

Smith del et sculp.

Landscape by E. Smith.

Old Cudjoe making peace.

Letter 2.

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THE
HISTORY

1440

OF THE

280

MAROONS,

FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THEIR CHIEF TRIBE AT
SIERRA LEONE:

INCLUDING THE
EXPEDITION TO CUBA,
FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROCURING SPANISH CHASSEURS;

AND THE
STATE OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA
FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS:

WITH A
SUCCINCT HISTORY OF THE ISLAND
PREVIOUS TO THAT PERIOD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

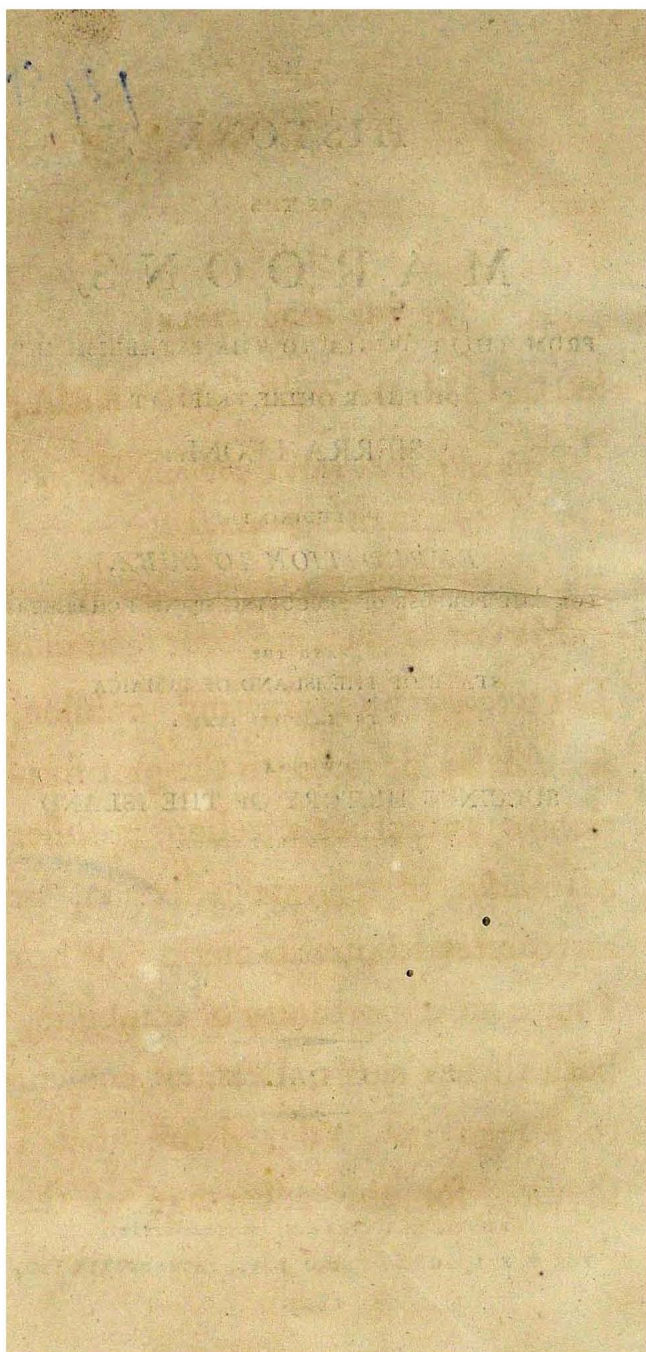
By R. C. DALLAS, Esq.



LONDON: ,

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1803.



1440

TO THE HONOURABLE
WILLIAM DAWES QUARRELL,
OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL OF THE
ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

MY DEAR SIR,
DEDICATIONS, in my opinion,
should be devoted to the gratifica-
tion of an author's feelings ; either
as marks of private affection, or
as tributes to public merit. When
I have an opportunity of combining
both these objects, I cannot consent
to forego it. Your desire that I
should, for the advantage of the
A 2 work,

work, inscribe it to some person in this country of greater influence than yourself, does you more honour than can be derived from a dedication; but as I have all the honour of it in view for myself, I know not how better to secure it, than by prefixing to these volumes the name of one whose exertions have been publicly acknowledged to have saved his country, and whose friendship for myself has outlived the united attacks of time, absence, and adversity.

Your having had so important a share in the transactions I relate,
and.

(v)

and your having furnished me with
so large a portion of my materials,
are additional reasons for my re-
questing your acceptance of a work,
which without your assistance and
encouragement would never have
appeared.

I am, my dear Sir,

With the highest esteem,

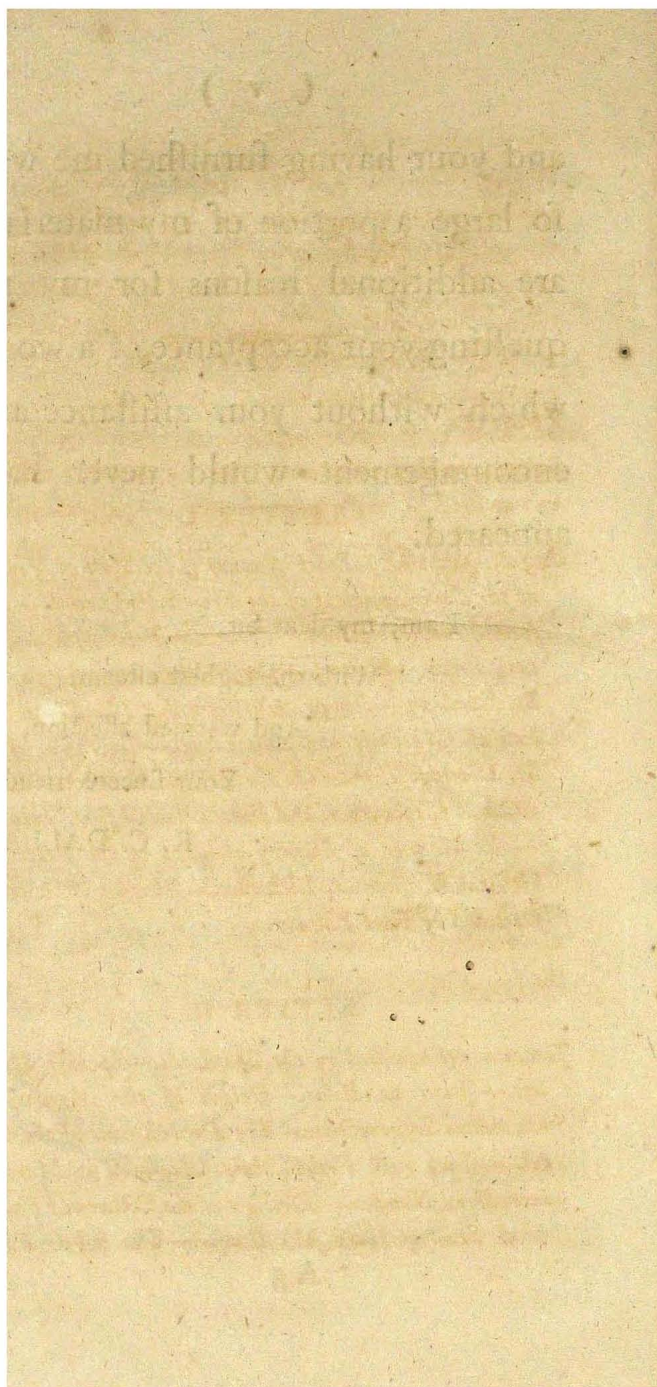
And warmest affection,

Your sincere friend,

R. C. DALLAS.

London,
March 1st, 1803,







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P R E F A C E.

THE magnitude of the objects which have engaged the attention of the world during the last thirteen years; the revolution of empires, the destruction of states, the extinction of whole classes of men, the alteration of established customs, the sacrifice of millions of lives, the general convulsions throughout the earth, the terrific though unavailing ambition of groveling upstarts, the unnatural policy and feeble efforts of the most powerful governments, the wonderful exploits of British arms in every quarter of the globe; the return of France to absolute authority, and the extraordinary feats and good fortune of the man who, big with the intent of Cæsar crossing the Rubicon at the head of the flower of the Roman armies, crossed the Mediterranean without a soldier, and seized upon the empire; have accustomed the minds of men to gigantic contemplations. We have

seen a pious and beneficent monarch perish on a scaffold ; another, virtuous, ardent, and heroic, publicly assassinated ; a third, privately put to death ; a fourth and fifth, chased from their capitals ; and a sovereign Pontiff torn from St. Peter's chair, hurried into foreign lands, and dying in captivity ; a Queen, bereft of her crown, thrust in tatters into a common jail amongst the vilest of criminals, kept awhile alive on the sorriest food, and at last, with an heroic firmness becoming a Queen, yielding her life to the public instrument of execution. We have seen a chain of opposed armies extending from the north to the south of Europe ; the navy of a small island blockading all the ports of all the maritime powers ; a Russian issuing from his frozen region, chasing victorious armies before him through Italy, and scowering the Alps ; and an Englishman blowing up navies, one after the other, beneath the line and at the pole ; in fine, we have seen all the passions in a tempest, and nature herself struggling against the chaos which threatened her very existence. But the contemplation of stupendous objects, far from disqualifying
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the mind for the relish of less extensive views, heightens its satisfaction in them, as the eye, after poring over the unbounded expanse of the ocean, is relieved and delighted by a streamlet and a dell. Encouraged by this reflexion, I undertook, at the request of a friend, to write the history of a short war, carried on by the government in Jamaica, against the body of black people called Maroons, long established in the interior of that island; a subject I the more readily adopted, not only on account of its uncommon nature, but because the result of the contest was of great importance to the colony. My task, however, would have been very brief and incomplete, had I confined myself to the events of the war; a war in which ambition, aggrandizement, and the usual incentives to hostility, had no part; but which originated in private resentment on one side, and was prosecuted on the other from the necessity of settling the internal security of the country: I have, therefore, thought it proper to extend my plan, by including in it the whole history of the Maroons, the expedition to Cuba for the purpose of obtaining Spanish

chasseurs, and an account of the state of Jamaica since the French revolution, by which I hope the whole subject has been placed in a clearer and more interesting light.

When I say that it is of an uncommon nature, I am not ignorant of the notice that was taken of it in parliament, nor of the account given by Mr. Edwards; but it does not appear to have been understood or detailed. Far be it from me to speak lightly of the works of Mr. Edwards; I shall only observe here, that I have been able to derive little or no assistance from the cursory narrative published by him in the year 1796. Consulting it, as incumbent upon me, I found very few of the particulars which I purposed to detail; and saw, with some pain, that in those few, my information did not concur with his: a circumstance that renders it doubly necessary for me to state the authorities on which the following pages are founded. The gentleman, to whom I have dedicated the work, and who was indeed the friend that suggested it, is the chief source of my information;

ation; an authority that will have full weight when it is known that he served in the Maroon war; that he was the commissioner sent to Cuba for the Spanish chaffeurs; and afterwards the commissary entrusted with the removal of the Maroons from Jamaica to Nova Scotia, where he remained some time with them; that he has a considerable property in Jamaica, where he was a member of the House of Assembly at the time of the war, and is now a member of the Council. The conversations I had with this gentleman, convinced me that the subject would be highly interesting to the public; and I found it a duty, as well as a pleasure, to comply with his desire. To make myself master of the subject, I not only repeatedly talked with him upon it, but I requested and obtained copious notes; and I wrote the greater part of the book while we were under the same roof. The notes were so full, that I wished him to arrange and publish them under his own name; but to this he was averse, and I therefore undertook the task. While, however, I fortify myself with his authority and friendship, I must not leave him exposed to any

censure for my defects or opinions. For the language, observations, and reasonings I have to answer; though, of the two last, I own I have adopted much from him. Mr. Quarrell was indeed but too scrupulously anxious not to be personally made prominent: he requested, where it was necessary to speak of him, to be mentioned as commissioner or agent, and forced me to draw my pen through passages which he thought complimentary, and some of which, since his departure from England, I have restored.

After the manuscript was sent to the press, it was my good fortune to be introduced to Mr. Robertson, who had just arrived from Jamaica for the purpose of publishing the highly finished maps of that island, which he had completed under the patronage of the Assembly of the country. These maps are now in the hands of the engraver, Mr. Neil, and are acknowledged by all acquainted with Jamaica, to whom they have been shown, to be not only of very superior execution, but of striking accuracy. I had been furnished
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by Mr. Quarrell with a small sketch of the seat of the last Maroon war, which he had himself penciled from imagination : this I showed to Mr. Robertson, who was highly pleased with the powers of recollection it displayed ; but, having minutely surveyed the spot, as will be seen on his large maps, he kindly undertook to draw a precise plan of it, with which my readers cannot but be highly gratified. Nor is this the only obligation I am under to Mr. Robertson ; who, having served as an officer in the Maroon war, enabled me to extend my detail of the events in which he personally shared, and who also favoured me with a journal written by Dr. Tate, of the last expedition into the woods with the Spanish chasseurs, which terminated the war.

Clear and certain as are these sources, I have not confined myself to them, but have always had recourse to the acts of the Legislature, and to the journals of the House of Assembly for whatever they contain relative to my subject. If any passage implies information that could be gained only from the Maroons themselves, let it be remem-

bered, that for more than two years the commissary who went with them to Halifax in Nova Scotia, had frequent opportunities of conversing with them, of observing their character, and of judging of the truth of their assertions. If I have not caught the zeal of Edwards, in painting these people as tygers ; if I own that I have read of more savage casts, and that I have known some distinguished by complexions less dingy, more barbarous ; and if I allow them the portion of desert which appears to me their due ; I trust I shall not therefore be misunderstood, and proclaimed the apologist of their rebellion : my opinion respecting it is fully stated at the conclusion of the fifth letter. Having formerly resided some years in the island of Jamaica, the subjects of this work are far from being new to me : and, with the assistance that has been afforded me, I flatter myself that I may, with confidence, lay it before the public. It is of the execution alone I am diffident. The reader, who has been accustomed to the pure diction of a Robertson, and the energetic style of a Gibbon, becomes nice in the language of history ;

whoever

whoever pretends to tread their paths, should remember their powers, and fully weigh his own: therefore, although my task is of an historical nature, I was ready to persuade myself that it was one that did not require all the dignity of history, and I was glad to take shelter under the ease and familiarity of epistolary writing.

To render the work complete, I have prefixed a general history of Jamaica, previous to the period of the French revolution; and I have thrown into an appendix, such papers as I thought necessary for elucidation. The succinct account of Jamaica prior to the revolution it was my intention to have compiled from the best authorities, while the body of the work was going through the press; but, being visited by Providence with an affliction that suspended my application, and rendered me for a considerable time unable to pursue my work, I requested a friend, to whose sympathy and kind attentions I am indebted for much consolation, to undertake the previous history. He has composed it with a spirit that is only equalled by the ardour of his kindness.

kindness. To give a general knowledge of the country to which the subjects of these volumes relate, was the object in view; and this he has accomplished at once so concisely yet so completely, so elegantly yet so simply, that I am highly gratified in thinking the reader will have gained by my having transferred the composition of it to the pen of Mr. Cutting*.

There is something in the explanatory nature of a preface which occasionally calls upon a writer to mention himself to the reader: this is expected, and for this he is forgiven. But I have in the body of the work been led to admit a passage which, though totally irrelevant, my feelings would not allow me to separate from the points relative to my subject. I allude to a letter, which will be found in the following pages, and which I received from the Bishop of Meaux, in answer to one I wrote to him respecting the propagation of Christianity among the negroes by the French missionaries. I was too much gratified with the beginning of his

* John Browne Cutting Esq. of Boston, in America.

letter

letter to omit it ; but, though I am sensible of the *egotism*, I will not beg pardon of my readers, lest I should happen to offend by an affectation of extenuating what a feeling mind may think stands in no need of pardon. Proud of the friendship of the Bishop of Meaux, I wished much to speak of him in my preface, and to express the sentiments with which he has inspired me ; but he has forbidden me to indulge the wish : “ If you mention these circumstances,” says he, “ speak little of me, except to make it known that I am your friend ; give me no other praise :” thus delicately gratifying my feelings, while he shuns even the legitimate enjoyment of a tribute due to him. In obeying his injunction, however, I have a delight in observing, that the letter itself displays the spirit and character of the writer more forcibly than could the warmest language of my pen.

It is well known to my friends, that I early professed my abhorrence of the cruelties attendant upon the state of slavery, and of slavery itself, as it appeared to me in my youth. Lest the tendency of my sentiments
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in these volumes should expose me to the charge of inconsistency, I beg leave to observe, that it is not my opinions but things that are changed; I am still an enemy to cruelty. Previous to the French revolution, I was an enthusiast for freedom, but I very soon after learned to substitute the words happiness and order, for liberty and right. The former are unequivocal and proceed from God; the latter are ambiguous, and too often become means in the hands of the devil and his agents.

Throughout the work, but particularly in the last part of it, umbrage may possibly be taken by some men who will meet passages and facts, of which they will deem the exposure a kind of sacrilege. Truth and general good, not individual interests, are the objects I have in view; but, in stating errors, in exposing injurious practices, in showing where a large community is made unwarrantably subservient to personal aggrandisement, I declare that I make no particular allusion, and am swayed by no motives but those which should sway every man who takes the pen into his hand. That

the faithful history I have written may be gratifying to the public ; that the circumstantial account I have given of the Maroon-wars may be of use in preventing similar disasters, by turning the minds of the colonists to the interior security of their country, and to a thorough knowledge of the relations and government of the various classes of its inhabitants ; and that the display of the state of the island of Jamaica, while in most instances it gratifies, may in others lead to reflexion, and conduce to the general improvement of its morals, religion and happiness, are the objects of my book, and the sincere wishes of my heart.



JAMAICA.

*Exhibiting the Boundaries of each Parish
and the different Post Roads throughout the
ISLAND,
laid down from the latest Surveys with
the Maroon Towns and SEAT of
the late MAROON WAR.*

A
SUCCINCT HISTORY
OF
J A M A I C A.

J A M A I C A, or, as the early Spanish historians wrote it, Xaymaca, (signifying the land of springs,) is a link belonging to that chain of islands, which, under the denomination of the West Indies, extends from the shore of Florida north, to the mouths of the Oronoko south. It is situated in the Atlantic ocean, about four thousand miles south-west of England. At the distance of thirty leagues to the north, lies the island of Cuba. About the same distance to the east, is Hispaniola; to the west, the Gulph of Honduras; and to the south, Carthagená, on the great continent of South America, distant one hundred and forty-five leagues.

