contained upwards of one thousand.

This Island is twenty-nine miles in length, and may be reckoned sixteen miles in breadth. It contains many high and rugged mountains, interspersed with fine vallies, and in general they appear to

* The governor's salary is one thousand two hundred pounds sterling per annum, exclusive of his fees of office.

be fertile. Several of the mountains contain unextinguished volcanoes, which frequently discharge vast quantities of burning sulphur. From these mountains also issue springs of hot water, some of which are supposed to possess great virtue in the case of tropical disorders. In some places the water is said to be hot enough to coagulate an egg*.

Dominica is well watered, there being upwards of thirty fine rivers in the Island, besides a great number of rivulets. The soil, in most of the interior country, is a light brown-coloured mould, and appears to have been washed from the mountains. Towards the sea-coast, and in many of the vallies, it is a deep, black, and rich native earth, and seems well adapted to the cultivation of all the articles of West Indian produce. The under stratum is in some parts a yellow or brick clay, in others a stiff terrace, but it is in most places very stony.

I am afraid, however, that the quantity of fertile land is but a very small proportion of the whole; there not being more than fifty sugar plantations at present in cultivation, and it is computed, that on an average, one year with another, those fifty plantations do not produce annually more than three thousand hogheads of sugar. This is certainly a very small quantity of that article for such an extensive Island, or even for the number of sugar plantations at present under cultivation, allowing only one hundred acres of canes to each.

VOL. I.

D d

Coffee

* In the woods of Dominica are innumerable swarms of bees, which hive in the trees, and produce great quantities of wax and honey, both of which are equal in goodness to any in Europe. It is precisely the same species of bee as in Europe, and must have been transported thither; the native bee of the West Indies being a smaller species, unprovided with stings, and very different in its manners from the European.

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Coffee seems to answer better than Sugar, there being somewhat more than two hundred coffee plantations in Dominica, which in favourable years have produced three millions of pounds weight.

A small part of the lands are also applied to the cultivation of cacao, indigo, and ginger; but I believe that most of these articles, as well as of the cotton, which are comprehended in the exports, are obtained from the dominions of foreign states in South America, and imported into this island under the free-port law.

The number of white inhabitants, of all descriptions and ages, appear, by the last returns to government, in 1788, to be 1236; of free negroes, &c. 445, and of slaves 14,967. There are also from twenty to thirty families of the ancient natives, or Charaibes, properly so called. They are a very quiet, inoffensive people, speak a language of their own, and a little French, but none of them understand English*.

Such is the information which I have collected concerning the civil history and present state of Dominica, for most of which I am indebted to a late publication by Mr. Atwood. Nothing now remains but to set forth the particulars and value of its productions, which I shall adopt, as in other cases, from the return of the Inspector General for the year 1787.

* A late writer gives the following account of these people: "They are of a clear copper colour, have long, sleek, black hair: their persons are short, stout, and well made, but they disfigure their faces by flattening their foreheads in infancy. They live chiefly by fishing in the rivers and the sea, or by fowling in the woods, in both which pursuits they use their bows and arrows with wonderful dexterity. It is said they will kill the smallest bird with an arrow at a great distance, or transfix a fish at a considerable depth in the sea. They display also very great ingenuity in making curious wrought panniers or baskets of silk grass, or the leaves and bark of trees."

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Island of Dominica, to all Parts of the World, between the 5th January 1787 and the 5th January 1788, with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London.

Whither bound.	Shipping.		Sugar.	Rum.	Metals.	Cacao.	Coffee.	Indigo.	Cotton.	Ginger.	Value of Miscellaneous Articles, as Hides, Dying Woods, &c.		Total Value according to the Prices current in London.
	No.	Tons, Men									Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	
To Great Britain	56	8,682	58,665	1 21	1,492	9,433	1,126 2 26	179,387 3 6	11,250	967,066	161	11,635 11 3	271,472 14 4
Ireland	0	3,046	11,161	—	3,600	8 4	—	—	—	—	—	30	19,500 11 6
American States	16	3,003	1,068	—	31,600	45	—	—	—	—	—	194	7,164 5 6
Brz. Amer. Cols.	74	1,096	408	—	25,400	15	—	—	—	—	—	21 11 6	4,295 3 6
Foreign W. Indies	67	5,129	—	—	1,300	—	—	—	—	—	—	41 0	155 1
	163	18,116	71,302	1 21	61,392	26,803	1,194 3 2	18,149 3 6	11,250	970,816	161	11,912 10 9	302,987 15

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An



Leeward Charaibbean Island Government, comprehending St. Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and the Virgin Islands.—Civil History and Geographical Description of each.—Table of Exports from each Island for 1787; and an Account of the Money arising from the Duty of Four and a Half per Cent.—Observations concerning the Decline of these Islands, which conclude their History.

THESE several islands, since the year 1672, have constituted one distinct government; the governor being stiled *Captain General of the Leeward Charaibbean Islands*. He visits each occasionally, but his chief seat of residence is Antigua; the government of each island, in the absence of the governor-general, being usually administered by a lieutenant-governor, whose authority is limited to that particular island; and where no lieutenant-governor is appointed, the president of the council takes the command. I shall treat of them separately, and afterwards combine, in a concise summary, those circumstances which are common to them all.

Their civil history will be short; for in this part of my subject I have but little to add to the recital of Oldmixon, and other writers, who have preceded me; and where novelty is wanting, brevity is indispensibly requisite.

SECTION I.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

THE island of St. Christopher was called by its ancient possessors, the Charaibes, *Liamuiga*, or the Fertile Island. It was discovered in November, 1493, by Columbus himself, who was so pleased with its appearance, that he honoured it with his own Christian name. But it was neither planted nor possessed by the Spaniards. It was, however (notwithstanding that the general opinion ascribes the honour of seniority to Barbadoes,) the eldest of all the British territories in the West Indies, and, in truth, the common mother both of the English and French settlements in the Charaibbean islands. The fact, as related by an historian* to whose industry and knowledge I have been so largely indebted in my account of St. Vincent, was this: "In the number of those gentlemen who accompanied Captain Roger North, in a voyage to Surinam, was Mr. Thomas Warner, who making an acquaintance there with Captain Thomas Painton, a very experienced seaman, the latter suggested how much easier it would be to fix, and preserve in good order, a colony in one of the small islands, despised and deserted by

* Dr. Campbell.

BOOK by the Spaniards; than on that vast country, the
 III. continent, where, for want of sufficient authority, all things were fallen into confusion; and he particularly pointed out for that purpose the island of St. Christopher. This gentleman dying, Mr. Warner returned to England in 1620, resolved to put his friend's project in execution. He accordingly associated himself with fourteen other persons, and with them took his passage on board a ship bound to Virginia. From thence he and his companions sailed from St. Christopher's, where they arrived in January 1623, and by the month of September following had raised a good crop of tobacco, which they proposed to make their staple commodity." It has been shewn in a former chapter, that the first actual establishment in Barbadoes, took place the latter end of 1624.

By the generality of historians, who have treated of the affairs of the West Indies, it is asserted that a party of the French, under the command of a person of the name of D'Esnameuc, took possession of one part of this Island, on the same day that Mr. Warner landed on the other; but the truth is, that the first landing of Warner and his associates, happened two years before the arrival of D'Esnameuc; who, it is admitted by Du Tertre, did not leave France until 1625. Unfortunately, the English settlers, in the latter end of 1623, had their plantations demolished by a dreadful hurricane, which put a sudden stop to their progress. In consequence of this calamity, Mr. Warner returned to England to implore succour; and it was on that occasion that he sought and obtained the powerful patronage and support of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. This nobleman caused a ship to be fitted out, laden with all kinds of necessaries.

necessaries. It was called the Hopewell; and arrived at St. Christopher's on the 18th of May 1624; and thus he certainly preserved a settlement, which had otherwise died in its infancy. Warner himself did not return to St. Christopher's until the year following. He was then accompanied by a large body of recruits, and D'Esnambuc arrived about the same time; perhaps the same day. This latter was the captain of a French privateer; and, having in an engagement with a Spanish galleon of superior strength, been very roughly handled, he was obliged, after losing several of his men, to seek refuge in these islands. He brought with him to St. Christopher's about thirty hardy veterans, and they were cordially received by the English, who appear at this time to have been under some apprehensions of the Charaibes. Hitherto Warner's first colony had lived on friendly terms with these poor savages, by whom they were liberally supplied with provisions; but having seized on their lands, the consciousness of deserving retaliation made the planters apprehensive of an attack, when probably none was intended. Du Tertre relates that the French and English receiving information of a projected revolt, concurred in a scheme for seizing the conspirators beforehand. Accordingly they fell on the Charaibes by night, and, having murdered in cold blood from one hundred to one hundred and twenty of the stoutest, drove all the rest from the island, except such of the women as were young and handsome, of whom, says the reverend historian, they made concubines and slaves. Such is the account of a contemporary author, Pere Du Tertre, who relates these transactions with perfect composure, as founded on common usage, and not unwarrantable

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able in their nature. He adds, that such of the Charaibes as escaped the massacre, having given the alarm to their countrymen in the neighbouring islands, a large body of them returned soon afterwards, breathing revenge; and now the conflict became serious. The Europeans however, more from the superiority of their weapons, than of their valour, became conquerors in the end; but their triumph was dearly purchased; one hundred of their number having been left dead on the field of battle.

After this exploit, which Du Tertre calls a glorious victory, the Charaibes appear to have quitted altogether this and some of the small islands in the neighbourhood, and to have retired southwards. The two leaders, Warner and Desnambuc, about the same time, found it necessary to return to Europe for the purpose of soliciting succour from their respective nations; and bringing with them the name of conquerors, they severally met with all possible encouragement. Warner was knighted by his sovereign, and through the interest of his noble patron sent back as governor in 1626 with four hundred new recruits, amply supplied with necessaries of all kinds; while Desnambuc, under the patronage of Richlieu (the minister of France) projected the establishment of an exclusive company for trading to this and some of the other islands. That minister concurred with Desnambuc in opinion, that such an institution was best adapted to the purposes of commerce and colonization;—an erroneous conclusion, which Desnambuc himself had soon abundant occasion to lament; for the French in general either misunderstood or disapproved the project. Subscriptions came in reluctantly, and the ships which the new company fitted out on this occasion, were so wretchedly supplied with provisions

visions and necessaries, that of five hundred and thirty-two recruits, who sailed from France with Desnambuc, in February 1627, the greater part perished miserably at sea for want of food.

The English received the survivors with compassion and kindness; and for preventing contests in future about their respective limits, the commanders of each nation agreed to divide the whole island pretty equally between their followers. A treaty of partition for this purpose was reduced to writing, and signed, with many formalities, on the third of May 1627: it comprehended also a league defensive and offensive; but this alliance proved of little avail against the Spanish invasion in 1629, the circumstances whereof I have elsewhere related. Yet surely, unjustifiable as that attack may be deemed, if the conduct of the new settlers towards the Charaibes was such as Du Tertre relates, we have but little cause to lament over the miseries which befel them. The mind exults in the chastisement of cruelty, even when the instruments of vengeance are as criminal as the objects of punishment.

It may now be thought that those of the two nations who survived so destructive a storm, had learnt moderation and forbearance in the school of adversity; and indeed for some years they appear to have lived on terms of good neighbourhood with each other; but at length national rivalry and hereditary animosity were allowed their full influence, insomuch that, for half a century afterwards, this little island exhibited a disgustful scene of internal contention, violence and bloodshed. It is impossible at this time to pronounce with certainty, whether the French or the English were the first aggressors. It is probable that each nation would lay the blame on the other. We are told that in the first Dutch war, in the
reign

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reign of Charles II. the French king declaring for the United States, his subjects in St. Christopher's, disdaining an inglorious neutrality, attacked the English Planters, and drove them out of their possessions; which were afterwards, by the treaty of Breda, restored to them. In 1689, in consequence of the revolution which had taken place in England the preceding year, the French Planters in this island, declaring themselves in the interests of the abdicated monarch, attacked and expelled their English neighbours a second time, laying waste their plantations, and committing such outrages as are unjustifiable among civilized nations, even in a time of open and avowed hostility. Their conduct on this occasion was deemed so cruel and treacherous, that it was assigned by King William and Queen Mary among the causes which induced them to declare war against the French nation. Even fortune herself, inclining at length to the side of justice, from henceforward deserted them; for, after they had continued about eight months sole masters of the island, the English under the command of general Codrington, returning in great force, not only compelled the French inhabitants to surrender, but actually transported eighteen hundred of them to Martinico and Hispaniola. It is true that reparation was stipulated to be made them by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697; but war again breaking out between the two nations in 1702, the French planters derived but little advantage from that clause in their favour. They had however, in 1705, the gloomy satisfaction to behold many of the English possessions again laid waste by a French armament, which committed such ravages that the British Parliament found it necessary to distribute the sum of £. 103,000 among the sufferers, to enable them

to re-settle their plantations. Happily, this was the last exertion of national enmity and civil discord within this little community; for at the peace of Utrecht, the island was ceded wholly to the English, and the French possessions publicly sold for the benefit of the English government. In 1733, £. 80,000 of the money was appropriated as a marriage portion with the princess Anne, who was betrothed to the Prince of Orange. Some few of the French planters, indeed, who consented to take the oaths, were naturalized, and permitted to retain their estates.

Such was the origin and progress of the British establishment in the Island of St. Christopher. The circumstances which attended the French invasion in the beginning of 1782, when a garrison of less than one thousand effective men (including the militia) was attacked by eight thousand of the best disciplined troops of France, supported by a fleet of thirty-two ships of war; the consequent surrender of the island, after a most vigorous and noble defence; and its restoration to Great Britain by the general peace of 1783, being within every person's recollection, need not be related at large in this work. I shall therefore conclude with the following particulars, which I presume are somewhat less familiar to the general reader, and their accuracy may be depended on.

St. Christopher lies in 17° North latitude; it is about fourteen leagues in circuit, and contains 43,726 acres of land, of which about 17,000 acres are appropriated to the growth of sugar, and 4000 to pasturage. As sugar is the only commodity of any account that is raised, except provisions and a little cotton, it is probable, that nearly one half the whole island is unfit for cultivation.

