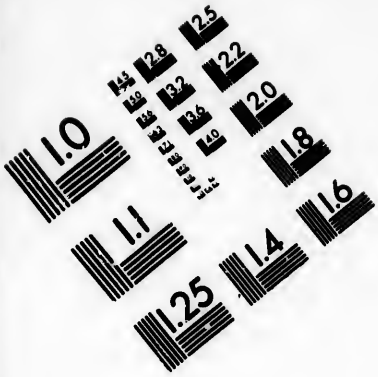

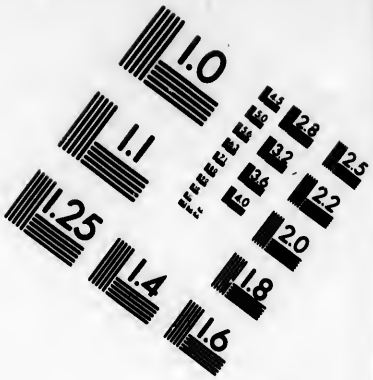

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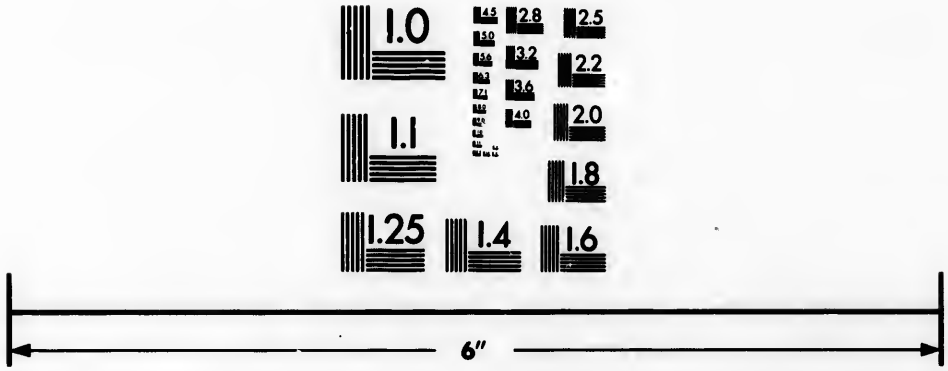

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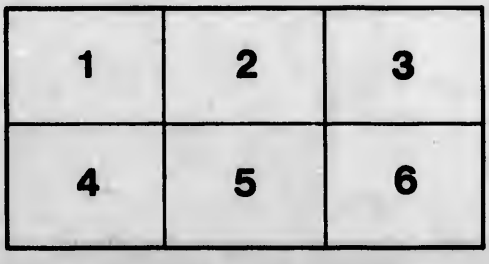

BRIT

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

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ.

OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

LUKE WHITE.

M.DCC.XCIII.

1794

KING'S

POLITI

His MAJES

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WITH

M

L

LONDON,
3d June, 179

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,

B. EDWARDS.

LONDON,
3d June, 1793.

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PREFACE.

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 accceptable 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 Mons. Buffon and some other French theorists, on the condition and character of the American nations. Whether from a desire to lessen the strong abhorrence of all mankind at the cruelties exercised by the Spaniards in the conquest of the New World, or from a strange affectation of paradox and singularity, falsely claiming the honours of philosophy, those writers have ventured to assert, that the air and climate, or other physical phenomena, retard the growth of animated nature in the New Hemisphere, and prevent the natives from attaining to that perfection at which mankind arrive in the other quarters of the globe. Notwithstanding the variety of soil, climate, and seasons, which prevail in the several great provinces of North and South America;—notwithstanding that the aboriginal inhabitants were divided into a great many different tribes, and distinguished also by many different languages; it is pretended that all those various tribes were uniformly inferior, in the faculties of the mind and the capacity of improvement, to the rest of the human species; that they were creatures of no consideration in the book of Nature;—denied the refined invigorating sentiment of love,—and not possessing even any very powerful degree of animal desire towards multiplying their species. The author of a system 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 thoſe imperfections on which the ſyſtem in queſtion is founded; and repeatedly aſſerts, "that the qualities belonging to the people of *all* the different tribes may be painted with the ſame features †." With this bias on his pen, it is not wonderful that 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. 280 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. 292. || 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 crouded 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 wherefoever 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 ocasion, 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 assist-

ance

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 readineſs 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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BOOK II.

JAMAICA.

CHAP. I.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. V.

BOOK III.

ENGLISH CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS.

CHAP. I.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. IV.


A MAP of the
WEST INDIES
for the History of the British Colonies
— BY —
Bryan Edwards Esq.
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OR GREAT SOUTH SEA
NEW MEXICO
NEW LEON
GUASTECA
PANUCO
MEXICO
GUAXACA
TABASCO
CHIAPA
YUCATAN
BAY OF CAMPECHE
HONDURAS BAY
VERA PAZ
LOUISIANA
W. FLORIDA
E. FLORIDA
NEW NAVARRE
CULIACAN
Bay of Tecoantepec
Bay of Guatimalco
Mouth of the Mississippi
Apalache Bay
Boca de Bravo
Tampico I.
Mexico
la Vera Cruz
Acapulco
Campeche
Merida
Comayagua or Valladolid
Leon
Granada
Nicaragua L.
Carthage
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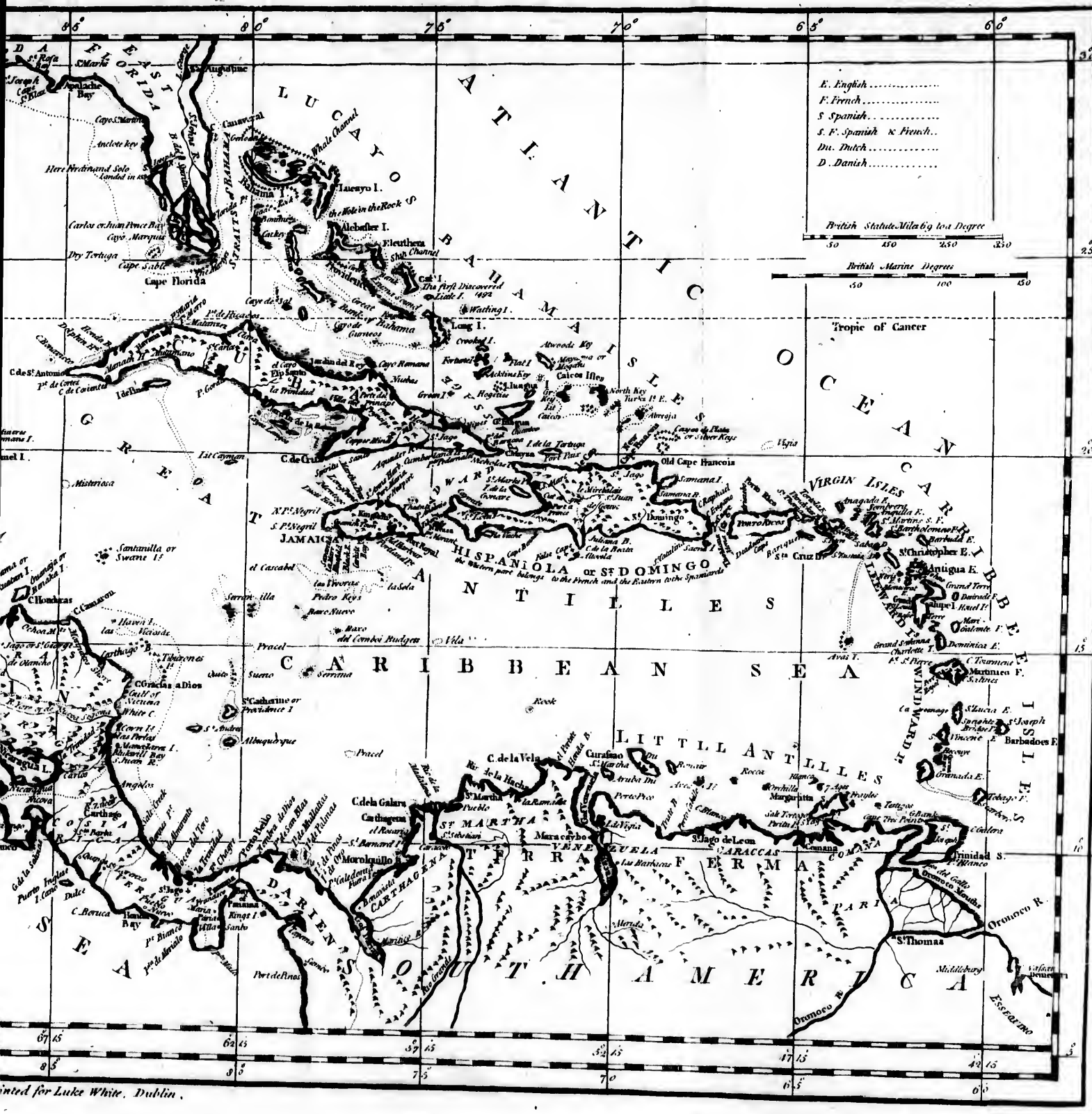

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THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

British Colonies in the West Indies.

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 creation.—Magnificence and sublimity of the mountains; reflections concerning their origin, &c.

CHAP. I.

Arrangement.

GEOGRAPHERS, following the distribution of Nature, divide the vast Continent of America into two great parts, North and South; the narrow but mountainous Isthmus of Darien serving as a link to connect them together, and forming a rampart against the encroachments of the Atlantic on the one side,

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 *Sinæ* being the fartherst 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* *.

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 Bartholemus Dias diſcovered the Cape of Good Hope; but it was not doubled till the year 1497, when Vaſquez de Gama ſucceeded (for the firſt time in modern navigation) in this, as it was then ſuppoſed, formidable attempt.

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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 uncertan, 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, Magaritta, and ſome others near the coaſt of Caraccas on the ſouthern Peninſula, *the Leſs*; excluding the Charaibean Iſlands altogether. A recurrence to the early Spaniſh Hiſtorians would have demonſtrated to all theſe writers, that the word *Antilia* was applied to Hiſpaniola and Cuba, before the diſcovery either of the Windward Iſlands, or any part of the American Continent. This appears from the following paſſage in the Firſt Book of the Firſt Decad of Peter Martyr, which bears date from the Court of Spain November 1493, eight months only after Columbus's return from his firſt expedition; "Ophiram Inſulam ſeſe reperiſſe refert: ſed Coſmographorum tractu diligenter conſiderato, *Antiliæ* 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 Charaibean 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 Charaibean Iſlands.

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

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 Charaibean conſtituting in ſtrict propriety the former claſs (and as ſuch I ſhall ſpeak of them in the courſe of this work), and the four large Iſlands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hiſpaniola, and Porto Rico, the latter. But our Engliſh mariners appropriate both terms to the Charaibean Iſlands only, ſubdividing them according

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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.

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°.

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80°. I have ſeldom obſerved it higher than 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 repoſes, contribute to harmonize the mind, and produce the moſt calm and delightful ſenſations. The moon too in theſe climates diſplays far greater radiance than in Europe; the ſmalleſt print is legible by her light; and in the moon's abſence her function is not ill ſupplied by the brightneſs of the milky-way, and by that glorious planet Venus, which appears here like a little moon, and glitters with ſo refulgent a beam as to caſt a ſhade from trees, buildings, and other objects, making full amends for the ſhort ſtay and abrupt departure of the crepuſculum or twilight *.

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. 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

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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

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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 diſ-"charges 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 reſolu-"tion

ciſe 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."

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 Cli- " mates," 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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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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ſeſſed 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 of

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 Martinico and St. Lucia) that *all* the Iſlands are providentially exempted from this evil. Nevertheleſs it muſt be admitted, that the circumſtance

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

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

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

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-

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not indeed be compared; but ſome of theſe riſe, nevertheleſs, in amazing grandeur, and are among the firſt objects that fix the attention of the voyager. The mountains of Hiſpaniola in particular, whoſe wavy ridges are deſcried from ſea at the diſtance of thirty leagues, towering far above the clouds in ſtupendous magnificence, and the blue mountains of Jamaica, have never yet, that I have heard, been fully explored. Neither curioſity nor avarice has hitherto ventured to invade the topmoſt of thoſe lofty regions. In ſuch of them as are acceſſible, nature is found to have put on the appearance of a new creation. As the climate changes, the trees, the birds, and the inſects are ſeen alſo to differ from thoſe which are met with below. To an unaccuſtomed ſpectator, looking down from thoſe heights, the whole ſcene appears like enchantment. The firſt object which catches the eye at the dawn of day, is a vaſt expanſe of vapour, covering the whole face of the vallies. Its boundaries being perfectly diſtinct, and viſibly circumſcribed, it has the exact reſemblance of an immenſe body of water, while the mountains appear like ſo many iſlands in the midſt of a beautiful lake. As the ſun increaſes in force, the proſpect varies: the incumbent vapours fly upward, and melt into air; diſcloſing all the beauties of nature, and the triumphs of induſtry, heightened and embelliſhed by the full blaze of a tropical ſun. In the equatorial ſeaſon, ſcenes of ſtill greater magnificence frequently preſent themſelves; for, while all is calm and ſerene in the higher regions, the clouds are ſeen below ſweeping along the ſides of the mountains in vaſt bodies; till, growing more

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,"

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"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.

BOOK I. 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.

CHAP. 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 conveniency they were chiefly found ſubſervient, when they firſt came to the knowledge of Europe.

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

The great difference in language and character between theſe ſavages and the inhabitants of Cuba, Hiſpaniola, Jamaica and Porto-Rico, hath given birth to an opinion that their origin alſo, was different. Of this there ſeems indeed to be but little doubt; but the queſtion from whence each claſs of Iſlands was firſt peopled, is of more difficult ſolution. Rochefort, who publiſhed his account of the 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 abovementioned, 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. I. ſervable between the inhabitants of the larger and ſmaller iſlands*.

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

† Herera, 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.

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.

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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 our- " ſelves, and we think it is owing to ſo me- " lancholy a change, that hurricanes are more " frequent than they were formerly. It is " the evil ſpirit who has done all this,—who " has taken our beſt lands from us, and given " us up to the dominion of the Chriſtians †.

My

* 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 genie d'un peuple opprimè, qui voit ſans ceſſe les " chatimens levès ſur ſa tete, et la violence toujours prête " à

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, enterprizing 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 cotemporary and friend of Columbus, the following instance of the bravery of the Charaibes. " A canoe with four " men, two women, and a boy, unexpectedly fell in with " Columbus's fleet. A Spanish bark with 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."——Herrara has recorded the same anecdote.

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

Nevertheleſs there is no circumſtance in the Hiſtory of Mankind better atteſted than the univerſal prevalence of theſe practices among them. Columbus was not only informed of it by the natives of Hiſpaniola, as I have already related, but having landed himſelf at Guadaloupe on its firſt diſcovery †, he beheld in ſeveral cottages the head and limbs of the human body recently ſeparated, and evidently kept for occaſional repaſts: He releaſed, at the ſame time, ſeveral of the natives of 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 irreconcileable 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 independen-"cy 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. 259.

† 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-

* 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 veiw, one diſcovers in his coun-"tenance 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 Tertre, tom. ii. p. 391, 393.

|| Hawkeſworth'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 indispensible necessity, and the education of their children was well suited to the attainment of them. One method of making their boys skilful, even in infancy, in the exercise of the bow, was to suspend their food on the branch of a tree, compelling the hardy urchins to pierce it with their arrows, before they could obtain permission to eat †. But these were subordinate objects:—The Charaibes instructed their youth, at the same time, in lessons of patience and fortitude; they endeavoured to inspire them with courage in war, and a contempt of danger and death;—above all things to instil into their minds an hereditary hatred, and implacable thirst of revenge

 towards

* Gumilla, tom. i. p. 193.

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

* Rochefort, ch. xx. p. 559. † Oviedo, lib. ii.

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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. xxiii. p. 556. Du Tertre, vol. ii. p. 377.

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

A penance ſtill more ſevere, and torments more 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. 1262. Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 286. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 297, et ſeq. † Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

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tenſions to the proof with circumſtances of outrageous barbarity:—the recital however is diſguſting, and may well be ſuppreſſed.

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

It was probably this laſt mentioned teſtimony of public eſteem and gratitude that gave riſe in theſe Iſlands to the inſtitution of polygamy, which, as hath been already obſerved, prevailed univerſally among them, and ſtill prevails among the Charaibes of South America ‡;—an inſtitution the more excuſeable, as their women from religious motives, carefully avoided the nuptial intercourſe after pregnancy ||. I am ſorry to add, that the condition of theſe poor creatures was at the ſame time truly wretched. Though frequently beſtowed as the prize of ſucceſsful courage, the wife thus honourably obtained, was ſoon conſidered

* Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.
† Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 546.
‡ Bancroft, p. 254.
|| Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 548. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 374.

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 adultery,

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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 a l'obèiſſance, et dont les hommes ſoient abſolu-"ment les maitres. Ils portent cette ſuperiorité juſqu'à "l'exces, et les tuent pour des ſujets très legers. Un ſoup-"çon d'infidelité, bien ou mal fondè, ſuffit, ſans autre "formalité, pour les mettre en droit de leur caſſer la tête. "*Cela eſt un peu ſauvage à la veritè; mais ce'ſt 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*. 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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head. On the birth of a child its tender and flexible ſkull was confined between two ſmall pieces of wood, which, applied before and behind, and firmly bound together on each ſide, elevated the forehead, and occaſioned it, and the back part of the ſkull, to reſemble two ſides of a ſquare *; an uncouth and frightful cuſtom, ſtill obſerved, if I am rightly informed, by the miſerable remnant of Charaibes in the Iſland of St. Vincent †.

They reſided in villages which reſembled an European encampment; for their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground, and drawn to a point at the top ‡. They were then covered with leaves of the palm-tree. In the centre of each village was a building of ſuperior magnitude to the reſt. It was formed with great labour, and ſerved as a public hall or ſtate houſe ‖, wherein we are aſſured that 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 Lycurgus's mouth "was thought ſtrange and needleſs §." Theſe halls were alſo the theatres where their youth were animated to emulation and trained to martial

* 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 enterprise by the renown of their warriors, and the harangues of their orators.

Their arts and manufactures, though few, displayed a degree of ingenuity which one would have scarcely expected to 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."

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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. 12, 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 *.

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

It moſt probably was, however, the influence of ſuperſtition that gave riſe to theſe and other ceremonies equally repugnant to the dictates of nature and common ſenſe;—one of which 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. Rochefort, 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.

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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

* Laſitau, 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. Laſitau, tom. ii. p. 407. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 402.

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

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.

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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 irresistable power §. Like the ancient heathens, they admitted also the agency of subordinate divinities. They even supposed that each individual person had his

* 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 *Tamousi*, 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.

* 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 convenience 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. Tertre, tom. ii. p. 366.

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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

entruſt

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

 unequal.

* Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 365.

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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 hourlyembitter 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 irreconcileable with infinite wiſdom. To what then would he impute theſe terrifying and inexplicable phenomena, but to the malignant influence of impure ſpirits and aereal 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.

toms 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;

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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.

CHAP.

CHAP. 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

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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 fix

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

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

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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 Herrara, 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 *ſinciput*, 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.

|| Herrara, 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 Barrere observes, "*ils sont* "*lubriques au supreme dégré.*"

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this cauſe alone is imputed, by ſome writers, the origin of that dreadful diſeaſe with the inflicti on 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 *Guaiacum*, is alſo found; the Almighty ſo remembering mercy in judgment that, when our ſins provoke puniſhment, he ſends likewiſe a remedy.—I was acquainted with many perſons who accompanied Columbus in his firſt and ſecond voyages, and ſuffered of this diſeaſe; one of whom was Pedro Margarite, a man much reſpected of the King and Queen. In the year 1496 it began to ſpread in Europe, and the phyſicians were wholly at a loſs in what manner to treat it.—When, after this, Gonzales Fernandes de Cordova was ſent with an army by his Catholic Majeſty on behalf of Ferdinand the Second King of Naples, ſome infected perſons accompanied that army, and by intercourſe with the women, ſpread the diſeaſe among the Italians and the French; both which nations had ſucceſſively the 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 enterprize.* It is impoſſible, in the ſpace of a marginal note, to enter deeply into this ſubject; neither does the full inveſtigation

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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 Herrara, 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 ſtewholder 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.

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

Besides the exercise of dancing, another diversion was prevalent among them which they called *Bato*; and it appears from the account given of it by the Spanish historians †, that it had a distant resemblance to the English game of cricket; for the players were divided into two parties, which 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 instrument; 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 endowments. This assertion has I think been advanced with more confidence than proof. That

* Herrara, lib. ix. c. ii.

† Oviedo, lib. vi. c. ii. Herrara, 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. Herrara. F. Columbus, c. xxvii. xxxii. &c. &c.

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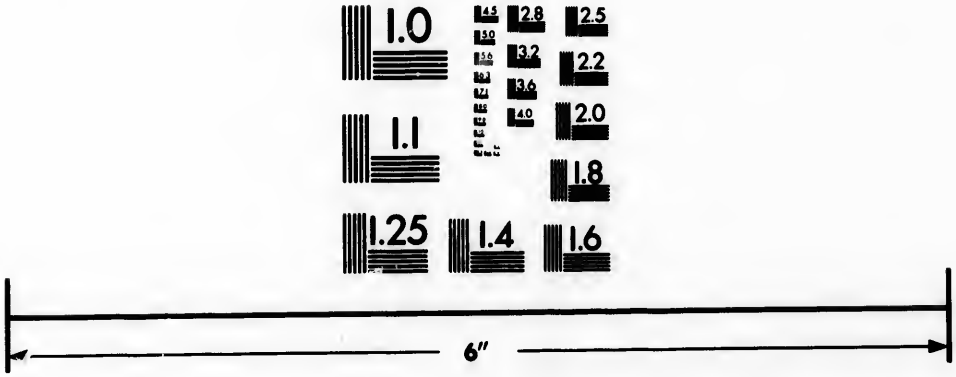

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Among other inſtances of their generous and compaſſionate turn of mind, the following is not the leaſt remarkable. Soon after Columbus's firſt arrival at Hiſpaniola, one of his ſhips was wrecked on the coaſt. The natives, ſcorning to derive advantage 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 ſurprize 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. Herrara, 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

 iſland

* Herrara, Decad. i. lib. ii. c. ix. Fer. Col. c. xl.
† Herrara, Decad. i. lib. i. c. xiv. F. Col. c. xxvii.

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

* 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 ympathy which they manifeſted towards the iſtreſs of others, proves that they were not retched themſelves; for in a ſtate of abſolute avery and miſery, men are commonly devoid oth of virtue and pity.

Their Kings, as we have ſeen, were Caciques, nd their power was hereditary:——But there ere alſo ſubordinate Chieftains, or Princes, who ere tributaries to the Sovereign of each diſtrict. Thus the territory in Hiſpaniola, anciently called Xaraguay, extending from the plain

BOOK I. of Leogane to the Weſtermoſt part of the iſland, was the kingdom of the Cacique Behechio, whom I have mentioned above; but it appears from Martyr, that no leſs than thirty-two inferior chieftains or nobles had juriſdiction within that ſpace of country, who were 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 Cuanaboa, whoſe hiſtory is remarkable: He had been originally a War Captain among a body of Charaibes, who had invaded the dominions of Behechio, and, on condition of preventing the further incurſions of his countrymen, had received his ſiſter, the beautiful Anacoana, in marriage; together with an extent of country, which he had converted into a ſeparate kingdom. The eſtabliſhment of this leader and his followers in Hiſpaniola, had introduced into this part of the iſland the Charaibean language, and alſo the uſe of the bow and arrow; ‖ weapon with the practice of which the native of the larger iſlands were generally unacquainted

* 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; "being certain, adds Martyr, that, by this policy, "they preferred the blood royal; which might "not happen to be the caſe, in advancing any "of the children of their numerous wives." The relation of Oviedo is ſomewhat different, and ſeems more probable: he remarks that one of the wives of each Cacique was particularly diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, and appears to have been conſidered by the people at large as the reigning Queen ‡; that the children of this lady, according

* 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 palanqueen 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 (obſerved Oviedo

* Herrara, lib. vi. c. ii. † Herrara, lib. i. c. xvi.
‡ Martyr, Decad. i. c. i.
‖ Herrara, 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.*

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.

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

‡ Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

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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, were

* Martyr, ut supra. Herrara, 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 after this life there is another, wherein a very "different portion is allotted to good and bad "men. If therefore you expect to die, and believe, with us, that every one is to be rewarded in a future state, according to his conduct "in the present, you will do no hurt to those, "who do none to you."*

Their notions of future happiness seem however to have been narrow and sensual. They supposed that the spirits of good men were conveyed to a pleasant valley, which they 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 antiquity) they believed that their greatest enjoyment would arise from the company of their departed ancestors, and of those persons who were dear to them in life;‡—a proof at least of their filial piety, and of the warmth and tenderness of their affections and dispositions.

The consciousness in our Indians that they were accountable beings, seems to indicate a greater degree of improvement than we are willing to allow to any of the natives of the New Hemisphere. Although, like the Charaibes, our islands acknowledged a plurality of Gods, like them too, they believed in the existence of one supreme, invisible, immortal, and omnipotent Creator;

* Herrara, lib. ii. c. xiv. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. iii.
† Fer. Col. c. lxi.
‡ Herrara, 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 honors 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.

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neareſt and dareſt concerns both of his life and the next, rendered their authority irreſiſtible.