The centre of Jamaica lies in about $18^{\circ} 12'$ north latitude, and in longitude about $76^{\circ} 45'$ west from London; it measures in length one hundred and fifty miles; and in breadth not quite one-third of its length. It was discovered by the great Columbus during his second voyage to the new world, on the 2d of May 1494. The day following, he landed and took possession of it, after an inconsiderable conflict with the natives, whom he soon found means to conciliate. From this period, the condition of the island and its inhabitants for nine years is totally unknown. Afterwards indeed, its illustrious discoverer, taking refuge in it from a storm, remained during a whole year on its shores. Christopher Columbus pursuing his last voyage to Hispaniola, encountered such tempestuous weather off Cuba, as compelled him, on the 24th of June 1503, to seek shelter in one of the small harbours on the north side of Jamaica. This harbour still retains the name of Christopher's Cove. But he did not escape this tempest without loss; two vessels, out of a small squadron consisting but of four, perished at sea; and those with which he escaped,

escaped, were on examination found to be irreparably damaged. It is foreign to the design of this sketch, to give a detailed account of the adventures, sufferings, and fortitude of this extraordinary man. In this exigency, his courage and sagacity had full scope for exercise: he invented means of safety, and combined materials for escape; by the superior force of a firm, ingenious, and contriving mind, he extricated himself from an isolated and hazardous state; undepressed by the detestable conduct of the Governor of Hispaniola, who refused to succour him; unsubdued by the pressure of hunger and sickness; undismayed by the revolt of his own followers, or the defection of the natives. Overcoming obstacles that seemed almost insuperable, after a year of fatigue, adversity, and exile, he effected his escape from Jamaica. It is painful, however, to relate, that his privations and efforts during this period, heightened by the ingratitude of the Spanish monarch, put an end to his life soon after his ensuing return to Europe. But death could not extinguish his renown, or tarnish the lustre of his achievements.

Not many years after his decease, his eldest son Diego, the intrepid heir of his fortunes, being deprived of his rights, and defrauded or despoiled of his property by the baseness of Ferdinand, instituted a suit for the recovery of both, before the council for the Indies at Seville. It is to the honor of this tribunal, that he obtained a decision against the sovereign. His interests were furthermore strengthened soon after, by a marriage with the niece of Frederic the Great Duke of Alva. Diego Columbus, thus fortified by law and alliance, undertook a voyage to enforce his claims in the West Indies; and, in the month of July 1508, he arrived with a splendid retinue in the island of Hispaniola. But soon after his arrival, it was discovered that the king had not only parcelled out into two distinct governments all the continent which had been discovered by his father; but that Jamaica also was specially annexed to those separate jurisdictions. It was destined to be a place of refreshment for the crews of vessels passing between Europe and the West Indies: but Diego, deeming such a grant of the island invalid,

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and a direct violation of his right, vigorously pursued measures to resist or elude it. He asserted his claim to Jamaica. In the month of November 1509, he detached thither seventy men under the command of Juan de Esquivel; a gallant soldier and an honourable man. Among other demonstrations of Esquivel's clement temper and generous disposition, a signal instance is related of his conduct towards Ojeda. This haughty Spaniard had been invested by Ferdinand with authority in one of the governments before mentioned. When Esquivel was proceeding to Jamaica, Ojeda, then in Hispaniola, publicly threatened, that if he found him on that island when he returned from the continent, he would hang him up as a rebel. But his own voyage proved extremely disastrous, and terminated in shipwreck on the inhospitable coast of Cuba. Escaping the sea, he found himself in danger of perishing on shore. In this state of dejection and jeopardy, recollecting that Esquivel was in Jamaica, he contrived to apprize him of his distress; and implored his succour. Esquivel afforded it effectually, and with-

out hesitation. He sent an officer of rank to conduct him from Cuba to Jamaica. There he received him with tenderness, treated him with distinction, and dismissed him with honour. It is pleasing to learn, that Ojeda appreciated this generous conduct, and was ever after truly grateful to his benefactor. Under the sway of a chief thus humane and placable, it may be presumed, that the natives of Jamaica scarcely felt the yoke of foreign subjection. Accordingly, we are informed by a Spanish historian of credit, that "the affairs of Jamaica went on prosperously, because Juan de Esquivel having brought the natives to submission without any effusion of blood, they laboured in planting cotton, and raising other commodities, which yielded great profit." It is to be regretted, that such a leader survived but a few years. He died in his government, and was buried at Sevilla Nueva, a town which he had founded.

Succeeding governors refusing to profit from the mild wisdom of his policy, seemed rather

rather to vie in cruelty with the Spanish governors of Hispaniola, who were now desolating that island. The galling yoke and iron minds of the several Spanish governors who succeeded each other after the death of Esquivel, irritated the meek Indians, and provoked and perpetuated hostility. Carnage stained the land; destruction pursued the wretched natives: they were subdued by the superior discipline and tactics of the European race. This gentle and harmless people, emigrated anciently from the great hive of the Mexican empire. It is believed by Sir Walter Raleigh, that they belonged to the Arrowauk tribe, which in his time inhabited Guiana; to whose noble qualities, honourable testimony is borne by every traveller, who after visiting the nation has recorded his observations. The number of native Indians, who on the first arrival of Columbus inhabited Hispaniola, Cuba, Porto-Rico and Jamaica, amounted to more than two millions. In mind, body, manners, and habits, and particularly in respect of their food, this race differed from that of their inveterate foe the fierce and warlike Charaibes, who were cannibals. Both men and wo-

men in Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, wore a slight covering of cotton cloth round the waist. Tall in stature, slender in person, round in face, of a clear brown complexion, their hair strait and black, and their eyes streaming with good nature, they exhibited an honest countenance, coarse but not gloomy, enlivened by confidence, and softened by lenity. Their limbs and muscles were less robust than pliant; and when in motion by dancing or other exercise, were alternately nimble, graceful, or voluptuous. Possessing the means, in a fertile soil and genial climate, of gratifying every inclination with light labour; love was the source of their pleasure, and the chief business of their lives. In many of their customs and institutions, particularly in their national songs and dances, their domestic economy, their system of government, and their funeral ceremonies, they resembled the natives of the South Sea islands. But they exceeded them in those inventions and arts, which varying the enjoyments, augment the value of life. In agriculture, they were greatly superior to the Otaheiteans: possessing with them almost

most every variety of vegetable nature, the breadfruit excepted, they raised the maize and the maniock in abundance; and had the skill to water their lands from distant rivers. They made excellent cloth from their cotton; and practised the art of dying it with colours brilliant and beautiful. Among their domestic utensils and furniture, Martyr speaks with admiration of earthen ware ornamented with accurate images of living animals, chairs of ebony beautifully wrought, curiously woven beds, and ingenious implements of husbandry. The industry and ingenuity of this race, must have exceeded the measure of their wants. Placed in a medium between savage life, properly so called, and the refinement of polished society, they were perhaps equally exempt from the bodily distresses and sanguinary passions of the former condition, and from the artificial necessities, restraints, and sollicitudes of the latter. But whether such was or was not their condition, they were unquestionably the most unoffending, gentle, and benevolent of the human race; and the history of mankind affords no scene of barbarity similar to

that which was exercised in exterminating this innocent and inoffensive people.

Notwithstanding such destruction of the natives, and the state of hostility that ensued after the death of Esquivel, it appears that in 1523, Francis De Garay, the Spanish governor of Jamaica, fitted out an expedition for the conquest of Panuco, ignorant that it had already been conquered and annexed to the other continental possessions of Spain. This squadron consisted of nine ships and two brigantines, on which were embarked 850 Spaniards, a body of Jamaica Indians, and 144 horses. Such a force detached from this island, at the end of thirteen years only after the Spaniards had settled in it, demonstrates its progressive culture and new population. The town of Sevilla Nueva before-mentioned, was built on the site of the Indian village Maima, contiguous to the port now called St. Ann's harbour. It probably soon attained some consideration. Its importance at some period, may be inferred from the vestiges of a Spanish cathedral and monastery, discovered or examined by Sloane in
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the year 1688. It is also indicated by a pavement, that was discovered, reaching to the distance of two miles from the church. Sloane, who at that time carefully examined the west gate of this cathedral, then entire, and likewise certain building materials of wrought stone, manifestly prepared for some other edifice that was not erected, entertained an opinion that these buildings had not been finished. A tradition still prevails in the island, that the inhabitants of Sevilla were at some period suddenly and entirely cut off by the natives. It is certain, that from some adequate cause, now disputed or unknown, it did not gradually decay, but was depopulated suddenly, while in an unfinished state, long before the English conquest of Jamaica. The calamity which it is supposed desolated Sevilla Nueva, extended to Melilla, a small village situated about eleven leagues to the eastward of the former, at the harbour now called Port Maria. The fate of these places caused the establishment of St. Jago de la Vega, or, as it is now called, Spanish Town. The foundation of this town was laid by Diego Columbus himself, who upon the departure

departure of Garay in 1523, went thither to suppress a revolt of the Indians, and assumed the government of Jamaica.

Twenty years after the death of Diego, it furnished the title of Marquis to his son and heir: he received it in the year 1545, from the emperor Charles the V. and with it a grant of the whole island in perpetual sovereignty, as an hereditary fief of the crown of Castile. The property of this grant afterwards, by failure of male issue, became vested in Isabella, only daughter of Diego Columbus. She became sole heiress of the Columbus family, and by intermarrying with Count de Gelves, conveyed all her rights to the house of Braganza. By the revolution in 1640, which placed John Duke of Braganza on the throne of Portugal, those rights reverted by forfeiture to the crown of Spain. This successful struggle of the Portuguese, after many families of their nation had settled in Jamaica, under the patronage of de Gelves and the Braganza's, probably excited that jealousy and hatred of the Spanish settlers towards the Portuguese, mentioned by Blome, who says
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the old settlers abhorred the new. It was perhaps owing to such a sharp dissention among the inhabitants, that in 1596, when Sir Anthony Shirley invaded the island, he met with but slight resistance, and plundered the capital with impunity. About forty years afterwards, it was again invaded by a force from the Windward Islands under Colonel Jackson; who, although he pillaged St. Jago de la Vega and carried off his booty, met a much stouter resistance than Shirley formerly encountered.

We now approach the period, when, during the protectorate of Cromwell, Jamaica was captured by the English forces in May 1655. The war of extermination which the Spaniards had begun to wage against the wretched natives, has already been alluded to: it was prosecuted with unrelenting perseverance. The extent of the havoc is less known by the details of history, than by melancholy tradition confirmed by modern discoveries. To this day, in the mountains of Jamaica caves are discovered in which human bones cover the ground: and the skulls being preternaturally

turally compressed, it is evident they belonged to skeletons of the Indian race. Shut up in these recesses when driven from the coast, multitudes of the natives doubtless perished by famine, to evade the edge of the sword. Of this devoted people, consisting of at least 60,000 souls, who were found and destroyed by the Spaniards in Jamaica, not a single descendant existed in 1655, when Venables and Penn landed on the island. The Spaniards had now possessed Jamaica a century and a half; yet at that time, not more than "fifteen hundred white inhabitants (says Penn in his examination before the protector's council) were found on it." Not one hundredth-part of the land fit for planting was cultivated. A number of slaves had been introduced soon after the deplorable extinction of the natives; but the sloth of both masters and slaves when the English landed, was extreme. Their principal export, besides cocoa, consisted only of hogs-lard and hides. The sale of these articles, and supplying with provisions a few vessels that touched at the ports of Jamaica, constituted the sum and circle of its commerce. The Spanish

Spanish islanders, uneducated, unpolished, and indolent, passed their days in gloom and insipidity, enfeebled by sluggishness, and depressed by poverty. Such was their progressive degeneracy, that all traces of the ability, valour, enterprize, and perseverance of their ancestors, those mighty adventurers, who added a new hemisphere to the Spanish dominion, seemed obliterated and extinct. And these settlers, though unstained like their ancestors by guilty ambition or unpitying cruelty, might have fallen victims to the vengeance of their own slaves, if the protector's conquest had been much longer delayed. Venables soon expelled the greater part of the Spanish settlers, but retained and re-established the Portuguese; who by intrigue, or money, prevailed on him to push to extremity the rights of conquest in this instance. But the impolicy of such rigour became evident. This severity operating upon a race, who having had little intercourse with Europe, now knew no other country but Jamaica; and it being heightened by the confiscation of all their property, it excited indignation and stimulated revenge. In
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these feelings and attempts, they were seconded by their slaves. Many of the Spanish whites, thus goaded and thus aided, became fugitives in the woods, and for some time baffled the most vigorous efforts to dislodge or subdue them.

We have already mentioned the growth of Spanish Town. If, as Blome relates, it contained, prior to the conquest, two thousand houses, two chapels, and an abbey; at some period not very remote, an important diminution in the number of the white inhabitants must have taken place. A circumstance that makes it probable, that there was a prior expulsion of the Portuguese settlers by the Spanish. Of the other principal settlements at this time, the chief appears to have been Port Royal. To the west was Port Esquivel, or Old Harbour. From Old Harbour to Punto Negrillo, the western part of the island, the territory on the sea coast being chiefly Savanna, abounded with horned cattle, but was uncultivated. Returning eastward to the Hato de Liguanea, north of Port Royal, there was also an extensive Savanna, fertile in excellent tim-

ber, and swarming with horses and wild cattle. Eastward of Liguanea was the Hato Ayala, now called the Yallows; and contiguous to this, the Hato Morante, then chiefly remarkable for wild hogs and cattle in abundance. By which enumeration of settlements, it appears that the whole north side of the island was one entire uninhabited desert. Such was Jamaica in 1655.

Martial law prevailed in the island after the capture, till the death of Cromwell: although it appears from the proclamation issued after its capture was announced to him, that he meant to have established in it a liberal form of civil government. But the condition of the island and its inhabitants prior to the restoration, required martial array and exact discipline. The dispossessed Spanish settlers, who eluded the English forces, together with many fugitive negroes, who though slaves are often found faithful to their owners, and hostile to invaders, had taken shelter in the woods and recesses. On the arrival of troops in force, they disappeared: still, however, lurking in ambush near the settlements, and acquainted

quainted with the country, they not only harassed the English by perpetual alarms, by setting fire to buildings remote from the garrison, and in one of their excursions, even to houses in the capital itself, but they actually intercepted and massacred without pity, almost every individual that ventured to ramble into the country; and stragglers continued in jeopardy for some time after the conquest of Jamaica. Venerables and Penn soon sailed for England, and Major General Fortescue remained at the head of the military. But it appears that Cromwell sent out Major Sedgwick, uniting with him other commissioners for the joint exercise of civil authority. Those commissioners dying soon after their arrival, Sedgwick, intimidated perhaps by the decease of his colleagues, declined acting alone: upon which the principal officers constituted themselves with Sedgwick, a supreme executive council for managing the general affairs of the island. Fortescue was appointed president. This instrument of government bears date the 8th of October 1655. But Fortescue dying shortly afterwards, Colonel Edward D'Oyley, the

next officer in command, was chosen to succeed him. How well soever this measure was adapted to abate the rigour of martial law, and to govern peaceable men in ordinary times, it proved insufficient for the exigencies of that period. A spirit of insubordination, bordering on mutiny, was soon manifested by the troops on the island. Their perverse disobedience to their superior officers, and incorrigible misconduct, have not often been exceeded. They not only destroyed wantonly, and almost entirely, the cattle and swine which had been found in such abundance, but maliciously rooted up also vast quantities of Indian corn and ground provisions, which had been planted and left by the Spaniards. This temper and conduct has been attributed to an opinion said to be entertained on the part of the soldiers, that the protector had detached them from England to remain in the West Indies, and maintain the conquest of Jamaica by settlement. It is also asserted, that some of the subaltern officers sympathised with them in such sentiments; and conceiving that the augmented expence of feeding them from England

might induce Cromwell to abandon Jamaica, encouraged these excesses. Others suppose that this refractory spirit had its origin in a strong aversion on the part of the soldiers and subalterns, who were chiefly republicans, to their commander D'Oyley, an intrepid royalist in political sentiment. Certain it is, that two of their officers being detected in mutinous practices, were tried by a court martial, and shot under its sentence. On this occasion Colonel D'Oyley and the superior officers, who issued orders against the waste committed, and urged the planting of other provisions, were disobeyed and disregarded by an infatuated and licentious soldiery. They were deaf to remonstrance, they renounced authority, and defied the employment of force; they destroyed every thing, and would plant nothing. But a few months only had elapsed before the effects of this mad conduct ensued in a scarcity approaching to famine. Under its pressure numbers were driven to such extremity, that not only unripe fruits and noxious vegetables, but even snakes and lizards, were eagerly eaten. Disease and contagion followed. During a considerable

derable space of time, 140 died every week. Among others Sedgwick himself perished by an epidemic dysentery that raged like a pestilence. But the protector being soon apprized of the calamity and its causes, exerted himself with promptitude to remove both. Distrustful of D'Oyley, he superseded him; and having appointed Colonel Brayne commander in chief over the island, he dispatched him in a fleet of transports with supplies, and 1000 recruits for Jamaica. Brayne sailed from Port Patrick in October, and in December 1656 arrived at his destination. Governor Nevis with 1500 recruits from the Windward Islands had preceded him. About the same time also arrived two additional regiments under Colonel Humphrey and Colonel Moore. Cromwell, soon afterwards, by holding out suitable encouragement, still farther strengthened Jamaica with many industrious settlers from the New England colonies and Bermuda.

Colonel Brayne, on his arrival, found dissension, disease, and confusion, prevailing throughout his government. Though en-

dowed with sagacity to discern the sources of the evils he came to correct, and furnished with means for correcting them, he was deficient in practical vigour and fortitude. Sickness beginning to spread among the troops that had lately arrived, he was intimidated. His fears, or precautions to preserve himself from disease, proved fatal to him. He died shortly after his arrival. But prior to that event, he sent for D'Oyley and invested him with his own complete authority. This brave officer, to whose firmness, military skill, and ascendancy over the minds of those whom he commanded, the British nation owe the possession of Jamaica, having been superseded as before mentioned, weighed the obstacles to success, and entered upon his charge with modest reluctance. Upon the decease of Brayne, he wrote a manly letter to Cromwell, and another to Fleetwood, stating the wants of his government, the difficulties of his situation, and his determination to face both, until his successor should be named, to whom he would willingly resign the command. Fortunately, Cromwell at last became sensible of his merit, and confirmed him in power.