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 tivation. The interior part of the country consists indeed of many rugged precipices, and barren mountains. Of these, the loftiest is Mount-Misery (evidently a decayed volcano) which rises 3,711 feet in perpendicular height from the sea. Nature, however, has made abundant amends for the sterility of the mountains, by the fertility she has bestowed upon the plains. No part of the West-Indies that I have seen possesses even the same species of soil that is found in St. Christopher's. It is in general a dark grey loam, so light and porous as to be penetrable by the slightest application of the hoe; and I conceive it to be the production of subterraneous fires, the black ferruginous pumice of naturalists, finely incorporated with a pure loam, or virgin mould. The under stratum is gravel, from eight to twelve inches deep. Clay is no where found, except at a considerable height in the mountains.

By what process of nature the soil which I have mentioned becomes more especially suited to the production of sugar than any other in the West Indies, it is neither within my province or ability to explain. The circumstance however, is unquestionable. Canes, planted in particular spots, have been known to yield 8000 lbs. of Muscovado sugar from a single acre. One gentleman, in a favourable season, made 6,400 lbs. or four hogheads of sixteen cwt. each, *per* acre, on an average return of his whole crop. It is not however pretended, that the greatest part, or even a very large proportion of the cane land, throughout the island, is equally productive. The general average produce for a series of years is 16,000 hogheads of sixteen cwt. which, as one-half only of the whole cane land, or 8,500 acres, is annually cut (the remainder being in young canes) gives

gives nearly two hogheads of sixteen cwt. *per* acre for the whole of the land in ripe canes; but even this is a prodigious return, not equalled I imagine by any other sugar country in any part of the globe. In Jamaica, though some of the choicest lands may yield in favourable years two hogheads of sixteen cwt. *per* acre; the cane land which is cut annually, taken altogether, does not yield above a fourth part as much.

I am informed, however, that the planters of St. Christopher's are at a great expence for manure; that they never cut *ratoon* canes*; and although there is no want in the country of springs and rivulets for the support of the inhabitants, their plantations suffer much in dry weather, as the substratum does not long retain moisture.

This island is divided into nine parishes, and contains four towns and hamlets, viz. Basseterre (the present capital, as it was formerly that of the French,) Sandy-Point, Old Road and Deep Bay. Of these, the two first are ports of entry, established by law. The fortifications consist of Charles-Fort, and Brimstone-Hill, both near Sandy Point; three batteries at Basseterre, one at Fig-tree Bay, another at Palmeto-Point, and some smaller ones of no great importance.

The proportion which St. Christopher's contributes, with the other islands, towards an honourable provision for the Governor General, is £. 1000 *currency per annum*; which is settled on him by the assembly immediately on his arrival. He has besides some perquisites; and in time of war they are considerable.

Each island within this government has a separate council, and each of them an assembly, or house of representatives. In St. Christopher's,

* *Ratoon* canes are shoots from old roots, as will be fully explained hereafter.

BOOK III. pher's, the council should consist of ten members, but it is seldom that more than seven are present. The house of assembly is composed of twenty-four representatives, of whom fifteen make a quorum. The requisite qualification is a freehold of forty acres of land, or a house worth forty pounds a year. Of the electors, the qualification is a freehold of ten pounds *per annum*.

The Governor of this, and the other islands in the same government, is chancellor by his office, and in St. Christopher sits alone. Attempts have been made to join some of the council with him, as in Barbadoes; but hitherto without success, the inhabitants choosing rather to submit to the expence and delay of following the chancellor to Antigua, than suffer the inconveniency of having on the chancery bench judges, some of whom it is probable, from their situation and connections, may be interested in the event of every suit that may come before them.

In this island, as in Jamaica, the jurisdiction of both the King's bench and common pleas, centers in one superior court, wherein justice is administered by a chief justice and four puisne judges. The chief is appointed by the crown, the others by the governor in the King's name, and they all hold their commissions during pleasure. The office of chief judge is worth about £. 600 per annum. The emoluments of the assistant judges are trifling.

The present number of white inhabitants is computed at 4,000, and taxes are levied on 26,000 negroes, and there are about three hundred blacks and mulattoes of free condition.

As in the other British islands in the neighbourhood, all the white men from the age of sixteen

teen to sixty are obliged to enlist in the militia, and in this island they serve without pay. They form two regiments of foot, although the whole number of effective men in each regiment seldom exceeds three hundred; but there is likewise a company of free blacks, and this, before the late war, constituted the whole of the military force within the island; the British government refusing to send them troops of any kind.

Of the wisdom of such conduct in Great Britain, the reader will be able properly to judge, when he is told, that the natural strength of this island, from the conformation and inequalities of its surface, is such that a garrison of two thousand effective troops, properly supplied with ammunition and provisions, would in all human probability have rendered it impregnable to the formidable invasion of 1782.

With St. Christopher's surrendered also the island of Nevis; from which it is divided only by a small channel, and of which I shall now give some account.



SECTION II.

N E V I S.

THIS beautiful little spot is nothing more than a single mountain, rising like a cone in an easy ascent from the sea; the circumference of its base not exceeding eight English leagues. It is believed that Columbus bestowed on it the appellation of *Nieves*, or *The Snows*, from its resemblance to a mountain of the same name in Spain; but it is not an improbable conjecture, that in those days a white smoke was seen to issue from the summit, which at a distance had a snow-like appearance, and that it derived its name from thence. That the island was produced by some volcanic explosion, in ages long past, there can be no doubt; for there is a hollow, or crater, near the summit, still visible, which contains a hot spring strongly impregnated with sulphur; and sulphur is frequently found in substance, in the neighbouring gullies and cavities of the earth.

The country is well watered and the land in general fertile, a small proportion towards the summit of the island excepted, which answers however for the growth of ground provisions, such as yams and other esculent vegetables. The soil is stony; the best is a loose black mould, on a clay. In some places, the upper stratum is a stiff clay, which requires

requires labour, but properly divided and pulverised, repays the labour bestowed upon it. The general produce of sugar (its only staple production) is one hogshead of sixteen cwt. *per* acre from all the canes that are annually cut, which being about 4000 acres, the return of the whole is an equal number of hogsheads, and this was the average fixed on by the French government in 1782, as a rule for regulating the taxes. As at St. Christopher's the planters seldom cut ratoon canes.

This island, small as it is, is divided into five parishes. It contains a town called Charles-Town, the seat of government and a port of entry, and there are two other shipping places, called Indian-Castle and New-Castle. The principal fortification is at Charles-Town, and is called Charles Fort. The commandant is appointed by the crown, but receives a salary from the island.

The government, in the absence of the Governor-General, is administered by the president of the council. This board is composed of the president, and six other members. The house of assembly consists of fifteen representatives; three for each parish.

The administration of common law is under the guidance of a chief justice, and two assistant judges, and there is an office for the registry of deeds.

The present number of white inhabitants is stated to me not to exceed six hundred, while the negroes amount to about ten thousand; a disproportion which necessarily converts all such white men as are not exempted by age and decrepitude into a well-regulated militia, among which there is a troop consisting of fifty horse, well mounted

BOOK and accounted. English forces, on the British
 III. establishment, they have none.

The English first established themselves in this island in the year 1628, under the protection and encouragement of Sir Thomas Warner. Among the different classes of men, who sought to improve their fortunes in St. Christopher's by the patronage of that enterprising leader, it can hardly be presumed that every individual experienced the full gratification of his hopes and expectations. In all societies, there are many who will consider themselves unjustly overlooked and forgotten. Of the companions of Warner's earliest voyages, it is probable that some would set too high a value on their services, and of those who ventured afterwards, many would complain, on their arrival, that the best lands were pre-occupied. To soften and temper such discordancy and disquiet, by giving full employment to the turbulent and seditious, seems to have been one of the most important objects of Warner's policy. Motives of this nature induced him, without doubt, to plant a colony in Nevis at so early a period; and the wisdom and propriety of his first regulations gave strength and stability to the settlement.

What Warner began wisely, was happily completed by his immediate successor Mr. Lake, under whose administration Nevis rose to opulence and importance. "He was a wise man," says Du Tertre, "and feared the Lord." Making this island the place of his residence, it flourished beyond example. It is said, that about the year 1640, it possessed four thousand Whites: so powerfully are mankind invited by the advantages of a mild and equitable system of government. Will the reader pardon me, if I observe at the same time, that few situations in life could have afforded greater felicity than that of such a governor.

vernor. Living amidst the beauties of an eternal spring, beneath a sky serene and unclouded, and in a spot inexpressibly beautiful (for it is enlivened by a variety of the most enchanting prospects in the world, in the numerous islands which surround it) but above all, happy in the reflection that he conciliated the differences, administered to the necessities, and augmented the comforts of thousands of his fellow-creatures, all of whom looked up to him as their common father and protector! If there be pure joy on earth, it must have existed in the bosom of such a man; while he beheld the tribute of love, gratitude and approbation towards him in every countenance, and whose heart at the same time told him that he deserved it.

I am sorry that I must present the reader with a very different picture, in the account that I am now to give of Antigua.

SECTION III.

A N T I G U A.

ANTIGUA is situated about twenty leagues to the eastward of St. Christopher's, and was discovered at the same time with that island, by Columbus himself, who named it, from a church in Seville, *Santa Maria de la Antigua*. We are informed by Ferdinand Columbus, that the Indian name was *Jamaica*. It is a singular circumstance, that this word, which in the language of the larger islands signified a country *abounding in springs*, should, in the dialect of the Charaibes, have been applied to an island that has not a single spring or rivulet of fresh water in it.

This inconvenience, without doubt, as it rendered the country uninhabitable to the Charaibes, deterred for some time the European adventurers in the neighbouring islands from attempting a permanent establishment in Antigua; but nature presents few obstacles which the avarice or industry of civilized man will not endeavour to surmount. The lands were found to be fertile, and it was discovered that cisterns might be contrived to hold rain-water*.

So

* The water thus preserved is wonderfully light, pure, and wholesome.

So early as 1632, a few English families took up lands there, and began the cultivation of tobacco. Among these was a son of Sir Thomas Warner, whose descendants still possess very considerable property in the island, one of them (Ashton Warner, Esquire) having been, in 1787, president of the council, and commander in chief in the absence of the governor.

But it was chiefly to the enterprising spirit and extensive views of Colonel Codrington, of Barbadoes, that Antigua was indebted for its growing prosperity and subsequent opulence. This gentleman removing to this island about the year 1674, applied his knowledge in sugar-planting with such good effect and success, that others, animated by his example, and assisted by his advice and encouragement, adventured in the same line of cultivation. Mr. Codrington was some years afterwards nominated captain general and commander in chief of all the leeward Charibean islands, and, deriving from this appointment, the power of giving greater energy to his benevolent purposes, had soon the happiness of beholding the good effects of his humanity and wisdom, in the flourishing condition of the several islands under his government.

The prosperity of Antigua was manifested in its extensive population; for when, in the year 1690, General Codrington commanded on the expedition against the French inhabitants of St. Christopher's, as hath been related in the history of that island, Antigua furnished towards it no less than eight hundred effective men: a quota, which gives room to estimate the whole number of its white inhabitants at that time, at upwards of five thousand.

Mr. Codrington dying in 1698, was succeeded in his government by his son Christopher; a gentleman

BOOK III. gentleman eminently distinguished for his attainments in polite literature; and who, treading in the same paths as his illustrious father, gave the people under his government the promise of a long continuance of felicity. His administration, however, terminated at the end of six years; for in 1704 he was superseded (I know not on what account) by Sir William Mathews; who dying soon after his arrival, the Queen was pleased to appoint to the government of this and the neighbouring islands, Daniel Park, Esq. a man whose tragical end having excited the attention of Europe, and furnished a lesson for history to perpetuate, I shall be excused for entering somewhat at large into his conduct and fortune.

Mr. Park was a native of Virginia, and was distinguished for his excesses at a very early time of life. Having married a lady of fortune in America, his first exploit was to rob his wife of her money, and then desert her. With this money he came to England, and obtained a return to Parliament; but gross bribery being proved against him, he was expelled the house. His next adventure was to debauch the wife of a friend, for which being prosecuted, he quitted England, and made a campaign with the army in Flanders, where he had the fortune to attract the notice, and acquire the patronage of the Duke of Marlborough.—In 1704, he attended the Duke as one of his aides de camp, and as such, on the event of the battle of Hochstet, having been sent by his Grace to England, with intelligence of that important victory, he was rewarded by the Queen with a purse of a thousand guineas, and her picture richly set with diamonds. The year following, the government of the leeward Islands becoming vacant, Mr. Park,

Park, through the interest of his noble patron, was appointed to succeed Sir William Mathews therein, and he arrived at Antigua in July 1706. CHAP. IV.

As he was a native of America, and his interest with the British administration was believed to be considerable, the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands, who were probably unacquainted with his private character, received him with singular respect, and the assembly of Antigua, even contrary to a royal instruction, added a thousand pounds to his yearly income, in order, as it was expressed in the vote, to relieve him from the expence of house-rent; a provision which, I believe, has been continued ever since to his successors in the government.

The return which Mr. Park thought proper to make for this mark of their kindness, was an avowed and unrestrained violation of all decency and principle. He feared neither God nor man; and it was soon observed of him, as it had formerly been of another detestable tyrant, *that he spared no man in his anger, nor woman in his lust.* One of his first enormities was to debauch the wife of a Mr. Chester, who was factor to the royal African company, and the most considerable merchant in the island. Apprehending that the injured husband might meditate revenge, the worthy governor endeavoured to be beforehand with him, by adding the crime of murder to that of adultery; for Chester having about this time had the misfortune to kill a person by accident, his excellency, who had raised a common soldier to the office of provost-marshal, brought him to a trial for his life; directing his instrument the provost-marshal, to impanel a jury of certain persons, from whom he doubted not to obtain Chester's conviction; and

BOOK III. and the execution of this innocent and injured man would undoubtedly have followed, if the evidence in his favour had not proved too powerful to be overborne; so that the Jury were compelled to pronounce his acquittal.

Another of his exploits was an attempt to rob the Codrington family of the island of Barbuda (of which they had held peaceable possession for thirty years) by calling on them to prove their title before himself and his council; a measure which gave every proprietor reason to apprehend that he had no security for his possessions but the governor's forbearance.

He declared that he would suffer no provost-marshal to act, who should not at all times summon such juries as he should direct. He changed the mode of electing members to serve in the assembly, in order to exclude persons he did not like; and not being able by this measure to procure an assembly to his wish, he refused to call them together even when the French threatened an invasion.