With ſuch power in the prieſthood, it may well be ſuppoſed, that the alliance between church and ſtate, was not leſs intimate in theſe iſlands, than in the kingdoms of Europe. As in many other nations, 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 asdreadfully 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 ſolicitudes of the latter. To a ſpeculative mind, ſuch a ſituation may appear, for a moment, even ſuperior to our own; "but if we admit" (ſays the elegant hiſtorian of the amiable Otaheiteans) "that they are upon the whole happier than

"we,

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"we, we muſt admit that the child is happier "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. 332, obſerves that as the natives of the New World had no tame animals, nor the uſe of the metals, their agriculture muſt neceſſarily have been imperfect. It ſhould however be remembered that as every family raiſed corn for their own ſupport, and the iſlands being (to uſe the expreſſion of Las Caſas) "abounding with inhabitants *as an anthill 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 dying 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 juice is as strong a poison as aconite. Negroes were not imported into the islands till many years after this account was published.

† Martyr, Decad. iii.

‡ Forster's Observations.

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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 Herrara 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.
‡ Herrara, 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.

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 †.

* 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

"REPREHENSIBLE"

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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 Indian

"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 ac-"quainted, 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

 can

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

† Hiſtory of America, book iii. p. 186. See likewiſe Martyr, Decad. vii. This author relates the following ecting particulars of the poor Lucayans thus fraudulently

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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 Hispa-"niola, 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; fond-"ly 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 become "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 with-"out 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 *jaruma**, the body of which he dexterously scoop-"ed into a canoe. He then provided himself with our "some Indian corn, and a few gourds of water, and pre-"vailed 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 unfor-"tunately 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, consider-"ing the circumstances under which it was made."

* The *bombax*, or wild cotton tree.

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 Herrara 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

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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 ſuſceptive 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 Charaibean 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 Agouti,
2. The Pecary,
3. The Armadillo,
4. The Opussum,
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

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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 *pacquirè*. By Dampier it is named *pelas*. By Acoſta *ſaino* and *zaino*. It is the *ſus tajacu* of Linnæus, and the *pecary* and *Mexican-muſk hog* of our Engliſh naturaliſts.

Of this animal a very full and particular account has been given by Monſ. Buffon in his Natural Hiſtory, and by Dr. Tyſon in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. I have heard that it ſtill abounds

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, tipt 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 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

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

The muſk rat is the *pilòris* of naturaliſts: it burrows in the earth, and ſmells ſo ſtrongly of muſk, that its retreat is eaſily diſcovered. According to the French writers, theſe abounded anciently in Martinico and the other Windward Iſlands to a great degree *; and its reſemblance to the common rat of 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 poſſeſſed not the power of barking†. The natives of Hiſpaniola, like those of Otaheite, fattened them with care, and accounted their fleſh a great delicacy. "In St. Domingo" (ſays Acoſta) "the "dogs of Europe have multiplied ſo 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 deſcription.—An Engliſhman is not eaſily reconciled

* 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.

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 one

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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†.

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* F. Col. c. xxv.

† P. Labat likewiſe ſpeaks of a fricaſſeed guana with high approbation. He compares it to chicken, for the whiteneſs of its fleſh and the delicacy of its flavour.—Tom. iii. p. 315. In a ſubſequent page, he gives a minute account of the manner of catching this animal, and if the reader has no objection to accompany the good Father *a là chaſſe*, he may participate in the diverſion as follows: "We were attended" (ſays he) "by a negro, who carried a long rod; at one end of "which was a piece of whipcord with a running knot. "After beating the buſhes for ſome time, the negroe diſco- "vered 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 "the

Respecting the mountain crab, which still survives in the larger of these Islands, though its final extinction is probably at hand, its history is so wonderful, that I choose rather to give it in the language of others, than in any recital of my own. The authors from whom I transcribe, are Du Tertre and Brown. They both wrote from their own knowledge and personal observation, and the facts which they relate have been repeated to me a thousand times in the West Indies, by persons, who I am sure never knew what has been published on the subject by any author whatever. "These animals" (says Du Tertre) "live not only in a kind of orderly "society in their retreats in the mountains, but "regularly once a year march down to the sea-"side in a body of some millions at a time. As "they multiply in great numbers, they 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 slipt 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 compell- " 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 gui- " dance 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 for- " ward 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 conti- " nue to move forward in their ſlow uniform " manner. When the ſun ſhines and is hot up- " on 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 pre- " pare 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 hatch-
" ed 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 un-
" active 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, varie-
" gated 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 crea-
" ture 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

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usually taken from the time they begin to move of themselves, till they reach the sea as already related. During all this time they are in spawn, and if my testimony can add weight to that of all who have written, and all who have feasted, on the subject, I pronounce them, without doubt, one of the choicest morsels in nature. The observation therefore of Du Tertre, is neither hyperbolical, nor extravagant. Speaking of the various species of this animal, he terms them "a living and perpetual supply of "manna in the wilderness; equalled only by "the miraculous bounty of Providence to the "children of Israel when wandering in the de-"sert. They are a resource," continues he, "to which the Indians have at all times re-"sort; 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 swarm, and shoals
> Of fish glide under the green wave.——
> ————Part single, or with mate,
> Graze the sea-weed their pasture; and thro' groves
> Of coral stray, or, sporting with quick glance,
> Show to the sun their wav'd coats dropt with gold.

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

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.

* The moſt delicious bird in the Weſt Indies is the *ortalan*, or *October-bird*. It is the *emberiza oryzivora* of Linnæus, or rice-bird of South Carolina; of which a deſcription is given by Cateſby.—Yet it is remarkable that they are reckoned birds of paſſage in North America as well as in the Weſt Indies. Cateſby obſerves, that they arrive in Carolina in infinite numbers in the month of September, to devour the rice: they continue there about three weeks, and retire when the rice begins to grow hard.—He ſuppoſes their route to be from Cuba to Carolina; but I believe they are not in the iſlands till the 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.

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"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,

* Herrara confirms this account. See alſo P. Martyr, Decad. i. 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 maniock, and the different ſpecies of the *dioſcorea* or yam; of which, and the many delicious fruits, the growth of theſe climates, the natives without doubt compoſed the chief part of their daily ſupport: but I am here happily anticipated by the voluminous collections of ſyſtematical writers; particularly thoſe of Sloane, Brown, and Hughes. Nevertheleſs it were to be wiſhed that thoſe authors had more frequently diſtinguiſhed 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 of her works, is one of the greateſt incitements to human induſtry; and the progreſs of men in diffuſing 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

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which well deſerves the notice of the hiſtorian, and the contemplation of the philoſopher.

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

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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. APPENDIX.

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.

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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

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† Lib. vi. c. xxxii. *d*

lantic 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 philophy to ſeparate, as much as poſſible, truth from falſhood; 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 Phænician Hiſtory of Britain.

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

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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

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* 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 I. —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.

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.

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 Glaſs, in his hiſtory of the Canary Iſlands, who obſerves that a ſmall bark, bound from Lancerota to Teneriffe, was thus forced out of her courſe, and obliged to run before the wind until ſhe came within two days ſail of the coaſt of Caraccas; where ſhe fortunately met with an Engliſh cruiſer which relieved her diſtreſſes, and directed her to the Port of La 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

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"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, Vaſcho 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 †.

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* Mancipia ibi nigra repererunt ex regione diſtante à Quarequa, dierum ſpatio tantùm 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 ſhipwrecked

APPENDIX.

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

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 I.

"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 progenitors 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.

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

Charaibe.	*Meaning in French, according to Rochefort.*	*Words having the same meaning in the Oriental dialects.*	*Meaning in English.*
Liani	Sa femme	לי הנה [Li Hene]	*His wife*
Yene-neri	Ma femme	הנה הרה ני [Hene Hera ni]	*My wife*
Hac yeté	Venez ici	Sam. אתא אתי [Aca ati]	*Come hither*
Karbet	Maison publique	קיר כית / *or* / קרא כית [Qir / *or* / Qra] Bit]	*Walled house* / *Assembly house*
Encka	Collier	ענק [Onq]	*Necklace or collar*
Yene kali	Mon Collier	הענק אלי [E'Onq ali]	*My necklace*
Hue-Hue	Du bois	Cald: עא [Oä]	*Wood*
Nora	Ma peau	עור ני [Oür ni]	*My skin*
Nané-guaete	Je suis malade	נאנהתי [Nanecheti]	*I am sick*
Halea tibou	Sois le bien venu	יהא לי הטיכו [Yeha li e thibou]	*Good be to you*
Phoubae	Soufflé	פוה [Phouhe]	*To blow*
Toubana ora	Couverture de Maison	די כנה עור [Di Bne Oür]	*Roof of a house*
Bayou boukaa	Va t'en	כוא כואך [Boua Bouak]	*Go thy way*
Baika	Mange	Cald. כנה [Bge]	*Eat*
Aika	Manger	אכל [Akl]	*To eat*
Nichiri	Mon nez	נחר [Ncheri]	*The nose*
Natoni boman	Donne moi a boire	נתני כ אמן [Natoni bamen]	*Give me nourishment.*

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APPENDIX.

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

 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 ש (S) to form the genitive case, and את (at) to form the accusative; all the others use ך (D) and יח (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 איש as men who offer קרבן προσφορα an offering, ιερευς is the Greek word for a priest of Cybele, *unde* Corybantes. לי יקריב מכם קרבן ליהוה Leviticus i. 2. But if the national name be derived from their warlike and predatory way of life, then we may derive it from חרב the verb Chalbe. Syr. Arab. *to lay waste*. The noun signifies a sword or spear and חרבה Sam. *War*.

To

BOOK I.

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

* Gen. c. xlix. v. 33.

is evident from the injunction which the Lord laid on the children of Ifrael to avoid them. "*Ye ſhall not round the corners of your head, "neither ſhalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. "Ye ſhall not make any cuttings in your fleſh "for the dead, nor print any marks upon you**." Again,—"*Ye are the children of the Lord, your "God: Ye ſhall not cut yourſelves, nor make "any baldneſs 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 them-"ſelves 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

 progenitors,

* Levit. c. xix. v. 27.
† Deut. c. xiv. v. 1.
‡ 1 Kings, c. xviii. v. 28.
‖ Decad. viii. c. vi.

BOOK I.

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

THE

THE

HISTORY,

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 stiled in his commission Captain general &c. of Jamaica *and the territories thereon depending in America.* By these DEPENDENCIES

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, the transactions of the Spaniards, during a century

CHAP. I.

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 Mendes, and the papers I sent by him, will shew your Highness what rich mines of gold I have discovered in Veragua, and how I intended to have left my brother at the river Belin, if the judgments of Heaven and the greatest misfortunes in the world had not prevented it. However it is sufficient that your Highness and your successors will have the glory and advantage of all, and that the full discovery and settlement are reserved for happier persons than the unfortunate Columbus. If God be so merciful to me as to conduct Mendes to Spain, I doubt not but he will convince your Highness and my great mistress that this will not only be a *Castile* and *Leon*, but a discovery of a world of subjects, lands and wealth, greater than man's unbounded fancy could ever comprehend, or avarice itself covet: but neither he, this paper, nor the tongue of mortal man can express the anguish and afflictions of my body and mind; nor the misery and dangers of my son, brother and friends! Already have we been confined ten months in this place, lodged on the open decks of our ships, that are run on shore and lashed together; those of 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 II. tury and a half, in the ſettlement of Jamaica, 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. Alas, piety and juſtice have retired to their habitations above, and it is a crime to have undertaken and performed too much! As my miſery makes my life a burthen to myſelf, ſo I fear the empty titles of Vice-Roy and Admiral, render me obnoxious to the hatred of the Spaniſh nation. It is viſible that all methods are adopted to cut the thread that is breaking; for I am in my old age, oppreſſed with inſupportable pains of the gout, and am now languiſhing and expiring with that and other infirmities, among ſavages, where I have neither medicines nor proviſions for the body, prieſt nor ſacrament for the ſoul. My men in a ſtate of revolt; my brother, my ſon, and thoſe that are faithful, ſick, ſtarving and dying; the Indians have abandoned us, and the Governor of 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 letter from us; ſo I conclude your Highneſs's officers intend that here my voyages and life ſhould terminate. O bleſſed mother of God, that compaſſionates the miſerable and oppreſſed, why did not cruel Bovadilla kill me when he robbed me and my brother of our dearly-purchaſed gold, and ſent us to Spain in chains without trial, crime or ſhadow of miſconduct? Theſe chains are all the treaſures I have, and they ſhall be buried with me, 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 Caſtillian 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 enterprises, 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, not yet a cottage for himself, nor his wretched family: but, should Heaven still persecute me, and seem displeased 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 II.

als, I have been able to collect, I shall now present to my readers.

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

" of Jamaica (ſays Herrera) went on proſperouſ-
" ly, 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

BOOK 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 ſcite 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 compleated; 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

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 door, under a coat of arms, this inſcription.

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

SLOANE.

BOOK II.

commerce. These reasons might possibly have operated against the re-establishment of the place; but were not, I think, of sufficient efficacy to induce a whole body of people, the inhabitants of a growing capital, suddenly to remove their families and effects, and voluntarily submit to the labour of building an entire new town, 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 guilt also of their ancestors to remembrance, as 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

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* See the account of Jamaica transmitted to Cromwell by general Venables, preserved in Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. 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. 1. p. 66.

those recesses, were probably reduced to the sad alternative of perishing with hunger, or of bleeding under the swords of their merciless invaders *! When therefore we are told of the fate of the Spanish inhabitants of Seville, it is impossible to feel any other emotion than an indignant wish that the story were better authenticated, and that Heaven in mercy had permitted the [illegible] Indians in the same moment to have extirpated their oppressors altogether! But unhappily this faint glimmering of returning light to the wretched natives, was soon lost in everlasting darkness, since it pleased the Almighty, for reasons inscrutable to finite wisdom, to permit the total destruction of this devoted people; who, to the number of 60,000, on the most moderate estimate, were at length wholly cut [illegible] and exterminated by the Spaniards, not a [illegible] descendant, [illegible] her sex, being alive [illegible] the English [illegible] island in 1655, nor, I believe, for [illegible] before †.

The loss of [illegible] 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 catastrophe 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 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 *Cavanee*, 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

tinction, 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

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of many Portuguese families. The transfer of Isabella's inheritance to the house of Braganza, might have encouraged many of the Portuguese to fix their fortunes in the newly acquired colony, and it is equally probable that the same event would excite jealousy in the old Spanish settlers towards their new visitors. Blome adds that the Portuguese were abhorred.

Such mutual distrust of and irreconcileable 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, Jackson, after losing forty men, entered St. Jago de la Vega sword in hand, and, having pillaged it of every thing valuable, received a considerable ransom for sparing the houses. He then retreated to his ships, and carried off his booty without interruption.

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

CHAP.

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. Macauley's History of England.

BOOK of the Stewart family *, pronounces it a moſt unwarrantable violation of treaty.

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

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.

* 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 Cornwall's complaining to the Duke of Lerma, the minister of Spain, of Firardo's conduct, particularly in sending to the gallies 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 gallies, 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.

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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 deſart, 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-

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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. Trott, one of Governor Clark's ſucceſſors, that the Spaniards roaſted Clark on a ſpit. The inſolence and brutality of the commanders of the Spaniſh guarda-coſtas in the days of Walpole, are remembered by many perſons now living; and perhaps there are thoſe alive who were preſent when Captain Jenkins gave that remarkable evidence to the houſe of commons, which, it would be thought might have animated every Britiſh heart to inſiſt on exemplary vengeance. The caſe was this:—A Spaniſh commander, after rummaging this man's veſſel for what he called contraband goods, without finding

tectorate, 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.

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In his memorial, which is preſerved among the ſtate papers of Thurloe, he enters fully intoa 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

" title may be repelled.—And as to the *first dis-* " *covery*, to me it seems as little reason, that the " sailing of a Spanish ship upon the coast of In- " dia, 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 ei- " ther the Indians or English unto the dominion " thereof. No question but the just right or ti- " tle to those countries, appertains to the na- " tives themselves; who, if they should willing- " ly and freely invite the English to their pro- " tection, 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, ei- " ther by Spaniard or Indian, why should my " countrymen, the English, be debarred from " making use of that, which God, from all be- " ginning, did ordain for the benefit of man- " kind?"

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;

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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 whereof was occasioned upon the "first article of the aforesaid treaty of 1630, "whereby it is agreed, that there should be "peace, amity, and friendship between the two "kings and their respective subjects in all parts "of the world, as well in Europe as elsewhere. "Upon this it was shewn, that in contravention "of this article, the English were treated by the "Spaniards as enemies, wherever they were met "in America, though sailing to and from their "own plantations, and insisted that satisfaction "was to be given in this, and a good foundation

"of

" 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 iven, it is apparent that the Spaniards not only ere the firſt aggreſſors, but had proceeded to hoſe hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of England, hich are unjuſtifiable even in a ſtate of actual ar; and, although the outrages complained of, ere ſuch as the moſt inſignificant ſtate in the orld would not have tamely ſubmitted to, from e moſt powerful; yet did Cromwell, in ſeeking dreſs, diſplay his regard to juſtice by his mo- eration and temper. He demanded, it is true, paration for paſt injuries, and ſecurity againſt ture; but he did not order repriſals to be made, til his demand was rejected, and until he was ainly told, that the ſame hoſtile line of con- uct which the Spaniards had hitherto purſued

BOOK II. 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

settle

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.

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

 its

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

"DIEU SUR TOUT.

"Here lies the body of Lewis Galdy, Eſq. who departed his 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."

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its ancient reputation, the Engliſh named it *Old Harbour*.

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

Returning eaſtward, to the north of Port Caguaya 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 account-* "*ed 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 *Morant*

Th

* "Colonel Barry's houſe all galleried round (now call Cavaliers) was formerly, when the Spaniards poſſeſſed the i land, the only place in Liguany inhabited; a rich widow h here a ſugar-work, and abundance of cattle in the ſavann near 40,000." (Sloane, vol. i. Introd. p. 73.)—The mou tains of Liguany were ſuppoſed alſo to contain mines both 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."

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 uninhabitted.

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 great abundance, ſome were altogether unknown, and of the reſt the inhabitants cultivated no more than were ſufficient for their own expenditure.

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expenditure. Their principal export, besides cacao, consisted of hogs-lard and hides. The sale of these articles, and supplying the few ships that touched at their ports with provisions, in barter for European manufactures, constituted the whole of their commerce; a commerce which the savages of Madagascar conduct with equal ability and success. They possessed nothing of the elegancies of life, nor were they acquainted even with many of those gratifications which, in civilized states, are considered as necessary to the comfort and 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

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.

BOOK II.

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

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

But

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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 setlers 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 to occasion a scarcity of fresh provisions in a place which had been represented as abounding in the highest degree. The chief commanders apprehending this event, and finding that the bread and flour which arrived from England were oftentimes spoilt by the length of the voyage and the heat of the climate, had urged the soldiers, with great

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 of 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 wherefoever 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

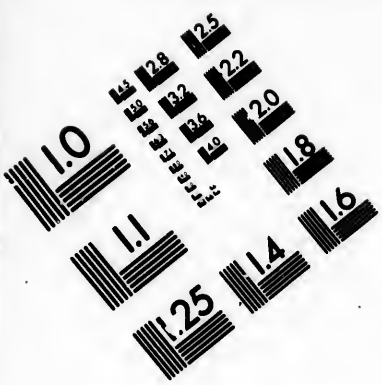
BOOK II. considerable time 140 men died weekly, and Sedgewicke himself at length perished in the general carnage.

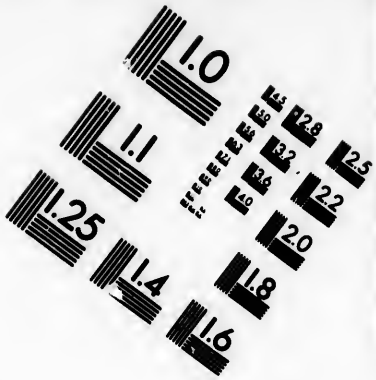
The protector, as soon as he had received information o fthe distracted and calamitous state of the colony, exerted himself with his usual vigour, to afford it relief. Provisions and necessaries of all kinds were shipped without delay; and Cromwell, distrustful it is said of D'Oyley's attachment, superseded 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 between

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.

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 diſmiſſion. 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,





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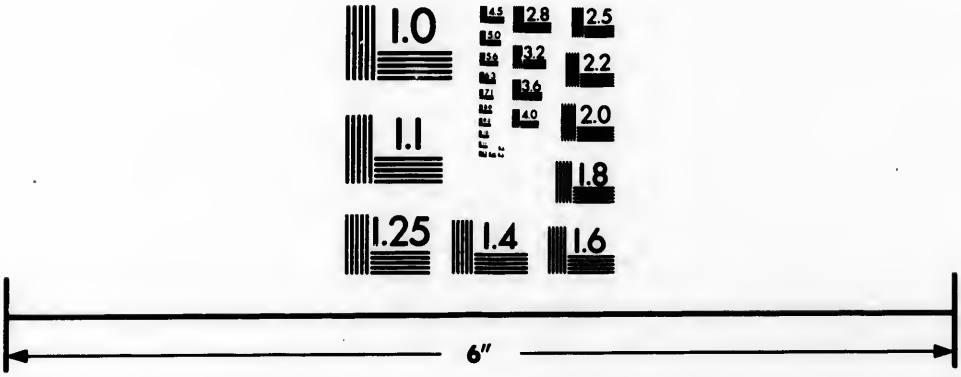

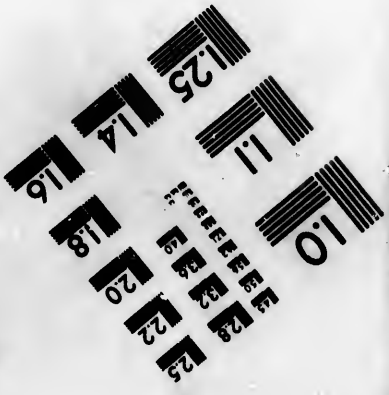

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BOOK II. mand, if I could have quitted with honour and faithfulness to my country; but I am now resolved to go through, until I receive further orders from his highness, or a discharge from him, which I humbly desire your lordship to effect for me. Honours and riches are not the things I aim at. I bless God I have a soul much above them. Pray, my lord, decline your greatness, and command your secretary to give me an answer; for if I were disrobed of all my titles of honour and great command, yet you know that I am a gentleman, and a faithful friend to my country."

It was fortunate for his country that his resignation was not accepted, and that the protector, sensible at length of the ability and merit of this brave man, confirmed him in his command. To the exertions of D'Oyley, seconded and supported by the affection which his soldiers, under all their difficulties and distresses, manifested on every occasion towards him, we owe at this day the possession of Jamaica; the recapture whereof by the Spaniards, towards the end of the year 1657, became to them an object of great national concern. Its defenceless state, the dissatisfaction of the English troops, and the exertions making by Cromwell to afford them relief, as well as to augment their numbers, led the governor of Cuba to believe, that the juncture was then arrived for retrieving the honour of his country, by the restoration of this island to its dominion. Having communicated to the vice-roy of Mexico, a scheme built on this idea, and received the sanction and support of that officer, he made preparations for a formidable invasion, and appointed Don Christopher Sasi Arnoldo, who had been governor of Jamaica at the time of its capture, to take the conduct and command of the enterprize.

On

CHAP. III.

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 farewel of a country, their fond attachment to which,

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which, it is not possible to reflect on, without emotions of pity.

By the wise, steady and provident administration of D'Oyley, the affairs of the island began at length to wear a more promising aspect. The army was now become tolerably healthy. Some successful 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 Beeston †, did his majesty disdain to become a partner in the bucaniering business. It is

* European Settlements.

† MS. Journal *penes me*.

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 *.

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 †.

 But

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

† Some of thoſe men who had ſat as judges at the trial of Charles I. are ſaid to have become peaceable ſettlers here, and to have remained 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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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 Hollis*, an epitaph which is ſaid to have been inſcribed on a cannon that was placed on the Preſident's grave; but it is, to my own knowledge, a modern compoſition. Preſident Bradſhaw died in London, in November 1659, and had a magnificent funeral in Weſtminſter abbey. A ſon of Scott, the Regicide, fixed himſelf in this iſland, and ſettled the plantation called Y S in St. Elizabeth. From a daughter of this man was deſcended the late alderman Beckford.

gular 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 na- " tural-born subjects of England, to be born in " Jamaica, SHALL, FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE " BIRTHS, BE REPUTED TO BE, AND SHALL BE, " FREE DENIZENS OF ENGLAND, AND SHALL " HAVE THE SAME PRIVILEGES, TO ALL IN- " TENTS AND PURPOSES, AS OUR FREE-BORN " SUBJECTS OF ENGLAND; and that all free per- " sons shall have liberty, without interruption, " to transport themselves and their families, and " any of their goods (except only coin and bul- " lion) from any of our dominions and territo- " ries to the said island of Jamaica, &c *."——

 These

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

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

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

WEE 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 bee

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

Stamp. VI. Pence.

bee a greate benefitt and advantage to this, and other our kingdomes and dominions, have thought fitt, for encourageing 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 sett out by the governor and councell, within six weekes, 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. Nevertheless they are to be obliged to serve in armes upon any insurrection, mutiny, or forraine invasion, and that the said assignments and allotments shall be made and confirmed under the publique seale of the said island, with power to create any mannor or 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 councell in the law, 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 be borne in *Jamaica*, shall 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 p

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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 dependance on the parent ſtate *.