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His ability had soon fresh scope for exercise. On the 8th of May 1658, Don Christopher Sasi Arnaldo, who had been governor of Jamaica at the time of its capture, invaded the island with thirty companies of Spanish infantry. Arnaldo had been furnished by the governor of Cuba, with ordnance, ammunition, engineers, and eight months provision for this expedition. He landed on the north side of the island, at the port of Rio Nuevo, and twelve days elapsed before D'Oyley heard of his invasion. Apprized of it, he instantly selected 750 of his best troops, to repel this formidable attempt. The expedition being by sea, six weeks elapsed before he reached Rio Nuevo. This delay enabled Arnaldo to erect a strong work on an eminence that overlooked the harbour. But the gallant D'Oyley, landing at the head of his well disciplined band, immediately attacked the Spaniards in their intrenchments, carried the principal fortress by a vigorous assault, destroyed one half of Arnaldo's forces, and compelled him to return to Cuba with the remainder, after the loss of his stores, ordnance, ammunition, and colours. No con-

siderable effort has since been exerted to recapture Jamaica. Arnaldo, it is true, once more returned and put himself at the head of a party of the ancient Spanish settlers, who with their slaves still lurked in the woods: but D'Oyley again took the field, and having surrounded a party of the slaves, spared and employed them in discovering and dislodging Sasi Arnaldo's party; a remnant only of whom escaped to Cuba. After this decisive exploit, D'Oyley manifested equal ability in a prudent and vigorous administration of civil affairs. The army became more healthy, the new settlers made successful efforts in planting, the arrival of several ships for traffic stimulated industry, and the dawn of future prosperity began to appear. But notwithstanding the vigour and prudence of D'Oyley, the slaves that yet remained in the fastnesses of Jamaica, attached to the Spanish, and hostile to the English settlers, continued to be troublesome, and at times formidable. The remnant of these fugitives, even after D'Oyley had quelled their array and extorted a form of submission from a part of their leaders, through the expert audacity of
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of a band of Buccaneers whom he employed to hunt them in their strong-holds, were not subdued or exterminated. Numbers of them eluded their pursuers, spurned submission, and were nurtured in habits of spoliation and mischief. The mass of this residue being from time to time re-inforced by other runaway slaves, became roots of the Maroon tribes, with whom Governor Trelawney, more than half a century afterwards, condescended to treat, and chose to pacify, because he found it impracticable to vanquish or civilize them.

Having incidentally mentioned the Buccaneers, a Spanish term, implying hunters and not seamen, a brief notice of them may be proper here, as it is attested by concurring authorities, that much of the prosperity of the island, in early times after Cromwell's conquest of it, is ascribable to them. The origin of the Buccaneers is traced to some French settlers in Tortuga, a small sterile island, situated within a few leagues of Port Paix in Hispaniola. D'Oyley invited and employed them at first to act in the woods against the wild runaway negroes.

groes. He afterwards countenanced them, perhaps from motives of policy, to counterpoise the power, or over-awe the turbulence of the republican portion of the settlers or soldiery. For although the conspiracy of Colonels Raymond and Tyson to circumvent and depose him had been frustrated, and by the prompt trial and military execution of those Oliverian ring-leaders in mutiny, the immediate hazard of commotion and revolutionary conflict in the colony was averted; vigour and signal address were still requisite to maintain discipline, and ensure obedience. A discontented band of these bold and factious veterans, who were averse to monarchical government, and jealous of D'Oyley's cavalier politics, had spread their roots in Jamaica. These men were strong in numbers, and dreaded for their valour, even after the restoration of Charles the Second, when the royalists were predominant, and held the situations of dignity, trust or profit in the colony, almost exclusively. But what motives soever might influence D'Oyley, it is certain that the Buccaneers received such countenance from him and succeeding

governors, that thenceforward, in periods of hostility, and especially during the Spanish war which was terminated by the treaty of peace signed at Madrid in 1670, Jamaica became the chief place of resort for privateers in the West Indies, and the grand repository of their prizes and plunder. The Buccaneers were encouraged by the community as well as the government; by the affluent supplied with the means of equipment, and by the indigent enforced with sinews for combat: armed vessels being provided, their crews were soon recruited by accessions from the needy or adventurous, the discontented or the bold. Republican recruits on the island were found already drilled for danger: and many who were debarred from influence or authority at home, associated with the Buccaneers to ravish wealth from abroad. Their unbridled impetuosity often alarmed even those whom they befriended: their deeds and invincible valour terrified the adversaries whom they subdued. The renown of many feats of those veteran sea-rovers, is to this day echoed by traditionary tales told and accredited in every island of the West

West Indies. But the Spanish people, navigation, and settlements throughout the isles, seas, and continent of South America, were generally the objects of their rapacious hostility. The Buccaneers, however, were not as has been imagined, altogether lawless men ; they received letters of marque, and were duly commissioned by the English government in Jamaica to act against a public enemy. Pirates seldom or never avow their enterprizes. But the brilliant successes of particular privateer-men, they themselves exulted to relate, and the brief annals of their time transmit to us. To give a detail of their feats, though it would no doubt be interesting to some readers, would be thought by others, in a concise history like this, a needless digression from the peculiar objects before us. The most extraordinary and distinguished among the Buccaneers was Henry Morgan, a man descended from humble parents among the farmers of Glamorganshire. Rambling while a youth to Bristol, he accidentally met with the commander of a trading vessel bound to Barbadoes, and being actuated by an adventurous spirit, bargained for a passage

sage by indenting himself to serve a planter for four years after his arrival in that island. He arrived, fulfilled his engagement with fidelity, and on the expiration of its term proceeded to Jamaica, and entered on his career of privateering. After a succession of prosperous and almost unparalleled actions, he settled in Jamaica on the termination of the war between England and Spain, relinquished the pursuit of privateering, and turning his mind to agriculture, became an industrious planter. Morgan afterwards received the honour of knighthood from Charles the Second, a sovereign who, according to Sir William Beeston, preserved a good understanding with successful Buccaneers, and deigned to accept a portion of their booty. Some years afterwards Sir Henry Morgan was appointed a member of the council, and finally advanced to the dignity of lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, executing the duties of both stations with vigour and probity. It is unpleasing to relate, that this extraordinary man, after such a display of valour and civil conduct, was arrested by order of James the Second, at the instance of the Spanish monarch, and
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committed to the Tower in 1684, where he remained without trial or examination till the day of his death, which happened three years after.

But to return to the government of D'Oyley ; we find, about the time of the death of Cromwell, that people of all professions in the mother country, resorted to the colony of Jamaica. Many of these perhaps foresaw a re-establishment of the monarchy, and apprehending punishment in England for their culpable conduct, sought refuge in a distant community, originally composed of Cromwell's adherents. Nor were such disappointed ; for after the restoration, those of this description who silently settled here, remained unmolested. Charles the Second confirmed D'Oyley in his command, appointing him governor of the island, by a commission dated the 13th day of February 1661. He was instructed to release the army from military subordination, erect courts of justice, and with the advice of a council to be elected by the inhabitants to legislate for them. This was the first regular establishment of civil government

vernment in Jamaica ; and when D'Oyley soon after resigned his situation, confidence and security were still farther extended by his successor, Lord Windsor, who in a royal proclamation encouraged the settlement of the country, by offering allotments of land under such terms as were usual in other plantations, and even with additional advantages and privileges. All free persons were authorized and permitted to transport themselves, their families, and goods (except coin and bullion) to Jamaica, from any part of the British dominions ; and their children born in Jamaica were declared free denizens of England, entitled to the same privileges as free born subjects of England. Pursuant to the spirit of this proclamation, the governor was instructed to call an assembly, to be indifferently chosen by the people at large, to pass laws for their own internal government. But in the beginning of the year 1678, another system of legislation was adopted by the king, or his ministers for the island ; framed in conformity to the constitution of Ireland under Poyning's act. A new body of laws was prepared by the privy council of England.

land. The Earl of Carlisle was constituted chief governor, and sent over to enforce it. The whole code, including a bill for settling a perpetual revenue on the crown, his lordship offered to the assembly, requiring them to adopt it without alteration or amendment. But the assembly indignantly rejected it. No menaces could frighten, bribes corrupt, or sophistry persuade them to sanction the system. Colonel Long, then chief judge of the island, and a member of the council, was much distinguished by the patriotism, fortitude, and ability with which he resisted the attempt. To punish this contumacy, the governor vacated his seat in council, superseded him as chief justice, and finally conveyed him to England as a state prisoner. But Colonel Long being heard before the king and privy council, so ably demonstrated the evil tendency of the new code in Jamaica, that the English ministers, though reluctantly, abandoned it. Their deliberative powers were restored to the Assembly; and a favourite chief magistrate, Sir Thomas Lynch, succeeded Lord Carlisle in the government. But although it was now hoped in Jamaica, that all cause
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of future contest with the crown for political immunities was done away, the event proved that this hope was fallacious. It is believed that the ministers of the crown, desirous chiefly of obtaining revenue from Jamaica in perpetuity, similar to the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. paid by Barbadoes and the Windward Islands on their exports, relinquished the system of compulsion, expecting that lenity might produce what power had failed to extort. The ministers, for dropping a pernicious project, expected the voluntary grant of a permanent revenue. But the Assembly remained unconvinced, and inflexibly adhered to the mode of an annual supply-bill. This refusal was met by a spirit of vindictive policy. The sovereign was advised to withhold his assent from acts of the legislature, on which many important judicial determinations in the colony had been grounded. Thus the royal confirmation of the laws was waved, and the administration of justice, during fifty years, remained on this precarious footing in the island. Such was the actual situation of the inhabitants until the year 1728, when a compromise was happily effected, and a revenue

revenue act passed which was confirmed by the king. The Assembly consented to settle on the crown, an irrevocable permanent revenue of 8000*l.* per annum; chiefly upon three leading conditions: 1st, That the quit-rents within the island (then estimated at 1460*l.* per annum) should constitute a part of such revenue: 2dly, That the body of the laws enacted by the legislature of Jamaica, should receive the royal assent: and, 3dly, That all such laws and statutes of England as had been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as laws in the island, should be and continue laws of Jamaica forever. In the year 1687, Christopher Duke of Albemarle, the son and heir of General Monk who restored Charles the Second, was appointed Governor of Jamaica, where dying childless soon after his arrival, his honors were extinguished with his life. The noble governor exhibited a specimen of the arbitrary spirit of those times, by arresting a member of the Assembly, for having repeated in debate, the ancient maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex.* He afterwards fined him 600*l.* for this offence, and dissolved the

the Assembly. The Duke, however, lived long enough to amass a considerable treasure in Jamaica, by entering into partnership with Sir William Phipps, who had discovered the wreck of a Spanish plate ship that had been stranded in 1659, on a shoal to the north east of Hispaniola. By the efforts of skilful divers sent out in sloops from Jamaica, twenty-six tons of silver were said to be recovered.

On the 19th of February 1687, the shock of an earthquake was felt throughout the island. Its duration was short, and though many buildings were damaged, few were ruined, and none disappeared. The year ensuing was memorable for the revolution which placed King William and his consort on the British throne. Their title was immediately recognized, and they were joyfully proclaimed in Jamaica. In the year 1690, the Earl of Inchiquin was appointed governor, and in the war which ensued, King William being at the head of the confederacy against France, the Earl had orders to detach a maritime force against the French settlements in Hispaniola.

niola. The English Squadron was successful, and Jamaica was enriched by its prizes. A short time after this period, when the island flourished in population, and prospered in riches, a tremendous earthquake damaged the whole surface of it, and swallowed up a great part of Port Royal, then the most affluent town in the West Indies. On the 7th of June, between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock A. M. the concussion began. Three distinct shocks, each more terrible than the preceding one, in the space of a few moments shook down, sunk, and overwhelmed two thirds of its best edifices. Solid wharves, spacious warehouses, sumptuous habitations, the property or the residence of the most eminent planters and merchants, almost immediately disappeared. More than two-thirds of all the buildings were inundated. The spires on the summits only of the loftier, were visible, intermingled with the masts of ships stranded among them. The Swan frigate had been hove down to careen. In a moment this ship righted by a sudden rush of water, and was driven over the tops of deluged houses. Numbers of the inhabitants

tants who had emerged again after being swallowed up, escaped a second peril, and were preserved by getting on board this wreck. A respectable historian of the island observes, that the town of Port Royal "was chiefly built on a bank of sand adhering to a rock in the sea, and that a slight concussion, aided by the weight of the buildings, might have accomplished its destruction." But it appears that every quarter of the island was terribly shaken, and in many parts of it, underwent material changes of surface. From the summits or sides of the principal mountains the shocks detached mighty masses of the soil, which in certain situations, with whole groves of timber, were precipitated upon the lower grounds. In particular instances, the separated soil choked the current of rivers. The two hills at the entrance of sixteen-mile walk, were shaken and crushed together. The stream of the river Cobre was obstructed. The bed of it towards the ocean became dry, for miles, exposing vast quantities of fish on the soil; and several days elapsed before the water resumed its wonted channel. In the territory called the Yallows,

a mountain cracked and divided. A separated part fell into the vale below, and overwhelmed several inhabited settlements. In another quarter, a proprietor retaining possession of his ground, found his whole establishment removed from its former situation. On the north side of the island, a thousand acres of land sunk at once in mass, and with a number of persons, were submerged in a deep pool. At Passage Fort, not one house was left standing; and but one in all Liguanea. In Spanish Town, the damage was serious; although a number of houses built in a low compact stile by the Spaniards, escaped. Scarcely one sugar work was left undemolished. Of the white inhabitants, computed (from an enumeration taken a few years before the event,) to be about sixteen thousand, three thousand perished by this earthquake. Nor did the effects of so dreadful a visitation cease, when the territory of Jamaica no longer trembled. The survivors took refuge in tents and huts in the vicinity. Such habitations were incommodious. They did not well protect the refugees from a vertical sun and unwholesome exhalations. Many

also were dejected by the death of friends and the extinction of fortune. They brooded over the terror of past calamity, and anticipated future privation. Scanty diet enfeebled the body: gloom enervated the mind. From a combination of causes, physical and moral, disease ensued, aggravated by contagion. A malignant fever attacked a throng of the miserable sufferers; and before the end of October, almost depopulated Jamaica.

Scarcely had those who were not victims to the earthquake or fever, recovered from this calamitous condition, when they were menaced by a different danger. Intelligence was received that Jamaica would soon be invaded by an armament from Hispaniola: and accordingly, on the 17th of June 1694, a squadron of three ships of war, and twenty privateers, having on board 1500 land forces, under the orders of Monsieur Du Casse, commandant of that island, appeared off Cow Bay; where 800 French soldiers were landed, with instructions to desolate the country as far as Port Morant.

Such directions were obeyed with alacrity and barbarous precision. The account given to the secretary of state by the governor, alleges that the invaders perpetrated the most shocking enormities; massacre, and wanton conflagration. The militia had been drawn to the capital from that part of the island. Fatigued, and sated with ruin and ravage, the French detachment at length, after seizing about one thousand negroes, re-imbarked with their plunder. The squadron then sailed to Carlisle Bay, and Du Cassé landed in the parish of Vere. At the head of his forces he attacked about two hundred militia; defenders of a miserable breast-work. A gallant resistance was made. But Colonel Cleyborn, Lieutenant Colonel Smart, Captain Vassal, and Lieutenant Dawkins being killed, and others wounded, the residue of the detachment began to retire, when five other companies of militia sent to re-inforce them, opportunely arrived. These, though they had marched thirty miles without refreshment, immediately charged the French with such energy and effect, as changed the fortune of
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the day. Du Casse retreated; and re-imbarking, returned with his ill-gotten booty to Hispaniola.

Port Royal, a few years after began to rise again. Many houses were rebuilt, and it promised again to become populous and prosperous. But on the 9th of January 1704, an accidental fire, that broke out between the hours of eleven and twelve o'clock in the morning, consumed every house in it to ashes. The Legislature, that soon after assembled at Kingston, authorised disbursements from the public treasury for the relief of the indigent sufferers; and passed a resolution recommending that the inhabitants should forsake the site of Port Royal, and remove to Kingston. From that time, Kingston rose into unrivalled consideration in the island. The next disaster that afflicted the inhabitants of Jamaica, occurred on the 28th of August 1722. On that day a tremendous hurricane swept over a great part of the cultivated surface of the island, and by prostrating a great part of the buildings, and destroying the produce of the soil, diminished the fruits

of a vast property which had been accumulated in the towns, or vested in the establishment of settlements in the country. Having thus briefly stated some leading circumstances, prosperous or adverse, connected with the early history of Jamaica, we conclude this part of our design, and hasten to state its condition in modern times. Prior to this attempt it should not be forgotten, that among the sources of the early prosperity of Jamaica yet unnoticed, was the accession of twelve hundred industrious settlers that came thither on the evacuation of Surinam in 1674: 2dly, The migration of the Scots, about twenty years afterwards, from the isthmus of Darien, on the failure of that settlement. The fruits of the skill and industry of those migrators remain; and their posterity inherit many valuable estates on this island. Similar advantage in those times accrued from the example of Sir Thomas Moddiford and other eminent planters, who transferred their capital and skilful management from Barbadoes; and conferred durable benefits on Jamaica, by a diligent pursuit of wealth through the path of agricultural improvement.

ment. And to these may be superadded, the steady stream of wealth that flowed into the island, and was diffused annually from 1690, for many years by the establishment of the Asiento contract, for the supply of the Spanish islands with negroes.

In our description of Jamaica, as it exists in modern times, we offer but the etching of an outline. The island is now distributed into the three counties of Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. In Middlesex are eight parishes, one town, and thirteen hamlets. St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, is the capital of the island: it is situated on the banks of the river Cobre, about six miles from the sea; it is the seat of government and of general judicature; it is adorned with an handsome palace for the residence of the governor; its inhabitants of free condition, are five thousand. The county of Surry contains seven parishes, eight hamlets, and the towns of Kingston and Port Royal. Kingston, situated on the north side of a commodious and beautiful harbour, is the commercial metropolis of Jamaica. It was founded in 1693, when a
repetition

repetition of the calamities of fire and earthquake, as we have seen, had desolated Port Royal. Many commodious buildings and convenient houses are found in it; and of the latter, some that approach to magnificence. Its markets for fish, flesh, and vegetables are choicely and abundantly supplied. It contains above twenty-seven thousand inhabitants, including seventeen thousand slaves. Port Royal, once the seat of population and affluence, has arisen tardily from its ashes: it consists of about two hundred houses; its fortifications are strong, and preserved in excellent condition. The royal navy yard, hospital and barracks, contribute to its importance. The county of Cornwall contains five parishes, three towns, and six hamlets. The towns are Savanna-la-Mar, on the south side of the island; Montego Bay and Falmouth on the north. Savanna-la-Mar was nearly destroyed in 1780, by a hurricane and sudden inundation. About seventy houses have since been rebuilt on its site. Montego Bay has become an opulent town, and contains at least six hundred white inhabitants. Falmouth, or, as it is commonly called, *the Point*,
situated

situated on the south side of Martha Brae harbour, has arisen rapidly and prospers. It contains upwards of two hundred houses. In the twenty parishes of Jamaica, are found eighteen churches besides chapels. Each parish is provided with a rector, who in lieu of tithes, is supported by taxes levied on the inhabitants for this purpose by the vestries respectively. The yearly value of the church livings varies from 100*l.* to 1000*l.* But a large glebe augments the value of but one or two of the number. The bishop of London, it is said, claims Jamaica as parcel or part of his diocese. But such jurisdiction is unrecognized by the colony, and has never been enforced by the bishop*.