He entered the house of Mr. Chester, the person before mentioned, with an armed force, and seized several gentlemen (some of them, the principal men of the island) who were there met for the purpose of good fellowship, on suspicion that they were concerting measures against himself; most of whom he sent by his own authority to the common Jail, and kept them there without bail or trial.

By these, and a thousand other odious and intemperate proceedings, the whole country became a party against him, and dispatched an agent to England to lay their grievances before the crown, adopting in the first instance, all moderate and legal means to procure his removal; but from the delays incident to the business,

business, the people lost all temper, and began to consider forbearance as no longer a virtue. More than one attempt was made on the governor's life, in the last of which he was grievously, but not mortally, wounded. Unhappily the furious and exasperated state of men's minds admitted of no compromise, and the rash impetuous governor was not of a disposition to soften or conciliate, if occasion had offered.

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At length, however, instructions came from the crown directing Mr. Park to resign his command to the lieutenant governor, and return to England by the first convenient opportunity; at the same time Commissioners were appointed to take examinations on the spot, concerning the complaints which had been urged against his conduct. It would have been happy if the inhabitants of Antigua had borne their success with moderation; but the triumphant joy which they manifested, on receipt of the queen's orders, provoked the governor into desperation. He declared that he would continue in the government in spite of the inhabitants, and being informed, that a ship was about to sail for Europe, in which he might conveniently have embarked, he refused to leave the country. In the meanwhile, to convince the people that his firmness was unabated, and that he still considered himself in the rightful exercise of his authority, he issued a proclamation to dissolve the assembly.

Matters were now coming fast to an issue. The assembly continued sitting notwithstanding the governor's proclamation, and resolved, that, having been recalled by his sovereign, his continuance in the government was usurpation and tyranny, and that it was their duty to take charge of the safety and peace of the island. On hearing of this vote, the governor secretly ordered

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dered a party of soldiers to surround them; but the assembly having obtained information of his intentions, immediately separated to provide for their personal safety. The ensuing night, and the whole of the following day, were employed in summoning the inhabitants from all parts of the island, to hasten to the capital, properly armed, to protect their representatives. It was given out, however, that the governor's life was not aimed at; all that was intended, was to secure his person, and send him from the island.

On Thursday the 7th of December 1710, early in the morning, about five hundred men appeared in arms, in the town of Saint John's, where Colonel Park had been making provision for resistance in case of an attack. He had converted the government house into a garrison, and stationed in it all the regular troops that were in the island. On the approach of the inhabitants however, his courage deserted him. The sight of an injured people, coming forward as one man, with deliberate valour, to execute on his person that punishment which he must have been conscious his enormities well merited, overwhelmed him with confusion and terror. Although he must have been apprized, that his adversaries had proceeded too far to retreat, he now, for the first time, when it was too late, had recourse to confession. He dispatched the provost-marshal with a message, signifying his readiness to meet the assembly at Parham, and to consent to whatever laws they should think proper to pass for the good of the country. He offered at the same time to dismiss his soldiers, provided six of the principal inhabitants would remain with him as hostages for the safety of his person. The speaker of the assembly, and one of the members of the council, unwilling to carry matters to the last extremity, seemed inclined to a compromise, and proposed

posed themselves as two of the hostages required by the governor; but the general body of the people, apprehensive that further delay might be fatal to their cause, called aloud for immediate vengeance; and instantly marched forward in two divisions. One of these, led by Mr. Piggot, a member of the assembly, taking possession of an eminence that commanded the government house, attacked it with great fury. Their fire was briskly returned for a considerable time, but at length the assailants broke into the house. The governor met them with firmness, and shot Piggot dead with his own hand, but received in the same moment a wound which laid him prostrate. His attendants, seeing him fall, threw down their arms, and the enraged populace, seizing the person of the wretched governor, who was still alive, tore him into a thousand pieces, and scattered his reeking limbs in the street. Besides the governor, an ensign and thirteen private soldiers, who fought in his cause, were killed outright, and a lieutenant and twenty-four privates wounded. Of the people, thirty-two were killed and wounded, besides Mr. Piggot. The governor's death instantly put an end to this bloody conflict.

Thus perished, in a general insurrection of an insulted and indignant community, a brutal and licentious despot, than whom no state criminal was ever more deservedly punished. He was a monster in wickedness, and being placed by his situation beyond the reach of ordinary restraint, it was as lawful to cut him off by every means possible, as it would have been to shoot a wild beast that had broke its limits, and was gorging itself with human blood. "The people of England (says an eminent writer*) heard with astonishment

* Universal History, Vol. XLI.

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nishment of Park's untimely fate; but the public were divided in their sentiments; some looking upon his death as an act of rebellion against the crown, and others considering it as a sacrifice to liberty. The flagrancy of the perpetration, and compassion for the man, at last got the better." In the latter assertion however, the writer is clearly mistaken; for the English government, after full investigation, was so thoroughly satisfied of Mr. Park's misconduct, as to issue, much to its honour, a general pardon of all persons concerned in his death, and two of the principal actors therein were even promoted some time afterwards to seats in the council.

From this period I close my account of the civil concerns of Antigua, finding no occurrence in its subsequent history of sufficient importance to detain the reader; what remains therefore is chiefly topographical, and I hope will be found correct.

Antigua is upwards of fifty miles in circumference, and contains 59,838 acres of land, of which about 34,000 are appropriated to the growth of sugar, and pasturage annexed: its other principal staples are cotton-wool, and tobacco; to what extent of cultivation I am not informed; and they raise in favourable years great quantities of provisions.

This island contains two different kinds of soil; the one a black mould on a substratum of clay, which is naturally rich, and when not checked by excessive droughts, to which Antigua is particularly subject, very productive. The other is a stiff clay on a substratum of marl. It is much less fertile than the former, and abounds with an inirradicable kind of grass in such a manner, that many estates consisting of that kind of soil, which were once very profitable, are now so impoverished and overgrown
with

with this sort of grass, as either to be converted into pasture land, or to become entirely abandoned. Exclusive of such deserted land, and a small part of the country that is altogether unimprovable, every part of the island may be said to be under cultivation.

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IV.

From the circumstances that have been related, it is difficult to furnish an average return of the crops, which vary to so great a degree, that the quantity of sugar exported from this island in some years, is five times greater than in others; thus in 1779 were shipped 3,382 hogsheds, and 579 tierces; in 1782 the crop was 15,102 hogsheds, and 1,603 tierces; and in the years 1770, 1773, and 1778, there were no crops of any kind; all the canes being destroyed by a long continuance of dry weather, and the whole body of the negroes must have perished for want of food, if American vessels with corn and flour had been at that time, as they now are, denied admittance.

It seems to me on the whole, that the island has progressively decreased both in produce and white population. The last accurate returns to government were in 1774. In that year, the white inhabitants of all ages and sexes were 2,590, and the enslaved negroes 37,808, and I believe, that 17,000 hogsheds of sugar of sixteen cwt. are reckoned a good saving crop. This, as one-half the canes only are cut annually, is about a hogshed of sugar per acre for each acre that is cut. The produce of 1787 will be given hereafter; and I believe it was a year more favourable to Antigua, in proportion to its extent, than to any other of the British islands in the West Indies.

Antigua is divided into six parishes and eleven districts, and contains six towns and villages. Saint John's (the capital,) Parham, Falmouth, Willoughby

BOOK Willoughby Bay, Old Road, and James Fort;
 III. of which, the two first are legal ports of entry.

—No island, in this part of the West Indies, can boast of so many excellent harbours. Of these, the principal are English harbour and Saint John's, both well fortified, and at the former, the British government has established a royal navy yard and arsenal, and conveniences for careening ships of war.

The military establishment generally consists of two regiments of infantry, and two of foot militia. There are likewise a squadron of dragoons, and a battalion of artillery, both raised in the island, and the regulars receive additional pay, as in Jamaica.

It hath been already observed, that the governor or captain general of the leeward Charibbean islands, although directed by his instructions to visit occasionally each island within his government, is generally stationary at Antigua: he is chancellor of each island by his office, but commonly holds the court in Antigua, and in hearing and determining causes from the other islands, presides alone. In causes arising in Antigua, he is assisted by his council, after the practice of Barbadoes; and, by an act of the assembly of this island, confirmed by the crown, the president and a certain number of the council may determine chancery causes during the absence of the governor general. The other courts of this island are a court of king's bench, a court of common pleas, and a court of exchequer.

The legislature of Antigua is composed of the commander in chief, a council of twelve members, and an assembly of twenty-five; and it is very much to its honour that it presented the first example to the sister islands of a melioration of
 the

the criminal law respecting negroe slaves, by giving the accused party the benefit of a trial by jury: and allowing in the case of capital convictions four days between the time of sentence and execution. And it is still more to the honour of Antigua, that its inhabitants have encouraged, in a particular manner, the laudable endeavours of certain pious men, who have undertaken, from the purest and best motives, to enlighten the minds of the negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of religious truth. In the report of the lords of the committee of council on the slave-trade, is an account of the labours of the society known by the name of the *Unitas Fratrum* (commonly called *Moravians*;) in this truly glorious pursuit; from which it appears that their conduct in this business displays such sound judgment, breathes such a spirit of genuine christianity, and has been attended with such eminent success, as to entitle its brethren and missionaries to the most favourable reception from every man whom the accidents of fortune have invested with power over the poor Africans; and who believes (as I hope every planter believes) that they are his fellow creatures, and of equal importance with himself in the eyes of an all-seeing and impartial governor of the universe. With an abridgement of that account, I shall close the subject of my present discussion. It is as follows:

“ The church of the united brethren have, ever since the year 1732, been active in preaching the gospel to different heathen nations in many parts of the world, but not with equal success in all places. The method here described, and made use of by the missionaries of the said church, in leading the negroe-slaves in the West Indies to the knowledge and practice

BOOK III
 practice of christianity, is followed, in all points that are not local, in all the missions of the brethren.

After many years unsuccessful labour, experience has taught them, that the plain testimony concerning the death and passion of Jesus Christ the Son of God, together with its cause and happy consequences, delivered by a missionary touched with an experimental sense of it, is the surest way of enlightening the benighted minds of the negroes, in order to lead them afterwards step by step into all truth: they therefore make it a rule, never to enter into an extensive discussion of the doctrines of God's being an infinite spirit, of the holy trinity, &c. nor to seek to open their understandings in those points, until they believe in Jesus, and that the word of the cross has proved itself the power of God unto salvation, by the true conversion of their hearts. Both in the beginning and progress of their instructions, the missionaries endeavour to deliver themselves as plainly and intelligibly to the faculties of their hearers as possible; and the Lord has given his blessing even to the most unlearned, that went forth in reliance upon him, to learn the difficult languages of the negroes, so as to attain to great fluency in them: one great difficulty arises indeed from the new ideas and words necessary to express the divine truths to be introduced into them, but even this has been surmounted through God's grace.

As it is required of all believers, that they prove their faith by their works; the brethren teach, that no habit of sin, in any land or place, nor any prevailing custom whatever, can be admitted as a plea for a behaviour not conformable to the moral law of God, given unto all mankind: upon the fulfilment of this, the missionaries

missionaries insist every where: every thing that is accounted decent and virtuous among christians, is inculcated into the minds of the people; drunkenness, adultery, whoredom, forcery, theft, anger and revenge, and all other works of the flesh, as enumerated by our Lord and his Apostles as proceeding from the heart, being plain proofs that man is either unconverted, or again fallen into heathenism and idolatry, it follows of course, that any one guilty of these things is put away from the congregation, and not re-admitted before a true and sincere repentance is apparent, and the offence done away: but it is not sufficient that the believers abstain from open scandal, their private behaviour in their families, and in every occurrence of life, must evidence a thorough change of heart and principles: indeed the believing negroes in Antigua, and in other places where the brethren have missions, are so much under the influence of their masters, and of a variety of circumstances that attend their being slaves, that it may perhaps seem more difficult to effect a change of customs and practices, and to enforce a steady christian conduct in all cases amongst them, than amongst free heathens; and yet it must be owned, to the praise of God, that this is visible at present in many thousand converted negroes.

The missionaries, however, have frequent occasions to see with sorrow, how deeply rooted the habit of sin, and the tendency to excuse it, is in the minds of the negroes; who, when unconverted, are particularly given to an unbounded gratification of every sensual lust; but on this very account it becomes the more needful to watch, and not to suffer the least deviation from the right path to remain unnoticed in the believers. It has been before observed, that bap-

BOOK III. tism is administered to none, but to such in whom a thorough conversion of heart is already perceivable. As soon as they are considered as candidates for baptism, they are subject to the discipline of the church, by which if they offend, and private admonition and reproof have not the desired effect, they are excluded from the fellowship of the rest, though they may attend public service, and every means is still faithfully applied to bring them back. Thus a communicant, in case of an offence given, is not admitted to the Lord's supper. This discipline has, by God's blessing, had so good an effect, that many a believing negroe would rather suffer the severest bodily punishment than incur it. If they confess their sins, and heartily repent, they are willingly, and according to the nature of the offence, either privately, or in the presence of a part or the whole of the congregation, re-admitted to the fellowship of the church. The believing negroes are not suffered to attend any where, where the unconverted meet for the sake of feasting, dancing, gaming, &c. and the usual plea of not entering into the sinful part of these diversions, is never admitted, inasmuch as the least step towards vice and immorality, generally plunges them by degrees into gross sins. The hankering after the vain traditions of their forefathers, is considered as a falling off from that love to the Lord Jesus and his doctrines, which once prompted them to forsake all ungodliness, and devote themselves unto God; and if they persist in evil ways, the faithfulness due to the rest of the flock on the part of the missionaries demands their separation, lest they seduce others.

The polygamy of the negroes has caused no small embarrassment to the missionaries. The following

following is a short account of the brethren's manner of treating them in this particular: When a negroe man or woman applies as above described, to be baptized or received into the congregation, strict enquiry is made concerning every circumstance attending his or her situation and connections in life. If it is found that a man has more than one wife, the question arises, how the brethren have to advise him in this particular: St. Paul says, "if any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and that is yet an heathen, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away," 1 Cor. 7. 21; but again he says, "a bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife," 1 Tim. 3. 2. We read of no further precept in the holy scriptures concerning this subject; the brethren therefore were of opinion, that the missionaries should keep strictly to the following resolutions:

I. That they could not compel a man, who had before his conversion, taken more than one wife, to put away one or more of them, without her or their consent.