To

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 courte at* Whitehall, *the fourteenth day of* December. *P'. ipm'. Regem.*

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

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

If we only reflect on the diſtance of Jamaica from Great Britain, we may pronounce, without heſitation,

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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 4½ 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.

The

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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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

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.

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 expresly 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 wave the confirmation of the laws, and to suffer the administration of justice in the island, to remain on the precarious footing that I have described.

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

1st. That the quit-rents arising within the island (then estimated at £. 1,460 per annum) should constitute a part of such revenue. 2dly. That the body of their laws should receive the royal assent. And, 3dly. That "all such laws "and statutes of England, as had been at any "time

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"time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or "received, as laws in the island, should be and "continue laws of Jamaica for ever." The revenue act, with this important declaration therein, was accordingly passed, and its confirmation by the king, put an end to a contest no less disgraceful to the government at home, than injurious to the people within the island.

I have thus endeavoured, with as much brevity as the subject would admit, to trace the political constitution of Jamaica from infancy to maturity; but although its parentage and principles are British, 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 ſkilful divers, to ſearch for the hidden treaſure, and are ſaid to have actually recovered twenty-ſix tons of ſilver. The conduct of this noble governor on his arrival, affords many curious inſtances of the arbitrary principles of the times; 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 appeaſed for all the indignities he endured of the Spaniards, could he but know that his own beloved ſoil was hallowed 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 they 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.

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 Carthagena, 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° 12′, north latitude, and in longitude about 76° 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 II.

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

The general appearance of the country differs greatly from moſt parts of Europe; yet the north and ſouth ſides of the iſland, which are ſeparated by a vaſt chain of mountains extending from eaſt to weſt, differ at the ſame time widely from each other. When Columbus firſt diſcovered Jamaica, he approached it on the northern ſide; and beholding that part of the country which now conſtitutes the pariſh of St. Anne, 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 grafs beneath is feldom luxuriant. The foil in general being a chalky marl, which produces a clofe and clean turf, as fmooth and even as the fineft Englifh lawn, and in colour infinitely brighter. Over this beautiful furface the pimento fpreads itfelf in various compartments. In one place, we behold extenfive groves; in another, a number of beautiful groups, fome of which crown the hills, while others are fcattered down the declivities. To enliven the fcene, and add perfection to beauty, the bounty of nature has copiouffly watered the whole diftrict. No part of the Weft Indies, that I have feen, abounds with fo many delicious ftreams. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cafcade. In one point of view, where the rocks overhang the ocean, no lefs than eight tranfparent waterfalls are beheld in the fame moment. Thofe only who have been long at fea, can judge of the emotion which is felt by the thirfty voyager at fo enchanting a profpect.

Such is the foreground of the picture. As the land rifes towards the centre of the ifland, the eye, paffing over the beauties that I have recounted, is attracted by a boundlefs amphitheatre of wood,

> Infuperable height of loftieft fhade,
> Cedar; and branching palm:

an immenfity of foreft; the outline of which melts into the diftant blue hills, and thefe again are loft in the clouds.

On the fouthern fide of the ifland, the fcenery, as I have before obferved, is of a different nature. In the landfcape we have treated of, the prevailing characteriftics 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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Old World, for the productions of the New, opens another, and, I might add, an almost untrodden field, for contemplation and reflection.

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

 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 surprisingly 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 II. part of the year *. It may be ſuppoſed, that 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 ſeldom the caſe, if the traveller, as prudence dictates, ſets off at the dawn of the morning (when the pores of the ſkin are in ſome meaſure ſhut) and is cloathed ſomewhat warmer than uſual. With theſe precautions, excurſions into the uplands are always found ſafe, ſalubrious, and delightful. I will obſerve too, in the words of an agreeable writer †, that "on the tops of high mountains, where the air is pure and refined, and where

* Cold Spring is 4,200 feet above the level of the ſea. The ſoil is a black mould on a brown marl; but few or none of the tropical fruits will flouriſh in ſo cold a climate. Neither the neſberry, the avocado pear, the ſtar apple, nor the orange, will bear within a conſiderable height of Mr. Wallen's garden; but many of the Engliſh fruits, as the apple, the peach, and the ſtrawberry, flouriſh there in great perfection, with ſeveral other valuable exotics; among which I obſerved a great number of very fine plants of the *tea-tree* and other oriental productions. The ground in its native ſtate is almoſt entirely covered with different ſorts of the *fern*, of which Mr. Wallen has reckoned about 400 diſtinct ſpecies. A perſon viſiting Cold Spring for the firſt time, almoſt conceives himſelf tranſported to a diſtant part of the world; the air and face of the country ſo widely differing from that of the regions he has left. Even the birds are all ſtrangers to him. Among others, peculiar to theſe lofty regions, is a ſpecies of the ſwallow, the plumage of which varies in colour like the neck of a drake; and there is a very fine ſong bird called the *fiſh-eye*, of a blackiſh brown, with a white ring round the neck. I viſited this place in December 1788, the thermometer ſtood at 57° at ſunriſe, 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 etherial regions, ſhakes off it's earthly affections, and acquires ſomething of celeſtial purity!"

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 $\frac{1}{16}$ more, which is 240,000

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

Of

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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 continual

nual moiſture) the mountains are in general covered with extenſive woods, containing excellent timbers, ſome of which are of prodigious growth and ſolidity; ſuch as the lignum vitæ, dog-wood, iron-wood, pigeon-wood, green-heart, braziletto, and bully-trees; moſt of which 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.

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 *Scot's grass*, which though generally supposed to be an exotic, I have reason to think grows spontaneously in most of the swamps and morasses of the West-Indies. It rises to five or six feet in height, with long succulent joints, and is of very quick vegetation. From a single acre of this

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

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 and

* 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. Eaſt'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 th

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 * !

* 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

CATALOGUE

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.

Laurus.	*Cinnamomum.*	*RASSE Coronde*, 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.
Mangifera.	*Indica.*	Mango-Tree, several varieties.
Artocarpus.	*Macrocarpon.*	*Jaack*, a species of the Bread Fruit; *vide* Dissertation

		ſertation of Thurnberg, for the various uſes of the Jaack and Bread Fruit.
Garcinia?		A ſuppoſed ſpecies of Mangoſteen.
Pandanus		Chineſe Hemp Palm.
Spondias		Otaheite Plumb.
Guilandina	*Moringa*	*Moringa,* root uſed for horſe-radiſh; ſaid, but erroneouſly, to be the *Lignum Nephriticum* of the ſhops.
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 preſented 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 purpoſe:

Perilluſtri 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,* Chineſe Plumb. Introduced by Dr. Clark. *Vide* Du Halde.
Cycas	*Circinalis*	Sagoe. Introduced by Dr. Clark. For an account of the cultivation and preparation

BOOK II.

		ration of the Sagoe, *vide* Forreſt's Voyage to New Guiney.
**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 Vitæ.* 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.
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.
Banksia	*Sinuata*	Another Botany-Bay Plant. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.

BOOK II.

Kæmpferia	*Galanga*	*Galangal.* Medicinal Root. Introduced by Dr. Clark.
Curcuma	*Longa*	Turmeric. Introduced by Mr. Pinnock.
Piper	*Nigrum*	Sumatra Black Pepper. 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. Introduced by Mr. Hibbert, from Africa.
———	*Cardamomum*	Cardamom Seeds of the Shops. Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
Oldenlandia	*Umbellata*	*Che.* A valuable dye from the Eaſt Indies.
Baſella	*Rubra*	Another Eaſt India dye. Seeds brought out by Lord Effingham.
* *Citrus*	*Mandarina*	Mandarine Orange. Introduced by Mr. Eaſt.
Cola (gen. nov.)	*Africana*	An African Fruit, introduced by the Negroes before Sloane's time, called Bichey or Beſſai.

Aka

* *Citrus non eſt.*

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.	
Phœnix	*Dactylifera*	Date. Probably introduced by persons of the Jewish Nation.	
Elais	*Guinienſis*	Palm Oil. Likewiſe introduced by the Jews.	
Eſchynomene	*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.	
Adanſonia	*Speciosa*	Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.	

BOOK II.

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

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

Quercus	*Robur*	English Oak. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
	Cerris	Turkey Oak. Dr. Dancer, 1792.
Fagus	*Castanea*	Chesnut. First introduced by Mr. Wallen, several years ago; by Dr. Dancer 1792.
	Pumila	Chinquapin Chesnut by Dr. Dancer, 1792.

Platanus

Acer

Æsculus

Juglans

———

Corylus

Amygdalus

Olea

Pyrus

Mespilus

Morus

Platanus

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

Rubus

BOOK II.

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

Ciſtus

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

Arbutus

BOOK II.

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

Odora

	Odorat. *Azoricum*	Introduced by Mr. East.
Rosa	*Eglenteria*	Sweet Briar. By Mr. Wallen.
	Alba moschat	White Mosch Rose. By Mr. Wallen.
	Cinnamom.	Cinnamon ditto. By the same.
	Muscosa	Moss Provence, Dr. Dancer, 1792.
Hypericum	*Balearic.*	St. John's Wort. By Wallen.
	Monogyn.	By Mr. East.
Psoralea	two species,	By Major Greene.
Colutea	*Frutescens?*	By the same.
Cupressus	*Sempervirens*	Cypress.
Pinus	*Cedrus*	Cedar of Lebanon. By Mr. East.
	Tæda	Frankincense. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	Halapensis	Aleppo Pine. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.
	Balsamea	Canadian Balsam. By Dr. Dancer, 1792.

South American and Exotic West Indian Plants.

Smilax	*Sarsa*	Sarsaparilla. Introduced by Zach. Bayly, Esq. in 1763.
Annona	*Cheremoja*	Peruvian Sweet Sop.
Quassia	*Amara*	Quassia Bark, Medicinal. Sent from St. Vincent's

BOOK IV.

		Vincent's Garden. Presented by Mr. Thame.
* *Epidendrum*	*Vanella*	Vanelloe.
Cassine	*Paragua*	Paragua Herb. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.
Cactus	*Coccinelifer*	Cochineal Opuntia, or Nopal.
Tradescantia	*Discolor*	Honduras Spiderwort. Introduced by Mr. Shakespear, 1778.
Yucca	*Aloefolia*	Adams's Needle, or Dagger Plant.—Brought by the Rev. Dr. Lindsay, from Barbadoes, 1772.
———	*Filamentosa*	Introduced by Dr. Dancer, 1792.
Arundo	*Bambu*	Bamboo Cane. Introduced by Mr. Wallen.

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

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Topographical description.—Towns, villages, and parishes.—Churches, church-livings, and vestries.—Governor or Commander in chief.—Courts of judicature.—Public offices.—Legislature and laws.—Revenues.—Taxes.—Coins, and rate of exchange.—Militia.—Number of inhabitants of all conditions and complexions.—Trade, shipping, exports and imports.—Report of the Lords of Trade in 1734.—Present state of the trade with Spanish America.—Origin and policy of the act for establishing free ports.—Display of the progress of the island in cultivation, by comparative statements of its inhabitants and products at different periods.—Appendix, N° I. N° II.

JAMAICA is divided into three counties;—Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. The county of Middlesex is composed of eight parishes, one town, and thirteen villages. The town is that of *St. Jago-de-la-Vega*, or *Spanish-Town*, the capital of the island. Most of the villages of this and the other counties, are hamlets of no great account, situated at the different harbours and shipping-places, and supported by the traffic carried on there. *St. Jago-de-la-Vega* is situated on the banks of the river *Cobre*, about six miles from the sea, and contains between five and six hundred houses, and about five thousand inhabitants, including free people of colour. It is the residence of the governor or commander in chief, who is accommodated with a superb palace; and it is here, that

BOOK II.

that the legiſlature is convened, and the Court of Chancery, and the Supreme Court of Judicature, are held.

The county of Surry contains ſeven pariſhes, two towns, and eight villages. The towns are thoſe of Kingſton and Port-Royal: the former of which is ſituated on the north ſide of a beautiful harbour, and was founded in 1693, when repeated deſolations by earthquake and fire had driven the inhabitants from Port-Royal. It contains one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-five houſes, beſides negro-huts and warehouſes. 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 mortality, 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

lent order, and vie in ſtrength, as I am told, with any fortreſs in the king's dominions.

Cornwall contains five pariſhes, three towns, and ſix villages.—The towns are Savanna-la-Mar on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, and Montego Bay and Falmouth on the north. The former was 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. II. months, and courts of Common Pleas to try actions arising within the parish or precinct, to an amount not exceeding twenty pounds. In matters of debt not exceeding forty shillings a single justice is authorized to determine.

The whole twenty parishes contain eighteen churches and chapels, and each parish is provided with a 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*, as minister being entitled to his stipend for any longer time than he shall actually officiate; unless prevented by sickness.

The vestries are composed of the custos, and two other magistrates; the rector and ten vestrymen; the latter are elected annually by the freeholders. Besides their power of assessing and appropriating taxes, they appoint wardens, 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 go-

vernor

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

Assize courts also are heldevery three months, in Kingston for the county of Surry, and in Savanna-la-Mar for the county of Cornwall. The Surry court begins the last Tuesday in January, April, July, and October. The Cornwall court begins the last Tuesday in March, June, September, and December; each assize court is limited to a fortnight in duration. Thus have the inhabitants law-courts every month of the year, besides the courts of chancery, ordinary, admiralty, and the several parish courts. The judges of the assize 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 assize court. No appeal from the latter to the former is allowed, but judgments of the assize immediately following the supreme court, are considered as of one and the same court, and have an

* 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 *fieri 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.

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,

* 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 Penn, and built an elegant villa thereon. Likewise a polink or provision settlement in the mountains (which is also provided with a comfortable mansion-house) and stocked both properties with 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 houshold 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 cheats.

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

BOOK II.

or secretary of the island, provost-marshall-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, attornies and guardians of orphans, are required to record annually in this office accounts of the produce of estates in their charge; and, by a late act, mortgagees in possession are obliged to register not only accounts of the crops of each year, but also annual accounts current of their receipts and payments. Transcripts of deeds, &c. from the office, properly certified, are evidences in any court of law, and all deeds must be enrolled within three months after date, or they are declared to be void as against any other deed proved and registered within the time limited; but if no second deed is on record, then the same are valid, though registered after 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-marshall-general is an officer of high rank and great authority.—The name denotes a military origin, and doubtless the offi-

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

BOOK II. Royal, and two for each of the other parishes. The qualification required in the elector, is a freehold of ten pounds per annum in the parish where the election is made; and in the representative, a landed freehold of three hundred pounds per annum, in any part of the island, or a personal estate of three thousand pounds. In the proceedings of the general assembly they copy, as nearly as local circumstances will admit, the legislature of Great Britain; and all their bills (those of a private nature excepted) have the force of laws as soon as the governor's assent is obtained. The power of rejection however is still reserved in the crown; but until the royal disapprobation is signified, the laws are valid.

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 legislature has made, and continues to make, such provision therein, as the exigencies of the colony are supposed to require; and on some occasions where the principle of the English law has been adopted, it has been found necessary to alter and modify its provisions, so as to adapt them to circumstances and situation. Thus, in the mode of setting out emblements, the practice of fine and recovery, the case of insolvent debtors, the repair of the public roads, the maintenance of th

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

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 20*s*. per week, and every private to 5*s*.: 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 20*s*. per head on all negroes imported; secondly, a duty on all rum and other spirits retailed and consumed within the island; thirdly, the deficiency law: an act which was intended originally to oblige all proprietors of slaves to keep one white person for every thirty blacks; but the penalty, which is sometimes £.13, at other times £.26 *per annum*, for

BOOK II. for each white person deficient of the number required, is become so productive a source of revenue, that the bill is now considered as one of the annual supply bills: fourthly, a poll tax on all slaves, and stock, and a rate on rents and wheel-carriages. Besides these, occasional tax bills are passed by the legislature, as necessity may require. I have subjoined in a note the estimate of the contingent charges of the government of this island on the annual funds for the year 1788, and of the ways and means for the payment thereof*.

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 expences		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	— —

Sund

The current coins are Portugal pieces of gold, called the half-johannes, valued in England at 36*s.* each; these pass here, if of full weight, at 55*s.* Spanish gold coins current here, are, doubloons at £. 5. 5*s.* each, and pistoles at 26*s.* 3*d.* Silver coins are Spanish milled dollars at 6*s.* 8*d.* and so in proportion for the smaller parts of this coin; the lowest coin is called a *bitt*, equal to about 5*d.* sterling. A guinea passes for 32*s.* 6*d.* 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	—
			£. 75,011	13	9
WAYS *and* MEANS.					
Outstanding Debts - -	£. 25,000	— —			
Negro Duty, computed at	6,000	— —			
Rum Duty - -	14,000	— —			
Double Deficiency on Negroes - -	24,000	— —			
Poll-Tax - -	67,000	— —			
	136,000	— —			
Deduct for prompt Payment 10 per cent. -	13,600	— —			
			122,400	—	—

☞ 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 fifteen to sixty years of age are obliged by law to enlist themselves either in the horse or foot, and to provide at their own 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

BOOK II. the last returns that I have seen, amount to 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 —	210,894

* 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
Mardons - - - - - - - - - -	1,400
Negro slaves - - - - - - - -	250,000
Total -	291,400

The

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 II.

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	6,133	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 tonage 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:—

Inſpecto

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.	Piemento.	Coffee.	Cotton Wool.	Indigo.
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
To Great Britain —	824,706 2 25	1,890,540	2,316	606,994	3,706 3 27	1,899,967	27,223
Ireland — —	6,829 - —	106,700	—	2,800	10 - —	5,500	400
American States	6,167 - —	327,325	1,800	6,450	2,566 - 2	—	—
Br. Amer. Colonies	2,822 - —	207,660	2,300	200	110 3 8	1,600	—
Foreign W. Indies	24 - —	2,200	—	—	2 - —	—	—
Africa — —	—	8,600	—	—	—	—	—
Totals —	840,548 2 25	2,543,025	6,416	616,444	6,395 3 9	1,905,467	27,623

(continued.)

To what PARTS.	Ginger.	Cacao.	Tobacco.	Mahogany.	Logwood	Miscellaneous Articles.	Total Value.
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	Tons. Cwt.	Tons.	Value.	
						£. s. d.	£. s. d.
To Great Britain —	3,553 2 15	82 3 15	18,140	5,783 4	6,701	147,286 3 4	2,022,814 7 10
Ireland — —	918 - —	—	—	95 —	—	—	25,778 10 —
American States	339 - —	—	—	—	—	—	60,095 18 —
Br. Amer. Colonies	4 - —	—	—	—	—	—	26,538 2 5
Foreign W. Indies	2 - —	—	—	—	—	—	355 19 —
Africa — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	860 — —
Totals —	4,816 2 15	82 3 15	18,140	5,878 4	6,701	—	2,136,442 17 3

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 parly 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.

IMPORTS

IMPORTS INTO JAMAICA.

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From *Great Britain*, direct, according to a return of the Inspector General for 1787 -	British manufactures	686,657	2	3			
	Foreign merchandize	72,275	3	1	758,932	5	4
From *Ireland*, 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 *Africa*, 5,345 negroes *, at £.40 sterling each —(This is wholly a British trade carried on in ships from England) - - - -					213,800	—	—
From the *British Colonies in America* (including about 20,000 quintals of salted cod from Newfoundland)					30,000	—	—
From the *United States*, Indian corn, wheat flour, rice, lumber, staves, &c. imported in British ships					190,000	—	—
From *Madeira* and *Teneriffe*, 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 *Foreign West Indies*, under the free-port law, &c. calculated on an average of three years † - - - - - - -					150,000	—	—
		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 - -	586		
Oxen - -	243		
Sheep - -	98		
		1,202	No.
Dying Woods - -		5,077	Tons.
Gum Guiacum - -		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. 14*s*. 4*d*. 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. 3

Th

The medium of our imports * from Jamaica, in the same year, is - - £.539,499 18 3½.

So that the annual excess of our imports, in that period, is no less than - 391,824 15 11¾.

"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, 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

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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

 probable

BOOK 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 custom 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 wi

with many ſhocking circumſtances of unrelenting ſeverity in the Spaniſh government. Information of this being tranſmitted to the Britiſh miniſtry, the former inſtructions were revoked, but the remedy came too late;—for what elſe could be expected, than that the Spaniards would naturally ſhun all intercourſe with a people, whom neither the ſafety of their friends, nor their own evident intereſt, was ſufficient to engage to confidence and ſecrecy?

The little trade, therefore, which now ſubſiſts with the ſubjects of Spain in America, is chiefly carried on by ſmall veſſels from Jamaica, which contrive to eſcape the vigilance of the *guarda-coſtas*. But although, with regard to the revival of this particular branch of commerce, I am of opinion, that the free-port law has not ſo fully anſwered the expectation of its framers as might have been wiſhed; its proviſions, in other reſpects, have been very beneficial. It has been urged againſt it, that it gives occaſion to the introduction of French wines, brandies, ſoap, 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 II. and cotton manufactories of Great Britain are of too great importance not to be supplied with the valuable materials of indigo and cotton-wool, on the easiest and cheapest terms possible. The quantities of these articles, as well as of woods for the dyer, imported in foreign bottoms into the free-ports, are very considerable. This subject was thoroughly investigated by the British House of Commons in 1774 (when the act would have expired); and it being given in evidence that thirty thousand people about Manchester were employed in the velvet manufactory, for which the St. Domingo cotton was best adapted; and that both French cotton and indigo had been imported from Jamaica at least thirty per cent. cheaper than the same could have been procured at through France—the House, disregarding all colonial opposition, came to a resolution, "that the continuance of free-ports in "Jamaica would be highly beneficial to the "trade and manufactures of the kingdom." The act was thereupon renewed, and has since been made perpetual.

But the main argument which was originally adduced in defence of the establishment of free-ports in Jamaica, was founded on the idea that those ports would become the great mart for supplying foreigners with negroes. It was said, that in order to have negroes plenty in our own islands, every encouragement must be thrown out to the African merchant, to induce him to augment his importations, and that no encouragement was so great as that of an opportunity of selling part of them to foreigners for ready money; a temptation, it was urged, which would be, as it heretofore had been, the means that a number would be imported sufficient both for the planter's use and for the foreign demand

and

and it was added, that at all events the French would deal with us, if the Spaniards would not. CHAP. V.

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 Assiento Company at Porto-Rico obtained permission to remove their principal factory to the Havanna, and to purchase slaves in any of the neighbouring islands, transporting them to their own settlements in Spanish vessels. It was easily foreseen, that Jamaica, from its vicinity to the chief colonies 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 encreased 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 II. of foreign indigo and cotton, that if it be not made in foreign veſſels, it will ceaſe altogether; and thus, inſtead of infringing the navigation act, as ſome perſons contend, the meaſure of opening the ports is ſtrictly conſonant to the ſpirit of that celebrated law; for, by furniſhing an augmentation of freights to Great Britain, it tends ultimately to the encreaſe of our ſhipping.

Having now, to the beſt of my judgment and knowledge, furniſhed my readers with ſuch particulars as may enable them to form a tolerably correct idea of the preſent trade and productions of Jamaica, I ſhall conclude with a conciſe diſplay of its progreſs in cultivation at different periods, for a century paſt.

By a letter, dated March the 29th, 1673, from the then governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, to Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State, it appears, that the iſland at that time contained 7,768 whites, and 9,504 negroes; its chief productions were cacao, indigo, and hides. "The weather (obſerves the governor) has been ſeaſonable, and the ſucceſs in planting miraculous. Major General Banniſter is 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 upon, and that Blome, who aſſerts there were ſeventy ſugar-works in 1670, was miſinformed. So late as the year 1722, the iſland made only eleven thouſand hogſheads of ſugar, of ſixteen hundred weight.

From that time I have no authentic account until the year 1734, when the iſland contained 7,644 whites*, 86,546 negroes, and 76,011 head of cattle. The value of the imports from this iſland

* 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. 3h sterling. Of the particulars I have no account. In the year 1739, the export of sugar was 33,155 hogsheads.

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 hogsheads of sugar, and 10,000 puncheons of rum, exclusive of smaller articles. The whole might be worth £. 600,000 sterling.

In 1768, the whites were supposed to have been 17,000. The number of negroes on the tax rolls were 166,914, and the cattle 135,773 head. The exports (the value of which could not be less at that time than 1,400,000 sterling) were these:

EXPORTS FROM JAMAICA, 1768,

	Hhds. of Sugar, of 16 cwt.	Puns of Rum, of 110 gallons.	Bags of Pimento, of 100 lbs.	Bags of Ginger, of 70 lbs.	Bags of Cotton, of 200 lbs.	Bags of Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Tons of Fustick and Log-wood.
To Great Britain and Ireland	54,181	11,127	13,116	2,551	2,211	1,491	4,035
To North America —	1,580	4,424	738	620	252	2,712	—
Total —	55,761	15,551	13,854	3,171	2,463	4,203	4,035

(continued)

	Feet of Mahogany.	Tons of Lig. Vitæ.	Tons of Nic. Wood and Ebony.	Galls. of Melasses.	Hides.	Miscellaneous Articles.
To Great Britain and Ireland	443,920	120	26	—	—	£. s. d. Value unknown.
To North America —	424,080	—	—	201,960	2,287	
Total —	868,000	120	26	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 confiderably 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 110gals	Bags of Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Barrels of Indigo, of 300 lbs	Bags of Ginger, of 70lbs.	Bags of Pimento, of 100lbs.
To Great Britain and Ireland	76,344	17,348	3,684	437	2,348	13,797
To North America ——	1,960	8,726	2,863	1	579	552
Total ——	78,304	26,074	6,547	438	2,927	14,349

(continued)

	Caſks of ditto, of 300 lbs.	Bags of Cotton of 200 lbs.	Hhds of Melaſſes, 60 gals.	Tons of Log-wood, and Fuſtick	Feet of Mahogany.	Hides.
To Great Britain and Ireland	276	2,022	69	1,286½	117,200	656
To North America ——	47	88	951	26½	12,080	8,636
Total ——	323	2,210	1,020	1,313	129,280	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.