The constitution of Jamaica (with some features of difference,) resembles that of the mother country ; most of its orders of judicature are constituted like those of England. The grand court of the island, concentrates the jurisdiction of the courts of King's

* This is an account of the church and ecclesiastical regimen some years ago : for the alteration that has been made in ecclesiastical affairs, see vol. 2. letter 17.

Bench, Exchequer, and Common Pleas. A chief justice for the island presides in this court. The emoluments of his situation amount to about 3000*l.* per annum. The assistant judges, three of whom with the chief, are necessary to constitute a court, are usually planters of eminence, or other gentlemen of the island, who afford their judicial services gratuitously. In each parish (or precinct consisting of parishes) there is a principal magistrate, styled Custos Rotulorum, who with a body of justices, holds Sessions of the Peace, and Courts of Common Pleas, where the matter of litigation is of a certain limited value. The Custos also, with two other justices, the rector and ten vestrymen, elected by the freeholders, form the vestry of each parish. The vestries assess and appropriate local taxes, and appoint the collecting constables of taxes, both parochial and general. The Legislature of Jamaica is subdivided into three distinct branches. The House of Assembly, or Colonial Commons, consists of forty-three members: namely, three for each of the three chief towns, and two for each of the parishes. The pecuniary

pecuniary qualification of a member is 300*l.* per annum freehold ; or 3000*l.* personal property in the island. Ten pounds per annum freehold estate, qualifies a free white of full age to vote at an election. In fine, the Assembly of Jamaica in its formation, mode of procedure, and extent of privilege, so nearly resembles the House of Commons in England, that a more minute account of its structure, claims, or authority, is unnecessary. The upper branch of the Legislature consists of twelve gentlemen usually appointed by the crown ; who have precedence next to the governor, and are addressed by the title of honourable. They form a privy council of state to the governor ; but his proceedings, although contrary to the advice of council, are held valid in the island. The council, with the governor, constitute a court of errors and appeals from the grand common law courts, in all cases where the sum in litigation amounts to 300*l.* Each member of council is a justice of peace *ex officio* throughout Jamaica. Lastly, on the death, or in the absence of the governor or lieutenant-governor, the eldest member of the council succeeds

to the government, with the title of President of the Island.

The Governor of Jamaica, to whom is ascribed by custom and courtesy the title of Excellency, is royally appointed by letters patent, under the great seal of the kingdom. He commands the land forces when no general officer of the staff is in Jamaica. He has vice admiralty jurisdiction, and grants letters of marque. He commissions officers of the militia. He appoints the judges, and with the concurrence of five of the council, he may suspend them. He nominates and supercedes custoses of parishes, justices of the peace, and other civil officers. He has also, where the crown does not dispose of them, the disposal of civil employments. The governor inducts clergymen qualified conformably to the canons of the church, to all church livings and benefices; and in certain cases of absence, or notorious misconduct, supercedes rectors. He grants letters of administration, licences for schools and for marriages. In cases of forfeiture or penalty incurred by breach of any act rela-

tive to trade or revenue, he has concurrent jurisdiction with the courts of record ; and may, without the intervention of a jury, decide all questions both of law and fact. The governor is sole chancellor, and has custody of the great seal of the colony. He is judge in matters relating to ecclesiastical law. He presides in the court of errors and appeals ; from whence, however, an appeal may be had to His Majesty in council, if the property in litigation is 300*l.* ; and from his decisions in equity, there lies a similar appeal. He may reprieve criminals convicted of treason and murder ; and extend His Majesty's gracious pardon to all other convicted criminals. He may suspend members of the council, and supply their vacant seats. He has authority, with advice of council, to convoke the assembly and appoint the place where the Legislature must meet. When met, the governor has a negative voice in every legislative ordinance proposed. He can, at will, prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the assembly. Besides emoluments accruing from fees, fines, escheats and forfeitures, he enjoys an annual salary of 2500*l.* from the crown ; to which
a similar

a similar sum is usually added by a grant of the Legislature, which must be passed within one year after his authority commences, and is irrevocable during the term of it. Thus the ordinary emoluments of a governor of Jamaica in time of peace, may be fairly estimated at above 6000*l.* sterling per annum; and the powers with which he is invested are more unchecked and extensive than those that, by the laws of England, are allotted to the sovereign.

Of other lucrative offices, chiefly held by patent in Jamaica, and commonly granted for two lives, the most considerable are those of the Provost Marshal General, the Secretary of the Island, the Treasurer of the Island, the Clerk of the Supreme Court, the Register in Chancery, the Naval Officer, and the Collector of the Customs for the Port of Kingston. Most of these offices are held by persons resident in the mother country, who have deputies that reside in Jamaica, and execute the duties annexed to them. These deputies often purchase their situations of their principals, to whom it has been computed, that they annually
remit

remit about 30,000 *l.* sterling. But by an excellent law (the 22 Geo. iii. c. 75.) in future, the grantees of every patent office in the colonies must discharge the duties of office in person. The office of Provost Marshal General is of military origin, but its principal duties are analogous to those of the High Sheriff in England. It appears from the returns of this office, published by the Jamaica House of Assembly, 23d of November 1792, that in the course of the preceding year, 2181 executions were lodged in the office of the Provost Marshall, amounting to 569,724 *l.* sterling : and also that during the twenty years prior to 1788, 80,021 executions, amounting to 22,563,786 *l.* sterling had likewise been lodged in his office. Enrollments in the office of the Secretary of the island are matter of record. Trustees, attorneys, guardians of orphans, and mortgagees in possession, are obliged by law to register in this office, not only annual accounts of the crop and produce accruing on each estate, but accounts current of their receipts and payments. Deeds also must (within three months after date) be enrolled in this office. In it also are enrolled

all acts of the Legislature. These have the efficacy of law in Jamaica, as soon as the governor sanctions them by his assent. For although the ultimate power of rejection remains in the crown; yet, prior to the exercise of it, acts of the Legislature are valid in the colony. The most marked differences between the colony laws and those of the mother country grow out of the slave system. The evidence of a slave is inadmissible against a white person. Slaves, in certain respects, are considered by law as inheritance. They descend to heirs; the widow has dower of them, and a surviving husband may be tenant by the courtesy. Still in respect of debts, slaves are chattels, and must be inventoried by the executors. A British Act of Parliament confirms such a view, and such a disposal of them, to satisfy British debts; and it is not recollected that one effort has been made for the alteration of this statute by any individual interested in such disposal*. Yet it is unquestionably true, that frequent sales of Creole negroes, which separate individuals from domestic connections, and

* It has been since repealed.

sever them from home and habitation on the estates where they had birth, is one of the most intolerable grievances incident to slavery in Jamaica.

The crown revenue from Jamaica to the yearly amount of 800*l.* sterling, of which we have already spoken, is perpetual, being settled by the act of the year 1728. Part of this, however, arising from the quit-rents, or other sources mentioned in that act, is augmented considerably. To the revenue thus accruing, a temporary revenue is superadded by annual grants; to meet the expences of the civil list, and a variety of public charges. Among the ways and means are the following; a duty on negroes imported; an excise on rum and other articles consumed within the island; a pecuniary penalty incurred by each owner of an estate, for each white person deficient on his premises of the number required by law; a poll-tax on slaves and stock; a rate on rent and wheel carriages. A considerable portion of the revenue of Jamaica is exhausted in the extra-allowance provided for such of the regular British forces as are

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from time to time stationed on its territory. When the regular troops exceed the number of 3000, the payment of such excess is usually provided for by the Legislature of the island. Still greater expence has been voluntarily incurred, and provided for by this government of late, in quelling and transporting a tribe of the Maroons. The current coins of Jamaica are Portugal pieces of gold, called the half johannes, valued at about 55*s.* currency each; Spanish doubloons at 5*l.* 5*s.* each, and pistoles at 26*s.* 3*d.* each. The silver coins are Spanish milled dollars, valued at 6*s.* 8*d.*; and small pieces, or portions of the dollar proportionally valued. The lowest silver coin is called a *bitt*, equal to about 5*d.* sterling.

The militia of Jamaica includes all free persons from fifteen to sixty years of age, who provide, at their own expence, the requisite accoutrements, and are obliged by law to enlist themselves either in the horse or foot. In times of apprehended danger, whether from invasion or revolt, the commander in chief, with the advice and consent of a general council of war, in which

the members of the Legislature have votes, may proclaim martial law. In such an emergency, the governor is invested with powers strong and extraordinary. The island was under martial law early in 1792. The militia at that time consisted 1079 cavalry, and 8172 infantry. Of this body, the freed negroes and men of colour amounted to 1889.

But we must pass from this sketch of the government, laws, military force, and civil division of the country, to delineate within narrow limits its surface, climate, and chief productions. The surface of the territory of Jamaica has been computed, with sufficient accuracy, to be four millions of acres. Somewhat less than two millions of it has been located by taking out patents. Of this land, thus appropriated, little more than one million of acres is in cultivation. A return, about the year 1790, was made to the Legislature of Jamaica, by which it appears, that the number of sugar plantations was seven hundred and seventy-five. These may be averaged at nine hundred acres each. By the same document, there were some-

what above four hundred pennis, or breeding farms, which may be averaged at seven hundred acres each. From this authentic statement it may be inferred, that a great part of the interior of Jamaica is not only mountainous, but sterile or inaccessible. The inequality of its surface, however, constitutes a part of its charms, and introduces also a temperature mitigating the predominant heat of the climate. If we divide the tropical year into four seasons, the Spring of Jamaica commences with the month of May. The foliage of the trees then becomes more vivid, and the parched savannas grow greener, even before the rains descend. These generally come from the south; and, compared with the autumnal cataracts, seem but showers. They fall about the middle of May. Commencing in the morning, they often break up in thunderstorms about noon; exciting a rich vegetation, and spreading a beautiful verdure. This vernal season of moisture seldom continues more than a fortnight: the weather then becomes dry, settled, and salubrious; not a cloud chequers the firmament; the blue sky blazes, and the West Indian summer

mer reigns in full glory. At this period, during certain hours of the day, usually from seven till ten in the morning, the heat seems insupportable; but as soon as the sea breeze from the east stirs the dormant air, all nature revives: and (especially in the shade) till this breeze diminishes towards the evening, the climate is often tolerable, and sometimes pleasant. Though the twilight is brief, the nights are beautiful; the planet Venus illumines so as to cast a shade from trees like another moon; and the tropical stars sparkle with transcendent lustre. This state of the weather commonly continues till the middle of August, when the diurnal breeze intermits, calms smoothe the surface of the sea, and the air becomes sultry and suffocating. During the next six weeks, light winds and dead calms alternately prevail; and the thermometer sometimes rises even to 90. Such are the preludes to the wet autumnal season. About the first of October it begins. Soon the heavens pour down torrents; and the earth in some places seems deluged, especially contiguous to certain mountains. Lofty eminences, if clad with wood, powerfully

attract moisture. The perpendicular height of the water which had fallen in the West Indies within one year, was once ascertained to be equal to sixty-seven cubical inches. Between the first of August and the last of October, those dreadful visitations called hurricanes, are often anticipated, and frequently experienced. It is too well known, that hurricanes in the years 1780, 81, 84, 85, and 86, spread desolation throughout six of the best cultivated parishes in Jamaica: and such a draught succeeded as destroyed those provisions that had been cultivated in 1785 and 86, to supply the want of the interdicted North American cargoes: "so that within seven years prior to 1787," say the Assembly of Jamaica in their memorial to the British Government, "fifteen thousand slaves perished by famine, or of diseases contracted by scanty and unwholesome diet." Of the causes of such desolating storms, we yet remain in doubt or ignorance. But to return; towards the close of November, or perhaps a few days later, the northerly winds having acquired force, and the heavy rains ceasing, the air becomes pure and cool;

cool; and in a succession of serene and pleasant weather from December to April, the inhabitants of Jamaica and the other West India islands, enjoy the finest winter, if it may be called so, known on the globe.

The general appearance of Jamaica differs materially from that of the British isles in Europe. The north and south sides of Jamaica differ essentially from each other. Columbus first approached it on its northern side: his eye first dwelt on that portion of it which constitutes St. Ann's parish. No wonder the novelty, variety, and beauty of its scenery delighted him. At a moderate distance from the shore, numerous hills, distinctly separated from each other by romantic vales, swell on the sight. Most of these eminences, rounded toward their tops with signal felicity, are crowned with groves of pimento: a beautiful tree that endures no rival near it. These groves are of a deeper green than the short grass beneath them; which, springing from a chalky marble, thickens a turf as clean and close as the finest English lawn. The bright hue of this vegetable carpet is discoverable in a
thousand

thousand openings, contrasting the dark verdure of the pimentoes. On one spot we contemplate extensive groves that crown the hills; on another, diversified groups that are sprinkled down the declivities; and to finish the landscape, transparent cascades and delicious rivulets enliven this whole district. Jamaica indeed, as its name imports, abounds in springs that descend on both sides of the eminences that divide the island. It can boast of one hundred rivers, although none of them are deep enough for navigation. The land rising towards the centre of the island, as the eye escapes from the soft scenery we have portrayed, the waving outline of it melts the distant blue hills till they gradually disappear in the clouds. But approaching the southern shore, the predominant features of the territory on that side of the island are more bold than beautiful. We are first struck by a view of the stupendous and soaring ridges of the blue mountains, exhibiting abrupt precipices, or inaccessible cliffs. But on a nearer approach, these rugged appearances seem ameliorated by an interspersion of cultivated spots, where the hand of diligence

gence has awakened life and fertility. The lower range also, clad by forests of majestic timber, contributes to relieve the ruggedness of the loftier heights. At length we behold the savannas beneath, extensively covered with cane-fields, blending, in full pride of cultivation, the promise of spring, with the exuberance of autumn. The mountains of Jamaica are objects of grandeur, and agents of utility. They afford that variety of climate so conducive to serenity, health, and delight. On the sultry plains of the south, the medium of the heat during the summer and autumnal months is eighty degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer. In the highlands contiguous, the thermometer at noon seldom exceeds seventy. In higher situations it is considerably lower. At night the air becomes yet colder, inasmuch that precautions with respect to clothing, and setting out early in the morning, are requisite, in making judicious excursions from the stifling atmosphere below to the salutary climate above. In those mountains likewise, almost any of the fruits, roots, or herbs of Europe will flourish, and may be cultivated. Another

ther peculiar advantage which Jamaica and the large islands derive from such inequality of surface is the nocturnal land-wind. As soon as the diurnal breeze, blowing from the east and its collateral points, dies away in the evening, the hot air of the plains, being rarified, ascends towards the summits 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 the night-wind is generated, blowing towards land on all sides of such mountainous islands.

We have noticed the beauty of the pimento. The papaw and the palmeto-royal contribute also to beautify Jamaica. The latter has been known to attain the height of 140 feet. The foliage, of these and other stately trees of the island, springing chiefly from the summit of the trunk, and outspreading horizontally, groves of them display an assemblage of majestic columns, supporting a verdant canopy. They admit the circulation of the air, exclude the vertical sun, and furnish at once a whole-
some

some retreat and delicious shelter. While some trees of moderate growth bud, blossom, and bear fruit perennially, others astonish by their weight, size, or impenetrability of fibre. No timber for such qualities can exceed the *lignum-vitæ*, iron-wood, pigeon-wood, green-heart, brazilletto, and bully-tree. Many exhibit trunks that measure ninety feet from the base to the limbs; such as the mahogany and the cedar. The stem of the *ceiba*, or wild cotton tree, is still flouter. Being rendered concave, it has been known to furnish a boat capable of containing one hundred persons. The fig-tree, in perfection, boasts a growth yet more gigantic. The noble scenery of such groves is enlivened by the singular forms of some animals and the surprizing beauty of others. In many regions of the torrid zone, forests, mountains, or morasses, are infested by wild beasts of untameable fierceness; by broods of serpents of exalted rage and venom. But the bite of no serpent of the West-Indies is mortal; and Jamaica harbours no animal of prey to desolate or destroy. Here even the largest alligator, whose fierceness has been so much exaggerated,

aggrated, when met on the banks of its river, manifests no savage disposition, but is a timid creature, avoiding with precipitation the approach of man. As to the minute individuals of the lizard tribe, they are all innoxious, and many of them beautiful. Of the intermediate species of this family, the inguana, about three feet long, and proportionably bulky, was formerly hunted by the native Indians; and it furnished a desirable part of their food. Its flavour is like that of the green turtle; and though it is now seldom served at English tables, the French and Spanish inhabitants of the neighbouring islands still prize, dress, and feast on it. The quadrupeds of Jamaica, properly so called, consisted, in early times, of eight species: 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 monkeys of several varieties. Of this enumeration, the first and the last species only have escaped the common fate of all the nobler natives, anciently inhabitants of the island of Jamaica. Even the alco, a mute little dog, caressing and sequacious, once loved and cherished

cherished by its poor Indian masters, is like them exterminated. The narrow limits of this sketch prohibit a detailed account of the animals of Jamaica. The groves and forests once abounded with them. The regions of air and water furnished, and still furnish, a supply copious, if not inexhaustible. But the history of the mountain crab is so curious, that a transcription from the facts recorded of it by Du Pertre and Browne shall be quoted. " These animals live not only in an orderly society in their retreats in the mountains, but regularly once a year march down to the sea-side in a body of some millions at a time. As they multiply in great numbers, they choose the months of April or May to begin their expedition; and then sally out from the stumps of hollow trees, from the clefts of rocks, and from the holes which they dig for themselves under the 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 geo-

metrician could send them to their destined station by a shorter course: they neither turn to the right nor to the left, whatever obstacle intervenes; and even if they meet with a house, they will attempt to scale the walls to keep the unbroken tenor of their way. But though this be the general order of their route, they upon other occasions are compelled to conform to the face of the country; and if it be intersected by rivers, they are seen to wind along the course of the stream. The procession sets forward from the mountains with the regularity of an army under the guidance of an experienced commander. They are commonly divided into battalions, of which the first consists of the strongest and boldest males, that, like pioneers, march forward to clear the route and face the greatest dangers. The night is their chief time of proceeding; but if it rains by day, they do not fail to profit by the occasion, and they continue to move forward in their slow and uniform manner. When the sun shines and is hot upon the surface of the ground, they make an universal halt, and wait till the cool of the evening. When they are terrified, they
march

march back in a confused disorderly manner, holding up their nippers against their annoyers, from whom they sometimes tear off a piece of the skin, or 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 arrive at their destined port, they prepare to cast their spawn. For this purpose, the crab has no sooner reached the shore, than it eagerly goes to the edge of the water, and lets the waves wash over its body two or three times to wash off the spawn. The eggs are hatched under the sand; and soon after, millions at a time of the new-born crabs are seen quitting the shores, and slowly travelling up to the mountains. The old crabs having disburthened themselves, generally regain their habitations in the mountains by the latter end of June. In August they begin to fatten and prepare for moulting; filling up their burrows with dry grass, leaves, and abundance of other materials. When the proper period comes, each retires to his hole, shuts up the passage, and remains quite inactive until he

gets rid of his old shell, and is fully provided with a new one. How long they continue in this state is uncertain ; but the shell is first observed to burst at the back and 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 with a tender membranous skin, variegated with a multitude of reddish veins : but this skin hardens gradually, and soon becomes a perfect shell like the former. It is, however, remarkable, that during this change, there are some stony concretions always formed in the bag, which waste and dissolve as the creature forms and perfects its new crust. As to the flavour of the mountain crab dressed for food, it is, when in spawn, one of the choicest morsels in nature. This perpetual supply of sustenance was a resource to which the native Indians always had resort when other provisions were not abundant.