II. But yet, that they could not appoint such a man to be a helper or servant in the church; and

III. That a man who believeth in Christ, if he marry, should take only one wife in marriage, and that he is bound to keep himself only to that woman, till death parts them.

The instances that a man has three wives are few; all mistresses must of course be put away without exception; besides this, the missionaries lose no opportunity of inculcating into the minds of the married people, how to walk in this state conformable to the rules laid down in holy writ, and every deviation from them is severely cen-

BOOK III. fured. If any baptized man leaves his wife, and takes another, and takes one or more wives besides the first, or in case he has had two, and one dies, and he should marry another, he is excluded the fellowship of the church. Neither can the brethren admit of the heathenish customs in courting a wife, but they expect, that in case a believer wish to marry, he do all things in a decent and christian manner: it is of course expected that all baptized parents educate their children in the fear of the Lord, shewing them a good example. If by a sale of negroes by auction, or in any other way, wives are torn from their husbands, or husbands from their wives, and carried off to distant islands, though the brethren do not advise, yet they cannot hinder a regular marriage with another person, especially, if a family of young children, or other circumstances, seem to render an helpmate necessary; and, as is mostly the case, no hopes remain of the former ever returning. A certificate of baptism is given to every baptized negro, that must thus leave the congregation; and there have been instances, that by their godly walk and conversation in distant parts, they have caused others to hearken to their word, and believe.

Though all the above injunctions are of such a nature, that they not only war against their heathenish propensities, but even against what some might call excusable indulgencies; yet it is a fact, that at this present time, some thousand negroes in Antigua, and other islands, submit to them with willingness.

The

The number of converted Negro slaves under the care of the brethren, at the end of the year 1787, was, CHAP. IV.

In Antigua, exactly	- - -	5,465
In St. Kitt's, a new mission	- - -	80
In Barbadoes and Jamaica, about	- - -	100
In St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, about	- - -	10,000
In Surinam, about	- - -	400
Still living in the West Indies and Surinam		16,045

as nearly as can be ascertained from the latest accounts."

SECTION IV.

MONTSERRAT.

OF this little island, neither the extent nor the importance demands a very copious discussion. It was discovered at the same time with St. Christopher's, and derived its name from a supposed resemblance which Columbus perceived in the face of the country, to a mountain of the same name near Barcelona.

The name was all that was bestowed upon it by the Spaniards. Like Nevis, it was first planted by a small colony from St. Christopher's, detached in 1632 from the adventurers under Warner.

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 ner. Their separation appears indeed to have been partly occasioned by local attachments and religious dissensions; which rendered their situation in St. Christopher's uneasy, being chiefly natives of Ireland, of the Romish persuasion. The same causes, however, operated to the augmentation of their numbers; for so many persons of the same country and religion adventured thither soon after the first settlement, as to create a white population which it has never since possessed; if it be true, as asserted by Oldmixon, that at the end of sixteen years there were in the island upwards of one thousand white families, constituting a militia of three hundred and sixty effective men.

The civil history of this little island contains nothing very remarkable. It was invaded by a French force in 1712, and suffered so much from the depredations of that armament, that an article was inserted in the treaty of Utrecht for appointing commissioners to enquire into the damages; which however were not made good to the sufferers. It was again invaded, and with most of the other islands captured by the French in the late war, and restored with the rest.

Nothing therefore remains but to furnish the reader with an account of its present state in respect of cultivation, productions, and exports.

Montserrat is about three leagues in length, and as many in breadth, and is supposed to contain about thirty thousand acres of land, of which almost two thirds are very mountainous, or very barren. The land in cultivation is appropriated nearly as follows. In sugar, six thousand acres: In cotton, provisions, and pasturage, two thousand each. None other of the tropical staples are raised. Its average crop from 1784 to 1788, were

were 2,737 hogheads of sugar of sixteen hundred weight, 1,107 puncheons of rum, and 275 bales of cotton. The exports of 1787, and their value at the London market, will be seen in a table annexed to this chapter. They are produced by the labour of one thousand three hundred whites, and about ten thousand negroes.

The government is administered in this, as in the other islands, by a legislature of its own, under the captain general. The council consists of six members, and the assembly of eight, two from each of the four districts into which it is divided; and the proportion which Montserrat contributes to the salary of the captain general is £400 *per annum*.

SECTION V.

VIRGIN ISLANDS.

OF the Virgin Islands I have so few particulars to communicate, that I fear the reader will accuse me of inattention or idleness in my researches. I have, however, solicited information of those who I thought were most likely to afford it; but if my enquiries were not slighted, my expectations were not gratified. Even in a late historical account by Mr. Suckling, the chief justice of these islands, I find but little of which I can avail myself. It furnishes no particulars concerning their extent, their cultivation, or their commerce. It is silent as to the number of their present

BOOK III. present English inhabitants. The author is even misinformed as to the origin of their present name; for he supposes that it was bestowed upon them in 1580, by Sir Francis Drake, in honour of Queen Elizabeth; but the fact is, that these islands were named Las Virgines, by Columbus himself, who discovered them in 1493, and gave them this appellation, in allusion to a well-known legend in the Romish ritual.

The Spaniards of those days, however, thought them unworthy of further notice. A century afterwards (1596) they were visited by the Earl of Cumberland, in his way to the attack of Porto Rico, and the historian of that voyage calls them "a knot of little islands wholly uninhabited, sandy, barren, and craggy." The whole group may comprehend about forty islands, islets, and keys, and they are divided at present between the English, the Spaniards, and Danes. The English hold Tortola, and Virgin Gorda*, Josvan Dykes, Guana Isle, Beef and Thatch Islands, Anegada, Nichar, Prickly Pear, Camana's, Ginger, Cooper's, Salt Island, Peter's Island, and several others of little value. The Danes possess St. Thomas, with about twelve smaller islands dependent thereon, and the Spaniards claim Crab Island, the Green or Serpent Island, the Tropic Keys, and Great and Little Passage.

The first possessors of such of these islands as now belong to the British government, were a party of Dutch Bucaniers who fixed themselves at Tortola (in what year is not recorded) and built a fort there for their protection. In 1666, they were driven out by a stronger party of the same adventurers, who, calling themselves English, pretended to take possession for the crown of England, and

* This last is likewise called Penniston, and corruptly Spanish Town.

the English monarch, if he did not commission the enterprize, made no scruple to claim the benefit of it; for Tortola and its dependencies were soon afterwards annexed to the Leeward Island government, in a commission granted by King Charles II. to Sir William Stapleton, and I believe that the English title has remained unimpeached from that time to this.

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The Dutch had made but little progress in cultivating the country when they were expelled from Tortola; and the chief merit of its subsequent improvements was reserved for some English settlers from the little island of Anguilla, who, about a century past, embarked with their families and settled in the Virgin Islands. Their wants were few, and their government simple and unexpensive. The deputy governor, with a council nominated from among themselves, exercised both the legislative and judicial authority, determining in a summary manner, without a jury, all questions between subject and subject; and as to taxes, there seem to have been none laid: when money was absolutely necessary for public use, it was raised, I believe, by voluntary contribution.

Under such a system, it was impossible that the colony could attain to much importance. It wanted the advantage of English capitals; but credit is sparingly given where payment cannot easily be enforced. The inhabitants therefore, whose numbers in 1756, amounted to 1,263 whites, and 6,121 blacks, reasonably hoped to be put on the same footing with the sister islands, by the establishment of a perfect civil government, and constitutional courts of justice among them; but in this expectation they were not gratified until the year 1773. In that year, they presented an humble petition to the captain general of the Leeward

ward

BOOK ward Island government, requesting his Excellency to unite with them in an application to his Majesty, for permission to elect an assembly of representatives out of the freeholders and planters, in order that such assembly, with the governor and council, might frame proper laws for their peace, welfare, and good government; *pledging themselves, in that case, to grant to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, an impost of four and a half per centum, in specie, upon all goods and commodities the growth of these islands, similar to that which was paid in the other Leeward Islands.*

Their application (thus sweetened) proved successful. It was signified to them that his Majesty, fully considering the persons, circumstances, and condition of his said Virgin Islands, and the necessity there was, from the then state of their culture and inhabitancy, that some adequate and perfect form of civil government should be established therein; "and finally trusting that his faithful subjects in his said Virgin Islands, who should compose the new assembly, would, as the first act of legislation, cheerfully make good the engagement of granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the impost of four and a half per centum, on all the produce of the Virgin Islands, to be raised and paid in the same manner as the four and a half per centum is made payable in the other *Leeward Islands,*" did cause his royal pleasure to be signified to the governor in chief, that he should issue writs in his Majesty's name, for convening an assembly or house of representatives, who, together with a council, to be composed of twelve persons, to be appointed by the governor for that purpose, might frame and pass such laws as should be necessary for the welfare and good government of the said Islands.

Accordingly

Accordingly, on the 30th of November, 1773, the governor in chief of the Leeward Islands, in obedience to his Majesty's order, issued a proclamation for convening an assembly or house of representatives of the Virgin Islands, who met on the 1st of February following, and very honourably complied with their engagement to the crown; the very first act passed by them being the grant before mentioned of four and a half per centum, on the produce of the colony for ever. They afterwards passed a grant of £. 400 currency per annum, as their proportion towards the salary of the governor general.

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Such was the price at which the Virgin Islands purchased the establishment of a constitutional legislature. If it be difficult to reconcile this precedent with the doctrines which have been maintained in the case of Grenada, it may perhaps be said (as I believe the fact was) that the inhabitants of these islands were unapprised of the rights which they inherited as British subjects, when they voluntarily proposed to subject themselves and their posterity to the tax in question for permission to enjoy them; and their posterity may perhaps dispute the authority which their forefathers exercised on this occasion.

The chief, and almost the only staple productions of these islands are sugar and cotton. Of the quantity of land appropriated to the cultivation of either, I have no account, nor can I venture even to guess, at the quantity of unimproved land which may yet be brought into cultivation: the exports of 1787 will presently be given, and I have only to add, that they were reaped by the labour of about one thousand two hundred whites, and nine thousand blacks.

HAVING

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, &c. that have cleared outwards from the Islands of St. Christopher's and Antigua, between the 5th January 1787, and the 5th January 1788; together with an Account of their Cargoes, and the Value thereof.

S T. CHRISTOPHER'S.

Whither bound.	SHIPPING.			Sugar.	Rum.	Molasses.	Indigo.	Cotton.	Dying Woods in Value.	Miscellaneous Articles, in Value.	TOTAL.
	No.	Tons.	Mens.								
To Great Britain	53	21,992	764	231,397	22	78,299	318	484,640	5,824	33,195	480,178
Ireland	16	350	30	3,000	—	8,500	—	—	—	20	6,035
American States	2	2,457	140	386	—	167,740	—	—	—	186	15,032
Brit. Amer. Colonies	19	1,203	110	646	—	65,000	—	—	—	19	6,788
Foreign W. Indies	104	7,155	546	—	—	15,070	—	—	165	15	1,498
Total from St. Christ.	200	33,155	1,590	255,528	22	336,609	318	484,640	5,989	63,436	510,074
A N T I G U A.											
To Great Britain	65	13,806	502	54,575	18	128,936	36	331,016	1,742	46,466	484,487
Ireland	16	1,009	159	22,295	—	97,400	—	29,506	2,400	43	50,768
American States	71	8,281	552	6,779	—	375,250	—	—	—	407	44,679
Brit. Amer. Colonies	36	2,127	177	844	—	109,320	—	—	—	14	21,031
Foreign W. Indies	47	2,540	259	33	—	5,740	—	—	—	1,075	1,632
Total from Antigua	335	28,663	1,048	68,426	18	716,546	26	160,512	4,142	64,006	592,596

CHAP.
IV.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, &c. that have cleared outwards from the Islands of Montserrat, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, between the 5th January 1787, and the 5th January 1788; together with an Account of their Cargoes, and the Value thereof.

MONTSERAT AND NEVIS.

Whether bound.	SHIPPING.				Sugar.	Rum.	Molasses.	Indigo.	Cotton.	Dying Woods, in Value.	Miscellaneous Articles, in Value.	TOTAL.
	No.	Tons.	Mens.	Cow, grs. lbs.								
To Great Britain	23	5,172	343	108,325	—	4,406	3,313	140	91,972	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
American States	30	1,850	138	1,895	—	122,710	—	—	500	—	3,162	18,709
Brit. Amer. Colonies	7	379	40	64	—	21,500	—	—	—	—	70	13,981
Foreign W. Indies	71	3,085	377	—	—	140,160	—	—	—	—	41	21,051
Africa	1	102	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	89	18,396
Total from Montserrat and Nevis	122	10,737	904	110,284	—	289,076	1,313	140	92,472	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
										352	3,162	212,141

VIRGIN ISLANDS.

To Great Britain	25	5,137	344	78,749	1	517	2,011	—	287,577	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
American States	3	572	21	91	—	13,900	—	—	1,500	—	6	7,499
Brit. Amer. Colonies	4	216	20	363	—	7,000	—	—	—	—	4	1,250
Foreign W. Indies	8	581	51	—	—	—	—	—	50	—	10	100
Total from the Virgin Islands	40	6,516	436	79,103	1	21,117	2,011	—	289,077	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
										6,561	3,160	166,959
Grand Total	595	60,221	497	709,522	2	311,193	3,324	140	92,472	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
										37,334	6,322	345,312

IN surveying these islands collectively, the circumstance that first presents itself to notice is the burthen of the four and half *per centum* on their exported produce, to which they are all subject equally with Barbadoes, and which, though granted by their own assemblies, was in most other cases, as well as the Virgin islands, the price of a constitutional legislature, and a communication of the common privileges of British subjects.

It would without doubt be satisfactory to the reader to be furnished with an account of the net produce of this duty, and the particulars of its disposal; but no such information, to my knowledge, has of late years been given to the public. The last return that I am possessed of, is dated so long ago as the year 1735. From thence it appears, that the whole money collected on account of this duty, both in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, in twenty-one years, (from Christmas 1713 to Christmas 1734) amounted to £. 326,529. 2s. 3d. sterling, of which it is shameful to relate that no more than £. 140,032. 13s. 5d. was paid into the British Exchequer; upwards of £. 80,000 having been retained in the Islands for the charges of collecting, and £. 105,000 more, expended in Great Britain in the payment of freight, duties, commissions, fees of office, and other claims and deductions*.