CHAP. V.

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 encreased 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

APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

APPENDIX.

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				
	—— Kingston. - - -	Nil.					
	Total in the County of Surry - - -			159	27,337		
County of Cornwall.	Parish of Trelawney - - -	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.

* 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:

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 II. compel, not only ſoldiers, but planters, to work by turns.

The eighth directs him to encourage the planters, and to aſſure them of his majeſty's protection: and, by the ninth, he is to cauſe an accurate ſurvey to be made of the iſland.

By the tenth it is directed, that the ſecretary ſhall keep a regiſter of all plantations and the bounds thereof; and that all perſons ſhall be obliged to plant a proportionable part thereof within a limited time.

The eleventh and twelfth direct all encouragements to be given to ſuch negroes and others as ſhall ſubmit to the government, and to merchants and ſuch as ſhall bring any trade there, and forbid monopolizing.

The thirteenth directs, that any veſſel which can be ſpared from the defence of the iſland, ſhall be employed in fetching ſettlers from any other colonies, and that no ſoldiers be allowed to depart without 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.

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 conſpicuous buildings.

The ſeventeenth directs, that, as an encouragement to men of ability to go to the iſland, no

offices

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 Windsor upon his arrival; but nothing else material arises out of his short administration worth notice, for he staid but two months, and left the island, and the execution of his commission, to Sir Charles Lyttleton, who had been appointed lieutenant governor; and who governed with the advice of a council of twelve, appointed by himself, and called an assembly that made a body of laws, amongst which was one for raising a revenue.

Nothing, however, which appears to be material, as to the form of the constitution, occurred during his administration, which continued about twenty months; when he was superseded by the arrival of Sir Thomas Modyford, who was appointed governor in chief by a commission under the great seal, which empowered him either to constitute, by his own authority, a privy-council of twelve persons, or to continue the old one, and to alter, change, or augment it as he thought pro-

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 reprieve for twelve months.

He was alſo empowered, with the advice of the majority of council, to frame a method for eſtabliſhing general aſſemblies, and from time to time to call ſuch aſſemblies together, and with their conſent to paſs all manner of laws, reſerving to him a negative voice; as alſo, upon immediate occaſions, to levy money. Theſe laws not to extend to taking away any one's freehold, or the loſs of a member, and to be in force only years, unleſs approved and confirmed by the own.

This commiſſion appoints a ſalary to the governor of one thouſand pounds per annum, payable out of the exchequer.

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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

anot

another assembly was called, and then to be confirmed, altered, or repealed, as that assembly should see convenient: but no other assembly was called during Sir Thomas Modyford's administration.

In 1670, Sir Thomas Modyford was recalled, and Sir Thomas Lynch appointed lieutenant-governor and commander in chief, with the same powers as Sir Thomas Modyford had.

On the 1st of December, 1671, he issued writs for calling an assembly, to consist of two persons for each parish; which met on the 8th of January, and sat till June following, when the governor dissolved them, after having passed a body of laws, which were transmitted to England, but were not confirmed.

In May, 1673, Sir Thomas Lynch called another assembly; but, upon their refusing to grant money for the fortifications, he dissolved it after sitting only a few days; and, in January following, upon consideration that two years were almost expired since making the body of laws, and that his majesty had not been pleased to signify his royal consent to them, a new assembly was called, which met the 18th of February, and, on the 14th of March, a new body of laws was passed, which were transmitted to England; but, not being confirmed by the crown, expired at the end of two years.

On the 3d of December, 1674, Lord Vaughan was appointed governor of Jamaica. A council, consisting of twelve persons, was named in the commission, with power to him to expel or suspend any of them, and, in case of vacancies, to fill up the council to nine. He was also empowered to call assemblies, according to the usage of the island; and, with the council and assembly,

to

BOOK II. to pass laws, which laws were to be in force for two years, unless the crown's pleasure was in the mean time signified to the contrary, and no longer, except they were approved and confirmed within that time. In the passing of these laws, the governor was to have a negative voice, and to dissolve any assembly, as he should think proper.

Upon Lord Vaughan's arrival in his Government, he called an assembly, which met on the 26th of April, 1675, and passed a new body of laws.

It does not appear when this assembly was dissolved; but, in March, 1676-7, writs were issued for a new assembly, which met on the 26th of that month; and, having passed several other laws, they were dissolved on the 26th of July: and the laws passed by both assemblies having been transmitted to England, the council took them into their consideration, and, after frequent deliberations upon them, and many alterations proposed, they were referred, with the council's observations upon them, to the attorney-general to consider thereof, and to form a new body of laws for the good government of this island.

With these laws, the council took into consideration the state and constitution of Jamaica, and made the reports upon it hereunto annexed, *vide Documents, No.* 1, 2.

These reports having been confirmed, a commission passed the great seal, constituting Lord Carlisle governor of Jamaica, by which, and by the instructions annexed thereto, (*vide No.* 3, 4) the form of government proposed in the council's report was adopted and established.

Upon Lord Carlisle's arrival in his government, he found the people very much dissatisfied with and averse to his new form of government

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

Theſe letters and papers being taken into conſideration by the council, as alſo a report thereon by the committee, the council, on the 4th of April, 1679, made the order, *No.* 11; and, on the 28th of May following, the annexed report, *No.* 12, was preſented to his majeſty, and, being approved, was tranſmitted to the Earl of Carliſle, with the annexed letter, *No.* 13.

Upon receipt of theſe papers, the Lord Carliſle communicated them to the aſſembly, who preſented an addreſs in anſwer to the report of the 28th of May; which addreſs was tranſmitted to the council by Lord Carliſle. *Vide No.* 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

On the 5th of March, 1679-80, the council took into conſideration the letters received from the Earl of Carliſle; and the annexed extracts *(No.* 21 to 38, *incluſive)* of their proceedings will ſhew their ſeveral reſolutions and directions in conſequence thereof.

It is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to judge what motives could have induced the council, after they had ſhewn ſo much firmneſs and reſolution to ſupport the rights of the crown, by eſtabliſhing in Jamaica the Iriſh conſtitution, to give the point up, as it appears they did by the annexed explanatory commiſſion to Lord Carliſle, No. 39, which contains the ſame power of making laws in aſſembly as is now given to the governor of Jamaica, and which, from that time, has been minutely the ſame; excepting only, that, in 1716, the governor was directed, by inſtructions, not to paſs any laws that ſhould repeal a law confirmed by the crown, without a claule of ſuſpenſion, or firſt tranſmitting the draft of a bill; and, in 1734, this limitation was extended

to

BOOK II. to all laws for repealing others, though such repealed law should not have been confirmed by the crown *.

* Neither of these orders are enforced, except in the case of private bills, the assembly having constantly refused to admit suspending clauses in any public act, and the crown has long since given up the point. 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.

DOCUMENT

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. APPENDIX.

The first point that did occur most worthy to be considered by us was, the power and manner of enacting laws for the civil, military, and ecclesiastical government; and, upon taking a view of what has been practised since your majesty's happy restoration in the legislative, we find, that the methods and authorities for the framing and ordaining the

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 exigency of affairs have often changed, ſo your majeſty has thought fit variouſly to adapt your royal orders thereunto; and, by the laſt commiſſion, given unto the Lord Vaughan, your majeſty was pleaſed to empower his lordſhip, with the advice of your majeſty's council, from time to time to ſummon general aſſemblies of freeholders, who have authority, with the advice and conſent of the governor and council to make and ordain laws for the government of the iſland; which laws are to be in force for the ſpace of two years, except in the mean time your majeſty's pleaſure be ſignified to the contrary, and no longer, unleſs they be confirmed by your majeſty within that time. Having, therefore, directed our thoughts towards the conſequences and effects which have been produced, or may ariſe, from this authority derived unto the ſaid freeholders and planters, which we obſerve to have received a daily increaſe by the reſolutions they have taken, leſs agreeable to your majeſty's intention, we do moſt humbly offer our opinions, that the laws tranſmitted by the Lord Vaughan, which are now under conſideration in order to be enacted by your majeſty, may be 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 conſented unto as laws originally coming from your majeſty; and that, for the future, no legiſlative aſſembly be called without your majeſty's ſpecial directions; but that, upon emergencies, the governor do acquaint your majeſty by letters, with the neceſſity of calling ſuch an aſſembly, and pray your majeſty's conſent and directions for their meeting; and, at the ſame time, do preſent unto your majeſty a ſcheme of ſuch acts as he ſhall think fit and neceſſary, that your majeſty may take the ſame into conſideration, and return them in the form wherein your majeſty ſhall think fit that they be enacted; that the governor, upon receipt of your majeſty's commands, ſhall then ſummon an aſſembly, and propoſe the ſaid laws for their conſent, ſo that the ſame method in legiſlative matters be made uſe of in Jamaica as in Ireland, according to the form preſcribed by Poyning's law; and that,

that, therefore, the present style of enacting laws, *By the governor, council, and representatives of the commons assembled*, be converted into the style of, *Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the consent of the general assembly.*

We are further of opinion, that no escheats, fines, forfeitures, or penalties, be mentioned in the said laws to be applied to the public use of the island; and that your majesty do instruct your governor to 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 [illegible] for the said public use, are so far derogatory to your [illegible]y's right of sovereignty, that they ought to be, for the [illegible]ure, 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

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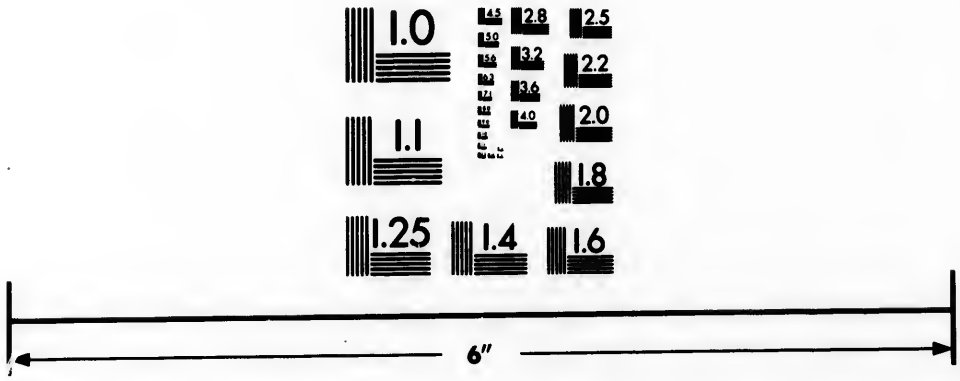

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BOOK II. that all ſuch coins may bear your majeſty's royal ſuperſcription, and not be impoſed in payment elſewhere.

All which, *&c.*

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

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 your majesty the most material points which did occur unto us upon perusal of the said draft; which are as followeth:

APPENDIX.

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 II. *cent.* 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 thereunto, and for the benefit of our heirs and ſucceſſors, as having been by you, with advice and conſent of the ſaid council, framed and tranſmitted unto us, in order to be here enacted, by our giving our conſent thereunto, ſhall be by us approved and remitted unto you under our great ſeal of England; which ſaid ſtatutes, laws, and ordinances, are to be by you framed as near as conveniently may be to the laws and ſtatutes of our kingdom of England.

And we do hereby, nevertheleſs, 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 to acquaint us by letter with the neceſſity of calling ſuch an aſſembly, and pray our conſent and directions for their meeting; you ſhall, at the ſame time, tranſmit unto us, with the advice and conſent of the council, a draft of ſuch acts as you ſhall think fit and 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 fin ſome of them much diſſatisfied at the alterations in th laws and manner of paſſing them, particularly at the latte part of the clauſe in the militia bill: "but that in a "things he may, upon all occaſions or emergencies, ac "as captain-general and governor in chief, according t "and in purſuance of all the powers and authoritie "given unto him by his majeſty's commiſſion; any thin "in this caſe, or any other, to the contrary in anywi "notwithſtanding;" which they are jealous of, leſt th thereby they ſhall make it legal to execute all inſtructio that either are or ſhall be ſent to me, or any other ſucceed ing governor; which ſcruple might eaſily be avoided, b that the great ſeal being affixed to the laws, I have t pow

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.

APPENDIX.

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 mended the order about the privateer, at which so much

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 forgive 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 fra-

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 on what terms I had parted with the assembly. I have ce thoroughly considered of what might in this place st conduce to his majesty's service, and could not think any better expedient than to send the bearer, Mr. Atson, to wait upon your lordships. He was secretary to Thomas Lynch and my Lord Vaughan, and has been

 enough

BOOK II. 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 an 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,

CARLISL

St. Jago de la Vega, Nov. 15, 1678.

NUMBE

NUMBER IX.

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

APPENDIX.

ON the 2d of September last, the general assembly met; but under so much dissatisfaction, from the new frame of government, and their losing their deliberative part of power in framing, altering, and amending laws, that they spent near a fortnight very uneasily about some of the laws, and would have begun with the bill of revenue to have thrown that out first, as a mark of their disallowing the new method of government, being so highly incensed that they were near questioning the king's power and authority to do it; insomuch, that I, taking the maintenance thereof to be in my charge, and finding some of the council equally disgusted at the change of government, and foreseeing that it was like to encourage discontent in the assembly, to take them off, and leave the assembly upon their humour by themselves, I thought it absolutely necessary to put this question to each of the counsellors, in these words: "Do you submit, and consent to this present "form of government which his majesty hath been pleased "to order for this island of Jamaica?" To which the chief-justice, 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 suspended, and gave the other two (less dangerous) till morning to consider on it; and then the chief-justice sent to me his submission under his hand, and Col. Freeman submitted; but Col. Charles Whitfield, otherwise a very good man, went away into the country.

The assembly received and examined all the laws I brought over, and drew up their reasons against passing them; of each, many were very frivolous, and the best was, because they were not compared with and amended by the last laws of my Lord Vaughan's, now with you, and received some two days before my coming away, the fleet then staying in the Downs, and my departure much pressed upon the expectation of war. These reasons against the

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 adviſeable 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 chearful answer; some did, and at this some are much dissatisfied.

NUMBER X.

May it please your Excellency,

WE, the members chosen by his majesty's writ to be the general assembly for this his island of Jamaica, do, with a great deal of thankfulness, acknowledge the princely care which his majesty hath been ever pleased to have of this his colony, and of which your excellency hath likewise given to us very late and fresh assurances: and, in obedience to his majesty's commands, we have perused the several bills which your excellency sent us; and, having duly examined the matters contained in them, we could not give our consent to any of them, there being divers fundamental errors, which we particularly observed, and did cause them to be entered in our journal; and from the consideration of them, we cannot but reflect, and do humbly beg your excellency to represent unto his most sacred majesty, the great inconveniencies which are like to redound unto this his island by this method and manner of passing of laws, which is absolutely impracticable, and will not only tend to the great discouragement of the present planters, but likewise put a very fatal stop to any further prosecution of the improvement of this place, there being nothing that invites people more to settle and remove their family and stocks into this remote part of

BOOK II.

the world, than the assurance they have always had of being governed in such manner as that none of their rights should be lost, so long as they were within the dominions of the kingdom of England: nor can we believe that his majesty would have made this alteration, had he been truly informed of his own interests, and of that which is proper and natural for the constitution of this island.

My lord, you that are now our governor, and here upon the place, cannot but distinguish both, and plainly see that which, at great distance, is impossible to be known, being always distinguished with the false colours of interest and design. It is to you, therefore, we address ourselves; and do humbly beg you to assure his majesty, which we do from the bottom of our hearts unfeignedly declare, that we are his true, faithful, and loyal subjects. In the next place, sir, we humbly beg you to lay before his majesty the true condition of this island, and the several circumstances wherein it stands: the situation and natural advantages of the place will very probably, by God's blessing, in a very short time, make it very considerable. It were pity, therefore, that any stop in its infancy should be put to it, which may hinder its future growth, and disappoint those hopes which his majesty hath ever had, and which will no doubt of it come to pass, that, if this island be encouraged by good government and wholesome laws, it will effectually serve very many interests, both of his majesty's crown and the nation's trade.

Sir, the present form of the government, as it is now appointed, has these plain and manifest inconveniencies in it;

1st. That the distance of this place renders it impossible to be put in practice, and does not in any manner fall under the same consideration as Ireland does, from which we conclude, the example is taken.

2d. The nature of all colonies is changeable, and consequently the laws must be adapted to the interest of the place, and must alter with it.

3d. It is no small satisfaction that the people, by their representatives, have a deliberative power in the making of laws; the negative and barely resolving power being not according to the rights of Englishmen, and practised nowhere but in those commonwealths where aristocracy prevails.

4th. Th

4th. This manner of form of the government brings all things abſolute, and puts it into the power of a governor to do what he pleaſes, which is not his majeſty's intereſt, and may be a temptation for even good men to commit great partialities and errors.

5th. The method which has been always uſed, both in this iſland and all other colonies, in the making of laws, was a greater ſecurity to his majeſty's prerogative than the preſent form; for a governor durſt not conſent to any thing againſt his intereſt; and if he did, the ſignification of the king's pleaſure determined the laws, ſo that his majeſty had thereby a double negative.

Thus, ſir, we have truly laid before your excellency our real ſenſe; and do hope that your excellency, being thoroughly ſatisfied of the miſchiefs which will certainly ariſe to this place from the reaſons we have given, will in that manner repreſent our condition to his majeſty, that he may be thereby induced to give an inſtruction to your excellency, to paſs ſuch laws as are municipal and fit for us, and in the ſame manner which has ever been practiſed in this iſland and other his majeſty's colonies; we having no other claim in it than to expreſs our duty to the king, and our unfeigned ſervice and gratitude to your excellency, for mediating that which is ſo much for his majeſty's and the iſland's intereſt.

And we do here likewiſe preſent unto your excellency a bill for the raiſing a public impoſt unto his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, for the ſupport of this his government; and do hereby beg your excellency to accept of it as a real demonſtration of our loyalty to our prince and ſervice to your excellency, with aſſurance that we ſhall, upon all occaſions, be ready to expreſs ſuch further teſtimonies of the ſame as may be ſuitable to our duty and allegiance.

NUMBER

NUMBER XI.

At the court at Whitehall, 4th of April, 1679.

PRESENT, the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

Whereas the Right honourable the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations did this day make report unto his Majeſty in Council,

THAT having, in purſuance of his majeſty's order, conſidered the preſent ſtate and conſtitution of Jamaica, and the government thereof, as it is ſettled by his majeſty's command, their lordſhips ſee no reaſons why any alterations ſhould be made in the method of making laws according to the uſage of Ireland, for which their lordſhips are preparing reaſons to evince the neceſſity and legality of the ſame. And that whereas a ſhip is now lying in the Downs, bound for that iſland, their lordſhips adviſe, that the Right honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry do, by this conveyance, inform the Earl of Carliſle of his majeſty's pleaſure herein, with directions that all things be diſpoſed to this end; and that, in the mean time, the preſent laws enacted by Lord Vaughan be continued by proclamation, or otherwiſe, until his majeſty's pleaſure be further known; as alſo that his lordſhip do, by the firſt conveyance, ſend 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

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 folllowing; 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 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 thereof,

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 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.

1ſt. It is not without the greateſt preſumption that they go about to queſtion your majeſty's power over the militia in that iſland, ſince it has been allowed and declared, even by the laws of this your kingdom, that the ſole ſupreme government, command, and diſpoſition of the militia, and of all forces by ſea and land, and of all forts and places of ſtrength, is reſiding in your majeſty, within all your majeſty's realms and dominions.

2d. The objection made againſt the bill for the public revenue hath as little ground, ſince its being perpetual is no more than what was formerly offered by them unto your majeſty, during the government of Sir Thomas Lynch, in the ſame meaſure and proportion as is now propoſed; nor can it be diverted, ſince proviſion is thereby expreſsly made, that the ſame ſhall be for the better ſupport of that government; beſides, that it is not ſuitable to the duty and modeſty of ſubjects, to ſuſpect your majeſty's juſtice or care for the government of that colony, whoſe ſettlement and preſervation have been moſt particularly carried on by your majeſty's tender regard, and by the great 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 H. frequent and ſudden change of laws in other caſes than ſuch as are already provided for upon emergencies, or in other manner than is directed by your majeſty's commiſſion; whereby the inhabitants have free acceſs to make complaints to your governor and council, of any defect in any old law, or to give reaſons for any new one, which, being modelled by the governor and council into form of law, and tranſmitted unto your majeſty, if by your majeſty and council found reaſonable, may be tranſmitted back thither to be enacted accordingly.

6th. It was ſufficiently apparent unto your majeſty, that laws muſt alter with the 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 forborne to raiſe money by public acts, and to diſpoſe of the ſame according to their will and pleaſure, without any mention made of your majeſty, which has never in like 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 enormi-

ties,

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.

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 on 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.

APPENDIX.

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; that he had given them unto my lord, and his excellency

had told him, that, if any of the assembly had a mind to see them, they might see them there.

The house, considering the return of the committee ordered to inspect Mr. Martyn's accounts, 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 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 unadvisedly, 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 cool 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 the first meeting, better demonstrate their obedience by actually giving their consent that they might be enact-

BOOK II.

But, from what I can learn from the chief leaders among them, I find the same averseness as formerly, averring that they will submit to wear, but never consent to make chains, as they term this frame of government, for their posterities; so that I scarce expect better success; of which I have writ at large to Mr. Secretary Coventry.

NUMBER XVII.

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

St. Jago de la Vega, 23d November, 1679.

Sir,

THE assembly meeting on the 28th of October, I, wi the council, went to them; commanded the council's r port of the 28th of May, and his majesty's letter of t 31st of May last, to be read again to them; pressed th very much to consider how much it imported at t juncture for the interest of the island, that they should p these laws I brought to them under the great seal of E land, or at least part of them; desiring that any one more of the assembly would there and then argue the r sonableness of their objection, which none of them wo undertake; and so I left the body of laws with them. T having the last session passed a vote, that the raising mo and disposing of it, was the inherent right of the assem (of which I had no account, either from the member their speaker, in fourteen days afterwards, they presum it to be their privilege that their proceedings should kept secret from me) I then appointed and swore the clerk, which before used to be of their own choice; this they are very uneasy under.

They proceeded to read over the body of laws; notw standing the great care, pains, and trouble I had t with them, both apart individually as well as assembl gether, they threw out and rejected all the laws, agai hering to their former reasons, rather than admittin honouring those from their lordships for rules of o ence.

I thereupon presently, with the council, framed a b re

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 Byndloss chief-justice in his place, of whose fidelity to the king's interest I have many proofs, having formerly executed the place, and was now one of the judges of the supreme court.

I have also suspended Col. Long from being one of the council, purposing, by the advice of the council, to bring or send him, with six more of the assembly, to attend the king and council in England to support their own opinions, reasons, and address, wherein they are not ordinarily positive; and this I do from the council here unanimously agreeing, that there is no other nor better expedient for the settlement of this goverment 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,

BOOK II. lordships, as my conjecture in prospect, since the general assembly's meeting, on the 28th of October last, have found to be no vain prophecy.

Upon the assembly's meeting on that day, I, with the council, went to the place where they were met, and again, in the presence of the council and the assembly, commanded to be read your 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 discoursing it openly and freely, they might be the better convinced of the necessity of their being dutiful therein but none of them, in my presence and the council's, would undertake it; so we left them, and the body of laws with them.

Some days they spent in reading over again the body of laws under the great seal left with them; but rejected the many arguments I had laboured 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

APPENDIX.

Upon this, on the 14th instant, the speaker and assembly being sent for to attend me in council, to shew cause why they did reject the bill of revenue so framed by us in pursuance of his majesty's pleasure therein, they gave me no answer; but, by their speaker, desired to present to me their address, the speaker contending to give it its due accent by reading it himself, a copy whereof is here sent inclosed.

This address is founded greatly upon the advice of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Long, chief-justice of the island, and one of the king's council, who principally contends for the old frame of goverment, of whom the assembly is highly opiniated, and esteem him the patron of their rights and privileges as Englishmen, who had a hand in leaving the king's name out of the revenue bill, being then speaker, and denies not his having a hand in framing and advising some parts of the address, which in whole is not truth; for,

1st. Whereas they 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 Byndloss.

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 of trade and plantations, made to his majesty's council; which we entreat his excellency may be humbly presented to his most sacred majesty and his council.