The woods and marshes of Jamaica afford also a variety of wild fowl, and other birds of exquisite flavour ; among which,

the ringtail-pigeon is by many the most esteemed. But the most delicious of birds is the emberiza orizavora, the ortolan or rice-bird of South Carolina. These little birds fatten upon the milky rice of that region early in the autumn ; and when it begins to harden, they visit Jamaica in prodigious flights in October, to feed on the seeds of the guinea grass. Instead of giving an account of the wild-fowl, we must content ourselves with reciting the curious contrivance by which the ancient Indians of Jamaica caught them. In the ponds to which these birds resort, they used to throw calabashes, (a species of gourd,) which floated on the water, and which when accustomed to see, the fowl would approach without fear. Having succeeded thus far, the sportsman put one of these gourds on his head, first making apertures for sight and breath. He then ~~very~~ cautiously crept into the pond, gently swimming in deep water, or walking where it was shallow, with his head only above the surface. Thus he got among the fowl, and seizing one at a time by the feet, and dragging it by a dexterous jerk downwards, he fastened it to his girdle ;

and so, without creating the least alarm or disturbance among the residue of the flock, loaded himself with as many as he could carry away. Their method of catching fish was no less curious. They employed the remora or sucking fish, as falconers employ hawks. This fish, not much more than a span long, was regularly kept, fed, and trained for the purpose. The owner on a calm morning, carried it out to sea, secured to his canoe by a small but strong line, many fathoms in length. The moment the remora saw a fish in the water, though at a great distance, it started away with the swiftness of an arrow and fastened upon it. The Indian in the mean time, let go the line which was provided with a buoy, that kept on the surface of the sea, and served to mark the course which the fish had taken. This course the Indian pursued in his canoe, until he conceived that his game was nearly exhausted. Then taking up the buoy, he gradually drew the line towards the shore; the remora still adhering to its prey with inflexible tenacity. "By this method, (says Ovedo,) I have known a turtle caught of a bulk and weight that no single man could support."

support." But to return to the birds of Jamaica. Among throngs of them eminent for brilliant plumage, may be mentioned the parrot and its various affinities from the stout macaw to the tiny paroquet. This numerous family yet adorn the groves of Jamaica. But the flamingo, an elegant and princely bird, as large as the swan, arrayed in plumage of the brightest scarlet, is no longer to be seen. Still, however, the pride of the garden for illustrious plumage, the collibry or humming-bird, multiplies, murmurs, and sucks the rich blossoms of Jamaica. The colours that mark the coat of this bird, (not much bigger than a beetle,) mock the mimicry of art; exhibiting in exquisite combination the fine green of the emerald, the rich purple of the amethyst, and the deep blaze of the ruby. That the music of the European birds surpasses that of the tropical, has often been remarked, and the remark is just. Yet the tropical groves, decorated by plumes so diversified and splendid, boast also the very curious imitations peculiar to the mock-bird; imitations which mingling with the plaintive notes of a vast variety of doves, and the modulated

hum of countless insects, afford a concert that gratifies untutored taste, although it may fail to pamper the voluptuary in musical refinement. But quitting this elegant department of natural history, for it would require volumes to complete it, we proceed to vegetable productions; beginning with such as are used in Jamaica for the sustenance of man, or the domestic creatures employed in his service. Maize, or Indian corn, a native production, may be planted at any time of the year when there is rain to moisten the soil. It yields, according to the quality of the latter, from fifteen to forty bushels per acre; affording two or three crops annually. Guinea corn commonly produces but one annual crop, planted in September, it is gathered in January, and yields from thirty to sixty bushels per acre. To these substantial articles of vegetable food, may be superadded various kinds of calavances (a species of pea) which are in general use and culture. Jamaica abounds also in grasses native or exotic. The first sort is sometimes cut for hay: but the making of it is now rendered almost unnecessary by an aquatic plant called
 Scots

Scots grass ; supposed to be a native grass of Jamaica. It rises in height five or six feet, has long succulent joints, and is of quick vegetation. Five horses may be well maintained during a whole year from a single acre of it. But the Guinea grass introduced into the island by accident from Africa, about sixty years ago, is a production of the greatest use and importance. It thrives in the most stony and sterile soil ; is eagerly devoured by horses, mules, and other domestic animals ; and has contributed to create most of the breeding pens in Jamaica. Hence the excellent quality and abundance of horned cattle, both for table and plantation use. In the mountains, all the edible pulse and roots of Europe thrive ; and most of the European herbs. Cabbages, lettuce, carrots, turnips, parsnips, artichokes, kidney-beans, green peas, grow uncommonly well. But many vegetables of native growth are judged by some individuals to surpass in flavour and relish, the most choice of the foreign esculents ; especially the chocho, ochra, lima-bean, and Indian-kale. The other indigenous productions of this class, are plantains, bananas, yams, calalue (a

species of spinage) eddoes, cassava, and sweet potatoes. As to the more elegant fruits, no country on earth affords such a magnificent desert. The following native fruits grow in the island spontaneously: the anana, or pine-apple, (the dark-coated or Antigua sort being the most exquisite,) the tamarind, papaw, guava, sweet sop, cashew-apple, custard-apple (a species of charimoya) cocoa-nut, star-apple, grenadilla, avocada-pear, hog-plum, pindal-nut, nesbury, mamee, mamee-sapota, Spanish goofberry, prickly-pear, and a few others. The orange, Seville and China, the lemon, lime and shaddock, the vine, melon, fig, and pomegranate, were introduced by the Spaniards. English industry has superadded to these, the rose-apple, genip, peach, and strawberry.

Passing rapidly from this abridged enumeration of vegetables used for sustenance or refreshment; we come to such as are objects of commerce. At the head of this class is the cane, one of the most valuable plants in creation. Its botanical name is *arundo saccharifera*. In form it is a jointed

reed terminating in leaves or blades, whose edges are finely serrated. Its stem is strong though brittle, and, when ripe, of a fine straw-colour. It contains a soft, pithy substance, that affords, in perfection, a copious supply of juice, and a sweetness the least cloying and the most agreeable in nature. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane varies according to the variety of the plant and the fertility of the soil, from one to six inches in extent, and from half an inch to two inches and a half in diameter. The whole length of the cane also varies from four to twelve feet, measuring from the stole to the upper joint. The plant is a native of the east, and was cultivated in India and Arabia from time immemorial. At what time the Arabians discovered the art of granulating its juice, is unknown. It probably found its way into Europe by the Red Sea, at least as early as the period of the Croisades. It is now, on good grounds conjectured, and indeed believed, that the sugar cane grew spontaneously in the West Indies; although from the introduction of its culture in early times, Columbus appears to have been unapprized

prized of this fact. We derive the secret of making sugar from it immediately from the Spanish and Portuguese nations; who were indebted for their knowledge of it to the nations of the east. For the perfection of this plant, no land, properly situated, can be too fat or fertile. The finest soil in the West Indies for the most abundant production of choice sugar (except the ashy-loam of St. Christopher's) is what has been called the brick-mold of Jamaica. It is a deep, warm, mellow hazel earth, easily worked; consisting of a due mixture of clay and sand. Its surface, after rain, soon becomes dry; but its under stratum, even in the driest season, retains moisture. This species of most excellent soil, which abounds in Hispaniola, sparingly given to Jamaica, is confined to peculiar spots in a few parishes only. Plant-canes in such soil yield in fine seasons, about two tons and an half of superior sugar per acre. On the north side of Jamaica, chiefly in the parish of Trelawney, another kind of soil exists, that yields also crops of excellent sugar. This land is sometimes of a yellow, but more frequently of a red colour, from a deep chocolate to a
rich

rich scarlet: when moistened, it stains like paint. It consists of a pure loam with a mixture of clay and sand; it is a deep soil, not heavy, naturally dry, and remarkably tenacious of water. Exposure to a scorching sun in very dry weather, destroys its fertility for that season. The system of husbandry, therefore, on sugar plantations of this soil, is best adapted to what are called ratoon-canes. Ratoons, probably so named from a corruption of the Spanish word *brotones*, are suckers or sprouts, that spring from the roots of canes that have previously been cut down. Ratoons thus intended to grow, although the sugar they yield amounts not to so much per acre as the parent canes produce, yet by requiring little expence or labour in culture, often give in the course of seasons as profitable returns to the owner. The common yielding of such crops on this land, is seven hogheads of sixteen hundred weight, to ten acres of annual ratoons. The proper season for planting canes, is the interval between August and November. By thus insuring the influence of the autumnal rains, the foliage of the young canes becomes sufficiently luxuriant before the summer

mer blazes, to keep their roots cool, and the contiguous earth moist. The usual mode of holing, that is, preparing to plant by manual labour, is as follows: The land being divided into plats of about twenty acres extent; each plat is then subdivided, by a line attached to wooden pegs, into squares of three or four feet. The field negroes are then placed in a row, in the first line, one to each square, which they excavate with hoes to the depth of five or six inches. It commonly requires forty negroes to hole an acre in the course of a day. For such labour, if hired, eight or ten pounds currency is commonly paid. The cuttings selected for planting, are usually the tops of the canes that have been expressed for making sugar. These placed horizontally on the bottom of the hole, are covered two inches deep with mold. In about twelve days the sprouts from the gems of the planted cane are seen: at the end of four or five months the backs of the holes are levelled. Till the young plants attain considerable maturity, the weeds that a rich soil highly manured rapidly nourish, are to be incessantly disturbed by the hoe.

Plant

Plant canes are ripe for the mill early in the second year. From December till May is called crop-time in Jamaica. It is the season of health, gladness and festivity. So palatable and nourishing is the juice of the cane, that most individuals of the animal creation derive vigour from its use. Soon after the mill is in motion, the meagre thrive, and the sick recover: insomuch, that the busiest period of labour becomes the most comfortable and pleasant both to man and beast. Sugar is directly nutritious, and absolutely wholesome; and has, it is said, in Europe contributed to extinguish the scurvy and other diseases. The juice from which it is granulated is eagerly sipped in the West Indies, proving grateful and salutary to every creature that partakes of it. In Jamaica it is expressed by mills, worked by cattle, wind, or water. A sugar mill consists principally of three upright iron plated cylinders, from thirty to forty inches in length, and from twenty to twenty-five inches in diameter. The middle one, to which the moving power is applied, turns the other two by cogs. Between these rollers the canes are compressed twice, which squeezes them completely. The juice

is received into a leaden vessel. The macerated rind of the cane, so pressed dry, serves (with dry cane leaves called trash) for fuel to boil the liquor. Cane juice contains of water eight parts, of sugar one, of gross oil and mucilaginous gum one; besides a small portion of essential oil.

The process for obtaining sugar from the cane is thus conducted. The juice from the mill, running along a wooden gutter lined with lead, is carried to the boiling house, where it is received into a clarifying cauldron, of which there are commonly three. Each clarifier is provided with a syphon, or cock for drawing off the liquor. In establishments where two hundred hogheads are annually manufactured, each clarifier has a flat bottom, is hung to a separate fire, with a separate chimney, to which belongs an iron slider, which being shut, the fire is suppressed. All cane juice is liable to rapid fermentation. As soon, therefore, as the clarifier is filled, the fire is lighted, and the temper (white lime of Bristol) is stirred into it. The alkali of the lime having neutralized its superabundant acid, a part of it becomes the basis
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of the sugar. An half pint of Bristol lime, dissolved in hot water, is commonly sufficient for an hundred gallons of liquor. The clarifier ought to be heated till the scum begins to rise into blisters, but not to actual ebullition. At this moment the damper is to be applied, and the fire extinguished. The warm liquor remaining a while undisturbed, the feculences attracting, entangle each other and rise in a scum. This scum sinks unbroken, and is left when the liquor is drawn off into the evaporating or grand copper. In this grand copper it is to boil, the additional scum being now taken off as it rises, till by skimming and evaporation, the quantity is considerably reduced, and becomes more viscid. It is then ladled into another copper, and undergoes further ebullition and skimming. If it be not now transparent, or if it thicken too fast, a little more lime-water is to be superadded. After a certain time, when the liquor is reduced sufficiently, so as to be contained in the third smaller copper, it is ladled into that, and so on to the last, called the teache, so named probably from the practice, at this stage of the process, of trying the consistency
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of the boiled juice by the touch. In the teache the subject is finally boiled, till on trial of its fitness for granulation, it may be removed from the fire. This part of the business is called *stricking*; that is, ladling the thickened syrup like liquor into the cooler. The cooler is a shallow wooden vessel, about eleven inches deep, seven feet in length, and from five to six feet wide. A cooler of this size holds an hoghead of sugar. Here, as it cools, it runs into a coarse, irregular mass of imperfect chrystals, separating itself from the melasses. From the cooler in the boiling-house, the mass so granulated is conveyed to an hoghead in the curing-house. This is a large airy building, provided with a cistern. Over the cistern lies a frame of joist-work. Empty unheaded hogheads stand ranged on the joists. In the bottom of each hoghead eight or ten holes are bored. Through each hole is thrust the stalk of a plantain leaf, extending from the top of the hoghead to about six inches below the joist. Into one of these hogheads, so placed, the mass from the cooler is put, which is called potting. The melasses draining into the cistern by those

those spongy stalks, the sugar in about three weeks becomes dry and fair. It is then said to be cured, and the process is finished. Of this precious commodity, when seasons are favourable, about one hundred and forty thousand hogsheads are annually shipped to Great Britain from Jamaica.

The bounty of the cane ends not here; the very dregs and feculencies of this invaluable plant, yield one of the purest, most fragrant, and salutary spirits in the world. To enter minutely into the mode of making Rum would be unnecessary, the business of distillation being so well known in Europe, and a brief account of the component materials and peculiarity of process will be sufficient. To work the stills and worms, it is necessary to have a cistern for dunder*, another for scummings, and a number of fermenting vats or cisterns, each equal to the contents of the largest still. In Jamaica, cisterns are made of plank, fixed in clay;

* The lees, or feculencies of former distillations, which have a most offensive smell.

and are universally preferred to vats, or moveable vessels, for the purpose of fermenting. In the British distilleries, these fermenting cisterns are unknown. They are not so easily affected by the changes of the weather, nor so liable to leak as vats, and they last much longer. The ingredients used for procuring rum, consist of melasses ; scummings of the hot cane-juice from the boiling-house, or sometimes raw cane-liquor, from canes expressed for the purpose ; lees, or dunder ; and water. The use of dunder is to produce fermentation. These ingredients being well mixed in the fermenting cisterns, and pretty cool, the fermentation rises in the course of twenty-four hours to a proper height for a charge of melasses, when three gallons for every hundred of the fermenting liquor is added to it, and a second similar charge is given in a day or two after, when the liquor is in a high state of fermentation. When it grows fine, and throws up a few clear beads or air-globules, it is fit for distillation, and conveyed into the largest still, where it is made to boil. In about two hours after, the vapour, or spirit, forces its way through
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the worm, in a stream as clear as crystal, and it is suffered to run till it is no longer inflammable. The spirit thus obtained, is called *low-wines*, and to make it rum of the Jamaica proof, it must undergo a second distillation. The proportion of rum to the crop of sugar, is commonly estimated in Jamaica as three to four; but this is said to be too great an allowance on a general estimate, and that two hundred gallons of rum to three hogsheads of sugar, or two-thirds rum to the crop of sugar, is nearer the truth.

Another vegetable production, a native of the east, and an object of commerce, that flourishes in Jamaica, is coffee. Coffee-plants may be set out at all seasons of the year, even in the dryest. They will thrive in any situation, provided it be screened from the north winds, which destroy its blossom. The best and highest flavoured fruit is the growth of a warm gravelly mold, or sandy loam, such as forms the slope of the dry red hills of Jamaica. The berry is sown, or the plants are set out,

about eight feet distant from each other on all sides. Plants are preferred. They are selected when about two feet in height. Being cut off ten inches above the surface of the ground, and care is taken to dig up the root entire. The holes in which they are placed must be of sufficient depth to receive the lower part of the stem about two inches under the surface of the ground. In the third year when the stem obtains the growth of five or six feet, the trees are topped. A single stem of this growth often affords forty-two bearing branches. The pruning required annually, leaves only those fertile branches. The average of produce per acre, after the fourth year, is about 750 pounds weight of merchantable coffee. The quality of coffee depends on the soil, climate, mode of curing, and age. Coffee has been produced from West India plants, in English hot-houses, equal in all respects to the best coffee berries of Mocha. But the Arabian method of curing, by exposing the ripe fruit with the pulp on to the sun, till dry, and then pressing it under a heavy stone roller, and afterwards winnowing it from

from impurities, is infinitely best adapted for preserving the genuine flavour of the berry.