From the net money paid into the exchequer on account of this duty, the Governor General of these islands receives a salary of £. 1,200 sterl. (exclusive of the several sums granted him by the colonial

* Some years after this, a new mode of collecting the duties was, I believe, adopted, which rendered the tax more productive to government.

colonial assemblies*) and I believe that salaries are allowed from the same fund to the lieutenant general, and the several lieutenant governors. I have been informed too, that the governors of the Bahama and Bermudas islands are likewise paid out of this duty. The balance which remains, after these and some other deductions are made, is wholly at the king's disposal.

But it is impossible not to observe, that almost all the islands within this government, as well as Barbadoes, have been, for many years past, progressively on the decline; and it is therefore probable that the present net produce of this duty is not more than sufficient to defray the several incumbrances with which it is loaded. The negroes indeed have been kept up, and even augmented, by purchase, because, as the lands have become impoverished, they have required a greater expence of labour, to make them any way productive; but as the returns have not increased in the same degree, nothing could have saved the planters from ruin, but the advanced price of sugar in the markets of Europe.

It appears from authentic accounts laid before parliament, that the import of sugar into Great Britain from all the British West Indies (Jamaica excepted) has decreased, in the course of twenty years, from 3,762,804 cwt. to 2,563,228 cwt. † The difference in value, at a medium price, cannot be less than £.400,000 sterling, and it will be found to have fallen chiefly on those islands, which are subject

* These grants are as follow: Antigua and St. Christopher's £. 1000 currency each. Nevis £. 400. Montserrat £. 400. Virgin Islands £. 400. The usual rate of exchange is 165 per cent. These sums therefore, added to £. 1200 sterling, paid out of the exchequer, make his whole salary £. 3000 sterling per annum.

† Being the average of two periods, the first from 1772 to 1775, the second from 1788 to 1792.

subject to the duty in question; to the effects of which, therefore, the deficiency must be chiefly attributed; for being laid, not on the land, but on the produce of the land, it operates as a tax on industry, and a penalty which falls heaviest on the man who contributes most to augment the wealth, commerce, navigation, and revenues of the mother country. It is considered by the planters as equal to ten *per cent.* on the net produce of their estates for ever. Under such a burthen, which, while it oppresses the colonies, yield a profit of no great consideration to the crown, they have been unable to stand a competition with the British planters in the other islands, and have been still more depressed by the rapid growth and extensive opulence of the French colonies in their neighbourhood. Thus a check has been given to the spirit of improvement, and much of that land which, though somewhat impoverished by long cultivation, would still, with the aid of manure, contribute greatly to the general returns, is abandoned, because the produce of the poorest soil, is taxed as high as that of the most fertile.

To the loss arising from a decrease of produce, accompanied with an increase of contingent expences, must be added the ruinous effects of capture in the late American war. The damages sustained in St. Christopher's alone, by *De Grasse's* invasion in 1782, from the destruction of negroes and cattle, and the burning of the canes, were estimated at £. 160,000 sterling, which sum was made up to the sufferers by a poll-tax on the slaves, of no less than forty shillings. The annual taxes for defraying the current charges of their internal governments, in all the islands, are also exceedingly burthenfome; besides parish taxes for the repair of the roads, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor.

BOOK
III

But, under all these and the other discouragements which are felt by the proprietors, the wealth which still flows from these little dependencies into the mother country, must fill every reflecting mind with surprise and admiration. An extent of cultivated territory, not equal to one-tenth part of the county of Essex, adding yearly one million and a half to the national income, is a circumstance that demonstrates beyond all abstract reasoning, the vast importance to Great Britain of having sugar islands of her own. At the same time, it is both amusing and instructive to consider how little the present returns from these islands are answerable to the hopes and expectations of their first European possessors; or rather it affords an animated illustration of the wisdom of Providence, which frequently renders the follies and weaknesses of man productive of good. The first English adventurers were influenced wholly by the hopes of opening a golden fountain, similar to that which was flowing from Peru and Mexico into Spain. The nation was told of countries where the mountains were composed of diamonds, and the cities built wholly of ingots of gold. Such were the dreams of Cabot, Frobisher, and Gilbert, and it is a lamentable display of the power of avarice on the human mind, to behold the wise and learned Raleigh bewildered in the same folly! Experience has at length corrected this frenzy, and Europe is now wise enough to acknowledge that gold and silver have only an artificial and relative value; that industry alone is real wealth, and that agriculture and commerce are the great sources of national prosperity.

The produce of these islands however, though of such value to the mother country, is raised at an expence to the cultivator, which perhaps is not

not equalled in any other pursuit, in any country of the globe. It is an expence too, that is permanent and certain; while the returns are more variable and fluctuating than any other; owing to calamities, to which these countries are exposed, both from the hands of God and man; and it is mournful to add, that the selfish or mistaken policy of man is sometimes more destructive than even the anger of omnipotence!

At the time that I write this, the humanity of the British nation is tremblingly alive to the real or fictitious distresses of the African labourers in these and the other islands of the West Indies: And the holders and employers of those people seem to be marked out to the public indignation for proscription and ruin. So strong and universal a sympathy allows no room for the sober exercise of reason, or it would be remembered, that the condition of that unfortunate race, must depend greatly on the condition and circumstances of their owners. Oppression towards the principal, will be felt with double force by his dependants, and the blow that wounds the master, will exterminate the slave.

The propriety of these remarks will be seen in subsequent parts of my work, when I come in course to treat of the slave trade and slavery; and to consider the commercial system of Great Britain towards her West Indian dependencies, of which I have now compleated the catalogue. Here then I might close the third book of my history, but it has probably occurred to the reader, that I have omitted the two governments of *Bahama* and *Bermudas*; * to which indeed it

G g 2

was

* I have also passed over unnoticed the small islands of *Anguilla* and *Barbuda*, as being of too little importance to merit particular description. The former belongs to the Leeward Island Government; the latter is the private property of the *Codrington* family.

BOOK
III.

was my intention, when I began my work, to appropriate a distinct chapter. An examination of my materials has induced me to alter my purpose; finding myself possessed of scarce any memorials concerning the civil history of those islands, that are not given in the numerous geographical treatises with which the shelves of the booksellers are loaded. To repeat therefore what may be found in books that are always at hand, were to manifest disrespect to the reader, and disregard to myself. Of the *present* state of the Bahama islands, I need not be ashamed to acknowledge my ignorance, inasmuch as even the lords of the committee of council for the affairs of trade and plantations, were unable to obtain satisfactory information concerning it. To their lordships enquiries as to the extent of territory in those islands,—the quantity of land in cultivation,—the number of white inhabitants,—productions and exports, &c. the only answer that could be obtained from the Governor was this, *that it was impossible to ascertain any of those particulars at present.* It appears, however, from the testimony of other persons, that these islands in general are rocky and barren; that the only article cultivated for exportation is cotton, of which the medium export is fifteen hundred bags of two cwt.; that the inhabitants (who in 1773 consisted of two thousand and fifty-two whites, and two thousand two hundred and forty-one blacks) have been of late years considerably augmented by emigrants from North America; but of their present numbers no precise account is given.

Concerning Bermudas, Governor Brown is more explicit. From his answers to their Lordships queries, it appears that they contain from twelve to thirteen thousand acres of very poor land,

land, of which nine parts in ten are either uncultivated, or reserved in woods for the supplying of timber for building small ships, sloops, and shallops for sale; this being in truth the principal occupation and employment of the inhabitants; and the vessels which they furnish, being built of cedar, are light, buoyant, and unexpensive.

Of the land in cultivation, no part was appropriated to any other purpose than that of raising Indian corn, and esculent roots and vegetables (of which a considerable supply is sent to the West Indian Islands) until the year 1785, when the growth of cotton was attempted, but with no great success, there not being at present more than two hundred acres applied in this line of culture.

The number of white people of all ages in Bermudas is five thousand four hundred and sixty-two; of blacks four thousand nine hundred and nineteen*.

Thus

* It were an act of great injustice to the inhabitants of Bermudas, to omit the very honourable testimony which Governor Brown has transmitted to Government, concerning their treatment of their negro slaves. "Nothing (he observes) can better shew the state of slavery in Bermudas than the behaviour of the blacks in the late war. There were at one time between fifteen and twenty privateers fitted out from hence, which were partly manned by negro slaves, who behaved both as sailors and marines irreproachably; and whenever they were captured, always returned, if it was in their power. There were several instances wherein they had been condemned with the vessel and sold, and afterwards found means to escape; and through many difficulties and hardships returned to their masters service. In the ship *Regulator*, a privateer, there were seventy slaves. She was taken and carried into Boston. Sixty of them returned in a flag of truce directly to Bermudas. Nine others returned by the way of New York. One only was missing, who died in the cruise, or in captivity."

Report of the Privy Council on the Slave Trade. Part III.

BOOK
III

Thus it appears that the lands become less fertile as we recede from the tropics, and were there not, as there certainly is, an unaccountable propensity in the greater part of mankind, to underrate what they have in actual possession, it would require but little effort to convince the public of the vast importance of our West Indian dependencies; of which the progressive growth has now been traced from the first settlement. What remains is to convey that conviction to the English reader. This then, after taking a cursory survey, for the gratification of curiosity, of the present inhabitants and the system of agriculture, will be the chief endeavour of the subsequent volume.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

A P P E N D I X

T O

VOLUME THE FIRST

✎ *Soon after the preceding pages were printed, the Author received from Jamaica the Catalogue (mentioned in page 189 of this volume) of exotic plants in the very magnificent garden of the late Hinton East, Esq. in that Island, which being equally curious and accurate, he has now the satisfaction of presenting it to his Readers entire.*

APPENDIX

Plantæ numerosissimæ quibus obveſtit globum terraquæſum,
Deus optimus maximus, ſunt totidem documenta in-
ſinitæ ſapientiæ, natæ in gloriam ſui Creatoris, et in
commodum hominis, cujus eſt eas intueri.

AMEN. ACAD. vol. vi. p. 40.

HORTUS EASTENSIS:

O R,

A CATALOGUE of EXOTIC PLANTS, in the Garden of HINTON EAST, Esquire, in the Mountains of Liguanea, in the Island of JAMAICA, at the time of his decease. By ARTHUR BROUGHTON, M. D.

Classis I.

M O N A N D R I A.

MONOGYNA.

CANNA
ANOMUM
indica var. lutea
Grænum paradisi *
Zingiber
longa
Galanga
gambolata

Yellow Indian Shot
Guinea Pepper
Common Ginger
Turmeric
Galangale
Indian Arrow-root

East-Indies
Guinea
East-Indies
East-Indies
East-Indies
South-America

Mr. Shakefpear, 1780
Tho. Hibbert, Esq. 1785

Z. B. Edwards, Esq. 1783
Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775.

* This plant has now several Times perfected its Seed, from which it appears to be the true Guinea or Malagita Pepper and Grains of Paradise of the Shops; it is not however an ANOMUM, but approaches nearer to the LIMBOKUM than any other known Genus. *Clarke*

Classis II.

DIANDRIA.

MONOGYNA.

NYCTANTHES	Sambac	Arabian Jasmine	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1775
JASMINUM	var. <i>fl. pleno</i> <i>officinale</i> <i>lanceolatum?</i>	Double Arabian Jasmine Common Jasmine Narrow-leaf'd Jasmine	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1787
	<i>acoriolum</i> <i>odoratissimum?</i>	Azorian Jasmine Yellow Indian Jasmine	East-Indies Madaira	H. East, esq. 1787 M. Wallen, esq. 1787
OLEA	<i>europea</i> <i>fragrans</i> <i>vulgaris</i> <i>persica</i>	European Olive Sweet-scented Olive Common Lilac Persian Lilac	Europe China Persia Persia Italy	M. Wallen, esq. 1783 H. East, esq. 1783 M. Wallen, esq. 1774 M. Wallen, esq. 1785
SYRINGA	<i>sp. nov. arborosa</i>	American Balsam	Virginia	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
JUSTITIA	<i>americana</i> <i>officinalis</i> <i>officinalis?</i> <i>agrifolia</i> <i>excelsa</i>	Rosemary Garden Sage African Sage Scarlet Sage	Europe S. of Europe C. of G. Hope East-Florida	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775 Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
DIANTHRA	<i>Salsola</i>	Clary	Syria	H. East, esq.
ROSMARINUS	<i>nigrum</i>	Black Pepper	East-Indies	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
SAEVIA				

TRIGYNA.

Classis III.

T R I A N D R I A .

M O N O G Y N I A .

VALERIANA	<i>Leucis indica</i>	Portugal	H. East, esq.
TAMARINDUS	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	India, America	
CROCUS	<i>Crocus sativus</i>	England	M. Wallen, esq. 1779
IXIA	<i>Ixia rosea</i>	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq.
	<i>Ixia chinensis</i>	China	H. East, esq. 1789
GLADIOLUS	<i>Gladiolus communis</i>	South of Europe	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
ANTHOLYZA	<i>Antholyza sibirica</i>	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
IRIS	<i>Iris pumila</i>	Austria	H. East, esq.
WACHERBORIA	<i>Wacherboria thyriflora</i>	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1790
LYCIUM	<i>Lycium spartium</i>	Spain	H. East, esq. 1791

D I G Y N I A .

AVENA	<i>Avena sativa</i>	East-Indies	M. Wallen, esq. 1783
AAUNDO	<i>Andropogon furcatus</i>		M. Wallen, esq.
HORDEUM	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>		M. Wallen, esq. 1775

Classis IV.

T E T R A N D R I A .

M O N O G Y N I A .

SCABIOSA	<i>Scabiosa cretica</i>	Candia	H. East, esq. 1788
	<i>Scabiosa atropurpurea</i>	Italy	M. Wallen, esq. 177a

RUSIA	<i>stellata</i>	Spain	H. East, esq. 1788
BUDLEJA	<i>tieborum</i>	South of Europe	Mr. Thame, 1790
PLANTAGO	<i>glaberrima</i>	Chili	H. East, esq. 1788
CISSUS	<i>lanceolata</i>	Britania	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
OLDENLANDIA	<i>quadrangulata</i>	India	H. East, esq. 1791
ALCORNILLA	<i>umbellata</i>	India	H. East, esq. 1791
	<i>vulgaris</i>	Britania	H. East, esq. 1791
ILEX	<i>agnifolium</i>	Britain	H. East, esq. 1774
	<i>Cassine</i>	Carolina	Mr. Gale, 1772
		Madaira	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787

T E T R A G Y N I A.