WE, his majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, the assembly of this his island of Jamaica, cannot without infinite grief of mind read the report made to his majesty by the right honourable the lords of the committee for trade and plantations; wherein, by the relations made by their lordships unto his majesty, they have represented us as a people full of animosity, unreasonable, irregular, violent, undutiful, and transgressing both the bounds of duty and loyalty; the bitterness of which characters were we in the least part conscious to have deserved, we should, like Job, have said, "*Behold, we are vile: what shall we answer? we will lay our hands upon our mouths.*"

But, lest our silence should argue our guilt, we shall, in all humility, endeavour to make appear we have always demeaned ourselves as becometh good and obedient subjects, and those who acknowledge and are truly sensible of the many favours received from his majesty; the truth of which resting only on matter of fact being related, and the false colours which hitherto have been thrown on us being washed off, we shall not doubt but his majesty will soon entertain a better opinion of his subjects of this island.

We must, therefore, humbly beg that his majesty will with patience be pleased to hear the account of our proceedings; which truly to manifest we must be forced to look back so far as Sir Charles Lyttleton's and Sir Thomas Modyford's entrance upon their government:

At which time, we humbly conceive, the island began really to take up the form of a civil government, and wholly to lay aside that of an army, which, until that time, was deemed the supreme authority; when after, upon their several arrivals, by order from his majesty, and according to the method of his majesty's most ancient plantations, they called assemblies, and settled the government of the island in such good form, that, until his excellency the Earl of Carlisle's first arrival, his majesty thought not fit to alter it, though several governors in that time were changed, which must necessarily infer the goodness and reason of it, as well as the satisfaction of the people (since, from that time, they betook themselves to settle plantations) especially the merchants, by which means the estates here are wonderfully increased, as is evident by the great number of ships loaden here by the industry of the planter; and the satisfaction they received by those wholesome laws then began, and until that time continued, the change of which laws we had no reason to expect, being done on such mature deliberation from home.

But to return to answer: the first thing their lordships are pleased to accuse us of is, presuming to question his majesty's power over the militia; which, how much they are misinformed in it, will hereunder appear: but we must first repeat the clause against which, we humbly conceive, we had just reasons to take exceptions, which clause is as followeth:

"Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted and "declared by the authority aforesaid, that nothing in this "act contained be expounded, construed, or understood, "to diminish, alter, or abridge, the power of the gover-"nor 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 not-"standing."

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 notwith-"standing," 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.

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 it

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

It is very true the laws contain many and great errors, as their lordships may see by the assembly's journal; so that were the assembly as much petitioners to his majesty for this new form as they are to be restored to their old, above half the body of these laws, without amendment, would never be reasonable to pass.

As, to instance some few amongst many: in the act for preventing damages by fire, a single justice of the peace hath power of life and death; and the act of the militia empowers the governor and council to levy a tax on the whole island; and in the act directing the marshal's proceedings, there is a clause that makes it felony for any person to conceal his own goods, left in his own possession, after execution levied by that law, so that a man may be hanged for being poor, which, though inconvenient, was never till then accounted capital; with others too long to be repeated.

And whereas their lordships are pleased to say, that there is nothing imperfect or defective in these bills transmitted hither; yet we humbly conceive, that no notice being taken in this body of laws how or in what nature we are to make use of the laws of England, either as they have reference to the preservation of his majesty's prerogative or the subjects rights, we ought not in reason to consent to these bills; for, nothing appearing to the contrary, the governor is left, *ad libitum*, to use or refuse as few or as many as he pleases, and such as suit with his occasions; there being no directions in them how to proceed according to the laws of England, either in causes criminal or testamentary, and in many other cases which concern the quiet of the subject, both in life and estate.

We conceive also, that, whatsoever is said to the contrary by their lordships in answer to the distance of places, this very last experiment is sufficiently convincing of the truth of that allegation; since it is a year since this model came over and was debated, and before their lordships report came back, notwithstanding one of the advices went home by an express. And,

Whereas their lordships say, we cannot be subject to more accidents than his majesty's kingdom of Ireland; to that we object, that advice and answers thence may be had in ten or fourteen days, and that kingdom is already settled, our plantation but beginning. But further, we cannot

BOOK II. 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

dling 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

part

BOOK II.

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, and obedient subjects.

APPENDIX.

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

 into

BOOK II.

into his princely consideration, and either restore to us our former power and way or method of passing laws, or at least remit that part of the present method of making laws which only concerns us here, as they may pass without transmitting the same, we hope, by our present submission and entire obedience to all his laws here, his majesty will be a glorious prince and his subjects here an happy people.

And whereas the gentlemen of the assembly, in their address to his majesty read here in council the 15th of November, 1679, do declare, that as to the bill of revenue wherein his majesty's name was left out, that there are several of the members of their assembly now sitting who were members when 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: we, the gentlemen of his majesty's council here present at the passing of the bill, do most humbly and with all seriousness aver and declare, that we were so far from consenting the said bill should pass without his majesty's name in it, that we do not remember it was ever debated or mentioned in council; and further, that to the best of our respective knowledge, it was read three times, and passed the council board, with his majesty's name in it: and we are the rather induced to this our confidence, because we find the original act was razed, and, by the then speaker's own hand, interlined; and moreover, the several amendments of the said bill, that were made in council, were all taken notice of in the minutes in our council-books, and no mention made of this; and the gentlemen of the assembly do produce nothing out of their journal to justify the reflections upon us; therefore it is to be presumed they cannot.

And we do further humbly and unanimously declare we never did at any time, either jointly or severally, make any complaint to the assembly, or any of them, of the power given by his majesty to his excellency our present governor to suspend any of his majesty's council here; for as we have hitherto yielded all due obedience and submission to his majesty's royal will and pleasure concerning us, so we hope we shall approve ourselves such, and, as in duty bound, ever pray for his majesty

long life, and that he may prosperously and triumphantly reign over us.

This was unanimously agreed to in council by the respective members thereof who were present at the passing the bill of revenue: Colonel Thomas Ballard, Colonel John Cope, Colonel Robert Byndloss, Colonel Thomas Freeman, Colonel William Joy, Colonel Thomas Fuller, John White, Esquire;

And consented to by the whole council, excepting Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Long.

Received from the Earl of Carlisle, 26th February, 1679-80.

NUMBER XXI.

Extract of an order in council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, the 5th of March, 1679-80,

PRESENT,

rince Rupert,	Earl of Essex,
ord President,	Mr. Hyde,
ord Privy-Seal,	Mr. Secretary Coventry,
arquis of Worcester,	Sir Leolin Jenkins.
rl of Bridgwater,	

A LETTER from the Earl of Carlisle to the committee, dated 23d of November last, is read, wherein his dship acquaints the committee, that, having called the uncil and assembly together, he had caused their lordships ort of the 28th of May to be publicly read; which their dships think to be disagreeable to the directions of the

 report,

BOOK II.

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 falsities 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

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

The assembly further mentions the great sums raised in Jamaica, which had not been employed to his majesty's service; but does not instance the misapplication of any part of the revenue by any of the governors.

It is also to be observed, that the law for preventing damages by fire, of which they complain, was first made by them; as also the act directing the marshal's proceedings cannot be but very reasonable, and for the advantage of the planters, since it gives them the use of their goods after execution, and enables them the better to pay their debts.

And whereas the assembly complains, that there is no law transmitted to them for ascertaining the laws of England: it is thought reasonable, that his majesty should retain within himself the power of appointing the laws of England to be in full force in that island, as he shall find necessary.

The delays and length of time, 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 II. 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.

NUMBE

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

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,
Lord Privy-Seal,
Marquis of Worcester,
Earl of Bridgwater,
Sir Leolin Jenkins.

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 paid if conſumed in England, deducting only ſuch part of the ſaid duty as ſhall not be repaid in England upon exportation of the ſaid goods from thence?

APPENDIX.

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

BOOK II.

NUMBER XXVI.

Extract of an order in council,

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, the 27th of April, 1680.

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Viſcount Fauconberg,
Lord Preſident,	Mr. Hyde,
Earl of Sunderland,	Mr. Secretary Jenkins.
Earl of Eſſex,	

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, 27*th 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.*

NUMBER

BOOK II.

NUMBER XXVIII.

Order to the judges about the queſtion of Jamaica.

At the court at Whitehall, the 23d of June, 1680,

PRESENT,

His Majeſty,

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

IT is this day ordered in council, that Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General do attend his majeſty's judges, and deſire them to aſſemble with all convenient ſpeed, and, being aſſembled, to confer with them concerning this queſtion; *viz.*

Whether, by his majeſty's letter, proclamation, or commiſſions, annexed, his majeſty hath excluded himſelf from the power of eſtabliſhing laws in Jamaica, it being a conquered country, and all laws ſettled by authority there being now expired?

And that, upon receiving the opinions of his majeſty's judges, *under their hands in writing*, they do report the ſame to the lords of the privy-council appointed a committee for trade and foreign plantations.

NUMBER

NUMBER XXIX.

Extract of an order in council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, the 7th of September, 1680,

PRESENT,

Lord President, 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.

NUMBER XXX.

Copy of an order in council.

JAMAICA.

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

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	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 II.

that he had granted an *habeas corpus*, being judge, for a person condemned by law; and had opposed the settlement of the country pursuant to the king's orders.

And his lordship declaring, that he had nothing more to say against Colonel Long than was contained in that paper, only reserving to himself the liberty of explaining what he had therein mentioned, Colonel Long is called in, and the paper read to him; whereupon he positively denies that he had done any thing to the bill without the directions of the assembly; and that he believes the razure happened, inasmuch as the clerk of the assembly had transcribed the bill passed in Sir Thomas Lynch's time, which was now blotted out by the agreement of the governor, council, and assembly, and the words written in his hand were only added to make up the sense, which otherwise would have been wanting, which he did as speaker of that assembly from whom he had directions; which is confirmed by the letters of Major Molesworth, Mr. Bernard, Mr. Ashurst, Mr. Burton, and of the clerk of the assembly,

As to the granting an *habeas corpus*, he declares he did not know the person was condemned; and that it is usual for the judges to sign blank *habeas corpus*'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

NUMBER XXXI.

Extract of an order in council.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, Tuesday the 12th of October, 1680,

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Earl of 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:

It

BOOK II.

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 aggrievances 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 replied

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

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.

NUMBER XXXV.

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. Hyde,
Marquis of Worcester,	Lord Chief Justice North,
Earl of Bridgwater,	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 Beeston, and Mr. Ashurst, do attend my Lord Chief Justice North, in order to explain to his lordship what is chiefly expected by them, whereby they may be induced to settle the revenue for the support of the government, to the end matters may be brought to an accommodation.

NUMBER

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 Bridgwater, 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.

NUMBER

NUMBER XXXVII.

JAMAICA.

At the committee of trade and plantations, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, on Thurſday the 28th of October, 1680,

PRESENT,

Prince Rupert,	Earl of Halifax,
Lord Privy-Seal,	Viſcount Fauconberg,
Lord Chamberlain,	Biſhop of London,
Earl of Bridgwater,	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

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 II. Charles Earl of Carlisle, captain-general and governor in chief in and over our island of Jamaica, and the territories depending thereon, thereby commanding and requiring you, or in your absence our deputy-governor, or our council, to do and execute all things belonging to the said command, and the trust reposed in you, according to the several powers or directions granted or appointed you by the said commission and the instructions therewith given you, or by further powers and instructions to be granted or appointed you under our signet and sign manual, as by our said commission (reference being thereunto had) doth more at large appear: and whereas it is necessary that good and wholesome laws and ordinances be settled and established for the government and support of our island of Jamaica; we do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority, with the advice and consent of the said council, from time to time, as need shall require, to summon or call general assemblies of the freeholders and planters within the said island, in manner and form as is now practised in Jamaica. And our will and pleasure is, that the persons thereupon duly elected by the major part of the freeholders of the respective parishes and places, and so returned (having, before their sitting, taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which you shall commissionate fit persons, under the public seal of that island, to administer, and without taking which none shall be capable of sitting, though elected) shall be called and held the general assembly of our island of Jamaica; and that they, or the major part of them, shall have full power and authority, with the advice and consent of yourself and of the council, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the public peace, welfare, and good government of the said island, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, and such other as shall resort thereto, and for the benefit of our heirs and successors; which said laws, statutes, and ordinances are to be (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable to the laws and statutes of our kingdom of England: provided that all such laws, statutes, and ordinances, of what nature or duration whatsoever, be, within three months, or by the first conveyance after the making the same, transmitted unto us under the public seal, for our allowance and approbation of them, as also duplicates thereof by the next conveyance; and in case all or any of them (being not before confirmed by us) shall at any time be disallowed and not approved, and

so signified by us, our heirs or successors, under our or their sign manual or signet, or by order of our or their privy-council, unto you, the said Earl of Carlisle, or to the commander in chief of our said island for the time being, then such or so many of them as shall be so disallowed and not approved shall from thenceforth cease, determine, and be utterly void and of none effect, any thing to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And, to the end nothing may be passed or done in our said island by the said council or assembly to the prejudice of 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.

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

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THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

British Colonies in the West Indies.

BOOK III.

ENGLISH CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS.

CHAP. I.

BARBADOES.

irſt 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 hereof.—Exports and Imports.

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

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and from them it received the name which it still retains*. It was found without occupants or claimants. The Charaibes, for reasons altogether unknown to us, had deserted it, and the Portuguese, satisfied with the splendid regions they had acquired on the Continent, seem to have considered it as of little value. Having furnished 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 respects 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 London to Surinam, in 1605, and fitted out at the expence of Sir Olive Leigh, whom Purchas stiles 'a worshipful knight of Kent.' Finding it without inhabitants, they took possession of the country, 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 considerable stay in a country entirely uninhabited and overgrown with woods; yet it furnished them with fresh provisions. They found pig 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 Brasil, was driven by stress of weather into this island, and finding refreshments on the master and seamen, on their arrival in England, made so favourable a report of the beauty and fertility of the country, that Lord Ley (afterwards Earl of Marlborough, and Lord High Treasurer

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

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

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 the Earl of Marlborough's patent, or conceiving that it interfered with his own preten-

sions,

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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, which thereupon became sole proprietor †.

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

† Among other clauses in this grant are the followin "Further know ye, that we, for us our heirs and success have authorized and appointed the said *James* Earl of *Ca* and his heirs (of whose fidelity, prudence, justice, and dom, we have great confidence) for the good and happy vernment of the said province, whether for the public s rity of the said province or the private utility of every m to make, erect, and set forth, and under his or their s to publish, such laws as he the said Earl of *Carlisle* o heirs, *with the consent, assent, and approbation of the free bitants of the said province, or the greater part of them, the to be called*, and in such form as he or they in his or their cretion shall think fit and best. And these laws must all for the time being, that do live within the limits of said province, observe; whether they be bound to s from thence returning to *England*, or any other our nions, or any other place appointed, upon such impos penalties, imprisonment, or restraint that it behoveth, a quality of the offence requireth, either upon the bod death itself, to be executed by the said *James* Earl of *C* and by his heirs, or by his or their deputy, judges, ju magi

CHAP. I.

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

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

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to himſelf and his poſterity, the gratification I have mentioned, deſerted him; and the Lord Carliſle, having done him premeditated injury, became his irreconcileable 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 thouſ-

act

* The names of thoſe merchants were Marmaduke B don, William Perkin, Alexander Baniſter, Robert Whe Edm

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 incroachment 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 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

 produced

* ...ond Forster, Robert Swinnerton, Henry Wheatly, John ...rles, and John Farringdon.

In this year, Sir William Tufton gave 140 grants of ..., comprizing in the whole 15,872 acres, and on the 23d ...ebruary, 1630, he passed divers laws, and among others 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 attrocious 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 unitedvoice 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 16[illegible] appointed Philip Bell, Eſquire, his deputy, and Bell, in 1645, was appointed chief governor.

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

1ſt. "*An act* for the continuance and obſervation of 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 each pariſh of the iſland, intituled *A General Aſſembly for that*

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

those 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 herein 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 once 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 estates*, 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 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."

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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 Modford, Sir James Drax, Sir Robert Davers, Sir Robert Hackshaw, Sir John Yeamans, Sir Timothy Thornhill, Sir John Witham, Sir Robert Legard, Sir John Worsum, Sir John Lawdon, Sir Edwyn Stede, Sir Willoughby Chamberlayne.

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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 propoſitio

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 rise 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

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by whom, after a tedious but partial inveſtigation (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 commodities, 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 diſcharge of Earl of Marlborough's annuity.

Thirdly, it was ſtipulated that the ſurplus ſhould be divided equally between the creditors of the Earl of Carliſle and the Lord Willoughby, 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 proprietary government was to be diſſolved, and that the planters were to conſider themſelves as legally confirmed in poſſeſſion of their eſtates

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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.

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 would 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

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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 session 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. 1*s*. 4*d*. 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° 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 Carribbee 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 Carribbee Islands, as, relation being thereunto had, may

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

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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 land have and hold their several plantations to them and their heirs for ever, in free and common soccage, 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 the 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 af-
III. terwards 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

give occaſion to the eighth article of his impeachment by the Houſe of Commons in the year

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 the 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 Carabola, 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

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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 ſought 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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public. The reduction of Barbadoes would at 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 confiscation of many valuable ships and cargoes in the harbours of that and the other islands. The parliament had reason likewise, it was said, to apprehend 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 capitulate *: But this was not effected without great difficulty; for he met with so stout a resistance, as determined his employers at home immediately 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 England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than English bottoms; or in ships of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth and manufacture.

* Ayscue agreed, among other things, that the government 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, without 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.

Whatever advantages the general commeree 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° 10′ N. lat. and 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 the low lands is black, somewhat reddish in

* Blackstone.

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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 detteſtation 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't afterwards to be with child by a Chriſtian ſervant, and being very great walked down to a woode, in which was a pond of water and there, by the ſide of the pond, brought herſelfe a-bed and in three hours came home with the childe in her arms a luſty boy, frolicke and lively." The crime of Inkle's 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

In

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 hogsheads 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 hogsheads. 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 hogsheads of sugar, 15 cwt. 12,884 puncheons of rum of 100 gallons, 60 hogsheads of melasses, 4,667 bags of ginger, 600 bags of cotton, and 327 gourds of aloes. The

 exports,

nkle'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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exports, on an average of 1784, 1785 and 1786, had fallen to 9,554 hogſheads 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. 15*s.* 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 4½ *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

racter of the common father of all his subjects, to insist on a tribute from a part of them, which, 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.

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Barbadoes is divided into five districts, and eleven parishes; and contains four towns, Bridgetown, Ostins or Charles Town, St. James's (formerly called The Hole) and Speight's Town. Bridgetown, 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 instituted of the governor *and council*, whereas in Jamaica the governor is sole chancellor. On the other hand, in Barbadoes, the governor sits in council, even when the latter are sitting in a legislative capacity. This, in Jamaica would be considered improper and unconstitutional

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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:

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Number of Men (including their repeated 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.

Whither Bound.	Shipping.			Sugar.	Rum.	Melasses.	Ginger.	Cotton.	Fustic.	Miscellaneous Articles.	TOTAL *Value in Sterling Money agreeable to the London Market.*
	No.	Tons.	Men.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Cwt. qrs. lb.	lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lb.	Value.	
										£. s. d.	£. s. d.
To Great Britain —	66	11,221	833	130,242 - 16	28,689	1,089	5,437 2 18	2,640,725	240 — 5	45,948 19 1	486,570 4 8
Ireland — —	3	317	28	2,114 - —	25,200	—	124 - —	65,250	5 — -	35 7 10	11,521 15 10
American States	54	6,416	379	2,668 - —	213,400	700	—	—	—	38 5 —	23,217 13 4
Br. Amer. Colonies	41	3,182	237	2,742 - —	146,100	11,700	—	—	—	69 16 —	18,080 6 —
Foreign W. Indies	78	5,694	458	—	2,000	—	—	—	—	32 — —	207 — —
Africa — —	1	87	7	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	8 15 —
Total —	243	26,917	1,942	137,766 - 16	415,489	13,489	5,561 2 18	2,705,975	245 — 5	46,124 7 11	539,605 14 10

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CHAP. II.

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 dissentions.—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 Mons. 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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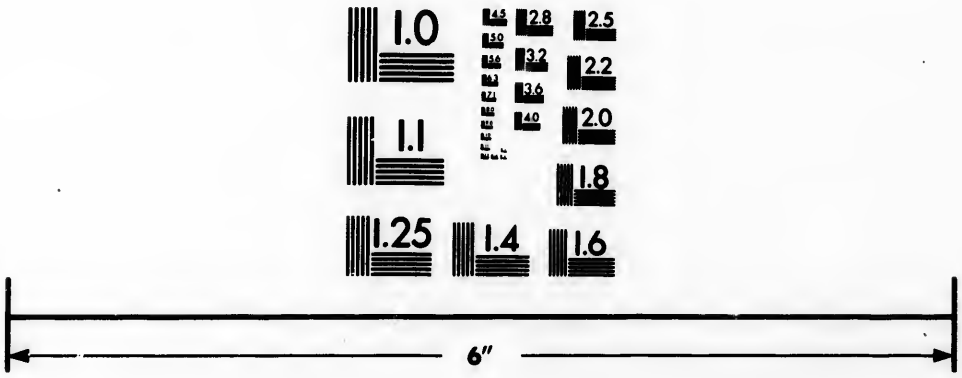

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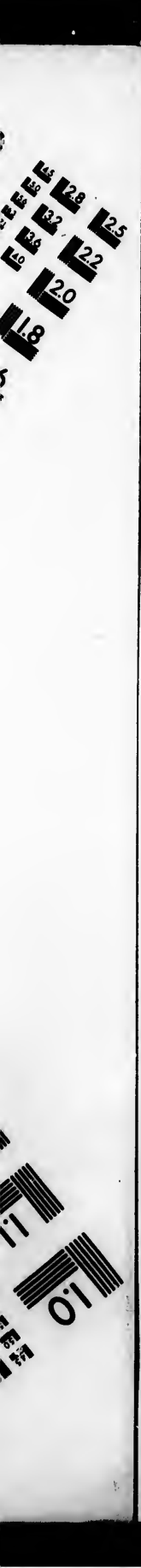
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holy ſacrament, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to all the ſoldiers on their embarkation; and again, on their landing, Du Parquet, cauſing a croſs to be erected, compelled them to kneel down before it, and join in devout prayer to Almighty God, for ſucceſs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

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 [illegible]ble birth, and demanded the honour of de[illegible]ation. 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. CHAP. II.

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; encreaſed 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 hogſheads 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 lette

" 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 4½ *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 expresly 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 exultation 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 obtrude my own opinion in ſuch a caſe) they appear to me to be of a dangerous and unconſtitutional tendency.

* 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 Phil

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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*."

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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 dissentions 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 III. try was made by the parliament of England: no 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 feodal 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 feodali subjecta*, (of which homage was the sign

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

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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. Eſtwick.

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

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

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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.

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On the 2d of July 1779, a French armament, 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, not

BOOK III.

not only while the treaty was depending, but alſo 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, called

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 lighteſt 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.*

CHAP. II.

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 not that the Engliſh ſugar planters (except perhaps

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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 Cariacou 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.

Grenad

CHAP. II.

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 hogshead 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.

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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 III.

troops from Great Britain, which are supported 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 Carlacou, 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 regular having captain's rank.

iſtinction of colour. They are alſo allowed to oſſeſs and enjoy lands and tenements to any mount, provided they are native born ſubjects capitulan, and not aliens.

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

The council of Grenada conſiſts of twelve mbers, and the aſſembly of twenty-ſix. The wers, privileges and functions of both theſe nches of the legiſlature, are the ſame, and exiſed preciſely in the ſame manner, as thoſe of council and aſſembly in Jamaica. A freehold, ife eſtate, of fifty acres, is a qualification to s repreſentative for the pariſhes, and a freed, or life eſtate, in fifty pounds houſe rent in George, qualifies a repreſentative for the n. An eſtate of ten acres in fee, or for life, or a of ten pounds in any of the out towns, gives te for the repreſentatives of each pariſh reſively; and a rent of twenty pounds *per annum* ng out of any freehold or life eſtate in the n of St. George, gives a vote for a repreſente for the town.

he law courts in Grenada, beſides thoſe of cery and ordinary, are, firſt, the court of d ſeſſions of the peace, held twice a year, n March and September. In this court the

 firſt

* he currency of Grenada, or rate of exchange, is com- 65 *per cent.* worſe than ſterling.

BOOK III. first person named in the commission of the peace 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 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 uninstructive, the fault is not in the want of materials, but in the workman. Something however remains to be observed concerning such of the Grenadines as are dependent on the Grenada government, 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 maintenance 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 Barbadoes, 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:

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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.

Whither bound.	Shipping.			Sugar.	Rum.	Melasses.	Coffee.	Cacao.	Cotton.	Indigo.	Value of Miscellaneous Articles, as Hides, Dying Woods, &c.	Total Value according to the current Prices in London.
	No	Tons.	Men.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Cwt. qrs. lb.	Cwt. qrs. lb.	lbs.	lbs.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
To Great Britain	65	13,276	969	172,880 - 9	102,590	—	8,550 2 4	2,645 1 2	2,030,177	1560	64,439 — 3	555,222 11 6
Ireland —	7	771	59	1,248 - —	86,100	—	—	19 2 16	32,250	1250	24 10 —	13,580 4 5
American States	47	6,373	410	290 - —	272,080	—	44 — -	36 - —	—	—	27 4 —	24,597 4 —
Br. Amer. Cols.	30	2,610	194	1,130 - —	209,620	4,300	218 — -	16 - —	—	—	15 6 —	21,469 9 4
Foreign W. Indies	39	2,734	192	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39 — —	39 — —
Total	188	25,764	1824	175,548 - 9	670,390	4,300	2,716 3 18	8,812 2 4	2,062,427	2810	64,545 — 3	614,908 9 3

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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,

| | No | Tons. | Men. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Gallons. | Gallons. | Cwt. qrs. lb. | Cwt. qrs. lb. | | |

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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 thi

the

ther by Lord Willoughby, and actually put the English publicly and formally into possession. CHAP. III.