In Jamaica, as soon as the berries acquire a black red colour, they are judged to be sufficiently ripe for picking. They are gathered into canvas bags from the trees at three different stages of ripeness. One hundred bushels in the pulp, give one thousand weight of dried coffee. There are two methods of drying it: 1st, to spread the fresh coffee in the sun, on a sloping platform of boards, about five inches deep, with the pulp on the berry, which ferments and discharges itself. The husks are afterwards separated by a mill, or by pestles in a wooden mortar. 2dly, To remove the pulp from the berry immediately as it comes from the tree, by passing it through a mill. The latter is the most expeditious mode, but the former gives the best flavoured coffee. After the pulp is removed, a membrane that envelopes the bean, is also separated by grinding.

A third commercial object of agriculture in Jamaica, is the cotton, that beautiful vegetable wool, the growth of a shrub that springs spontaneously in all the tropical regions of Asia, Africa, and America; and affords the raw material from which the greater part of mankind are clad. Of the varieties of this shrub or tree, the most profitable sorts are the green-feed, the French, and the Brazilian. The plant is raised from the seed, which is sown from May to September. It delights in new ground: and dryness of both soil and atmosphere is essential to its prosperity. It is planted in rows, leaving a space of six or eight feet between each; the holes in each row being about four feet asunder. The sprouts appear in a fortnight; some of those which the grubs have spared, are then removed. At the end of four months the stem is topped, and the branches are pruned. In five months its beautiful yellow blossom unfolds. From the seventh to the tenth month, the pods successively ripen; and finally burst into three partitions, displaying their white down at maturity. It is now gathered, but
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the seeds being enveloped in it, are extricated by a machine called the gin. Finally, the wool is hand-picked, and packed into bags that contain about two hundred weight. We shall conclude this part of our design, with a brief notice of two aromatic trees that adorn or enrich the island. Plants of the genuine cinnamon, taken in a vessel bound to Europe from the Isle of France, were presented to the government of Jamaica by Lord Rodney in 1782. By slips from those plants, many thousand trees of it have been cultivated that now prosper. This exotic of Ceylon grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet. It does not perfect its abundant seeds till the sixth or the seventh year after planting. But the numerous shoots of its luxuriant side branches, afford a multitude of slips for propagation. The tree is clad with a full foliage quite to the bottom of its trunk. When the branches have grown to about one inch in diameter, they are in prime for decoration. The inner bark of these being then carefully detached, and slowly dried in the shade, possesses the genuine cinnamon aroma in perfection. The pimento-

tree, or allspice grows spontaneously in Jamaica. Its berry is a valuable production; uniting the flavour, and combining the properties of many eastern spices. This elegant child of nature, mocks the attempts of art to extend or improve its growth. Instead, therefore, of trying to propagate the pimento from setting out the plants, or disseminating the berries, a better method has been adopted. A piece of woodland in the vicinity of an existing pimento-walk, where birds shelter, and trees have fallen and perish, is appropriated for rearing a fresh grove. In the course of a year subsequent to the first season, multitudes of young plants spring vigorously in all parts of the land, produced from ripe berries scattered by the birds. The pimento rises to the height of twenty feet, its stem is a grey colour, clean, smooth, and glossy. Its full limbs ramifying on all sides, are covered with a deep green foliage, not dissimilar to that of the bay tree. This verdure in July and August, is relieved by an exuberance of blossoms beautifully white. The berries soon afterwards become fit for gathering. They are seldom suffered to ripen, on account

count of the glutinous pulp that thickens on them when they are at maturity. The fruit is gathered by hand ; exposed to the sun on a terrace ; and its green hue being gradually converted into a reddish brown ; it is then, if quite dry, fit for market.

Thus closes our catalogue of a few of the productions of this valuable island. So valuable indeed, that the following estimate has been formed, and received as authentic. The landed and personal property, worth 25,000,000*l*.: two hundred and fifty thousand negroes, at 50*l*. sterling each, 12,500,000*l*.: the houses and property in the towns, with the vessels employed in the trade, 400, containing somewhat less than 100,000 tons, navigated by more than 9000 seamen, valued at 1,500,000*l*. more. Total value of Jamaica considered as British property, thirty-nine millions of pounds sterling. Having thus compressed an account of the productions and supposed value of this island, we shall conclude our sketch by some notice of the people who inhabit it; beginning with the negro labourers. The number of slaves in Jamaica is computed from authentic documents,

cuments, to be at least two hundred and fifty thousand, exclusive of the Maroons. It is painful to an individual, unfriendly to slavery in any shape or under any modification, to recollect that slavery, in a very abject degree, has existed among nations the most free and civilized, as well as despotic and barbarous, in all ages of the world. But especially in the warm climates. It is a misfortune that punishes man: it is a political disease, that for purposes to us inscrutable, has been permitted to continue, and taint inveterately the constitution of human society. No revolutionary nostrums recommended by state empirics will eradicate it. Millions of the human race must by education be prepared for a new and sound condition before an effectual remedy can be safely administered. But in Jamaica, the evil of servitude to whatever height it may formerly have arisen, is now assuaged by institute, and tamed by manners. The general treatment of the negroes in this island, is temperate and humane. Recent regulations, enforced by law, restrain the despotism of the master, and to a very salutary degree protect the slave. Improving
humanity

humanity imperceptibly, but daily supplies an influence by which their condition is ameliorating. The negroes on a sugar plantation are for purposes of daily labour, divided into three classes. The first is composed of the most robust of both sexes. Their chief employment consists in preparing and planting the soil, cutting the canes, feeding the mill, and aiding in the manufacture of the sugar and rum. The second class is composed of young boys and girls, pregnant women, and convalescents. These are seldom employed but in light labour adapted to their youth and condition. The third class consists of young children, governed by a careful old woman, who employs them in picking grass, weeding, or other exercise equally gentle. The first class at sunrise is summoned to the field by the sound of a horn or bell: a white overseer and a black driver superintend them. The names being called over and absentees noted, their work commences, and continues till eight or nine o'clock. Then at least half an hour is allotted for breakfast time. This meal generally consists of boiled or roasted yams, or other vegetables

vegetables seasoned with salt and cayenne pepper. Resuming their work, they continue in the field till noon; when an interval of two hours is allowed for repose and refreshment. The addition of salted fish to their vegetable messes, commonly furnishes their dinner. At two o'clock they return again to the field and work till sunset. In conclusion, they have probably been employed about ten hours in the day; during which, the most diligent of them has not executed more than one-third of the common daily toil of an English farmer's labourer. Every proprietor is compelled by law, to cultivate in ground provisions (of course indestructible by hurricanes) one acre for every ten negroes; besides the allotment of negro territory. To cultivate this allotment, one day in every fortnight belongs to the slaves, exclusive of Sundays and holidays. Thus they raise vegetables, poultry, pigs, or goats, which they consume, bestow, or sell. While some raise provisions, others fabricate coarse chairs, baskets, or common tables. These are bartered at market for salted meat, or pickled fish, utensils, or gaudy dresses; of which

which they are fond. Their right of property in what they thus acquire, is never questioned; but seems completely established by custom. The cottages of the negroes on a plantation, are usually constructed on rising ground near a supply of pure water. The group resembles an hamlet. Tropical trees which many of them plant about their habitations, shelter it, and diversify its appearance. In structure and comfort, these cottages certainly surpass the cabins of the Irish peasants. A single cottage for a man and his wife is about twenty feet in length, divided into two apartments. It is composed of hard posts driven into the ground, interlaced with wattles, and plastered. The floor is commonly of dry native earth. The roof is so well thatched with palm or cocoa leaves, as to be impervious both to sun and rain. Their cookery is conducted in the open air. They generally kindle a fire within doors at night; without which negroes cannot sleep comfortably. The negroes of Jamaica receive an annual allowance of Oznaburg linen, woollen baize, checks; and at other times, knives, needles, thread, &c. But the most liberal allowance
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of the proprietors is made for medical and surgical assistance, and accommodation for their slaves when sick. Every plantation is provided with a commodious building divided for an hospital. The sick are daily visited by professional gentlemen, of science and skill, who are well paid for constant attention; and in extraordinary cases, the usual comforts of the European diet, such as wine, gruel, &c. are superadded: so that the situation of the sick and the aged, for whom perpetual provision is made, commonly makes them some amends for the servitude they have undergone. The usual labour of the old men is confined to watching the provision grounds; and that of the old women to nursing those that are sick, and attending young children. Another source of solace for the superannuated, is found in the universal veneration with which old age is treated by the African race. 'Accused, as they justly may be, of brutality to cattle, which they are prone to maltreat; to their aged people they are benevolent and respectful. *Ta Quaco*, and *ma Quasheba*, (my father and my mother,) are terms that denote filial reverence and fondness. In these terms
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the old negroes are ever accosted by the whole body of the younger; who must be in great distress themselves, if they fail to administer to their wants, and mingle succour and comfort with affection and veneration for the aged.

The general diffusion and warmth of this dutiful sentiment, is the more remarkable in a people attached to the system of polygamy. This appropriation of women which universally prevails in Africa, is also very generally adopted in the West Indies. In Jamaica alone it is computed, that ten thousand of those leading slaves called head negroes, that is, drivers, coopers, carpenters, &c. possess from two to four wives. This practice, so pernicious in many points of view, has contributed to create such a disproportion in the number of the two sexes, that there exists in Jamaica an excess of above thirty thousand male negroes. There are ten thousand people of colour in Jamaica. These descendants of negroes by white people, are among the most robust of our race; and their qualities both of body and mind, are supposed by many impartial individuals,

viduals, to be well adapted for exercise and improvement in all the tropical regions. But they are not entitled to the civil and political rights of a natural born subject, until removed above three degrees from the negro: and although there are distinctions of name, following blood and complexion, such as samboes, mulattoes, mesties, &c. the law of Jamaica contemplates the whole body as mulattoes. Their legal capacities are very imperfectly defined. Their principal incapacities, distinguishing them from the whites, are these: In criminal cases their evidence is inadmissible against a white. They are inelegible to serve in parochial vestries, or general assemblies. They are incapable of acting in any office of public trust; or of holding any commission in the militia. And when born out of wedlock, they cannot take and hold by devise, property real or personal that exceeds in value 2000 l. currency. But these restrictions are often removed by particular acts of the Legislature in favour of individuals. The fidelity and loyalty of the people of colour is unimpeached. Their attachment to the whites, is uniform and sincere.

sincere. Their progress in knowledge, being animated by no encouragement, has been slow. But if a just estimate may be formed of the capabilities of this race from insulated examples of merit among them, their faculties are worthy of better cultivation, and completer developement.

The white population of Jamaica has been computed at about thirty thousand souls. Of this number, a very considerable portion consists of native Europeans; and of those born on the island, many have been educated in the mother country. Yet, notwithstanding these migrations and such residence in Europe, climate and moral causes combining with political institutions, and the peculiar state of society in the West Indies, have created a cast of character that may be distinguished, and is sufficiently marked in the native white Creoles of Jamaica. Masters of slaves, they are jealous and proud of their own freedom; which is to them not merely an enjoyment, but a dignity and rank. Hence throughout all classes of them, there is diffused and displayed an independence of

spirit combined with a certain consciousness of equality unknown to the European communities.

Many causes of national character are so mixed as to be almost inscrutable. It may, perhaps, be partly ascribed to the sensibility that a warm climate excites, that Creoles are said to be impatient of subordination, and addicted to juridical controversy. But if some be litigious, others ostentatious, and many extravagant, in general it may be truly affirmed of them as a race, that they are bright, intrepid, frank, and intelligent; actuated by a high sense of honour, eminent for hospitality, distinguished by vivacity, and nobly generous.

called the COCK-PITS,
which was the Seat of
THE MAROON WAR

— in 1795 and 1796 —

Drawn by

J. ROBERTSON Esq. A.M.

whose New Maps of
(that Island) are
now engraving
Jan 1st 1803.

British Statute Miles.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
MAROONS.



LETTER I.

Subjects proposed.—Brief Account of the State of Jamaica at the Commencement of the French Revolution.—Prosperity.—Agriculture.—Trade.—Population.—Military Force.—Slavery.—Consolidated Act.—Affairs of St. Domingo.—Emigrations from that Island.—A Tribute of Gratitude and Admiration.—Overtures of the St. Domingo Planters to the British Ministry.—Expedition in Consequence, and Force detached from Jamaica.—All Manner of Slavery abolished by the French.—General Williamstn, Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, succeeded by Earl Balcarres.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE task you impose upon me is not more interesting to you than it would be agreeable to me, could I persuade myself that I should execute it in a manner that

VOL. I.

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would

would render it as acceptable to the Public as I know your partiality will render it to you. I have, however, taken up the pen in compliance with your wish; the subject is important, I will pursue it through the scope you have proposed, and when I have performed the task, we will consider whether it be worthy the attention of the world. Should we decide in the negative, it will at all events serve one pleasing purpose, that of convincing you that I was ready to make an attempt even beyond my power, to gratify your desire of information.

All that relates to the West Indies, and particularly to the island of Jamaica, cannot but prove interesting to the inhabitants of this kingdom, and must be peculiarly so to you who have so large a stake in that country. The situation of Jamaica at the breaking out of the French Revolution, its agriculture, commerce, population, force, and the state of slavery at
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that period; a history of the Maroons from their origin to the expulsion of the greatest part of them, their banishment to Nova Scotia, and subsequent removal to the coast of Africa; the situation of Jamaica at the conclusion of the war between Great Britain and France, and the consideration of a plan for the future protection, security, and prosperity of the island, are the subjects for our consideration.

I will not at present detain you with comments on the Revolution in France: little remains to be observed on the horrors it has spread over the world; in no quarter of which has it been more destructive than in the West Indies. At the time of its commencement, Jamaica, after having been devastated for a succession of years by hurricanes, those scourges of the American Archipelago, was enjoying tranquillity and a degree of prosperity it had never before attained. Abundant crops and great demands in Europe for West-Indian produce,

caused the island to flourish, enriching the Planter and the Merchant. Every thing was favourable to the country. Great improvements had been made in every point. In agriculture the plough was introduced, and, in situations where it could be used, saved much of the labour required for the usual mode of turning the ground to receive the cane-joints, which, as you have seen, is digging by hand with the hoe. The practice of manuring was more attended to than formerly, when the only attempt of recovering the soil was to suffer it to lie fallow; by which the finest lands in the world were exhausted, and old estates of the highest value gradually ruined. Keen and sagacious Planters foresaw in time the destruction that awaited them, and disposed of their property at a seeming undervalue: in the purchase of new lands they amassed incredible fortunes, leaving the inexperienced to enjoy their ambition in the name of an old estate; and to beggar their families, if they outlived their own ruin.

The making of sugar and rum had been scientifically studied for years, and had almost attained the point of perfection. For the improvement of the former, great rewards had been offered and given.

The cultivation of cotton had greatly increased, men of small capitals finding their advantage in it; whereas they must have been ruined, had their ambition led them to the cultivation of the cane, which requires a large capital.

Indigo was formerly a staple of Jamaica, but the successive failures of the speculators caused the culture of it to be entirely abandoned; at least so much, as no longer to deserve the name of staple. Coffee had nearly undergone a similar fate, by the heavy duties upon it; but the British Government having reduced those a shilling in the pound, a rapid change in its favour took place; and it now became a considerable commodity among the returns from

Jamaica to Great Britain, notwithstanding the avowed superiority of the Mocha-coffee. The cocoa, from which chocolate is made, has not been so fortunate. It was once cultivated to a considerable extent; but the planters, oppressed by the weight of taxation, gradually neglected it, and it finally shared the fate of the indigo. There are two other commodities, which form articles of the native exports of Jamaica; ginger and pimento or allspice: but to no great extent, and the latter began to decrease long before the period of which I am treating. It has, however, been the rise of many a man, whose son or grandson is willing that Sabeian odours and a spicy shore should sink into oblivion under the luxurious streams of the more dignifying *Arundo Saccharifera*; and to forget that,

Chear'd with the grateful smell, old Ocean smil'd.

I will enable you to judge of the extent of the Jamaica-Trade at the commencement of the French Revolution, by laying before you an account of the shipping and
seamen

seamen employed in it, with the nature and quantity of its exports and imports, a little previous to that period. The statement exclusive of coasting sloops, wherries, &c. is as follows :

	<i>Number of Vessels.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
For Great Britain -	242	63,471	7,748
Ireland - -	10	1,231	91
American States - -	133	13,041	893
British American Colonies	66	6,133	449
Foreign West Indies -	22	1,903	155
Africa - - -	1	109	8
	<hr/> 474	<hr/> 85,888	<hr/> 9,344

But many of the vessels for America and the foreign West-Indies making two or more voyages in the year, a third is usually deducted in computing the real number of vessels, their tonnage and men ; which, on the above statement, will leave the total 400 vessels, 78,862 tons, 8,845 men.

The EXPORTS of Jamaica between the 5th of January 1787 and the 5th of January 1788, with the value at the time in Sterling money, are as follows * :

* These statements are on the authority of the books of the Inspector-General.—I have taken them from Edwards.

Markets	Sugar.		Rum.		Melasses.		Coffee.		Cotton W o.		Indigo.	
	Cwt.	qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	lbs.	Gallons.	lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Great Britain	844,706	2 25	1,890,340	606,994	2,316	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	6,450	1,800	2,566						
British Amer. Colonies	2,822		207,600	200	2,300	110	3 8	1,000				
Foreign West Indies	24		2,200			2						
Africa	—		8,600									
Totals	849,548	2 25	2,543,025	616,444	6,416	6,395	3 9	1,906,467	27,623			

Markets.	Ginger.		Cocoa.		Tobacco		Mahogany.		Logwood.		Miscel. Articles.		Total Value.
	Cwt.	qrs. lbs.	Cwt.	qrs. lbs.	lbs.	Tons.	Cw.	Tons.	Value.	L.	s. d.		
Great Britain	3,553	2 15	82	3 15	18,140	5,783	4	6,701	147,286	3 4	2,22,814	7 10	
Ireland	918					95	—				25,778	10	
American States	339										60,095	18	
Brit. American Colonies	4										26,538	2 5	
Foreign West 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	

Note.—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 freeport law, and partly in small British vessels employed in a contraband traffic with the Spanish American territories, payment of which is made chiefly in British manufactures and negroes; and considerable quantities of culture, obtained by the same means, are annually remitted to Great Britain, of which

EDWARDS.

The IMPORTS into Jamaica, for the same period, were as follows:

From Great Britain direct, according to a return of the Inspector-General's for 1787.