Common Holly	Britain	H. East, esq. 1774
Paraguay Tea	Carolina	Mr. Gale, 1772
	Madaira	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787

ser. Sp.

Classis V.

P E N T A N D R I A.

M O N O G Y N I A.

HELIOTROPIMUM	<i>peruvianum</i>	Peru	H. East, esq. 1788
ANCHUSA	<i>officinalis</i>	Europe	H. East, esq. 1774
CYNOCLOSSUM	<i>officinale</i>	Britania	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
BORAGO	<i>officinalis</i>	England	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
PRIMULA	<i>veris</i>	Britania	M. Wallen, esq. 1780
	<i>auricula</i>	Austria	L. East, esq. 1790
CYCLAMEN	<i>perficium</i>	Candia	H. East, esq. 1787
ASALEA	<i>viscosa</i>	N. America	H. East, esq.
PLUMBAGO	<i>ryfolia</i>	Bengal	H. East, esq. 1787

• Hort. Kewensis, vol. i. p. 150.

PHLOX	<i>glaberrima</i>	N. America	Mr. Thame, 1787
CONVOLVULVS	<i>Scammonia</i>	Levant	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	<i>purpureus major</i>	America	H. East, esq.
	<i>minor</i>	America	H. East, esq.
	<i>tricolor</i>	Spain	H. East, esq.
	<i>canariensis</i>	Canary Islands	
IPOMOEA	<i>speciosa</i>	East-Indies	
CAMPANULA	<i>Quamoclit</i>	East-Indies	
CINCHONA*	<i>ranunculifolia</i>	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
COFFEA	<i>arabica</i>	Hispaniola	Mr. Thame, 1790
LONICERA	<i>Perilymanum</i>	Arabia	
	<i>Symphoricarpos</i>	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	<i>barbarica</i>	Carolina	H. East, esq.
MIRABILIS	<i>Jalapa</i>	Russia	H. East, esq.
VERBASCUM	<i>Thapsus</i>	East and West Indies	
DATURA	<i>Mitel</i>	Britain	H. East, esq. 1772
NICOTIANA	<i>Tobacum</i>	Africa	
PHYSALIS	<i>Alkekengi</i>	America	H. East, esq. 1779
SOLANUM	<i>tuberosum</i>	South of Europe	
	<i>Melongena</i>	Peru	
	<i>Sodomum</i>	India	
RHAMNUS	<i>Juguba</i>	Africa	
DIOISMA	<i>tiliata</i>	East-Indies	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1790
		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788

* *Affinis Cinchona caribbea.*

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

MANGIFERA	<i>indica</i> *	Mango Tree	East-Indies	Lord Rodney, 1782
RIBES	<i>gracilaria</i> <i>rubrum</i> <i>nigrum</i> <i>winifera</i> <i>trifidatis</i> var.	Gooseberry Red Currant Black Currant Grape Vine Cockcomb Buff-coloured Cockcomb.	Europe. Britain Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772 M. Wallen, esq. 1772 M. Wallen, esq. 1772
VITIS		Cape Jasmine Starry Gardenia Galaripa Red Periwinkle White Periwinkle	Asia Asia China Cape of Good Hope South-America East-Indies	H. Esst, esq. 1774 Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775 Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775 Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1789.
CALOSIA		White South-Sea Rose Red South-Sea Rose White South-Sea Rose Double Oleander	Spain. Portugal	Mr. Thame H. Esst, esq. 1787
GARDENIA	<i>florata</i> <i>Thunbergia</i> <i>cathartica</i> <i>reflexa</i> <i>alba</i> † <i>Oleander fl. rubro</i> <i>fl. albo</i> <i>fl. pleno</i>			
AGLONANDA				
VINCA				
NERIUM				
ASCLEPIAS	<i>frutescens</i> <i>cyrensis</i>	Shrubby Swallow-wort Auricula Tree	Africa	H. Esst, esq.

D I G Y N I A.

* The Mango is inserted in its usual Place, although in reality it is Polygamious, and hitherto very imperfectly described. — *N. B.* This Plant, with several others, as well as different Kinds of Seeds, were found on board a French ship (bound from the Isle de France for Hispaniola) taken by Captain Marshall of his Majesty's Ship Flora, one of Lord Rodney's Squadron, in June 1782, and sent as a Prize to this island. By Captain Marshall, with Lord Rodney's approbation, the whole Collection was deposited in Mr. Esst's Garden, where they have been cultivated with great assiduity and success.

† This plant first appeared here on a dunghill where the red had been thrown out, and has since continued steady from seed.

STAFELIA

STABELLIA	<i>variegata</i>	Variegated Staphelia	
BETA	<i>hybrida</i>	Mangel Wurzel	Cape of Good Hope Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
	<i>wulgaris</i>	Common Beet	H. East, esq. 1790
DAUCUS	<i>carota</i>	Garden Carrot	Britain
GOMPHRENA	<i>gibbosa</i>	Globe Amaranth	India
CORIANDRUM	<i>sativum</i>	Coriander	England
PASTINACA	<i>sativa</i>	Garden Parsnip	England
ANETHUM	<i>graveolens</i>	Dill	Spain, Portugal
	<i>feniculum</i>	Fennel	England
CARUM	<i>carvi</i>	Caraway	Britain
PUMPINELLA	<i>anisum</i>	Anise	Egypt
APIUM	<i>parvasium</i>	Parsley	Sardinia
	<i>graveolens</i>	Celery	Britain
CASSINE	<i>caprysa</i>	Hottentot Cherry	Cape of Good Hope H. East, esq. 1788
SAMBUCUS	<i>ebulus</i>	Dwarf Elder	Britain M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	<i>nigra</i>	Black-berryed Elder	Britain M. Wallen, esq. 1773
RHUS	<i>coriaria</i>	Elm-leav'd Sumach	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
	<i>typhinum</i>	Virginian Sumach	Mr. Gale, 1772
LINUM	<i>catenarium</i>	Common Flax	Britain M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	<i>maritimum</i>	Sea Flax	H. East, esq. 1788

P E N T A G Y N I A.

Classis

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

Classis VI.

HEXANDRIA.
MONOGYNA.

Mr. Shakerpeare, 1782
Mr. Thame, 1773
Mr. Thame, 1773
Mr. Thame, 1773
H. East, edq. 1785

Honduras
South of Europe
Spain, Portugal
Spain
Guinea
South America
East-Indies
East-Indies

Purple Spider-wort
Sweet-scented Narcissus
Polyanthus Narcissus
Jonquil
Blood-Flower
American Crinum
Ceylon Crinum
Indian Crinum
African blue Lily
Atamaico Lily
Jacobea Lily
Mexican Lily
Bellidonna Lily
Golden Amaryllis
Long-leav'd Amaryllis
Snow-drop Amaryllis
Striped Lily
Jerusalem Shallot
African Garlic
Garlick

Cape of Good Hope
North America
South America
South America
China
Cape of Good Hope
H. East, edq. 1770
H. East, edq.
M. Waller, edq. 1772
H. East, edq. 1790
M. Waller, edq. 1774
H. East, edq. 1785
H. East, edq. 1789
H. East, edq. 1789
H. East, edq.
Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

Cape of Good Hope
North America
South America
South America
China
Cape of Good Hope
Africa
Africa

† *Hert. Kewensis*, vol. i. p. 429; said to be a native of Jamaica, but erroneously.

• *Hert. Kewensis*, vol. i. p. 403.

difcolor *
odorat
Tanzetta
fenquilla
fenitret
Americianum
Zeylanicum?
Astiatum
Africanum
Atamaico
ferneffoma
regina
Bellefontina
ovata
longifolia
reticulata
excitata
afalanicum
fr-sicle †
fabroium

TRADUCANTIA
NARCISSUS

HEXANTHUS
CRINUM

AMARYLLIS

ALLIUM

Porrurn

RUMEX

obtusifolius

Blunt-leav'd Dock

Britain

M. Wallen, esq. 1773

ÆSCULUS

Hippocistiflora
flava
*Pavia*Horse-Chestnut
Yellow-flower'd Chestnut
Scarlet-flower'd Chestnut

Asia

Mrs. Brodbeck, 1770
H. East, esq. 1790
M. Wallen, esq. 1774

TROXOLON

minor

MELIHOCCA

lygia

XIMENIA

incarnis

FUCHSIA

triphylla

LAWSONIA

incarnis

VACCINIUM

spinosa

ERICA

Arctostaphylos

OLENTHERA

*multiflora**pumila*

Indian Cress

Genip

Smooth Ximonia

Scarlet Fuchsia

Smooth Lawsonia

Prickly Lawtonia

Madeira Whortle-Berry

Many-flower'd Heath

Dwarf Primrose

Peru
South-America
East-Indies
Chili
Africa
East-Indies
Madaira
South of Europe
North-America

M. Wallen, esq. 1774

H. East, esq. 1784

H. East, esq.

Monf. Necloux *, 1789

H. East, esq. 1785

Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787

M. Wallen, esq. 1784

M. Wallen, esq.

Classis VIII.

O C T A N D R I A.

M O N O G Y N I A.

* Botanist to the French King at Hispaniola.

The Akce

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1778

NOV. GEN.*

T R I G Y N I A.

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

SAPIIDUS

Litche Plum

China

edulis

* This Plant was brought here in a Slave Ship from the Coast of Africa, and now grows very luxuriant, producing every Year large Quantities of Fruit; several Gentlemen are encouraging the propagation of it. I do not know that it has hitherto been described: it's Characters are as follows:

CAL. Perianthium pentaphyllum inferum, foliolis ovatis acutis concavis, persistentibus, villosis.
COR. Petala quinque oblongo-lanceolata, acuta, villosa, ad basin sursum flexa et receptaculo adpressa, calyce alterna et eo co longiora.

STAM. Filamenta octo brevissima, pilosa, ad basin Germinis receptaculo glanduloso inserta. Antheræ oblongæ in orbem circa Germinem dispositæ et ejusdem fere longitudinis.

PIST. Germin subovatum triquetrum pilosum. Stylus longitudine Germinis, cylindricus, pilosus. Stigma obtusum.

PER. Capsula carnosa, oblonga, utrinque obtusa, trigona, trilobularis, trivalvis, apice dehiscens.

SEM. Tria, orbicularia, nitida, appendice nuda.

Arbor hæc quinquaginta pedes altitudine plerumque superat; Truncus cortice subfusco scabro tegitur. ramis numerosis longis crassis irregularibus, inferioribus ad terram fere dependentibus. Folia habet pinnata, foliis ovato-lanceolatis venosis integerrimis oppositis lævibus superne nitida, spithameis, utrinque quatuor vel quinque, petiolis brevibus tumidis.

Racemi simplices stricti, multiflori axillares, longitudine fere pinnarum, pedunculis propriis unilobis, stipulis lanceolatis, rufo-tomentosis, persistentibus. Flores parvi albi inodori. Fructus magnitudinis ovi anserini, colore flavo, rubro, surruntico, vel ex utroque mixto. Semina tria nitida nigra magnitudinis Nucis moschateæ, quorum unum sæpius abortit, Semini singulo adsascitur materies albidæ (Semen magnitudinis excedens) consistentiæ pinguedinis bovinæ et aqua leniter cocta Medullæ haud assimilis. Ab Incolis in Guineæ ad mensas apponitur vel per se vel Jusculo vel Pul-

meato elixa.

Classis

LAVRUS

Cinnamomum *
Campobora
nobilis
indica
fetida
Benzoin
Burbonica
Sassafras

Cinnamon Tree
 Camphire Tree
 Sweet Bay-Tree
 Royal Bay-Tree
 Madaira Laurel
 Benjamin Tree
 Carolina Bay-Tree
 Sassafras Tree

Ceylon
 Japan
 Italy
 Madaira
 Madaira
 Virginia
 Carolina
 North-America

Lord Rodney, 1782
 Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
 Mr. Kuchan, 1770
 H. East, esq. 1788
 Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
 Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
 Mr. Gale, 1772
 M. Wallen, esq. 1772.

RIZUM

rhoponticum
palmatum

Barbard Rhubarb
 True Rhubarb

Afia
 China

Mr. Thame, 1786
 Mr. Thame, 1786

BAUHINIA

purpurea

Purple Bauhinia

East-Indies

H. East, esq. 1790

* This Tree will doubtless in a few years become a very valuable Acquisition to the Island: some samples of the Bark lately sent to England prove it to be the true Ceylon Cinnamon, and of the best Kind. It is now cultivated with great Attention in many parts of the Island.

scandens

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

*foeniculans**variegata**Senna**Fistula**fulberrima**var. fl. flavo**Moringa**gyracolens*

CASSIA

POINCIANA

GUILANDINA

RUTA

H. East, edq. 1790

H. East, edq. 1790

H. East, edq. 1787

East and West Indies

Mr. Shakespeare, 1782

H. East, edq. 1784.

M. Wallen, edq.

Honduras

East-Indies

South of Europe.

Yellow Flower-fence

Horle-radish Tree

Garden Rue

* This Tree has hitherto been generally considered as a species of the Genus *Guilandina*, but very erroneously, as will appear from the following characters:

CAL.

Perianthium pentaphyllum, foliis oblongis obtusis concavis, tribus superioribus reflexis, duobus inferioribus patentibus.

COR. Petala quinque. Petala duo superiora magnitudine foliorum calycis, plana obtusa reflexa obovata; lateralia duo paulo majora concava obovata lunata minus reflexa; inferius spatulato-obovatum obtusum concavum, lateralibus majus, et genitalibus approximatum, patens.

STAM. Filamenta novem, quorum quinque tantum fertilia, ad basin crassa villosa, versus apicem contorta, longitudine inaequalis, antherae quinque bicaulares subroundae. Sterilia quatuor minora longitudine etiam inaequalia, antheris minoribus vel nullis, omnia petalis fere dimidio breviora.

GERMEN oblongum. Stylus filiformis leviter curvatus, petalis et staminibus longior. Stigma acutum.