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

BOOK III.

SECTION I.

ST. VINCENT, &c.

"THE Spaniards (ſays Doctor Campbell) be-
"ſtowed the name of St. Vincent upon this iſ-
"land, becauſe they diſcovered it upon the 22d
"of January, which in their calendar is St. Vin-
"cent'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 eſta-
bliſhment among them for a race of people
whom, though at firſt beheld by the native Cha-
raibes with contempt or pity, they have ſince
found formidable rivals and mercileſs conque-
rors. Theſe people have been long diſtinguiſh-
ed, however improperly, by the name of the
Black Charaibes.

Of the origin of theſe intruders, and their an-
cient 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 con-
derati

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.

" 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 ſigned 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

BOOK III.

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."

"THE REPORT."

"In pursuance of a resolution in council, and "your order for so doing, the day you sailed "with his Grace's colony for Antego, I sailed "with the Griffin sloop, in company with his "Majesty's ship the Winchelsea, to St. Vincent. "We made the Island that night, and next morn- "ing 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 hand- "somely,

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"ſomely, and made the chief ſome trifling pre-
"ſents, but found he was a perſon of no conſe-
"quence, and that they called him *Chief* to get
"ſome preſent from me. Here two of the Indi-
"ans 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 French-
"man 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 Eng-
"liſh, 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 pleaſ-
"ed 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 fuſees. 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 uſeleſs 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 arm-
" ed with fuzees. They told my interpreter
" they were assured we were come to force a set-
" tlement, 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. Find-
" ing them in so good a humour, I once more in-
" troduced the desire I had to entertain them on
" board our ships, and with some difficulty pre-
" vailed with them, by leaving Captain Watson
" 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 excel-
" lent 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 ammu-
" nition, 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 protection 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 friendship. 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 received 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 fruitless attempt which was made, under the authority of the British Government, to obtain possession of this Island in the year 1723: an interval of forty years succeeds, in which I find no occurrence in its history that deserves recital. The country became a theatre of savage hostilities between the Negroes and the Charaibes, in which it is believed that the former were generally victorious; it is certain that they proved so in the end, their numbers, in 1763, being computed at [illegible] 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 at 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 20,53[illegible] 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 that "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 bond 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, and two white women, for every hundred acres of land, as it became cleared, for the purpose of cultivating the same; and on 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 [illegible] pounds sterling per acre.

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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

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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 23,000 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 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, ent from England; and a black corps raiſed in he country—but provided for, with the former, n the Britiſh eſtabliſhment, and receiving no additional pay from the Iſland. The militia conſiſts of two regiments of foot, ſerving without pay f any kind.

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

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

BOOK III. taining 3,700 acres; Union, containing 2,150 acres; Canouane, containing 1,777 acres; and Mustique, containing about 1,200 acres *; the Negroes employed in the cultivation of these Islands (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.

Whither bound.	Shipping.			Cut Sugar.	Rum.	Melasses.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cacao.	Miscellaneous Articles, as Hides, Dying Woods, &c.	Total, according to the current Prices in London.
	No.	Tons.	Men	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Cwt. qrs. lbs	lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs	Value.	
										£. s. d.	£. s. d.
To Great Britain	30	6,086	463	64,449 1 27	15,766	9,656	632 1 5	760,380	99 2 24	2,570 7 6	175,571 9 6
American States	21	2,587	174	579 — —	51,300	—	2 — —	1,500	43 2 —	16 — —	9,019 1 8
Foreign W. Indies	71	3,963	332	—	21,200	—	—	—	—	5 3 6	1,860 3 6
Total	122	12,636	969	65,128 1 27	88,266	9,656	634 1 5	761,880	143 — 24	2,591 11 —	186,450 14 8

SECTION

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SECTION II.

DOMINICA.

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

* 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 *. CHAP. 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 in St. Vincent.

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Colonies in North America, the island of Dominica was in a flourishing situation. The port of Roseau having been declared a free-port by 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

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 Cashacrou, 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 d

Bouill

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 unaway 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 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. CHAP. III.

While the wretched inhabitants were thus groaning under domestic despotism, they had no resources from without. Their trade was entirely cut off, insomuch, 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 hogshead.

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

BOOK 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 be

* 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 hogſheads 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.

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 wax, and very different in its manners from the European.

BOOK III.

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 returns 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 fowling in the woods, in both which purſuits they uſe bows and arrows with wonderful dexterity. It is ſaid they kill the ſmalleſt bird with an arrow at a great diſtance, transfix a fiſh at a conſiderable depth in the ſea. They play alſo very great ingenuity in making curious wrought-niers or baſkets of ſilk graſs, or the leaves and bark of trees

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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 [illegible], according to the actual Prices in London.

Whither bound.	Shipping.			Sugar.	Rum.	Melasses.	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	Gallons.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Cwt.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
To Great Britain —	56	8,682	966	58,665 1 21	1,492	9,423	1,126 2 26	17,387 3 6	11,250	961,066	161	11,635 11 3	271,472 14 —
Ireland — —	9	1,046	85	11,163 — —	3,600	—	8 — 4	—	—	9,750	—	20 — —	19,900 11 6
American States	16	2,003	147	1,066 — —	31,600	—	45 — —	543 — —	—	—	—	194 — —	7,164 5 —
Brit. Amer. Cols.	14	1,096	96	408 — —	25,400	7,380	1[illegible] — —	219 — —	—	—	—	21 13 6	4,295 3 6
Foreign W. Indies	67	5,299	520	—	1,300	—	—	—	—	—	—	41 6 —	155 1 —
	162	18,126	1814	71,302 1 21	63,392	16,803	1,194 3 2	18,149 3 6	11,250	970,816	161	11,912 10 9	302,987 15 —

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

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 Charaibean 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.

CHAP. IV.

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 Charaibean 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 III.

by the Spaniards; than on that vaſt country, the 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'Eſnambuc, 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'Eſnambuc, 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 re-turned 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

BOOK III.

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 provi-

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. CHAP. IV.

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

BOOK III.

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 mas ters of the iſland, the Engliſh under the command of general Codrington, returning in great force, not only compelled the French inhabitants to ſur render, but actually tranſported eighteen hun dred 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 ad vantage 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 com mitted 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 23,726 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.

BOOK III. 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 hogsheads 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 hogsheads 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

give

gives nearly two hogſheads 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 hogſheads 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 fif-

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.

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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

SECTION II.

NEVIS.

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

 and

BOOK III. and accoutred. English forces, on the Britis
eſtabliſhment, they have none.

The Engliſh firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves in th
iſland in the year 1628, under the protection an
encouragement of Sir Thomas Warner. Amon
the different claſſes of men, who ſought to im
prove their fortunes in St. Chriſtopher's by th
patronage of that enterpriſing leader, it can hardl
be preſumed that every individual experienced th
full gratification of his hopes and expectation
In all ſocieties, there are many who will confide
themſelves unjuſtly overlooked and forgotten
Of the companions of Warner's earlieſt voyage
it is probable that ſome would ſet too high a va
lue on their ſervices, and of thoſe who venture
afterwards, many would complain, on their arr
val, that the beſt lands were pre-occupied. T
ſoften and temper ſuch diſcordancy and diſquie
by giving full employment to the turbulent an
ſeditious, ſeems to have been one of the mo
important objects of Warner's policy. Motiv
of this nature induced him, without doubt,
plant a colony in Nevis at ſo early a period; an
the wiſdom and propriety of his firſt regulatio
gave ſtrength and ſtability to the ſettlement.

What Warner began wiſely, was happily co
pleted by his immediate ſucceſſor Mr. Lake, u
der whoſe adminiſtration Nevis roſe to opulen
and importance. "He was a wiſe man," ſa
Du Tertre, "and feared the Lord." Making th
iſland the place of his reſidence, it flourish
beyond example. It is ſaid, that about the y
1640, it poſſeſſed four thouſand Whites: ſo po
erfully are mankind invited by the advantages
a mild and equitable ſyſtem of governme
Will the reader pardon me, if I obſerve at
ſame time, that few ſituations in life could h
afforded greater felicity than that of ſuch a
ver

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.

ANTIGUA.

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*

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

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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 Caribbean 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 towards of five thouſand.

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

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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 fir 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 wa diſtinguiſhed for his exceſſes at a very early tim of life. Having married a lady of fortune i America, his firſt exploit was to rob his wi of her money, and then deſert her. With thi money he came to England, and obtained return to Parliament; but groſs bribery bein proved againſt him, he was expelled the houſ His next adventure was to debauch the wife a friend, for which being proſecuted, he quitte England, and made a campaign with the arm in Flanders, where he had the fortune to attra the notice, and acquire the patronage of th Duke of Marlborough.—In 1704, he attend the Duke as one of his aides de camp, and ſuch, on the event of the battle of Hochſt having been ſent by his Grace to England, wi intelligence of that important victory, he w rewarded by the Queen with a purſe of a tho ſand guineas, and her picture richly ſet wi diamonds, The year following, the governme of the leeward Iſlands becoming vacant, M

Pa

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

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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

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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.

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 conceſſion. 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

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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.

BOOK III. 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.

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 hogſheads, and 579 tierces; in 1782 the crop was 15,102 hogſheads, 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 hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen cwt. are reckoned a good ſaving crop. This, as one-half the canes only are cut annually, is about a hogſhead 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

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Willoughby Bay, Old Road, and James Fort; 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 Charaibean 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 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:

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"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

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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, sorcery, 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.

CHAP. IV.

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

CHAP. IV.

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 have 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-

 ſured.

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ſured. If any baptized man leaves his wife, and takes another, and takes one or more wives be-ſides 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 cuſ-toms 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 help-mate 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 the word, and believe.

Though all the above injunctions are of ſuch a nature, that they not only war againſt the heatheniſh propenſities, but even againſt what ſome might call excuſable indulgencies; yet it is a fact, that at this preſent time, ſome thou-ſand negroes in Antigua, and other iſlands, ſub-mit to them with willingneſs.

The number of converted Negro ſlaves under the care of the brethren, at the end of the year 1787, was,

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 178[illegible] were

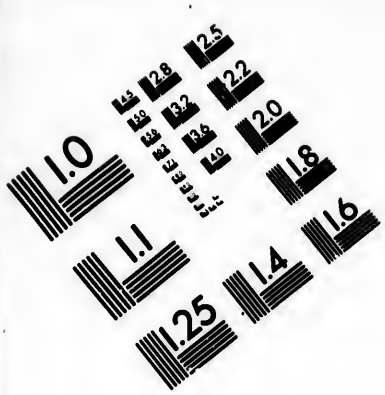
were 2,737 hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen hundred weight, 1,107 puncheons of rum, and 275 bales of cotton. The exports of 1787, and their value at the London market, will be ſeen in a table annexed to this chapter. They are produced by the labour of one thouſand three hundred whites, and about ten thouſand negroes.

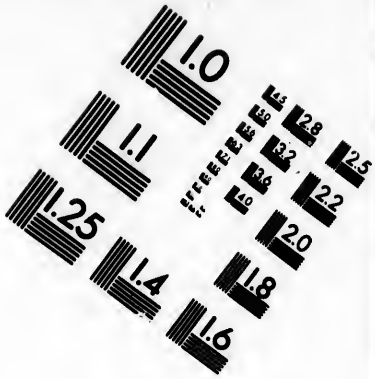
The government is adminiſtered in this, as in the other iſlands, by a legiſlature of its own, under the captain general. The council conſiſts of ſix members, and the aſſembly of eight, two from each of the four diſtricts into which it is di ded; and the proportion which Montſerrat con tes to the ſalary of the captain general is £. er *annum.*

Section V.

VIRGIN ISLANDS.

OF the Virgin Iſlands I have ſo few particu-ars to communicate, that I fear the reader will ccuſe me of inattention or idleneſs in my eſearches. I have, however, ſolicited informa-ion of thoſe who I thought were moſt likely to fford it; but if my enquiries were not ſlighted, y expectations were not gratified. Even in a te hiſtorical account by Mr. Suckling, the chief ſtice of theſe iſlands, I find but little of which can avail myſelf. It furniſhes no particulars oncerning their extent, their cultivation, or their mmerce. It is ſilent as to the number of their preſent





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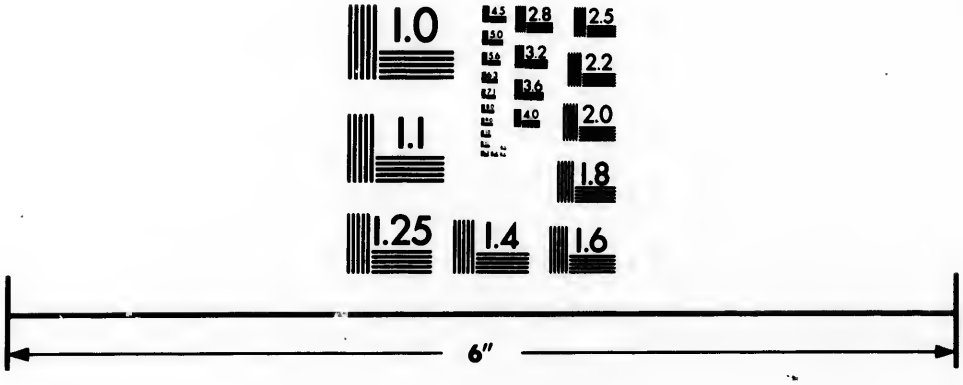

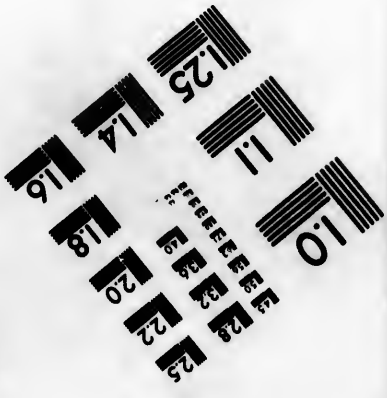

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BOOK III. present English inhabitants. The author is even misinformed as to the origin of their present name; for he supposes that it was bestowed upon them in 1580, by Sir Francis Drake, in honour of Queen Elizabeth; but the fact is, that these islands 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, islots, 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.

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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.

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

BOOK III.

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 Ma- " jesty, his heirs and successors, the impost of " four and a half per centum, on all the pro- " duce 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*;" [illegible] cause his royal pleasure to be signified to the [illegible]vernor 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

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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.

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 raised by the labour of about one thousand two hundred whites, and nine thousand blacks.

HAVING

BOOK III.

HAVING ſo far treated of the ſeveral iſlands which conſtitute what is called the Leeward Iſland Government, as they ſtand diſtinct from each other, I cloſe my account, as in former caſes, with an authentic Table of their Returns for 1787; after which, I ſhall, as propoſed, offer a few obſervations on circumſtances which are common to them all.

An

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.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

Whither bound.	SHIPPING.			Sugar.			Rum.	Molasses	Indigo.	Cotton.	Dying Woods in Value.			Miscellaneous Articles, in Value.			TOTAL.		
	No.	Tons.	Men.	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	lbs.	lbs.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Great Britain	53	11,992	764	231,397	2	12	78,299	8,154	318	484,640	5,824	1	6	33,195	16	10	480,178	15	5
Ireland	3	350	30	3,099	—	—	8,500	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	11	—	6,035	6	—
American States	21	2,457	140	386	—	—	167,740	—	—	—	—	—	—	186	10	—	15,512	15	—
Brit. Amer. Cols.	19	1,201	110	646	—	—	65,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	—	—	6,788	10	—
Foreign W. Indies	104	7,155	546	—	—	—	15,070	—	—	—	165	—	—	15	1	6	1,498	14	—
Total from St. Christopher's	200	23,155	1590	235,528	2	12	334,609	8,154	318	484,640	5,989	1	6	33,456	19	4	510,014	—	5

ANTIGUA.

To Great Britain	65	13,806	901	254,575	1	18	128,936	3,510	26	131,010	1,742	6	6	46,466	18	3	484,483	19	6
Ireland - -	16	1,909	159	22,295	—	—	97,400	—	—	29,500	2,400	—	—	43	—	—	50,768	16	—
American States	71	8,281	552	6,779	—	—	375,150	1,700	—	—	—	—	—	407	5	—	44,679	19	2
Brit. Amer. Cols.	34	2,127	177	844	—	—	109,320	700	—	—	—	—	—	14	7	—	11,031	15	4
Foreign W. Indies	47	2,540	259	33	—	—	5,740	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,075	—	—	1,632	5	—
Total from Antigua	233	28,663	2048	284,526	1	18	716,546	5,910	26	160,510	4,142	6	6	48,006	10	3	592,596	15	8

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.

MONTSERRAT AND NEVIS.

Whither bound.	SHIPPING.			Sugar.			Rum.	Molasses	Indigo.	Cotton.	Dying Woods, in Value.			Miscellaneous Articles, in Value.			TOTAL.		
	No.	*Tons.*	*Men.*	*Cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
To Great Britain	23	5,371	341	108,325	—	21	4,406	1,313	140	91,972	352	7	6	1,162	3	2	185,709	10	11
American States	20	1,850	138	1,895	—	—	122,710	—	—	—	—	—	—	70	10	—	13,981	12	6
Brit. Amer. Cols.	7	379	40	64	—	—	21,300	—	—	500	—	—	—	41	6	3	2,053	14	3
Foreign W. Indies	71	3,085	377	—	—	—	140,660	—	—	—	—	—	—	89	4	—	12,396	19	—
Africa - -	1	102	8																
Total from Montserrat and Nevis	122	10,787	904	110,284	—	21	289,076	1,313	140	92,472	352	7	6	1,363	3	5	214,141	16	8

VIRGIN ISLANDS.

To Great Britain	25	5,137	344	78,749	1	6	517	2,011	—	287,577	6,561	2	6	2,313	18	5	164,128	17	6
American States	3	572	21	91	—	—	13,900	—	—	1,500	—	—	—	6	4	—	1,499	9	—
Brit. Amer. Cols.	4	226	20	363	—	—	7,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	5	—	1,230	15	—
Foreign W. Indies	8	581	51	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	90	—	—	10	11	—	100	11	—
Total from the Virgin Islands	40	6,516	436	79,203	1	6	21,317	2,011	—	289,077	6,651	2	6	2,340	18	5	166,959	12	6
Grand Total	595	69,121	4978	709,542	2	11	1,361,648	17,388	484	1,026,699	17,134	18	—	85,147	11	5	1,483,712	5	3

CHAP. IV.

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. 2*s*. 3*d*¼. ſterling, of which it is ſhameful to relate that no more than £.140,032. 13*s*. 5*d*½. 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

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* Some years after this, a new mode of collecting the du…s was, I believe, adopted, which rendered the tax more …ductive to government.

BOOK III.

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 encreased 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 £.120 sterling, paid out of the exchequer, make his whole salary £. 3000 sterling per annum.

† Being the average of two periods, the first from 1771 to 1775, the second from 1788 to 1792.

CHAP. IV.

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 burthenſome; beſides pariſh taxes for the repair of the roads, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor.

But,

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 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

* 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 caried 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 cruize, 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.

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APPENDIX

TO

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.*

Plantæ numerosissimæ quibus obvestit globum terraqueum Deus optimus maximus, sunt totidem documenta infinitæ sapientiæ, natæ in gloriam sui Creatoris, et in commodum hominis, cujus est eas intueri.

AMŒN. ACAD. vol. vi. p. 40.

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ACAD. vol. vi. p. 40.

HORTUS EASTENSIS:

OR,

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.

MONANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

CANNA	*indica var. lutea*	Yellow Indian Shot	East-Indies	Mr. Shakespear, 1780
AMOMUM	*Granum paradisi* *	Guinea Pepper	Guinea	Tho. Hibbert, Esq. 1785
	Zingiber	Common Ginger	East-Indies	
CURCUMA	*longa*	Turmerick	East-Indies	Z. B. Edwards, Esq. 1783
KÆMPFERIA	*Galanga*	Galangale	East-Indies	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775.
THALIA	*geniculata*	Indian Arrow-root	South-America	

* 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 AMOMUM, but approaches nearer to the LIMODORUM than any other known Genus.

Class

Classis II.

DIANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

NYCTANTHES	*Sambac*	Arabian Jasmine		
	var. fl. pleno	Double Arabian Jasmine	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1775
JASMINUM	*officinale*	Common Jasmine		
	lanceolatum?	Narrow-leav'd Jasmine	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1787
	azoricum	Azorian Jasmine	Madeira	H. East, esq. 1787
	odoratissimum	Yellow Indian Jasmine	Madeira	M. Wallen, esq. 1787
OLEA	*europea*	European Olive	Europe	M. Wallen, esq. 1783
	fragrans	Sweet-scented Olive	China	H. East, esq. 1783
SYRINGA	*vulgaris*	Common Lilac	Persia	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
	persica	Persian Lilac	Persia	M. Wallen, esq. 1785
JUSTICIA	*sp. nov. arborea*		Italy	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
DIANTHERA	*americana*	American Balsam	Virginia	
ROSMARINUS	*officinalis*	Rosemary	Europe	
SALVIA	*officinalis*	Garden Sage	S. of Europe	
	africana	African Sage	C. of G. Hope	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	coccinea	Scarlet Sage	East-Florida	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	Solarea	Clary	Syria	H. East, esq.

TRIGYNIA.

PIPER	*nigrum*	Black Pepper	East-Indies	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787

Classis

[illegible]	[illegible]	American Balsam	Europe	
Dianthera	*americana*	Rosemary	S. of Europe	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
Rosmarinus	*officinalis*	Garden Sage	C. of G. Hope	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
Salvia	*officinalis*	African Sage	East-Florida	H. East, esq.
	africana	Scarlet Sage	Syria	
	coccinea	Clary		
	Solarea			

TRIGYNIA.

Piper	*nigrum*	Black Pepper	East-Indies	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787

Classis III.

TRIANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

Valesiana	*Locusta*	Lamb's Lettuce	Portugal	H. East, esq.
Tamarindus	*indica*	Tamarind Tree	India. America	
Crocus	*sativus*	Spring Crocus	England	M. Wallen, esq. 1779
Ixia	*rosea*	Rose-coloured Ixia	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq.
	chinensis	Spotted Ixia	China	H. East, esq. 1789
Gladiolus	*communis*	Common Flag	South of Europe	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
Antholyza	*ethiopica*		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
Iris	*pumila*	Dwarf Iris	Austria	H. East, esq.
Wachendorfia	*thyrsiflora*		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1790
Lygeum	*Spartum*	Rush-leav'd Lygeum	Spain	H. East, esq. 1791

DIGYNIA.

Avena	*sativa*	Oats		M. Wallen, esq. 1783
Arundo	*Bambos*	Bamboo Cane	East-Indies	M. Wallen, esq.
Hordeum	*vulgare*	Barley		M. Wallen, esq. 1773

Classis IV.

TETRANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

Scabiosa	*cretica*	Cretan Scabious	Candia	H. East, esq. 1788
	atropurpurea	Sweet Scabious	Italy	M. Wallen, esq. 1772

	stellata	Starry Scabious	Spain	H. East, esq. 1788
RUBIA	*tinctorum*	Madder	South of Europe	Mr. Thame, 1790
BUDLEJA	*globosa**		Chili	H. East, esq. 1788
PLANTAGO	*lanceolata*	Rib-wort Plantain	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
CISSUS	*quadrangularis*		India	H. East, esq. 1791
OLDENLANDIA	*umbellata*	Chè	India	H. East, esq. 1791
ALCHEMILLA	*vulgaris*	Ladies Mantle	Britain	H. East, esq. 1791

TETRAGYNIA.

ILEX	*aquifolium*	Common Holly	Britain	H. East, esq. 1774
	Cassine	Paraguay Tea	Carolina	Mr. Gale, 1772
	nov. Sp.		Madeira	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787

Classis V.

PENTANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

HELIOTROPIUM	*peruvianum*	Peruvian Turnsole	Peru	H. East, esq. 1788
ANCHUSA	*officinalis*	Buglos	Europe	H. East, esq. 1774
CYNOGLOSSUM	*officinale*	Hound's-tongue	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1775
BORAGO	*officinalis*	Borage	England	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
PRIMULA	*veris*	Primrose	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1780
	auricula	Auricula	Austria	H. East, esq. 1790
CYCLAMEN	*persicum*	Persian Cyclamen	Candia	H. East, esq. 1787
AZALEA	*viscosa*	White Azalea	N. America	H. East, esq.
PLUMBAGO	*rosea*	Bengal Lead-wort	Bengal	H. East, esq. 1787
PHLOX				

Heliotropium	*peruvianum*	Peruvian Turnsole	Peru	H. East, esq. 1788
Anchusa	*officinalis*	Buglos	Europe	H. East, esq. 1774
Cynoglossum	*officinale*	Hound's-tongue	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1775
Borago	*officinalis*	Borage	England	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
Primula	*veris*	Primrose	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1780
	auricula	Auricula	Austria	H. East, esq. 1790
Cyclamen	*persicum*	Persian Cyclamen	Candia	H. East, esq. 1787
Azalea	*viscosa*	White Azalea	N. America	H. East, esq.
Plumbago	*rosea*	Bengal Lead-wort	Bengal	H. East, esq. 1787

Phlox	*glaberrima*	Smooth Lychnidea	N. America	Mr. Thame, 1787
Convolvulus	*Scammonia*	Scammony Bind-weed	Levant	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	purpureus major	Large purple Bind-weed	America	H. East, esq.
	minor	Small purple Bind-weed	America	H. East, esq.
	tricolor	Trailing Bind-weed	Spain	H. East, esq.
	canariensis	Perennial Bind-weed	Canary Islands	
	speciosus	Broad-leav'd Bind-weed	East-Indies	
Ipomoea	*Quamoclit*	Indian Creeper	East-Indies	
Campanula	*rotundifolia*	Bell-flower	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
Cinchona *		Hispaniola Bark	Hispaniola	Mr. Thame, 1790
Coffea	*arabica*	Coffee-Tree	Arabia	
Lonicera	*Periclymenum*	Common Honeysuckle	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	symphoricarpos	St. Peter's Wort	Carolina	H. East, esq.
	tartarica	Tartariana Honeysuckle	Russia	H. East, esq.
Mirabilis	*Jalapa*	Marvel of Peru	East and West Indies	
Verbascum	*Thapsus*	Great Mullein	Britain	H. East, esq. 1772
Datura	*Metel*	Hairy Thorn Apple	Africa	
Nicotiana	*Tabacum*	Virginian Tobacco	America	
Physalis	*Alkekengi*	Winter Cherry	South of Europe	H. East, esq. 1779
Solanum	*tuberosum*	Common Potato	Peru	
	Melongena	Egg Plant	India	
	Sodomæum	Bolangena	Africa	
Rhamnus	*Jujuba*	Jujube-tree	East-Indies	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1790
Diosma	*ciliata*	Ciliated Diosma	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788

* *Affinis Cinchonæ caribeæ.*

MANGIFERA	*indica* *	Mango Tree	East-Indies	Lord Rodney, 1782
RIBES	*grossularia*	Gooseberry	Europe.	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
	rubrum	Red Currant	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772.
	nigrum	Black Currant	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
VITIS	*vinifera*	Grape Vine		
CELOSIA	*cristata*	Cockscomb	Asia	
	var.	Buff-coloured Cockscomb.	Asia	H. East, esq. 1774
GARDENIA	*florida*	Cape Jasmine	China	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	Thunbergia	Starry Gardenia	Cape of Good Hope	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
ALLAMANDA	*cathartica*	Galarips	South-America	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1789.
VINCA	*rosea*	Red Periwinkle	East-Indies	
	alba †	White Periwinkle		Mr. Thame
NERIUM	*Oleander fl. rubro*	Red South-Sea Rose	Spain. Portugal	
	fl. albo	White South-Sea Rose		H. East, esq. 1787
	fl. pleno	Double Oleander		

DIGYNIA.

ASCLEPIAS	*fruticosa*	Shrubby Swallow-wort	Africa	H. East, esq.
	gigantea	Auricula Tree		

* 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. East'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

STAPELIA

ASCLEPIAS	*fruticosa*	Shrubby Swallow-wort	Africa	H. East, esq.
	gigantea	Auricula Tree		

* 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. East'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

STAPELIA

STAPELIA	*variegata*	Variegated Stapelia	Cape of Good Hope	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
BETA	*hybrida*	Mangel Wursel	Europe	H. East, esq. 1790
	vulgaris	Common Beet	England	
DAUCUS	*Carota*	Garden Carrot	Britain	
GOMPHRENA	*globosa*	Globe Amaranth	India	
CORIANDRUM	*sativum*	Coriander	England	Mr. Thame, 1787
PASTINACA	*sativa*	Garden Parsnip	England	
ANETHUM	*graveolens*	Dill	Spain. Portugal	H. East, esq.
	Fœniculum	Fennel	England	
CARUM	*Carvi*	Caraway	Britain	Mr. Thame, 1787
PIMPINELLA	*Anisum*	Anise	Egypt	Mr. R. Lloyd, 1787
APIUM	*Petroselinum*	Parsley	Sardinia	
	graveolens	Celery	Britain	
CASSINE	*capensis*	Hottentot Cherry	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
SAMBUCUS	*Ebulus*	Dwarf Elder	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	nigra	Black-berried Elder	Britain	M. Wallen, esq, 1773
RHUS	*Coriaria*	Elm-leav'd Sumach	South of Europe	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
	typhinum	Virginian Sumach	Virginia	Mr. Gale, 1772

PENTAGYNIA.

LINUM	*usitatissimum*	Common Flax	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	maritimum	Sea Flax	Italy	H. East, esq. 1788

Classis

Classis VI.

HEXANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

TRADESCANTIA	*discolor* *	Purple Spider-wort	Honduras	Mr. Shakespeare, 1782
NARCISSUS	*odorus*	Sweet-scented Narcissus	South of Europe	Mr. Thame, 1773
	Tazetta	Polyanthus Narcissus	Spain. Portugal	Mr. Thame, 1773
	Jonquilla	Jonquil	Spain	Mr. Thame, 1773
HÆMANTHUS	*puniceus*	Blood-Flower	Guinea	H. East, esq. 1785
CRINUM	*Americanum*	American Crinum	South America	
	Zeylanicum ?	Ceylon Crinum	East-Indies	
	Asiatium	Indian Crinum	East-Indies	
	Africanum	African blue Lily	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1770
AMARYLLIS	*Atamasco*	Atamasco Lily	North America	H. East, esq.
	formosissima	Jacobea Lily	South America	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
	reginæ	Mexican Lily	South America	H. East, esq. 1790
	Belladonna	Belladonna Lily	South America	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
	aurea	Golden Amaryllis	China	H. East, esq. 1785
	longifolia	Long-leav'd Amaryllis	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1789
	radiata	Snow-drop Amaryllis		H. East, esq. 1789
	vittata	Striped Lily		H. East, esq. 1789
ALLIUM	*ascalonicum*	Jerusalem Shallot	Asia	H. East, esq.
	gracile †	African Garlick	Africa	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	sativum	Garlick		

Porrum

* *Hort. Kewensis*, vol. i. p. 402.

† *Hort. Kewensis*, vol. i. p. 429; said to be a native of Jamaica, but erroneously.

	regina	Mexican Lily	South America	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
	Belladonna	Belladonna Lily	China	H. East, esq. 1785
	aurea	Golden Amaryllis	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1789
	longifolia	Long-leav'd Amaryllis		H. East, esq. 1789
	radiata	Snow-drop Amaryllis		H. East, esq. 1789
	vittata	Striped Lily	Asia	H. East, esq.
ALLIUM	*ascalonicum*	Jerusalem Shallot	Africa	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	gracile†	African Garlick		
	sativum	Garlick		

† *Hort. Kewensis*, vol. i. p. 429; said to be a native of Jamaica, but erroneously.

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	Porrum	Leek		
	Cepa	Onion		
LILIUM	*bulbiferum*	Orange Lily	Italy	H. East, esq. 1774
	pomponium	Pomponian Lily	Siberia	H. East, esq.
	Chalcedonicum	Scarlet Martagon Lily	Levant	H. East, esq. 1790
	Martagon	Purple Martagon Lily	America	Mr. Thame, 1789
GLORIOSA	*superba*	Superb Lily	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1788
TULIPA	*gesneriana*	Tulip	Levant	M. Wallen, esq.
ORNITHOGALUM	*pyrenaicum*	Star of Bethlehem	England	H. East, esq. 1782
	nutans	Neapolitan D°	Italy	H. East, esq. 1782
ASPHODELUS	*ramosus*	Branchy Asphodel	S. of Europe	H. East, esq. 1784
ASPARAGUS	*officinalis*	Asparagus	England	
DRACÆNA	*Draco*	Dragon Tree	East-Indies	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	ferrea	Purple Dracæna	China	H. East, esq. 1787
POLYANTHES	*tuberosa fl. pleno*	Tuberose	East-Indies	
HYACINTHUS	*orientalis*	Hyacinth	Levant	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
ALETRIS	*capensis*	Cape Aletris	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	hyacinthoides	Ceylon Aloe	Ceylon	H. East, esq. 1790
YUCCA	*gloriosa*	Superb Aloe	North America	Dr. Lindsay
	aloifolia		South-America	
	draconis		South-Carolina	
ALOE	*perfoliata*			
	var. barbad.	Barbadoes Aloe		
BERBERIS	*vulgaris*	Berbery	Britain	Mrs. Brodbelt, 1770

Hh

DIGYNIA.

ORYZA	*sativa*	Common Rice		M. Wallen, esq.

RUMEX

TRIGYNIA.

RUMEX	*obtusifolius*	Blunt-leav'd Dock	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773

Classis VII.

HEPTANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

ÆSCULUS	*Hippocastanum*	Horse-Chesnut	Asia	Mrs. Brodbelt, 1770
	flava	Yellow-flower'd Chesnut	North Carolina	H. East, esq. 1790
	Pavia	Scarlet-flower'd Chesnut	North America	M. Wallen, esq. 1774

Classis VIII.

OCTANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

TROPÆOLUM	*minus*	Indian Cress	Peru	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
MELICOCCA	*bijuga*	Genip	South-America	
XIMENIA	*inermis*	Smooth Ximenia	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1784
FUCHSIA	*triphylla*	Scarlet Fuchsia	Chili	H. East, esq.
LAWSONIA	*inermis*	Smooth Lawsonia	Africa	Mons. Nectoux *, 1789
	spinosa	Prickly Lawsonia	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1785
VACCINIUM	*Arctostaphylos*	Madeira Whortle-Berry	Madeira	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
ERICA	*multiflora*	Many-flower'd Heath	South of Europe	M. Wallen, esq. 1784
OENOTHERA	*pumila*	Dwarf Primrose	North America	M. Wallen, esq.

* Botanist to the French King at Hispaniola.

Tropæolum	minus	Indian Cress	South-America	H. East, esq. 1784
Melicocca	bijuga	Genip	East-Indies	H. East, esq.
Ximenia	inermis	Smooth Ximenia	Chili	Monf. Nectoux*, 1789
Fuchsia	triphylla	Scarlet Fuchsia	Africa	H. East, esq. 1785
Lawsonia	inermis	Smooth Lawsonia	East-Indies	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
	spinosa	Prickly Lawsonia	Madeira	M. Wallen, esq. 1784
Vaccinium	Arctostaphylos	Madeira Whortle-Berry	South of Europe	M. Wallen, esq.
Erica	multiflora	Many-flower'd Heath	North America	
Oenothera	pumila	Dwarf Primrose		

* Botanist to the French King at Hispaniola.

Nov. Gen.*		The Akee	Africa	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1778

TRIGYNIA.

Sapindus	edulis	Litchi Plumb	China	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

* 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 longiora.

Stam. Filamenta octo brevissima, pilosa, ad basin Germinis receptaculo glanduloso inserta. Antheræ oblongæ in orbem circa Germen dispositæ et ejusdem fere longitudinis.

Pist. Germen subovatum triquetrum pilosum. Stylus longitudine Germinis, cylindricus, pilosus. Stigma obtusum.

Per. Capsula carnosa, oblonga, utrinque obtusa, trigona, trilocularis, trivalvis, apice dehiscens.

Sem. Tria, orbicularia, nitida, appendice aucta.

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, foliolis ovato-lanceolatis venosis integerrimis oppositis lævibus superne nitidis, spithamæis, utrinque quatuor vel quinque, petiolis brevibus tumidis. Racemi simplices stricti, multiflori axillares, longitudine fere pinnarum, pedunculis propriis unifloris, stipulis lanceolatis, rufo-tomentosis, persistentibus. Flores parvi albidi inodori. Fructus magnitudinis ovi anserini, colore flavo, rubro, aurantiaco, vel ex utrisque mixto. Semina tria nitida nigra magnitudinis Nucis moschatæ, quorum unum sæpissime abortit, Semini singulo adnascitur materies albida (Semen magnitudine excedens) consistentiæ pinguedinis bovinæ et aqua leniter cocta Medullæ haud absimilis. Ab Incolis in Guinea ad mensas apponitur vel per se vel Jusculo vel Pulmento elixa.

Classis

Classis IX.

ENNEANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

LAURUS	*Cinnamomum* *	Cinnamon Tree	Ceylon	Lord Rodney, 1782
	Camphora	Camphire Tree	Japan	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	nobilis	Sweet Bay-Tree	Italy	Mr. Kuckan, 1770
	indica	Royal Bay-Tree	Madeira	H. Eaſt, eſq. 1788
	fœtens	Madeira Laurel	Madeira	Tho. Hibbert, eſq. 1787
	Benzoin	Benjamin Tree	Virginia	Tho. Hibbert, eſq. 1787
	Borbonia	Carolina Bay-Tree	Carolina	Mr. Gale, 1772
	Saſſaphras	Saſſaphras Tree	North-America	M. Wallen, eſq. 1772.

TRIGYNIA.

RHEUM	*rhaponticum*	Baſtard Rhubarb	Aſia	Mr. Thame, 1786
	palmatum	True Rhubarb	China	Mr. Thame, 1786

Classis X.

DECANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

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

ſcandens

palmatum True Rhubarb

Classis X.

DECANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

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

scandens

	scandens	Climbing Bauhinia	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1790
	variegata	Variegated Bauhinia	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1790
CASSIA	*Senna*	Senna Tree	Ægypt	H. East, esq. 1787
	Fistula	Sweet Cassia	East and West Indies	
POINCIANA	*pulcherrima var fl. flavo*	Yellow Flower-fence	Honduras	Mr. Shakespeare, 1782
GUILANDINA	*Moringa* *	Horse-radish Tree	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1784.
RUTA	*graveolens*	Garden Rue	South of Europe.	M. Wallen, esq.

* 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, foliolis oblongis obtusis concavis, tribus superioribus reflexis, duobus inferioribus patentibus.

COR. Petala quinque. Petala duo superiora magnitudine foliolorum 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 apices contorta, longitudine inæqualia, antheræ quinque bicapsulares subrotundæ. Sterilia quatuor minora longitudine etiam inæqualia, antheris minimis vel nullis, omnia petalis fere dimidio breviora.

PIST. Germen oblongum. Stylus filiformis leviter curvatus, petalis et staminibus longior. Stigma acutum.

PER. longum triangulare trivalve, utrinque acutum.

SEM. trialatum, alis lineis oblongis sibi invicem junctis. Nux fragilis rotunda. Nucleo rotundo trisulcato.

Arbor viginti pedalis, cortice cinereo; Rami patentes numerosi. Folia tri vel quadripinnata sesquipedalia, foliolis ovalibus obtusis tri-linearibus teneris integerrimis pedicellatis; glandula parva pedicellata intra singulas foliolorum divisiones. Racemi axillares semipedales, calycis foliola subcarnea, petalis albis ad basin leviter purpureis. Pericarpium pedale sulcatum, angulis acutis. Calycis foliola et petala sæpe irregulariter reflexa et numero varia, sed Petalum inferius semper rectum et genitalibus approximatum.

MELIA	*Azederach*	Bead-Tree	East-Indies	
QUASSIA	*amara*	Bitter Quassia	Guiana	Monſ. Nectoux, 1789
KALMIA	*latifolia*	Broad-leav'd Kalmia	North America	H. East, eſq. 1786
	angustifolia	Narrow-leav'd Kalmia	North America	H. East, eſq. 1786
RHODODENDRON	*maximum*		North America	H. East, eſq. 1786
	ponticum		Gibraltar	H. East, eſq. 1786
ARBUTUS	*Unedo*	Strawberry Tree	Ireland	H. East, eſq. 1785

DIGYNIA.

SAXIFRAGA	*umbroſa*	London-Pride	England	M. Wallen, eſq. 1789
DIANTHUS	*barbatus*	Sweet-William Pink	Europe	M. Wallen, eſq. 1772
	coryophyllus	Clove July-flower	England	M. Wallen, eſq. 1772
	var.	Carnation		
	Chinenſis	China Pink	China	M. Wallen, eſq. 1772
	ſuperbus	Superb Pink	France	M. Wallen, eſq. 1772
NOV. GEN.*		Mandarin Orange	East-Indies	H. East, eſq. 1788

* 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, foliolis parvis ovatis erectis.

COR. Petala quinque, laciniis ovatis vel ſubrotundis, erectis inferis, calyce duplo longioribus.

STAM. Filamenta decem circa Germen compreſſa, erecta, longitudine Corollæ. Antheræ parvæ ſimplices.

PIST. Germen ſubrotundum. Stylus vix ullus. Stigma compreſſum.

PER. Bacca lucida membrano tenui obtecta, pulpa pauciſſima.

SEM. Duo, membrano proprio tecta, ſtriata, piſi magnitudine, ita ut duo applicata ſphærum conſtituunt, et ſorte ſemen unicum in duo fiſſile.

Frutex quatuor pedalis inordinate ramoſa, folia petiolata lanceolata-ovata alterna glabra integerrima; flores axillares ſoncreſſi ſubſeſſiles. Corolla alba. Germen facie æmulat fructum juniorem Citri Aurantii.

TRIGY-

Authority: the following are it's Characters, as nearly as I have been able to [illegible]

CAL. Perianthium pentaphyllum inferum, foliolis parvis ovatis erectis.

COR. Petala quinque, laciniis ovatis vel ſubrotundis, erectis inferis, calyce duplo longioribus.

STAM. Filamenta decem circa Germen compreſſa, erecta, longitudine Corollæ. Antheræ parvæ ſimplices.

PIST. Germen ſubrotundum. Stylus vix ullus. Stigma compreſſum.

PER. Bacca lucida membrano tenui obtecta, pulpa pauciſſima.

SEM. Duo, membrano proprio tecta, ſtriata, piſi magnitudine, ita ut duo applicata ſphærum conſtituunt, et ſorte ſemen unicum in duo fiſſile.

Frutex quatuor pedalis inordinate ramoſa, folia petiolata lanceolata-ovata alterna glabra integerrima; flores axillares TRIGY-
congeſti ſubſeſſiles. Corolla alba. Germen facie æmulat fructum juniorem Citri Aurantii.

TRIGYNIA.

SILENE	*Armeria*	Lobel's Catchfly	England	H. Eaſt, eſq. 1773

PENTAGYNIA.

SPONDIAS		South-Sea Plumb	Aſia	Lord Rodney, 1782
AGROSTEMMA	*coronaria*	Roſe Campion	Italy	H. Eaſt, eſq.
SEDUM	*Anacampſeros*	Evergreen Orpine	South of France	H. Eaſt, eſq. 1791

Claſſis XI.

DODECADRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

PORTULACA	*triangularis*	Triangular-ſtalked Purſlane	St. Vincent	Tho. Hibbert, eſq. 1787
HALESIA	*tetraptera*	Snow-drop tree	Carolina	H. Eaſt, eſq. 1789
GARCINIA	*cornea ?**	Small Mangoſtein	Eaſt-Indies	Lord Rodney, 1782

TRIGYNIA.

RESEDA	*odorata*	Mignionette	Ægypt	M. Wallen, eſq. 1773

* This tree was at firſt ſuppoſed to be the true Mangoſtein, but having perfected it's fruit, on comparison with the deſcription given of the true Mangoſtein, we judge it to be the G. *cornea*. Male and Hermaphrodite flowers are found on the ſame tree.

Claſſis

Classis XII.

ICOSANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

CACTUS	*cochinillifer*	Cochineal Cactus	South-America	Monſ. Nectoux, 1789
	Pereſkia	Spaniſh Gooſeberry	South-America	
PHILADELPHUS	*coronarius*	Dwarf Syringa	South of Europe	H. Eaſt, eſq.
	aromaticus	Sweet-ſcented Syringa	New Zealand	H. Eaſt, eſq. 1787
EUGENIA	*Jambos*	Roſe-Apple	India	Z. Bayly, eſq. 1762
MYRTUS	*communis*			
	var. romana	Broad-leav'd Myrtle		
	belgica	Dutch Myrtle		M. Wallen, eſq. 1773
		Narrow-leav'd Myrtle		
PUNICA	*Granatum fl. pleno*	Double flower'd Pomegr.	Spain	M. Wallen, eſq. 1774
AMYGDALUS	*Perſica*	Peach tree		M. Wallen, eſq.
	var. Nectarina	Nectarine tree		M. Wallen, eſq.
	communis	Almond tree	Africa	Dr. Tho. Clarke
PRUNUS	*Armeniaca*	Apricot tree		Mr. Kuckan, 1773
	Ceraſus	Cherry tree	England	M. Wallen, eſq.
	domeſtica	Plum tree	England	M. Wallen, eſq.

DIGYNIA.

CRATÆGUS	*Oxycantha*	Hawthorn	Britain	H. Eaſt, eſq. 1773
	Crus Galli	Cockſpur Hawthorn	North America	H. Eaſt, eſq.

PENTA-

	communis	Almond tree	Africa	Mr. Kuckan, 1773
PRUNUS	*Armeniaca*	Apricot tree	England	M. Wallen, esq.
	Cerasus	Cherry tree	England	M. Wallen, esq.
	domestica	Plum tree		

D I G Y N I A.

CRATÆGUS	*Oxyeantha*	Hawthorn	Britain	H. East, esq. 1773
	Crus Galli	Cockspur Hawthorn	North America	H. East, esq.

PENTA-

P E N T A G Y N I A.

MESPILUS	*germanica*	Dutch Medlar	England	H. East, esq. 1774
	Pyracantha	Evergreen Thorn	Italy	H. East, esq. 1774
PYRUS	*Malus*	Apple tree	Britain	
	communis	Pear tree	England	M. Wallen, esq.
	Cydonia	Quince tree	Germany	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
MESEMBRYANTHEMUM	*crystallinum*	Ice-Plant	Greece	H. East, esq. 1787
SPIRÆA	*Ulmaria*	Meadow-Sweet	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772

P O L Y G Y N I A.

ROSA	*lutea*	Yellow Austrian Rose	Germany	H. East, esq.
	cinnamomea	Cinnamon Rose	South of Europe	H. East, esq.
	centifolia	Hundred-leav'd Rose	Spain	H. East, esq.
	damascena	Damask Rose	France	M. Wallen, esq.
	gallica	Red Rose	South of Europe	M. Wallen, esq.
	muscosa	Moss Rose	France	H. East, esq.
	moschata	Musk Rose	Italy	H. East, esq.
	alba	White Rose	Europe	H. East, esq.
	rubiginosa	Sweet-Brier Rose	Britain	M. Wallen, esq.
RUBUS	*idæus*			
	var. ruber	Red Raspberry	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	albus	White Raspberry	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
FRAGARIA	*vesca*			
	var. chiloens.	Chili Strawberry	Chili	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
	pratens.	Hautboy Strawberry	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772

Classis XIII.

POLYANDRIA.

MONOGYNIA.

CAPPARIS	*spinosa*	Caper Shrub	Italy	H. East, esq. 1774
PAPAVER	*Rhœas*	Red Poppy	Britain	H. East, esq. 1773
THEA	*viridis*	Green Tea-Tree	China	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	Bohea	Bohea Tea-Tree	China	Mr. Baker, 1771
CARYOPHYLLUS	*aromaticus* *	Clove Tree	Molucca Islands	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1789
CISTUS	*populifolius*	Poplar-leav'd Cistus	Portugal	H. East, esq. 1779
	incanus	Hoary-leav'd Cistus	Portugal	H. East, esq. 1779
	crispus	Curled-leav'd Cistus	Portugal	H. East, esq. 1779
	Tuberaria	Plantain-leav'd Cistus	Portugal	H. East, esq. 1779
DELPHINIUM	*grandiflorum*	Great-flower'd Larkspur	Siberia	H. East, esq. 1774
	Consolida	Branching Larkspur	England	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
	elatum	Bee Larkspur	Siberia	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
		Chinese Larkspur	China	H. East, esq. 1773
ACONITUM	*Napellus*	Wolfsbane	France	

PENTAGYNIA.

AQUILEGIA	*vulgaris*	Columbine Flower	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
NIGELLA	*damascena*	Fennel Flower	Spain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772

* Two of these Plants were presented to Doctor Clarke by Monsieur Nectoux, 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-

		[illegible]	France	
Aconitum	*Napellus*	Wolfsbane		

PENTAGYNIA.

Aquilegia	*vulgaris*	Columbine Flower	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
Nigella	*damascena*	Fennel Flower	Spain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772

* Two of these Plants were presented to Doctor Clarke by Monsieur Nectoux, 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-

POLYGYNIA.

Illicium	*floridanum*	Aniseed tree	Florida	H. East, esq. 1787
Liriodendron	*Tulipifera*	Tulip tree	North America	H. East, esq. 1776
Magnolia	*grandiflora*	Laurel-leav'd Magnolia	Carolina	Mr. Gale, 1772
	glauca	Swamp Magnolia	North America	Mr. Gale, 1772
	acuminata	Blue Magnolia	North America	H. East, esq. 1788
Annona		Cherimoya	South America	H. East, esq. 1786
Anemone	*hortensis*	Garden Anemone	Italy	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
Atragene	*indica*		South America	H. East, esq. 1788
Clematis	*Flammula*	Virgin's Bower	South of France	
Adonis	*autumnalis*	Flos Adonis	England	M. Wallen, esq.
Ranunculus	*auricomus*	Wood Crowfoot	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773

Classis XIV.

DIDYNAMIA.

GYMNOSPERMIA.