	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
British Manufactures	686,657	2	3			
Foreign Merchandize	72,257	3	1			
	<hr/>			758,932	5	4
From Ireland, allowing a moiety of the whole import to the British West-Indies, consisting of manufactures and solid provisions, to the amount of L. 350,000				175,000	0	0
From Africa, 5,345 negroes at L. 40 sterling each, being wholly a British trade carried on in ships from England				213,800	0	0
From the British colonies in America, including about 20,000 quintals of salted cod from Newfoundland				30,000	0	0
From the United States, India-corn, wheat-flour, rice, lumber, staves, &c. imported in British ships	-	-	-	90,000	0	0
From Madeira and Teneriffe in ships trading circuitously from Great Britain, 500 pipes of wine (exclusive of wines for re-exportation) at L. 30 sterling the pipe				15,000	0	0
From the foreign West-Indies under the free port law, &c. calculated on an average of three years	-	-	-	150,000	0	0
Total	<hr/>			L. 1,432,732	5	4

The population of Jamaica, in the end of the year 1788, was computed to be 291,400;
of

of which 30,000 were whites, 10,000 free negroes and people of colour, 1400 Maroons, and 250,000 slaves. The militia consisted of about 7 or 8 thousand effective men; and there were in the island about 2000 regular troops.

Thus have I given you a brief, but accurate, sketch of the state of Jamaica; relative to its cultivation, commerce, population, and force, at the beginning of the French Revolution. For particular information respecting the previous state of the country on these subjects, I refer you to the history of the island, which accompanies these letters; and shall at present turn your attention to the subject of slavery, and the condition of the negroes at the time we are speaking of. The education of the Planters' children had for many years been attended to as carefully as that of the best families in England, of which the consequence was a change of manners; and the old Creole habits were succeeded by European elegance

gance and refinement. Another consequence, of much greater importance, was the improvement in the condition of the negroes. Men, taught to know themselves men, became alive to the feelings of humanity; many possessors of slaves gave example to others of kindly treating the negroes, studied their health and comfort, and set their faces against acts of cruelty: so that in fact a moral amendment in the state of the negroes had begun to take place, previous to the examination of the subject of the slave-trade in parliament. It did not proceed rapidly indeed, for the mind does not alter rapidly. The modes of treatment long in use, the light in which slaves had been considered, solely as one of the chief means of amassing wealth, the disposition of those to whom their masters or the law consigned the management of them, were heavy clogs to the melioration of their lot. At length the subject of the slave-trade was taken up in the House of Commons. Among the
 mischievous

mischievous effects of the new philosophy of the enlightened 18th century, an age which, compared to the preceding, might be called barren in men of genius, an unprojected, unforeseen, collateral good resulted in the British West-Indies. The gradual effect of humanity was accelerated by a spur, that has never failed to stimulate mankind. Self-interest, which had urged individuals to consider and "discover the lowest degree of subsistence, and the highest degree of labour consistent with the preservation of life," now suggested to the community in the colony, that it was absolutely necessary to take a fresh view of slavery, to restrain the despotism of unlimited power, and to reconcile the advantages of the Planter with the comfort, the happiness of the slave. In the inquiry proposed to the British parliament, respecting the nature and state of the slave-trade, with a view to the abolition of it; the investigation was not restrained to the

African

African commerce, but embraced the whole subject of slavery ; and, if general emancipation was not aimed at, it was at least taken deeply into consideration. The cruelties, on the coast of Africa gave way to the cruelties in the West-Indies. The Planters were charged with every thing horrible. They began to reflect, and to ask themselves if they were really such monsters, as they were represented by the writers and orators of Great Britain. All who had received a liberal education, were acquitted by their conscience ; they were incapable of barbarity, but they perceived that the charges were not unfounded. In reperusing the laws of the island they discovered that these were inadequate to the protection of the negroes against merciless masters and managers ; and they were sensible that many of the abominable actions, imputed to the inhabitants of the colonies, had been committed by men who were a disgrace to nature. Since that time, not only a general reprobation

reprobation of cruelty has been the language of the West-Indian, but a law was passed in Jamaica in an early part of the French Revolution, by which the former laws relative to slavery were repealed, and a code, consolidating the milder regulations of the old system, with additional improvements, established *.

By this law, among other humane regulations re-enacted from the act of 1788, the justices and vestry of each parish are constituted a *council of protection*, to enquire into barbarities, and bring the authors to punishment at the public expence: and the surgeon of every plantation is required to deliver on oath to the justices and vestry, an account of the decrease and increase of the slaves of such plantation; assigning, to the best of his judgment, the causes of any decrease.

As the consolidated act remains the *code noir* of Jamaica to the present time, I now

* See Appendix, No. 1.

Government, to send an armament and take possession of St. Domingo; but the Ministry, cautiously watching the course of the Revolution, and anxious to preserve our country from every involvement in it, paid no attention to the application. The time, however, soon came when the National Assembly of France, withdrawing the mask of moderation, avowed their enmity against all the regular Governments; and observing in the British Ministry an inflexible determination of supporting the constitution of Great Britain, and of opposing such innovations in the general system of Europe as tended to alter her situation in the scale of political influence, declared war against this country.

And here, my dear Friend, suffer me to pay a tribute of gratitude and admiration, however slight it may be from my pen, to the consummate statesman, whose wisdom and foresight, whose prudence and perseverance, whose talents and firmness, whose energy
and

drop the subject of slavery in order to resume it, when I come to consider the actual state of the colony.

The affairs of St. Domingo, impelled by the political torrent of the affairs of the mother-country, assumed the most disastrous and terrifying complexion. The history of that devoted island has been given to the public with elegance, perspicuity, and I believe fidelity, by Edwards. I shall touch therefore on that part only which is immediately connected with my subject.

In St. Domingo, as in old France, the horrors that rose to view in every quarter of the country, caused an immense emigration. Many thousands of the inhabitants fled for refuge, to various parts of the continent of America; many sought an asylum in Jamaica, and a number of the principal planters went to England. So early as in the end of the year 1791, application had been made by many of these Planters, to the British

and virtue, have saved this realm; saved the majesty of a sovereign, the dignity and spirit of a gentleman, the independence and happiness of a people. The brilliancy of such a character cannot be eclipsed by the turbulence of party-sophistry, and the fermenting crudities of mob-leaders. Who observes any obscurity in the transit of mercury across the sun? Nay, although the glorious orb of heat and light is at times darkened by an inferior interposer, the opaque body soon passes away and leaves its splendor undiminished. I am one of the multitude who see in the war which Mr. Pitt encountered, and in the wise precautions of his administration, the means by which the evils that threatened our country were averted. Anarchy, massacre, desolation, a confused dominion of popular demagogues ending in the despotism of an artful chieftain, are the tremendous calamities from which the immortal son of the immortal Chatham rescued us, when the demons of destruction had already extended

their talons and were darting them towards us. And can we be too grateful? I, my friend, can have no share in raising a statue to Mr. Pitt, but I eagerly seize this opportunity of publicly proclaiming those sentiments of esteem and admiration, which in private I have for many years testified, and which I believe I participate with the generality of the nation : sentiments that could not fail to warm the breast of every Briton, were they not ignobly smothered by the counter-effusions of jealousy, personal disappointment, and party spirit. How pure the praise of our public benefactor flows from my pen you will judge, when I tell you that, individually, I have long considered Mr. Pitt as the immediate, though blameless, cause of one of the greatest calamities of my life, and that, except in the instance I allude to, I believe he never heard me named.

On the declaration of war, overtures were again made by the Planters of St. Domingo
to

to the British Ministry, who were now not unwilling to listen to them, and M. Charmilly, one of the Planters, obtained dispatches to General Williamson, the Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief of Jamaica, authorizing him to adopt such measures as in his discretion he might think proper, for the purpose of taking possession of those parts of St. Domingo that were disposed to surrender to his majesty's arms; and to detach a sufficient force from the troops under his command, to replace which, as well as to aid the operations in St. Domingo, speedy and effectual reinforcements from England were promised. More than half of the force in Jamaica was dispatched to St. Domingo.

There are two chief points in which this disastrous expedition bears a connexion with Jamaica. In the first place, it drained the island of the troops that were to protect the inhabitants; and it gave birth to the French proclamation abolishing all manner

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of slavery. It was impossible for the inhabitants to contemplate the dreadful events passing in an island almost within sight, without trembling for their own safety; and they watched with horror the progress of doctrines, the objects of which were to subvert all the known governments, and to put an end to the colonial existence of the West-Indies. The colony remained thus in an awful state of tranquillity during the remainder of the administration of General Williamson, who, in the end of the year 1794, was appointed Governor-General and Commander in Chief of his majesty's possessions in St. Domingo, whither he repaired and took upon him the government in the month of May 1795, being succeeded in that of Jamaica by Alexander Earl Balcarres, who had arrived in the island in the month of April preceding, with the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor.

Having now read the previous history of Jamaica, and the sketch in this letter
which

which brings you to a period in the early part of the French Revolution, you are sufficiently prepared to enter upon our principal subject, and I shall accordingly in my next relate to you the origin of the Maroons.



LETTER II.

Jamaica relinquished by the Spaniards.—Spanish Slaves left.—Juan de Bolas.—Origin of the Maroons.—Clarendon Insurrection.—The Depredations of the Rebels. They elect Cudjoe their Chief.—The Maroons encrease in Number.—Division of the Cottarwood Party.—A Body of them join Cudjoe.—The whole Party united under him.—Kencuffees.—Cudjoe joined by the Madagascars.—The Appellation of Maroons extended to Cudjoe's Party.—Their mode of obtaining Arms and Ammunition.—General interest established among the Maroons of the different Parts of the Island.—The Government establishes advanced Posts.—Musquito Indians employed.—Cockpits described.—Maroon mode of War.—Cudjoe changes his Position.—Encreases the Party under his brother Accompong.—Progress of the War.—The Government makes formidable Preparations.—Determines first to offer Terms of Peace.—Guthrie and Sadler march to Cudjoe's Town.—Russel sent in.—Description of Cudjoe.—Peace concluded.—Copy of the Treaty.

WHEN Jamaica was conquered by the English in the year 1655, most of the Spanish inhabitants retired to the island of Cuba,

Cuba ; but the troops not being sufficiently numerous to do more than occupy the principal places on the south side, many Spaniards, with the few negroes they possessed, continued to inhabit the remote parts of the island on the north side. Their chief residence was in the neighbourhood of a town called Sevilla Nueva that had risen to some consequence, and of which the remains are still to be seen about half a mile from St. Ann's Bay, in the fields of a plantation called Seville ; where the ruins of a church, convent, and other buildings are plainly traced. In this situation they kept up an intercourse with their countrymen, who, on abandoning Jamaica, had fixed themselves on the south-side of Cuba, a distance of about twenty-four hours sail. In a short time these were prevailed upon to make a descent on the island, with the hope of regaining the possession of it ; and accordingly Don Arnolfo de Sasi, the old governor, with five hundred of the former inhabitants, and a thousand troops from

old Spain, landed at Rio Nuevo to the east of Seville, and built a fort. The attempt however was rendered abortive by the vigorous measures pursued by Colonel Doyley, the English Governor, who, with a body of five hundred men, marched from the south side, attacked the Spaniards, forced them, after a warm contest, to abandon their settlements, and finally compelled all of them to seek refuge in Cuba.

It may be imagined that at their departure many * of the slaves would be disinclined to follow the fortunes of their masters, and still less disposed to submit to the conquerors. Almost every part of the island, particularly the mountains on the north and east sides of it, afforded them secure retreats. To these they fled, and it is supposed that for some time they were instigated by their former masters to commit hostilities against the new possessors of

* Edwards says the Spaniards had 1500 slaves who became Maroons, but this can be only vague conjecture.

the country ; a supposition by no means improbable, as the Spaniards, being so close at hand, and so well acquainted with the sea coasts, might purposely have kept up a communication.

Previous to the final embarkation of the Spaniards, large bodies of the Spanish slaves had fled to the woods in different parts of the island ; and a very formidable number had collected in the mountains of Clarendon, under a chief named Juan de Bolas, whose name is still given to the spot which he occupied. The negroes under him were fugitives from the Spanish Planters of the south side, but, though acting upon the same system of plunder and massacre as the fugitives on the north side, it is doubtful whether they ever had any communication with them. This body the Governor soon found means to conciliate, and they surrendered on an acknowledgment of their freedom, and an amnesty for all offences. They could not indeed be well considered as slaves by the
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conquerors; and their crimes, though horrid, were better regarded as the effects of a barbarous warfare than made the grounds of endless hostility. At first they readily engaged to act against the other fugitives in the island; but being defeated, and their leader slain, their ardour cooled, and their numbers greatly decreasing, they sought quiet and protection in the vicinity of towns and settlements; nor were any of them ever known to return to their former haunts in the mountains of Clarendon.

The rest of the fugitive negroes, now designated by the appellation of Maroons, or hog-hunters, continuing for many years to wage a desultory war against the inhabitants, were confined chiefly to the eastern and northern parts of the island: but in the year 1690 there was an insurrection of the slaves in the parish of Clarendon, who found a secure retreat in the interior of the country, where they occasionally recruited their numbers from among the plantation negroes,

negroes, with whom they kept up a communication, and from whose grounds they were often supplied with provisions. By degrees they became very formidable, and in their predatory excursions greatly distressed the back settlers, by plundering their houses, destroying their cattle, and carrying off their slaves by force. This party for many years retarded the settlement of that side of the country, and obliged the Planters, who had made some progress in their estates, to live in a continual state of alarm and preparation for defence, and to build their houses accordingly. These were so placed as to command the plantation-works, buildings, and negro-houses, and were frequently constructed with flankers and loop-holes, for the purpose of firing upon the assailants when they approached so near.

This body of Clarendon rebels were unconnected with the original fugitives, and were not included in the general distinction of Maroons, who, as I have said, continued

tinued in the north and east of the island. At first their depredations had been carried on in small parties, and they were satisfied with killing cattle now and then; but in the course of time they habituated themselves to such excesses that frequent complaints were made to the legislature, who at length listened to the representations made, and resolved to reduce the rebels by an armed force that should penetrate the recesses of the woods and discover them if possible. They were in the outset surprised by some parties, dispersed, and many of them killed. Previous to this they had no general leader or chief of the body, but wandered in gangs under the direction of different leaders; but now finding that the colonists had determined to suffer themselves to be annoyed no longer by a lawless band of plunderers, and that parties were fitted out to attack them wherever they could be found, they concentrated their force, and elected a chief, whose name was Cudjoe, a bold, skilful, and enterprising man,

man, who, on assuming the command, appointed his brothers Accompong and Johnny leaders under him, and Cuffee and Quao subordinate Captains.

While the Clarendon rebels were carrying on their depredations on the south side of the island, the Maroons in the east continued theirs, and for a long series of years rendered every attempt to settle near them impracticable. Ineffectual efforts were made to subdue them, and, although they suffered greatly in several surprises and well-projected attacks, they remained a rallying point for all who were disposed to quit a state of labour, and to increase their body. They were joined from time to time by a number of slaves, principally those imported from the Coromantee country, a people inured to war on the coast of Africa.

Whether it was that this body of Maroons had to sustain more vigorous and fre-

quent assaults than suited the dispositions of many of the people, or that dissensions had taken place among them, or that both these causes co-operated, which is probable, certain it is, that previous to the year 1730 a party of them separated from the others, and distinguished themselves by the name of the Cottawoods; having, it is supposed, originally come from a place so called, near the present Maroon Charlestown, in the parish of St. George's. On learning that a considerable body of slaves had quitted the upper Settlements in Clarendon, and were carrying on a war against the White inhabitants, under a negroe called Cudjoe; that these people were Coromantees, and their leader a brave and enterprising man; and having probably had some previous communication with him by means of emissaries, about a hundred of them, consisting of men, women, and children, contrived, by long marches through a wild and unexplored country, to join the Clarendon rebels, and put themselves under the command

mand of Cudjoe. At subsequent periods, smaller bodies of the Cattawood party attached themselves to this chief, and by degrees the whole party were united under him: but though consolidated into one body for all the purposes and projects of a community of free-booters, the distinction of their origin was always kept up. The name of Cottawood was preserved among the descendants of that tribe, and the original body of negroes under Cudjoe were distinguished by the appellation of Kencuffees, in which line the succession of their chiefs continued.

Cudjoe was joined, but at what period is unknown, though certainly after he had become formidable, by another tribe of negroes, distinct in every respect; their figure, character, language, and country, being different from those of the other blacks. Their skin is of a deeper jet than that of any other negroe; their features resemble those of Europeans; their hair is of a loose

and soft texture like a Mulatto's or Quadroon's; their form more delicate, and their stature rather lower than those of the people they joined: they were much handsomer to an European eye, but seemed not to have originally possessed such hardness and strength of nerve as the other people under Cudjoe; and although it is probable that the intercourse with the latter had existed between seventy and eighty years, and an intermixture of families had taken place, their original character was easily traced in their descendants. They were called Madagascars, but why I do not know, never having heard that any slaves were brought from the island of Madagascar. It is possible there may be some other district in Africa called by the same name. They said that they ran away from the settlements about Lacovia, in the parish of St. Elizabeth, soon after the Planters had bought them. It does not appear that their number was great, but they were remarkably prolific. Some of the old people
remember

remember that their parents spoke, in their own families, a language entirely different from that spoken by the rest of the negroes with whom they had incorporated. They recollected many of the words for things in common use, and declared that in their early years they spoke their mother-tongue. The Coromantee language, however, superseded the others, and became in time the general one in use.

The term Maroon had been hitherto confined to the body of original Spanish fugitives, and it was not till about the year 1730, when Cudjoe had become formidable, and parties were fitted out against him, that he and his people were included in the appellation. They began at that time to pursue a more regular and connected system of warfare, and, in their frequent skirmishes with the troops sent out against them, acquired an art of attack and defence, which, in the difficult and hardly accessible fastnesses of the interior of the

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island,

island, has since so often foiled the best exertions of disciplined bravery. Plunder had been the original spring of their enterprises, but when they found themselves pursued, and attacked in the very woods, every consideration became absorbed in the passion of revenge. Murder attended all their successes: not only men but women and children were sacrificed to their fury, and even people of their own colour, if unconnected with them. Over such as secretly favoured them, while they apparently remained at peace on the plantations, they exercised a dominion by the influence of Obeah, and made them subservient to their designs. By these Cudjoe was always apprized in time of the parties that were fitted out, and knowing the routes they must necessarily take, prepared his ambushes accordingly. As he frequently defeated his assailants, his success was one means by which he supplied his men with arms and ammunition; nor was it the only one: at that time there was no restriction

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in the sale of powder and fire-arms, and there can be no doubt that he had friends who made a regular purchase of them under pretence of being hunters and fowlers for their masters. Nay, a Maroon himself might, by carrying a few fowls and a basket of provisions on his head, pass unnoticed and unknown through the immense crowd of negroes frequenting the markets in the large towns. This is known to have been done in later times, and it must have been more easily effected formerly. The Maroons, too, were much more provident of their ammunition than the troops were, seldom throwing a shot away ineffectually. These circumstances account, in some measure, for Cudjoe's having been able to protract the war for so many years.