FRUIT. Germen triangulare trivalve, utrinque acutum.

PER. longum triangulare trivalve, utrinque acutum. Nux fragilis rotunda. Nucleo rotundo trifidato, triangulari, alis lineis oblongis sibi invicem junctis. Folia tri vel quadripinnata sesquipedalia, foliis ovalibus obtusis pedalis, cortice cinereo; Rami patentibus numerosi. Folia tri vel quadripinnata sesquipedalia, foliis ovalibus obtusis tri-linearibus teneris integerrimis pedicellatis; glandula parva pedicellata intra singulas foliorum divisiones.

RACEMI axillares semipedales, calycis foliola subcarnea, petalis albis ad basin leviter purpureis. Pericarpium pedale sulcatum, angulis acutis. Calycis foliola et petala saepe irregulariter reflexa et numero varia, sed Petalum inferius semper rectum et genitalibus approximatum.

MELIA

Andersonii

QUASSIA

ansara

KALMIA

*latifolia**evagalyfolia**maximiana**pontica**Uncola*

RHODODENDRON

ARBUTUS

SAXIFRAGA

umbrosa

DIANTHUS

*barbatas**corymbosus*

var.

*Chinensis**superbus*

Nov. Gen.*

* This Shrub has been introduced into our Gardens here from England under the above title, but I do not know on what Authority: the following are it's Characters, as nearly as I have been able to ascertain them.

CAL. Perianthium pentaphyllum inferum, foliis parvis ovatis erectis.

COB. Petala quinque, laciniis ovatis vel subrotundis, erectis inferis, calyce duplo longioribus.

STAM. Filamenta decem circa Germen compressa, erecta, longitudine Corollae. Antherae parvae simplices.

PIST. Germen subrotundum. Stylus vix ullus. Stigma compressum.

PER. Basca lucida membrano tenui obtecta, pulpa paucissima.

SEM. Duo, membrano proprio tecta, striata, pila magnitudine, ita ut duo applicata sphaerum constituunt, et forte semen unicum in duo fissile.

Frutex quatuor pedalis inordinate ramosa, folia petiolata lanceolata-ovata alterna, glabra integerrima; flores axillares congesti subsessiles. Corolla alba. Germen facte aemulat fructum juniolein Citri Aurantii.

TRIGY-

Bead-Tree

Bitter Quassia

Broad-leav'd Kalmia

Narrow-leav'd Kalmia

Strawberry Tree

London-Prick

Sweet-William Pink

Clove July-flower

Carnation

China Pink

Superb Pink

Mandarin Orange

East-Indies

Guiana

North America

North America

North America

Gibraltar

Ireland

England

Europe

England

China

France

East-Indies

Mont. NeQuar, 1789

H. East, esq. 1786

H. East, esq. 1786

H. East, esq. 1786

H. East, esq. 1786

H. East, esq. 1785

M. Wallen, esq. 1789

M. Wallen, esq. 1772

M. Wallen, esq. 1772

M. Wallen, esq. 1772

M. Wallen, esq. 1772

H. East, esq. 1788

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

SILENE

America

Lobel's Catchfly

TRIGYNA

England

H. East, esq. 1773

SPONDIAS

ceylanica

South-Sea Plumb

Lord Rodney, 1782

AGROSTEMMA

Anacampseros

Rose Campion

Italy

H. East, esq.

SEDUM

Evergreen Orpine

H. East, esq. 1791

Classis XI.

DODECADRIA

MONOGYNA

Triangular-stalked Purslane

St. Vincent

Snow-drop tree

Carolina

Small Mangostein

East-Indies

Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1757

H. East, esq. 1789

Lord Rodney, 1782

triangularis

teigstera

ernaca?

PORTULACA

HALESIA

GARCINIA

TRIGYNA

Egypt

M. Wallen, esq. 1773

Mignonette

cedrata

RASSIA

* This tree was at first supposed to be the true Mangostein, but having perfected its fruit, on comparison with the description given of the true Mangostein, we judge it to be the *G. cernua*. Male and Hermaphrodite flowers are found on the same tree.

Classis

MESPILUS	<i>germanica</i> <i>pyracantha</i>	Dutch Medlar Evergreen Thorn	England Italy	H. East, esq. 1774 H. East, esq. 1774
PYRUS	<i>malus</i> <i>communis</i> <i>cydonia</i>	Apple tree Pear tree Quince tree	Britain England Germany	M. Wallen, esq. M. Wallen, esq. 1773 H. East, esq. 1787
MEMBRANANTHE- MUM	<i>erythralinum</i>	Ice-Plant	Greece	
SPIRÆA	<i>ulmaria</i>	Meadow-Sweet	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
ROSA	<i>alba</i> <i>cinerosea</i> <i>centifolia</i> <i>damascena</i> <i>gallica</i> <i>moschata</i> <i>moschata</i> <i>alba</i> <i>rubiginosa</i> <i>indica</i>	Yellow Austrian Rose Cinnamon Rose Hundred-leav'd Rose Damask Rose Red Rose Moss Rose Musk Rose White Rose Sweet-Brier Rose	Germany South of Europe Spain France South of Europe France Italy Europe Brittain	H. East, esq. H. East, esq. H. East, esq. M. Wallen, esq. M. Wallen, esq. H. East, esq. H. East, esq. H. East, esq. M. Wallen, esq.
RUUS	<i>var. ruber</i> <i>allua</i>	Red Raspberry White Raspberry	Britain Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773 M. Wallen, esq. 1773
FRAGARIA	<i>vesca</i> <i>var. chilensis</i> <i>pratensis</i>	Chili Strawberry Hautboy Strawberry	Chili Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772 M. Wallen, esq. 1772

P E N T A G Y N I A.

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

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Classis XIII.

P O L Y A N D R I A.

M O N O G Y N I A.

CAPPARIS	<i>spinosa</i>	Italy	H. East, eq. 1774
PAPAVEE	<i>Rhass</i>	Britain	H. East, eq. 1773
THEA	<i>viridis</i>	China	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	<i>Bobas</i>	China	Mr. Baker, 1771
CARYOPHYLLUS	<i>aromaticus</i> *	Molucca Islands	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1789
CISTUS	<i>populifolius</i>	Portugal	H. East, eq. 1779
	<i>incanus</i>	Portugal	H. East, eq. 1779
	<i>crispus</i>	Portugal	H. East, eq. 1779
	<i>tuberosa</i>	Siberia	H. East, eq. 1774
DELPHINIUM	<i>grandiflorum</i>	England	M. Wallen, eq. 1772
	<i>Closofolida</i>	Siberia	M. Wallen, eq. 1773
	<i>elatium</i>	China	H. East, eq. 1773
ACONITUM	<i>Napellus</i>	France	
AQUILEGIA	<i>enigeris</i>	Britain	M. Wallen, eq. 1772
NIGELLA	<i>damascena</i>	Spain	M. Wallen, eq. 1772

P E N T A G Y N I A.

Columbine Flower	Britain	M. Wallen, eq. 1772
Fennel Flower	Spain	M. Wallen, eq. 1772

* Two of these Plants were presented to Doctor Clarke by Monsieur Necloux, from the King's Garden at Port au Prince; they appeared in a very luxuriant State of Growth on their Arrival, but have since died.

POLY-

ILLECIUM
LIRIODENDRON
MAGNOLIA

floridana
Tulipifera
grandiflora
glauca
acuminata

Amiseed tree
Tulip tree
Laurel-leav'd Magnolia
Swamp Magnolia
Blue Magnolia
Cherimoya
Garden Anemone
Virgin's Bower
Flos Adonis
Wood Crowfoot

H. East, esq. 1787
H. East, esq. 1776
Mr. Gale, 1772
Mr. Gale, 1772
H. East, esq. 1788
H. East, esq. 1786
M. Wallen, esq. 1773
H. East, esq. 1788

ANNOA
ANEMONE
ATRACENE
CLIMATIS
ADONIS
RANUNCULUS

bertoni
indica
Flemula
autumnalis
auriculata

Florida
North America
Carolina
North America
North America
South America
Italy
South America
South of France
England
Britain

M. Wallen, esq.
M. Wallen, esq. 1773

SATURAJA
HYSSOPUS
NEPETA
LAVANDULA
LAVANDULA

bertoni
effimula
Cataris
Spica
Stachas
densata
multifida
canadensis

Garden Savory
Hyssop
Catmint
Common Lavender
French Lavender
Tooth'd-leav'd Lavender
Canary Lavender
Iron-wort

Italy
South of Europe
Britain
South of Europe
South of Europe
South of Europe
Canary Islands
Madeira

H. East, esq.
M. Wallen, Esq. 1774
H. East, esq. 1787
H. East, esq. 1787
Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1784
H. East, esq.

Classis XIV.

D I D Y N A M I A.
G Y M N O S P E R M I A.

S:DEBITIS

MAR-

Classis XV.

T E T R A D Y N A M I A .

S I L I C U L O S A .

LUPIDIMUM	<i>latifolium</i>	Pepper-wort	Britain	H. East, esq. 1788
	<i>fativum</i>	Garden Cress	Germany	
COCHLEARIA	<i>officinatis</i>	Scurvy-grass	Britain	H. East, esq. 1773
	<i>Arvensis</i>	Horse-radish	England	
IBERIS	<i>umbellata</i>	Candy-tuft	South of Europe	H. East, esq. 1775
ALYSIUM	<i>bulbosifolium</i>	Sweet Alysson	Italy	H. East, esq. 1774
	<i>incanum</i>	Hairy Alysson	Italy	H. East, esq. 1788
LUNARIA	<i>annua</i>	Honchly	Germany	H. East, esq. 1775

S I L I Q U O S A .

SISYMBRIUM	<i>Nasturium</i>	Water-cress	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
CHRISANTHUS	<i>Cheiri</i>	Wall-flower	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
	<i>incanum</i>	Queen's Stock	Italy	H. East, esq. 1772
	<i>annuum</i>	Ten-week Stock	Spain	H. East, esq. 1772
HERPESIS	<i>trifida</i>	Night-smelling Rocket	Hungary	H. East, esq. 1772
SINAPIS	<i>alba</i>	White Mustard	Britain	H. East, esq. 1772
	<i>nigra</i>	Black Mustard	Britain	M. Wallen, esq.
BRASSICA	<i>Rapa</i>	Turnep	England	
	<i>chrysis</i>	Common Cabbage	England	

var. 1. Red Cabbage
 2. Savoy Cabbage
 3. Cauliflower

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

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4. Brocoli	China
5. Turnep-rooted Cabbage	
5. Garden Radish	
var. 1. Turnep Radish	
2. Black Radish	

RAPHANUS

RAPHANUS

Classis XVI.

M O N A D E L P H I A.
P E N T A N D R I A.

Willow-leav'd Geran.	South of Europe	H. East, cfq. 1788
Mandle-leav'd Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, cfq. 1788
Cortanifer-leav'd Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, cfq. 1788
Horric-shoe Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, cfq. 1788
Oak-leav'd Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, cfq. 1788
Balm-scented Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, cfq. 1788
Rose-scented Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, cfq. 1788
Birch-leav'd Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, cfq. 1788

GERANIUM

malacoides
 alchemilloides
 coriandryfolium
 xonale
 quercifolium
 Racula
 quitfolium
 capitatum
 betulinum
 Beheimicum
 leucogatum
 Hermannifolium
 palmatum.

D O D E C A N D R I A.

Dr. Thomas Clarke, 1775

East-Indies

Scarlet Pentapetes

PENTAPETES

phœnicea

POLY-

ADAMSONIA

SIDA

ALICA

MALVA

LAVATERA

HIBISCUUS

CAMELLIA

ERATHERINA

SPARTIUM

*digitata**indica**resiva**capensis**crispata**retundifolia**thuringiaca**populana**mutabilis**Rosa sinensis**syriacus**sinensis**Triemum**Sabdariffa**japonica*

Monkies-Bread

Indian Mallow

Holly-hock

Cape Mallow

Curt'd Mallow

Dwarf Mallow

Great-flower'd Lav.

Poplar-leaf'd Hibisc.

Changeable Rose

China Rose

Althæa frutesc.

Fig-leaf'd Hibiscus

Bladder Hibiscus

Sorrel Hibiscus

Japan Rose

Senechal

India

China

Cape of Good Hope

Syria

Brittain

Hungary

East-Indies

East-Indies

China

Syria

Ceylon

Cape of Good Hope

India

Japan

H. East, esq.

H. East, esq.

M. Wallen, esq. 1774

H. East, esq. 1787

H. East, esq. 1774

Captain Jones

M. Wallen, esq. 1773

H. East, esq. 1784

M. Wallen, esq.

M. Wallen, esq.

M. Wallen, esq.

H. East, esq. 1788

H. East, esq. 1788

H. East, 1787

*barbata**grandiflora**juvencum**scoparium**missipericum*

Herbaceous Coral-tree

Large flowering Coral-tree

Spannish Broom

Common Broom

White-flower'd Broom

Carolina

South of Europe

Brittain

Portugal

Mr. Gale, 1772

H. East, esq.

M. Wallen, esq. 1773

M. Wallen, esq.

M. Wallen, esq.

GINISTA

Classis XVII.

DIADELPHIA.

DECANDRIA.

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

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GENISTA
ULYX

canadensis
europeus
capensis
juncata
rutosa

CROTALARIA

verrucosa
pallida
laburnifolia
quinquefolia
retandifolia

CROTALARIA

ONONIS
ARACHIS
LUPINUS

hypogea
albus
varius
argyrrifolius
luteus

PHASEOLUS
DOLICHOS

vulgaris
Lablab
sinensis
triloba

GLYCINE
CLITORIA

ternata
fl. alba

PISUM
LATHYRUS

sativum
cedaratus
var.
trigittatus

Hoary Genista

Furze or Whin

Cape Furze

Chinese Crotalaria

Wedge-leav'd Crot.

Blae-flower'd Crot.

Pale-flower'd Crotal.