Satureja	*hortensis*	Garden Savory	Italy	
Hyssopus	*officinalis*	Hyssop	South of Europe	
Nepeta	*Cataria*	Catmint	Britain	H. East, esq.
Lavandula	*Spica*	Common Lavender	South of Europe	M. Wallen, Esq. 1774
Lavandula	*Stœchas*	French Lavender	South of Europe	H. East, esq. 1787
	dentata	Tooth'd-leav'd Lavender	South of Europe	H. East, esq. [illegible]87
	multifida	Canary Lavender	Canary Islands	Dr. Tho. Cla[illegible], 1784
Sideritis	*candicans*	Iron-wort	Madeira	H. East, esq.

Men-

MENTHA	*viridis*	Spear-Mint	England	
	piperita	Pepper-Mint	England	
	Pulegium	Pennyroyal	Britain	
GLECOMA	*hederacea*	Ground Ivy	Britain	
BETONICA	*officinalis*	Wood Betony	Britain	H. East, esq.
MARRUBIUM	*vulgare*	Horehound	Britain	M. Wallen, esq.
ORIGANUM	*Onites*	Pot Marjoram	Sicily	
	Majorana	Sweet Marjoram		
THYMUS	*vulgaris*	Garden Thyme	Italy	
	mastichina	Mastick Thyme	Spain	H. East, esq.
MELISSA	*officinalis*	Balm	Britain	
DRACOCEPHALUM	*Ruyschiana*		Sweden	H. East, esq. 1783
	Moldavica	Moldavian Balm	Moldavia	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
OCYMUM	*Basilicum*	Sweet Basil	Persia	M. Wallen, esq.

ANGIOSPERMIA.

ANTIRRHINUM	*majus*	Snap-dragon	England	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	asarina	Toad-flax	Italy	H. East, esq. 1773
DIGITALIS	*purpurea*	Purple Fox-glove	Britain	H. East, esq. 1787
	ambigua	Yellow Fox-glove	Switzerland	H. East, esq. 1784
BIGNONIA	*Catalpa*	Trumpet-flower	Carolina	H. East, esq. 1788
BROWALLIA	*elata*	Upright Browallia	Peru	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
SESAMUM	*orientale*	Vanglo, or Oil Plant	East-Indies	
BARLERIA	*prionites*	Thorny Barleria	India	H. East, esq. 1788
VITEX	*Agnus Castus*	Chaste tree	Sicily	Monf. Nectoux, 1789
PEDALIUM	*Murex*	Prickly-fruited Pedal.	East-Indies	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
MELIANTHUS	*major*	Honey-flower	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1784

Classis

			Britain	H. East, esq. 1787
Digitalis	*purpurea*	Purple Fox-glove	Switzerland	H. East, esq. 1784
	ambigua	Yellow Fox-glove	Carolina	H. East, esq. 1788
Bignonia	*Catalpa*	Trumpet-flower	Peru	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
Browallia	*elata*	Upright Browallia	East-Indies	
Sesamum	*orientale*	Vanglo, or Oil Plant	India	H. East, esq. 1788
Barleria	*prionites*	Thorny Barleria	Sicily	Monf. Nectoux, 1789
Vitex	*Agnus Castus*	Chaste tree	East-Indies	Tho. Hibbert, esq. 1787
Pedalium	*Murex*	Prickly-fruited Pedal.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1784
Melianthus	*major*	Honey-flower		

Classis

Classis XV.

TETRADYNAMIA.

SILICULOSA.

Lepidium	*latifolium*	Pepper-wort	Britain	H. East, esq. 1788
	sativum	Garden Cress	Germany	
Cochlearia	*officinalis*	Scurvy-grass	Britain	H. East, esq. 1773
	Armoracia	Horse-radish	England	
Iberis	*umbellata*	Candy-tuft	South of Europe	H. East, esq. 1775
Alyssum	*halimifolium*	Sweet Alysson	Italy	H. East, esq. 1774
	incanum	Hoary Alysson	Italy	H. East, esq. 1788
Lunaria	*annua*	Honesty	Germany	H. East, esq. 1773

SILIQUOSA.

Sisymbrium	*Nasturtium*	Water-cress	Britain	
Cheiranthus	*Cheiri*	Wall-flower	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
	incanus	Queen's Stock	Italy	M. Wallen, esq. 1772
	annuus	Ten-week Stock	Spain	H. East, esq. 1772
Hesperis	*tristis*	Night-smelling Rocket	Hungary	H. East, esq. 1772.
Sinapis	*alba*	White Mustard	Britain	M. Wallen, esq.
	nigra	Black Mustard	Britain	
Brassica	*Rapa*	Turnep	England	
	oleracea	Common Cabbage	England	
		var. 1. Red Cabbage		
		2. Savoy Cabbage		
		3. Cauliflower		

		4. Brocoli		
		5. Turnep-rooted Cabbage		
RAPHANUS	*sativus*	Garden Radish	China	
		var. 1. Turnep Radish		
		2. Black Radish		

Classis XVI.

MONADELPHIA.

PENTANDRIA.

GERANIUM	*malacoides*	Mallow-leav'd Geran.	South of Europe	H. East, esq. 1788
	alchimilloides	Mantle-leav'd Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	coriandrifolium	Coriander-leav'd Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	zonale	Horse-shoe Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	
	quercifolium	Oak-leav'd Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	Radula		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	vitifolium	Balm-scented Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	M. Wallen, esq.
	capitatum	Rose-scented Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	M. Wallen, esq.
	betulinum	Birch-leav'd Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	Bohemicum		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	levigatum		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	Hermannifolium		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	palmatium		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788

DODECANDRIA.

PENTAPETES	*phœnicea*	Scarlet Pentapetes	East-Indies	Dr. Thomas Clarke, 1775

POLY-

	betulinum	Birch-leav'd Geran.	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	Bohemicum		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	lævigatum		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	Hermannifolium		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	palmatium			

DODECANDRIA.

PENTAPETES	*phœnicea*	Scarlet Pentapetes	East-Indies	Dr. Thomas Clarke, 1775

POLY-

POLYANDRIA.

ADANSONIA	*digitata*	Monkies-Bread	Senegal	H. East, esq.
SIDA	*indica*	Indian Mallow	India	H. East, esq.
ALCEA	*rosea*	Holly-hock	China	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
MALVA	*capensis*	Cape Mallow	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1787
	crispa	Curl'd Mallow	Syria	H. East, esq. 1774
	rotundifolia	Dwarf Mallow	Britain	Captain Jones
LAVATERA	*thuringiaca*	Great-flower'd Lav.	Hungary	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
HIBISCUS	*populneus*	Poplar-leav'd Hibisc.	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1784
	mutabilis	Changeable Rose	East-Indies	M. Wallen, esq.
	Rosa sinensis	China Rose	China	M. Wallen, esq.
	syriacus	Althæa frutex	Syria	M. Wallen, esq.
	ficulneus	Fig-leav'd Hibiscus	Ceylon	H. East, esq. 1788
	Trionum	Bladder Hibiscus	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
	Sabdariffa	Sorrel Hibiscus	India	
CAMELLIA	*japonica*	Japan Rose	Japan	H. East, 1787

Classis XVII.

DIADELPHIA.

DECANDRIA.

ERITHRINA	*herbaca*	Herbaceous Coral-tree	Carolina	Mr. Gale, 1772
	grandiflora	Large flowering Coral-tree		H. East, esq.
SPARTIUM	*junceum*	Spanish Broom	South of Europe	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	scoparium	Common Broom	Britain	M. Wallen, esq.
	monospermum	White-flower'd Broom	Portugal	M. Wallen, esq.

GENISTA

GENISTA	*candicans*	Hoary Genista	South of Europe	H. East, esq. 1788
ULEX	*europæus*	Furze or Whin	Britain	M. Wallen, esq.
	capensis	Cape Furze	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1782
CROTALARIA	*juncea*	Chinese Crotalaria	China	Dr. Tho. Clarke
	retusa	Wedge-leav'd Crot.	East-Indies	
	verrucosa	Blue-flower'd Crot.	East-Indies	H. East, esq.
CROTALARIA	*pallida**	Pale-flower'd Crotal.	Africa	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	laburnifolia	Shrubby Crotalaria	Asia	H. East, esq. 1791
	quinquefolia		India	H. East, esq. 1791
ONONIS	*rotundifolia*		Switzerland	H. East, esq. 1791
ARACHIS	*hypogæa*	Earth Nuts or Pindars	South-America	
LUPINUS	*albus*	White Lupine		M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	varius	Blue Lupine	Sicily	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	angustifolius	Narrow-leav'd Lupine	Spain	H. East, esq. 1780
	luteus	Yellow Lupine	Sicily	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
PHASEOLUS	*vulgaris*	Kidney-bean	India	
DOLICHOS	*Lablab*	Black-seeded Dolichos	Ægypt	H. East, esq. 1789
	sinensis	Chinese Dolichos	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1789
GLYCINE	*triloba*		India	H. East, esq. 1791
CLITORIA	*ternatea*	Blue Clitoria	East-Indies	
	fl. albo	White Clitoria		
PISUM	*sativum*	Garden Pea	South of Europe	
LATHYRUS	*odoratus*	Sweet Pea	Sicily	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	var.	Painted Lady Pea	Ceylon	H. East, esq. 1781
	tingitanus	Tangier Pea	Africa	H. East, esq. 1781

* *Hort. Kew.* vol. iii. p. 20.

latifolius

	sinensis	Chinese Dolichos	India	H. East, esq. 1791
Glycine	*triloba*		East-Indies	
Clitoria	*ternatea*	Blue Clitoria		
	fl. albo	White Clitoria	South of Europe	
Pisum	*sativum*	Garden Pea	Sicily	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
Lathyrus	*odoratus*	Sweet Pea	Ceylon	H. East, esq. 1781
	var.	Painted Lady Pea	Africa	H. East, esq. 1781
	tingitanus	Tangier Pea		*latifolius*

* *Hort. Kew.* vol. iii. p. 20.

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Vicia	*latifolius*	Broad-leav'd Pea	England	H. East, esq. 1781
	Faba	Garden Bean	Ægypt	
Cytisus	*Laburnum*	Common Laburnum	Austria	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	Cajan	Pigeon Pea	East-Indies	
Robinia	*hispida*	Rose Acacia	Carolina	H. East, esq. 1786
	grandiflora	Large-flower'd Acacia.	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1782
	mitis		East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1792
Coronilla	*valentina*	Shrubby Coronilla	Spain	H. East, esq. 1788
	arabica	Arabian Coronilla	Arabia	H. East, esq. 1788
	minima	Small Coronilla	South of Europe	H. East, esq. 1788
Æschynomene	*grandiflora*	Pea-tree	East-Indies	J. G. Kemeys, esq. 1774
	Sesban	Egyptian Pea-tree	Egypt	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	aquatica	Swamp Pea-tree	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1780
Hedysarum	*gyrans*	Moving Plant	East-Indies	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
Galega	*purpurea*	Purple Galega	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1790
Lotus	*jacobæus*	Dark-flower'd Lotus	Azores	H. East, esq. 1790
Medicago	*polymorpha*			
	var. scutellata	Snail Medick	Europe	H. East, esq.
	intertexta	Hedge-hog Medick	Europe	M. Wallen, esq.

Classis XVIII.

POLYADELPHIA.

PENTANDRIA.

Theobroma	*Cacao*	Chocolate Nut-tree	South-America	
Ambroma	*angusta*	Maple-leav'd Ambroma	New South Wales	H. East, esq. 1791

DODE-

DODECANDRIA.

MONSONIA	*speciosa*	Fine-leav'd Monsonia	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1791

ICOSANNDRIA.

CITRUS	*Media*	Citron-tree	Asia	
		var. 1. Lemon-tree		
		2. Lime-tree		
		3. Sweet Lime-tree		
		4. Forbidden-fruit-tree		
		5. Grape-fruit-tree		
	Aurantium	Seville Orange-tree	India	
		var. China Orange-tree		
	Decumana	Shaddock-tree	India	

POLYANDRIA.

HYPERICUM	*balearicum*	St. John's-wort	Majorca	H. East, esq. 1788
	monogynum	Chinese St. John's-wort	China	H. East, esq. 1788

Classis XIX.

SYNGENESIA.

POLYGAMIA ÆQUALIS.

SONCHUS	*oleraceus*	Sow-thistle	Britain
LACTUCA	*sativa*	Garden Lettuce.	

Classis XIX.

SYNGENESIA.

POLYGAMIA ÆQUALIS.

Sonchus	*oleraceus*	Sow-thistle	Britain	
Lactuca	*sativa*	Garden Lettuce.		Leontodon

Leontodon	*Taraxacum*	Dandelion	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
Cichorium	*Endivia*	Endive		
	var. crispa	Curled-leav'd Endive		
Cynara	*Scolymus*	French Artichoke	South of France	
	Cardunculus	Cardoon Artichoke	Candia	
Crepis	*barbata*	Spanish Hawk-weed	South of France	
Spilanthus	*Acmella*	Balm-leav'd Spilanthus	Ceylon	H. East, esq. 1788

POLYGAMIA SUPERFLUA.

Tanacetum	*vulgare*	Garden Tansey	Britain	M. Wallen, esq,
Artemisia	*Abrotanum*	Southernwood	S. of Europe	
	Absinthium	Wormwood	Britain	
Gnaphalium	*fœtidum*	Strong-scented Everlasting	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1788
Xeranthemum	*speciosissimum*	Shewy Keranthemum	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1775
Aster	*fruticosus*	Shrubby After	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1784
	chinensis	Chinese After	China	M. Wallen, esq. 1775
	Amellus	Italian After	Italy	H. East, esq. 1780
Bellis	*perennis*	Field Daisy	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
Tagetes	*patula*	French Marygold	Mexico	
	erecta	African Marygold	Mexico	
Zinnia	*multiflora*	Red Zinnia	North America	H. East, esq. 1772
Chrysanthemum	*coronarium*	Garden Chrysanthemum	Sicily	H. East, esq. 1774
Anthemis	*nobilis*	Camomile	Britain	Mrs. Duncomb, 1783
Achillea	*millefolium*	Milfoil, or Yarrow	Britain	M. Wallen, esq.

POLY-

POLYGAMIA FRUSTRANEA.

HELIANTHUS	*annuus*	Common Sun-flower	Mexico	
	indicus	Dwarf Sun-flower		H. East, esq.
	tuberosus	Jerusalem Artichoke	Brazil	H. East, esq.
RUDBECKIA	*laciniata*		Virginia	H. East, esq. 1789
	hirta	American Sun-flower	Canada	H. East, esq. 1790
CENTAUREA	*Cyanus*	Blue-bottle	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1774

POLYGAMIA NECESSARIA.

CALENDULA	*officinalis*	Garden Marygold	South of Europe	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
ARCTOTIS	*calendulacea*	Marygold Arctotis	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1783

MONOGAMIA.

LOBELIA	*siphilitica*	Blue Cardinal-flower	Virginia	Monf. Noctoux, 1789
VIOLA	*odorata*	Sweet Violet	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	var.	Double-flower'd Violet	Britain	H. East, esq. 1789
	tricolor	Heart's-ease or Pansies		Mrs. Brodbelt, 1769
IMPATIENS	*Balsamina*	Garden Balsam	East-indies	M. Wallen, esq. 1773

Classis

VIOLA	*odorata*	Sweet Violet	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	var.	Double-flower'd Violet	Britain	H. East, esq. 1789
	tricolor	Heart's-ease or Pansies		Mrs. Brodbelt, 1769
IMPATIENS	*Balsamina*	Garden Balsam	East-Indies	M. Wallen, esq. 1773

Classis

Classis XX.

GYNANDRIA.

DIANDRIA.

LIMODORUM	*tuberosum*	Tuberous-rooted Limodorum	North America	
	Tankervillia	Chinese Limodorum	China	H. East, esq. 1787
EPIDENDRUM	*Vanilla*	Vanilla	South America	Mr. Thame, 1787

TRIANDRIA.

SISYRINCHIUM	*bermudiana*		N. America	

PENTANDRIA.

PASSIFLORA	*maliformis ?*	Water Lemon	Barbadoes	
	cærulea	Passion Flower	Brazil	M. Wallen, esq. 1780

POLYANDRIA.

ARUM	*bicolor* *	Painted Arum		H. East, esq.
CALLA	*æthiopica*		Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1787

* *Hort. Kew.* vol. iii. p. 316.

Classis

Classis XXI.

MONOECIA.

MONANDRIA.

CASUARINA	*equisetifolia*		East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1788
ARTOCARPUS	*integrifolia*	Indian Jaca Tree	East-Indies	Lord Rodney, 1782

TRIANDRIA.

TYPHA	*latifolia*	Large Reed-mace	Britain	
COIX	*Lacryma Jobi*	Job's Tears	East-Indies	M. Wallen, esq.
PHYLLANTHUS	*Niruri*	Annual Phyllanthus	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1782

TETANDRIA.

BUXUS	*sempervirens*	Box-tree	England	M. Wallen, esq.
URTICA	*dioica*	Common Nettle	Britain	M. Wallen, esq.
	urens	Lesser Nettle	Britain	H. East, esq.
MORUS	*alba*	White Mulberry tree	China	H. East, esq. 1784
	nigra	Common Mulberry tree	Italy	M. Wallen, esq.
	rubra	Red Mulberry tree	Carolina	H. East, esq. 1774
	papyrifera	Paper Mulberry tree	Japan	H. East, esq. 1779

PENTANDRIA.

AMARANTHUS	*melancholicus*	Two-coloured Amaranth	East-Indies	M. Wallen, esq. 1773

tricolor

	urens	Lesser Nettle	Britain	H. East, esq.
MORUS	*alba*	White Mulberry tree	China	H. East, esq. 1784
	nigra	Common Mulberry tree	Italy	M. Wallen, esq.
	rubra	Red Mulberry tree	Carolina	H. East, esq. 1774
	papyrifera	Paper Mulberry tree	Japan	H. East, esq. 1779
		PENTANDRIA.		
AMARANTHUS	*melancholicus*	Two-colour'd Amaranth	East-Indies	M. Wallen, esq. 1773

	tricolor	Three-colour'd Amaranth	East-Indies	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
	cruentus	Bloody Amaranth	East-Indies	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
		POLYANDRIA.		
QUERCUS	*Ilex*	Evergreen Oak-tree	South of Europe	H. East, esq. 1787
	Suber	Cork tree	South of Europe	H. East, esq.
	rubra	Red Oak-tree	N. America	Mr. Thame, 1788
	alba	White Oak-tree	Virginia	Mr. Thame, 1788
	Robur	Common Oak-tree	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1773
JUGLANS	*regia*	Walnut tree	Persia	M. Wallen, esq. 1774
	alba	White Hickery tree	North America	M. Wallen, esq. 1786
	nigra	Black Walnut tree	North America	Mr. Jones, 1786
FAGUS	*Castanea*	Chesnut tree	England	Mrs. Brodbelt
	pumila	Dwarf Chesnut tree	North America	M. Wallen, esq.
CORYLUS	*Avellana*	Hazel-nut tree	Britain	M. Wallen, esq. 1775
PLATANUS	*orientalis*	Oriental Plane tree	Levant	M. Wallen, esq
	occidentalis	American Plane tree	North America	Mr. Thame, 1775
		MONADELPHIA.		
PINUS	*sylvestris*	Common Pine tree	Europe	M. Wallen, esq. 1775
	Pinaster	Cluster Pine tree	Europe	M. Wallen, esq. 1775
	Pinea	Stone Pine tree	Europe	M. Wallen, esq. 1775
	Cembra	Siberian Pine tree	Siberia	M. Wallen, esq. 1775
	Strobus	Weymouth Pine tree	North America	M. Wallen, esq. 1775
	Cedrus	Cedar of Lebanon	Levant	H. East, esq. 1788
	Larix	White Larch tree	Germany	H. East, esq. 1788

THUJA.

THUJA	*orientalis*	Chinese Arbor Vitæ	China	H. East, esq. 1775
CUPRESSUS	*sempervirens*			
	var. stricta	Upright Cypress tree	Candia	H. East, esq. 1773
	horizontalis	Spreading Cypress tree	Candia	Mr. Thame, 1786
	disticha	Deciduous Cypress tree	North America	Mr. Salt, 1786
	juniperoides	African Cypress tree	Cape of Good Hope	H. East, esq. 1789
CROTON	*sebiferum*	Tallow-tree	China	John Ellis, esq. 1765

SYNGENESIA.

MOMORDICA	*Balsamina*	Smooth Cerasee	India	
	Charantia	Hairy Cerasee	East-Indies	
CUCURBITA	*Pepo*	Pumpkin Gourd		
	Melopepo	Spanish Gourd		
	Citrullus	Water Melon	South of Europe	
CUCUMIS	*Melo*	Common Melon		
	Dudaim	Apple-shap'd Cucumber	Levant	H. East, esq.
	sativus	Common Cucumber		
	flexuosus	Turkey Cucumber		
SICYOS	*angulata*	Chocho Vine	America	

Classis XXII.

DIOECIA.

MONANDRIA.

PANDANUS	*odoratissimus*	Screw Pine	Ceylon	Lord Rodney, 1782

DIAN-

Sicyos	*angulata*	Chocho Vine	America	

Classis XXII.

DIOECIA.

MONANDRIA.

Pandanus	*odoratissimus*	Screw Pine	Ceylon	Lord Rodney, 1782

DIAN-

DIANDRIA.

Salix	*babylonica*	Weeping Willow	Italy	H. East, esq. 1783

TETRANDRIA.

Myricia	*cerifera*	Candleberry Myrtle	Carolina	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775

PENTANDRIA.

Pistacia	*officinarum*	Pistachia tree	Greece	H. East, esq. 1783
	Terebinthus	Turpentine tree	South of Europe	H. East, esq. 1790
	Lentiscus	Mastick tree	South of Europe	H. East, esq. 1789
Spinacia	*oleracea*	Garden Spinage		
Cannabis	*sativa*	Hemp	India	M. Wallen, esq.

HEXANDRIA.

Smilax	*Sarsaparilla*	Sarsaparilla	America	Z. Bayly, esq. 1765

OCTANDRIA.

Populus	*balsamifera*	Tacamahac Poplar tree	Siberia	H. East, esq. 1791

DECADRIA.

Schinus	*molle*	Peruvian Mastick tree	Peru	H. East, esq. 1783

Classis

Classis XIII.

POLYGAMIA.

MONOECIA.

Nov. Gen.? Bichy Tree* Guinea 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 Liguanea; 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.

Hermaphroditus Flos.

CAL. Nullus.
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 didymæ in orbem dispositæ et extus Nectarii dentibus coalitæ.
PIST. Germen subrotundum quinque-sulcatum hirsutum. Stigmata quinque crassa reflexa subcontorta, germini incumbentia.
PER. Capsula magna subovata gibbosa, leniter incurvata, unilocularis, sutura dorsali prominente.
SEM. Plura angulata imbricata, singulum cortice coriaceo proprio obtectum.

Masculi Flores.

CAL. & COR. ut in Flore hermaphrodito, sed ⅓ majores.
STAM. ut in Flore hermaphrodito.
PIST. Germen nullum. Stigmatum quinque rudimenta parva e medio Nectarii orta.

Arbor inelegans ramosa, cortice subfusco truncus tegitur; folia habet alterna pedicellata integra oblonga venosa glabra acuminata, margine undulato, ficca, laurina, ad extremitatem ramulorum congesta; pedicellis utrinque tumidis vel ganglionosis.

Masculi Flores.

CAL. & COR. ut in Flore hermaphrodito, sed $\frac{1}{3}$ majores.
STAM. ut in Flore hermaphrodito.
PIST. Germen nullum. Stigmatum quinque rudimenta parva e medio Nectarii orta.

Arbor inelegans ramosa, cortice subfusco truncus tegitur; folia habet alterna pedicellata integra oblonga venosa glabra acuminata, margine undulato, ficca, laurina, ad extremitatem ramulorum congesta; pedicellis utrinque tumidis vel ganglionosis.

TERMINALIA	*Catappa*		East Indies	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1790
ACER	*Pseudo-Platanus*	Sycamore tree	Britain	H. East, esq. 1787
	rubrum	Red Maple	Virginia	H. East, esq. 1790
MIMOSA	*sensitiva*	Sensitive Plant	Brazil	
	farnesiana	Sweet-scented Mimosa	East-Indies	H. East, esq. 1788
	nilotica	Gum Arabic tree	Egypt	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	Lebbeck	Ægyptian Sensitive	Egypt	Lord Rodney, 1782
	Senegal	Gum Senegal tree	Arabia	Tho. Hibbert, Esq. 1787
		DIOECIA.		
FRAXINUS	*Ornus*	Manna Ash	Calabria	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
		TRIOECIA.		
CERATONIA	*Siliqua*	St. John's-bread	Sicily	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
FICUS	*Carica*	Fig-Tree	South of Europe	
		PALMÆ.		
CYCAS	*circinalis*	Sago Palm	East-Indies	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
PHOENIX	*dactylifera*	Date Palm-Tree	Levant	

onosis. Racemi compositi breves, plerumque è ramis majoribus orti. Corolla lutea, laciniæ striis tribus purpureis intus notatæ; odor valde ingratus. A Nigritis in Jamaica vocatur Bichy vel Colu, et ibi semina per se vel cum Sale et Capsico commista ad dolores ventriculi pro remedio habentur.

END OF VOL. I.