Shrubby Crotalaria

Earth Nuts or Pindars

White Lupine

Blue Lupine

Narrow-leav'd Lupine

Yellow Lupine

Kidney-bean

Black-seeded Dolichos

Chinese Dolichos

Blue Clitoria

White Clitoria

Garden Pea

Sweet Pea

Painted Lady Pea

Tanger Pea

H. East, esq. 1788

M. Wallen, esq.

H. East, esq. 1782

Dr. Tho. Clarke

H. East, esq.

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

H. East, esq. 1791

H. East, esq. 1791

H. East, esq. 1791

M. Wallen, esq. 1773

M. Wallen, esq. 1773

H. East, esq. 1780

M. Wallen, esq. 1773

H. East, esq. 1789

H. East, esq. 1789

H. East, esq. 1791

M. Wallen, esq. 1773

H. East, esq. 1781

H. East, esq. 1781

South of Europe

Britain

Cape of Good Hope

China

East-Indies

East-Indies

Africa

Asia

India

Switzerland

South-America

Sicily

Spain

Sicily

India

Ægypt

East-Indies

India

East-Indies

South of Europe

Sicily

Ceylon

Africa

VICIA	<i>lanceolata</i>
CYTHUS	<i>Faba</i>
	<i>Laburnum</i>
ROBINIA	<i>Cajani</i>
	<i>bispida</i>
	<i>grandiflora</i>
	<i>mitis</i>
	<i>valentina</i>
	<i>arabica</i>
	<i>minima</i>
CORONILLA	<i>grandiflora</i>
	<i>Soffian</i>
	<i>agatica</i>
HELYSARUM	<i>cyreni</i>
GALGA	<i>purpurea</i>
LOTUS	<i>jacobernus</i>
MEDICAGO	<i>polymorpha</i>
	<i>var. scutellata</i>
	<i>intermedia</i>

Broad-leav'd Pea	England
Garden Bean	Ægypt
Common Laburnum	Austria
Pigeon Pea	East-Indies
Rose Acacia	Carolina
Large-flower'd Acacia,	East-Indies
	East-Indies
Shrubby Coronilla	Spain
Arabian Coronilla	Arabia
Small Coronilla	South of Europe
Pea-tree	East-Indies
Egyptian Pea-tree	Ægypt
Swamp Pea-tree	East-Indies
Moving Plant	East-Indies
Purple Galega	East-Indies
Dark-flower'd Lotus	Asots

Snail Medic
Hedge-hog Medic

Classis XVIII.

P O L Y A D E L P H I A .
P E N T A N D R I A .

Chocolate Nut-tree
Maple-leav'd Ambroma

THEOBROMA
AMBROMA

H. East, esq. 1781
M. Wallen, esq. 1773
H. East, esq. 1786
H. East, esq. 1782
H. East, esq. 1792
H. East, esq. 1788
H. East, esq. 1788
H. East, esq. 1788
J. G. Kemps, esq. 1774
Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
H. East, esq. 1786
Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
H. East, esq. 1790
H. East, esq. 1790
H. East, esq.
M. Wallen, esq.

H. East, esq. 1791

South-America
New South Wales

D O D E .

MONSIEUR

*Spicifera**D O D E C A N D R I A.*

Fine-leav'd Monfonia

Cape of Good Hope H. Easb, esq. 1791

CITRUS

*Medica**I C O S A N N D R I A.*

Asia

Citron-tree

var. 1. Lemon-tree

2. Lime-tree

3. Sweet Lime-tree

4. Forbidden-fruit-tree

5. Grape-fruit-tree

Seville Orange-tree

China Orange-tree

Shaddock-tree

India

India

HYPERICUM

*balnearium**mongianum**P O L Y A N D R I A.*

St. John's-wort

Chastif St. John's-wort

H. Easb, esq. 1788

H. Easb, esq. 1788

Classis XIX.

*S Y N G E N E S I A.**P O L Y G A M M A E Q U A L I S.*

Sow-thistle

Garden Lettuce.

SONCHUS

LACTUCA

British

LEONTODON

LEONTODON	<i>Taraxacum</i>	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
CICHOBIUM	<i>Endivia</i>		
	var. <i>crispa</i>		
CYNARA	<i>Scotymus</i>	South of France	
	<i>Carduus</i>	Capdia	
	<i>barbata</i>	South of France	
CYPRIS	<i>Asella</i>	Ceylon	H. Esst, esq. 1788
SPILANTHUS			

POLYGAMIA SUPERFLUA.

TANACETUM	<i>vulgare</i>	Britain	M. Wallen, esq.
ARTEMISIA	<i>Abrotanum</i>	S. of Europe	
	<i>Albaticum</i>	Britain	
GNAPHALIUM	<i>serotinum</i>	Cape of Good Hope	H. Esst, esq. 1788
XERANTHEMUM	<i>speciosissimum</i>	Cape of Good Hope	H. Esst, esq. 1775
ASTER	<i>fruticosus</i>	Cape of Good Hope	H. Esst, esq. 1784
	<i>cinereus</i>	China	M. Wallen, esq. 1775
	<i>Amellus</i>	Italy	H. Esst, esq. 1780
BELLIS	<i>perennis</i>	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
TAGETES	<i>patula</i>	Mexico	
	<i>crenata</i>	Mexico	
ZINNIA	<i>speciosa</i>	North America	H. Esst, esq. 1772
CHRYSANTHEMUM	<i>coronarum</i>	Sicily	H. Esst, esq. 1774
ANTHEMIS	<i>nobilis</i>	Britain	Mrs. Dunscomb, 1783
ACHILLEA	<i>millefolium</i>	Britain	M. Wallen, esq.
	<i>Milfoil, or Yarrow</i>		

POLYGAMIA FRUSTRANEA.

HELIANTHUS	<i>annuus</i> <i>indicus</i> <i>tuberosus</i> <i>lacinialis</i> <i>hirtus</i> <i>Cyanus</i>	Common Sun-flower Dwarf Sun-flower Jerusalem Artichoke American Sun-flower Blue-bottle	Mexico Brazil Virginia Canada Britania	H. East, esq. H. East, esq. H. East, esq. 1789 H. East, esq. 1790 M. Wallen, esq. 1774
RUDECKIA				
CENTAUREA				

POLYGAMIA NECESSARIA.

CALENDULA	<i>officinalis</i> <i>calendulactis</i>	Garden Marygold Marygold Arctotis	South of Europe Cape of Good Hope	M. Wallen, esq. 1773 H. East, esq. 1783
ARCTOTIS				

MONOGAMIA.

LOBELIA	<i>spalmitica</i> <i>edratia</i>	Blue Cardinal-flower Sweet Violet Double-flower'd Violet	Virginia Britania Britania	Monf. Noëroux, 1789 M. Wallen, esq. 1773 H. East, esq. 1789 Mrs. Brodbelt, 1769 M. Wallen, esq. 1773
VIOLA	<i>var.</i>	Heart's-ease or Pansies Garden Balsam	East-Indies	
IMPATIENS	<i>tricolor</i> <i>Balsamina</i>			

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

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Classis XX.

G Y N A N D R I A.

D I A N D R I A.

Tuberous-rooted Limodorum
Chinese Limodorum
VanillaH. East, esq. 1787
Mr. Thame, 1787*tuberosum*
Tanquerulii
*Vanilla*LIMODORUM
EPIDENDRUM

T R I A N D R I A.

N. America

Caracasiana

SHYRANCHIUM

P E N T A N D R I A.

Water Lemon
Passion Flower

M. Wallen, esq. 1780

maliformis?
cerulea

PASSIFLORA

P O L Y A N D R I A.

Painted Arum

H. East, esq.
Cape of Good Hope H. East, esq. 1787*bicolor*
*ethiops*ARUM
CALLA* *Hort. Kew.* vol. iii. p. 316.

Classis

Classis XXI.

MONOCEFA.

MONANDRIA.

CAJUPUTINA ARTOCARPUS	<i>equisetifolia</i> <i>integrifolia</i>	Indian Jaca Tree	East-Indies East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1788 Lord Rodney, 1782
TYPHA COIX PHYLANTHUS	<i>latifolia</i> <i>Lacryma Jethi</i> <i>Niruri</i>	FR I A N D R I A. Large Reed-mace Job's Tears Annual Phyllanthus	Britain East-Indies East-Indies	M. Wallen., esq. H. East, esq. 1782
BUXUS URTICA	<i>simpervirens</i> <i>diandra</i> <i>urens</i>	TE T A N D R I A. Box-tree Common Nettle Lesser Nettle	England Britain Britain	M. Wallen, esq. M. Wallen, esq. H. East, esq.
MORUS	<i>alba</i> <i>nigra</i> <i>rubra</i> <i>potrifera</i>	White Mulberry tree Common Mulberry tree Red Mulberry tree Paper Mulberry tree	China Italy Carolina Japan	H. East, esq. 1784 M. Wallen, esq. H. East, esq. 1774 H. East, esq. 1779
AMARANTHUS	<i>versicoloratus</i>	P E N T A N D R I A. Two-colour'd Amaranth.	East-Indies	M. Wallen, esq. 1773

tricolor
cruciat

Three-colour'd Amaranth
Bloody Amaranth

East-Indies
East-Indies

M. Wallen, esq. 1773
M. Wallen, esq. 1773

P O L Y A N D R I A.

QUERCUS
ilix
suber
rubra
alba
Robur
robus
alba
nigra
Cydonata
pumila
Aeoliana
orientalis
occidentalis

Evergreen Oak-tree
Cork tree
Red Oak-tree
White Oak-tree
Common Oak-tree
Walnut-tree
White Hickery tree
Black Walnut tree
Chestnut tree
Dwarf Chestnut tree
Hazel-nut tree
Oriental Plane tree
American Plane tree

South of Europe
South of Europe
N. America
Virginia
Britain
Persia
North America
North America
England
North America
Britain
Levant
North America

H. Esq. esq. 1787
H. Esq. esq.
Mr. Thame, 1788
Mr. Thame, 1788
M. Wallen, esq. 1773
M. Wallen, esq. 1774
M. Wallen, esq. 1786
Mr. Jones, 1786
Mrs. Brodbelt
M. Wallen, esq.
M. Wallen, esq. 1775
M. Wallen, esq.
Mr. Thame, 1775

M O N A D E L P H I A.

PINES
fivefrida
Pinaster
Pinus
Comata
Strobus
Cedrus
Larix

Common Pine tree
Chaster Pine tree
Stone Pine tree
Siberian Pine tree
Weymouth Pine tree
Cedar of Lebanon
White Larch tree

Europe
Europe
Europe
Siberia
North America
Levant
Germany

M. Wallen, esq. 1775
M. Wallen, esq. 1775
M. Wallen, esq. 1775
M. Wallen, esq. 1775
M. Wallen, esq. 1775
H. Esq. esq. 1788
H. Esq. esq. 1788

SALIX	<i>Indica</i>	WEeping Willow	ITALY	H. East, c1783
MYRTICA	<i>trifera</i>	Candleberry Myrtle	CAROLINA	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
PISTACIA	<i>scinurus</i> <i>Terebinthus</i> <i>Lentiscus</i>	Pistachia tree Turpentine tree Mastic tree	GREECE South of Europe South of Europe	H. East, c1783 H. East, c1790 H. East, c1789
SPINACIA CANNABIS	<i>oleracea</i> <i>sativa</i>	Garden Spinage Hemp	INDIA	M. Walken, c1765
SMILAX	<i>Sarsaparilla</i>	Sarsaparilla	AMERICA	Z. Bayly, c1765
POPELUS	<i>Isisamifera</i>	Tacamahac Poplar tree	SIBERIA	H. East, c1791
SCHIRUS	<i>molle</i>	Peruvian Mastic tree	PERU	H. East, c1783

Classis XXIII.

POLYGRAMMA.

MONOCECIA.

Bichy Tree* Guinea

NOV. GEN.?

TERMINALIA

* This Tree is noticed by Sir Hans Sloane in his Natural History of Jamaica, as having been imported from the Coast of Guinea, and planted in the mountains of Leguanea; it still continues to grow there, as well as in many other parts of the South Side of the Island: the following Characters were taken from a Tree growing in the Garden, which perfected its fruit.

CAL. Nullus.

Hermaphroditus Filis.

COR. Monopetala quinquepartita infera, laciniis ovatis acutis crassis subvillosis, striatis patento-erectis. Nectarium concavum, includens Germen, margine decem dentato.

STAM. Filamenta decem brevissima vel nulla. Antheræ diuinae in orbem dispositæ et extus Nectarii dentibus cœlitæ.

PIST. Germen subtundum quinque-fukatum hirsutum. Stigmata quinque crassa reflexa subcontorta, geminis incumbentia.

PER. Capsula magna subovata gibbosa, leuiter incurvata, uniflocularia, sutura dorsali prominente.

SEM. Plura angulata imbricata, singulum cortice coriaceo proprio obtectum.

Magnali Floræ.

COR. & COR. ut in Flore hermaphrodito, sed 4 majores.

STAM. ut in Flore hermaphrodito.

PIST. Germen nullum. Stigmatum quinque rudimenta parva e medio Nectarii orta.

Arbor inælegans ramosa, cortice subfusco truncus tegitur; folia habet alterna pedicellata integra oblonga venosa glabra acuminata, margine undulato, sicca, laurina, ad extremitatem ramulorum congesta; pedicellis utrinque tumidis vel gregi-
-oculis.

APPENDIX to VOL. I.]

TERRINARIA

ACIA *Cassipou**Pseudo-Platanus**rubra**foufoua**faraphana**nilotica**Lebecki**Senegal*

FRAXINUS

Grævis

CERATONIA

*Siliquis**Garrici*

CYCAS

*circinalis**daglyfera*

onofis. Racemi compositi breves, plerumque è ramis majoribus orti. Corolla lutea, lacinie fibris tribus purpureis in-
 tus notatæ; odor valde ingratus. A Nigritis in Jamaica vocatur Bichy vel Collu, et ibi femina per se vel cum Sale et
 Capfico commissa ad dolores ventriculi pro remedio habentur.

HORTUS EASTENSIS.

Sycamore-tree East Indies

Red Maple Britain

Sensitive Plant Virginia

Sweet-scented Mimosa Brazil

Gum Arabic trees East-Indies

Ægyptian Sensitive Egypt

Gum Senegal tree Egypt

Arabia

D I O E C I A

Manna Ash Calabria

T R I O E C I A

St. John's-bread Sicily

Fig-Tree South of Europe

P A L M Æ.

Sago Palm East-Indies

Date Palm-Tree Levant

E N D o f V O L. I.

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1790

H. East, esq. 1787

H. East, esq. 1790

H. East, esq. 1788

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

Lord Rodney, 1782

Tho. Hibbert, Esq. 1787

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775