At length, in the year 1733, the administration began to tire of the ineffectual system that had been so long pursued. Cudjoe's party had been greatly augmented;

ed ; and, besides being joined by the Cotawoods and Madagascars, he had now established a general interest with the windward Maroons, who had persisted in hostilities against the eastern planters, and on hearing of Cudjoe's activity and success, had become bolder and more enterprising. The Government, therefore, determined to establish several advanced posts near the usual resorts of each party, in order to check their incursions, and protect the neighbouring settlers : accordingly some were formed in the east, in the vicinity of the windward Maroons, and one in the centre of the island ; that being supposed nearest to the general rendezvous of Cudjoe's party, which was become by far the most formidable. The spot chosen for this post was on Cave River, at the western extremity of a very singular flat about seven miles long and three wide, surrounded on all sides by very high mountains, and nearly half a mile perpendicular above the level of the sea. Here a large range of barracks
was

was built within a high wall, flanked with four regular bastions. Other posts, on a smaller scale, were raised in different parts of the island. By thus advancing forces and supplies closer to the Maroons, long marches were avoided, and a communication being kept up between different posts by small foot-paths purposely opened, the operations of the parties employed to wage a constant and harassing war upon them, were facilitated.

The island at this time had but few regular troops, which were sufficiently occupied by the windward Maroons; and to have called out the militia would have been injurious to the prosperity of the colony. It was therefore thought best that independent companies and rangers should be raised; which was done, and these companies, commanded by men chosen for their vigour and activity, were stationed at the barracks on Cave River, the militia being only occasionally called out to assist. To

this force was attached a number of confidential negroes, called Black-shot, Mulattoes, and Indians ; for the last of whom, several vessels had been dispatched to the Mosquito shore. From the frequent excursions of these forces in the interior of the country, under very active officers, among whom Captain James* of the Rangers particularly distinguished himself, Cudjoe and his party found themselves extremely harassed, and much disappointed in the hope they had placed on the difficulty of access to their retreats, where they had begun to cultivate provision-grounds. The Black-shot and Mosquito Indians proved of great service in tracing the haunts of the Maroons, and of course Cudjoe's settlements and provisions were successively discovered and destroyed : not, however, without frequent skirmishes, which, though terminating in the defeat of the Maroons,

* The father of Major James, who was afterwards appointed Superintendent General of the Maroons.

were

were always attended on the side of the assailants with the greater loss.

It is not clear that the Maroons were always to be considered as defeated when they retired and left the ground of action to their enemy; for surprise and ambush were the chief principles of their warfare; they had not confidence in themselves in open fields, and therefore seldom risked a regular battle. The grand object of a Maroon chief in war was to take a station in some glen, or, as it is called in the West Indies, Cockpit, enclosed by rocks and mountains nearly perpendicular, and to which the only practicable entrance is by a very narrow defile. From the first Cockpit there is a succession of them, running from east to west, on a line in which they are passable from one to the other, though with more or less difficulty. There are also parallel lines of Cockpits, but as their sides are often perpendicular, from fifty to eighty feet, a passage from one line to another is scarcely to be found prac-

ticable to any but a Maroon. The northern aspect is commonly the steepest and often a solid perpendicular rock, so that if the opposite ascent were practicable, to descend into the parallel line would be impossible. This is the general character of these recesses, though they may in some degree differ in their direction. They have probably been formed along the large mountains of the island by violent earthquakes. On the difficult ascents there are either no trees, or such as have not strong roots : there are trees in the glens, and the entrance of the defiles is woody. In some water is found near the passages on either end, but not in the centre.

Such are the natural fortifications in which the Maroons secured themselves in times of danger, and from which it has been ever found so difficult to dislodge them. Having but one common entrance, the way to it was so trodden by the frequent egress and ingress of their parties who go in quest
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of provisions and plunder, that when a distant track was observed by a sharp-sighted guide, it hardly ever failed to lead to the mouth of the defile. At this mouth, which looks like a great fissure made through a rock by some extraordinary convulsion of Nature, from two hundred yards to half a mile in length, and through which men can pass only in a single file, the Maroons, whenever they expected an attack, disposed of themselves on the ledges of the rocks on both sides. Sometimes they advanced a party beyond the entrance of the defile, frequently in a line on each side, if the ground would admit; and lay covered by the underwood, and behind rocks and the roots of trees, waiting, in silent ambush for their pursuers, of whose approach they had always information from their out-scouts. These, after a long march, oppressed by fatigue and thirst, advance towards the mouth of the defile, through the track obscured by trees and underwood, in an approach of
many

many windings, which are either occasioned by the irregularity of the ground, or designedly made for the purpose of exposing the assailants to the attacks of the different parties in ambush. A favourable opportunity is taken when the enemy is within a few paces to fire upon them from one side. If the party surprised return the fire on the spot where they see the smoke of the discharge, and prepare to rush on towards it, they receive a volley in another direction. Stopped by this, and undecided which party to pursue, they are staggered by the discharge of a third volley from the entrance of the defile. In the meantime the concealed Maroons, fresh, and thoroughly acquainted with their ground, vanish almost unseen before their enemies have reloaded. The troops, after losing more men, are under the necessity of retreating; and return to their posts, frequently without shoes to their feet, lame, and for some time unfit for service. Such was the nature of the Maroon-war; though it is reasonable

able to suppose that the people under Cudjoe had not arrived to the perfection of tactics displayed by his successors in the late contest. Indeed, it is known that for a considerable time his operations were carried on about Mouth River, Hector's River, the black grounds, and tracts to the eastward of the greater cockpits, where, though the country was rugged and difficult, it was easy in comparison with the seat of war in the year 1795.

Cudjoe, finding his haunts accessible to the rangers, who were stationed at the barracks to the east of him, and the communication of his foraging parties with his old friends in the back parts of Clarendon cut off, resolved to change his position, and to seek a situation of greater security for his quarters, as well as a more extensive field for his operations. He accordingly removed to a place in Trelawney, near the entrance of the great cockpits to the North-West, the first of which, called Petty River Bottom,

Bottom, now well known, was accessible by a very narrow defile. This cockpit was considered as a very large one, containing about seven acres of land, and a spring of water. Cudjoe displayed great judgment in choosing this position, as in case of alarm he could throw himself into the cockpit, whence no valour or force could drive him; and at the same time he placed the great range of cockpits between him and his former annoyers. The choice of the position was equally judicious in respect to predatory incursions, as the parishes of St. James's, Hanover, Westmoreland, and St. Elizabeth's, lay open to him; and presenting more extensive and less defensible frontiers, afforded him opportunities of acting with smaller detachments, and of obtaining abundant supplies from different quarters. He sent out parties in various directions to a great distance, in order to deceive the Government, and even kept up an alarm in the neighbourhood of his old position. Cudjoe now augmented the body he had placed

placed under the command of his brother Accompong, and established them on the northern borders of St. Elizabeth, where the country afforded more cattle, but where also his men had to act against a greater number of inhabitants, prepared to defend their property. This station was above the mountains of Nauffau, a place where there is still a town called Accompong after his name.

In this situation did these people maintain themselves in a state of savage freedom for several years, living in indolence while their provisions lasted, and ravaging the country when excited by their wants. In their inroads they exercised the most horrid barbarities. The weak and defenceless, whenever surprised by them, fell victims to their thirst of blood; and, though some were more humane than others, all paid implicit obedience to the command of a leader, when that was given to imbrue their hands in blood: but, murder once commenced, no chief ever had power to stay the
hand

hand of his meanest follower, and there is hardly an instance of a prisoner having been saved by them. The Maroons have been accused of torturing their prisoners; but there is no grounds for this charge, as their eagerness to dispatch a wounded enemy falling into their hands was such that he was soon released from his misery by one of the many cutlasses which on the sight of him were raised to strike off his head.

Eight or nine years had now elapsed, since Cudjoe's renown had united all the fugitive negroes in the island, of whatever origin they were, in a general interest; and since the appellation of Maroons had been given indiscriminately to all the tribes of them. Force after force had been employed to subdue them in vain; their hostile operations against the inhabitants were carried on with unremitted vigour. At length the colonists resolved to make every sacrifice, and use every exertion, to put an end to so harassing a war. All who could carry arms

volunteered their service, and a large body of the people were assembled under the command of Colonel Guthrie of the militia, and Captain Sadler of the regulars. Amidst these formidable preparations, there were great apprehensions entertained of the uncertainty of the most vigorous measures; the failure of which would not only encourage the enemy, and entail a perpetual war upon the island, but might operate on the minds of the slaves, who would be convinced of the power of the Maroons to maintain a successful opposition against the Government. The governor, Edward Trelawney, was therefore urged by the principal persons of the country to offer them terms of peace.

This being resolved upon, it was necessary that it should be done with the utmost expedition; for a treaty, the purport of which was to establish the freedom and independence of a body of negroes, could not be suffered to remain long pending in
the

the contemplation of slaves, numbers of whom might be tempted to aim at obtaining the like advantage : Guthrie and Sadler were accordingly directed to communicate the offers to Cudjoe as speedily as possible. They could not but be acceptable to the Maroons, who were equally tired of war, and to whom the objects of their hostilities were conceded. On receiving intelligence of the offers to be made, Cudjoe called in his detachments, which had already fallen back, hearing of the preparations made against them. The formidable state of these threw a great difficulty in the way of negotiation, for the distrust of the Maroons would not allow them to reconcile it with the offering of peace; and the sincerity of the Government was doubted.

Governed by this motive, the cautious Cudjoe collected his force, and waited the approach of the peace-makers, on a spot the most favourable to action in his mode of war, and on which his people might de-

send themselves, were treachery intended on the part of the Government. His men were placed on the ledges of rocks that rose almost perpendicularly to a great height, on a ground which, compared to those precipices, might be called a plain, the extremity being narrowed into a passage, upon which the fire of the whole body might bear. This passage contracted itself into a defile of nearly half a mile long, and so narrow that only one man could pass along it at a time. Had it been entered by a line of men, it would not have been difficult for the Maroons from the heights to have blocked them up in the front and in the rear, by rolling down large rocks at both ends, and afterwards to have crushed them to death by the same means. This Defile, which has ever since retained the name of Colonel Guthrie, was one of the passages to the large cockpit called Petit River, already mentioned. The entrance was impregnable, the continuation of the line of smaller cockpits rendered the rear inaccessible, and

Nature had secured the flanks of her own fortification. In this dell were secured the Maroon women and children, and all their valuable things deposited. On the open ground before the defile the men had erected their huts, which were called Maroon town, or Cudjoe's town, whence, in case of an alarm, the people could fly in a minute to the ledges of the rocks at the mouth of the cockpit; nor would their town have been a great loss had it been burnt. They did not, however, confide solely to the security afforded them by the cockpit, and the ease with which they made themselves masters of the defile; every approach to their mountains was, for a mile or two, at other difficult passes, well guarded by small advanced parties, who on the appearance of an enemy might alarm their straggling bodies by means of their horns, which were heard at a considerable distance, and gave timely notice for every one to repair to his post. Thus situated, Cudjoe patiently waited the arrival of the olive-branch, and clearly

manifested his intentions, and his wishes for an accommodation, by ordering his advanced posts not to fire a shot. His parties therefore merely sounded their horns, and retired to the main body.

At this solemn juncture Colonel Guthrie advanced unmolested with his troops, through situations in which the Maroons might have greatly annoyed him, even with the large force he then had under him. Making, however, the best disposition of his troops that the nature of the ground would admit, he marched on with confidence, and judging of the distance he was from the Maroons by the sound of their horns, he continued advancing till he thought he could make them hear his voice: he then halted, and observing the smoke of their huts within a few hundred yards, though he could not see one of them, called in a loud tone that he was come by the Governor's order, to make them an offer of terms and treat for peace, which the white

people sincerely desired. An answer was returned, declaring that the Maroons wished the same, and requesting that the troops might be kept back. This request being apparently dictated by suspicion, Colonel Guthrie proposed to them to show the confidence he had in their sincerity by sending a person to them to assure them that the white people were sincere on their part, and to inform them of the particulars relative to their freedom and security, which the Government had authorised him to propose to them.

This being readily consented to, Dr. Russell was selected for that purpose. He advanced very confidently towards their huts, near which he was met by two Maroons, whom he informed of the purport of his message, and asked if either of them were Cudjoe. They replied in the negative, but said that if he would stay a little while and no men followed him, he would see Cudjoe. They then called out in the

Coromantee language to their people ; on which several bodies of them, who were before invisible, appeared on the rocks above. Being within the reach of the voice, Dr. Ruffell addressed himself to them, and begged particularly to have a conversation with Cudjoe, of whom he spoke in high terms ; saying, that if he were with them, he was sure, that as a brave and good man he would come down, and shew a disposition to live in peace and friendship with the white people.

Several Maroons now descended, and among them it was not difficult to discover the Chief himself. Cudjoe was rather a short man, uncommonly stout, with very strong African features, and a peculiar wildness in his manners. He had a very large lump of flesh upon his back, which was partly covered by the tattered remains of an old blue coat, of which the skirts and the sleeves below the elbows were wanting. Round his head was tied a scanty piece of white cloth, so very dirty, that its original use might have

been doubted. He had on a pair of loose drawers that did not reach his knees, and a small round hat with the rims pared so close to the crown, that it might have been taken for a calabash*, being worn exactly to the rotundity of his head. On his right side hung a cow's horn with some powder, and a bag of large cut flugs; on the left side he wore a musket, or couteau, three inches broad, in a leather sheath, suspended under his arm by a narrow strap that went round his shoulder. He had no shirt on, and his clothes, such as they were, as well as the part of his skin that was exposed, were covered with the red dirt of the Cockpits, resembling oker. Such was the Chief; and his men were as ragged and dirty as himself: all had guns and cutlasses. Cudjoe constantly cast his eyes towards the troops with Col. Guthrie, appeared very suspicious, and asked Dr. Russell many

* A species of gourd, the pulp of which is scooped out, and the hard, though thin, rind used by the negroes as a bowl.

questions before he ventured within his reach. At last Russell offered to change hats with him as a token of friendship ; to which he consented, and was beginning to converse more freely when Col. Guthrie called aloud to him, assuring him of a faithful compliance with whatever Dr. Russell promised. He said that he wished to come unarmed to him with a few of the principal gentlemen of the island, who should witness the oath he would solemnly make to them of peace on his part, with liberty and security to the Maroons on their acceding to it.

Cudjoe, after some hesitation, consented to their coming forward, and persuaded his people to come down from the rocks, which a few did, but not without their arms. As the gentlemen approached Cudjoe, he appeared to be in great trepidation, but whether caused by joy or fear was doubtful ; though he was certainly under the protecting fire of his own men, and the ne-

gotiators were unarmed. Colonel Guthrie advanced to him holding out his hand, which Cudjoe seized and kissed. He then threw himself on the ground, embracing Guthrie's legs, kissing his feet, and asking his pardon. He seemed to have lost all his ferocity, and to have become humble, penitent, and abject. The rest of the Maroons, following the example of their chief, prostrated themselves, and expressed the most unbounded joy at the sincerity shown on the side of the white people. Colonel Guthrie and Captain Sadler repeated the offers that had been communicated by Dr. Russell, which was accepted with joy; and confidence being established on both sides, the parties intermixed, exchanged hats, and other tokens of congratulation, and reciprocally testified their satisfaction.

If relief from the fatigues of a vexatious and uncertain war was agreeable to the white inhabitants of the island, it was no less so to the Maroons, who had for some time
before

before been kept in a continual state of alarm, and had begun to feel the want of means to continue hostilities, or even to support a defensive war. How long Cudjoe might have protracted it, is uncertain; but he acknowledged that he had for some time been in a state of want and dependency. Had any of his men been bold enough to propose returning to the masters to whom they originally belonged merely on an assurance of pardon, many, if not the greater part of the Maroons, would have supported the proposal; but all were deterred from expressing such a sentiment, by shame and the dread of punishment. At length, the treaty was concluded with Cudjoe by Colonel Guthrie and Captain Sadler,^o and all the solemnities attending it were executed under a large cotton-tree growing in the middle of the town at the entrance of Guthrie's Defile. The tree was ever after called Cudjoe's tree, and held in great veneration. I shall here subjoin the treaty.

Articles

*Articles of Pacification with the Maroons of
Trelawny Town, concluded March 1, 1738.*

IN the name of God, amen. Whereas Captain Cudjoe, Captain Acompong, Captain Johnny, Captain Cuffee, Captain Quaco, and several other negroes, their dependants and adherents, have been in a state of war and hostility, for several years past, against our sovereign Lord the King, and the inhabitants of this island; and whereas peace and friendship among mankind, and the preventing the effusion of blood, is agreeable to God, consonant to reason, and desired by every good man; and whereas his majesty George the Second, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of Jamaica, Lord, Defender of the Faith, &c. has, by his letters patent, dated February the twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight, in the twelfth year of his reign, granted
full

full power and authority to John Guthrie and Francis Sadler, esquires, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid Captain Cudjoe, and the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably, have agreed to the following articles :

First, That all hostilities shall cease on both sides for ever.

Second, That the said Captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by them, within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their said masters or owners for what is past ; provided always, that, if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to Captain Cudjoe and in friendship
with

with us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty.

Third, That they shall enjoy and possess, for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands situate and lying between Trelawny Town and the Cockpits, to the amount of fifteen hundred acres, bearing north-west from the said Trelawny Town.

Fourth, That they shall have liberty to plant the said lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided always, that when they bring the said commodities to market, they shall apply first to the custos, or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods to sale, for a licence to vend the same.

Fifth,

Fifth, That Captain Cudjoe, and all the Captain's adherents, and people now in subjection to him, shall all live together within the bounds of Trelawny town, and that they have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit, except within three miles of any settlement, crawl, or pen; provided always, that in case the hunters of Captain Cudjoe, and those of other settlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties.

Sixth, That the said Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, do use their best endeavours to take, kill, suppress, or destroy, either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that service by his excellency the Governor, or commander in chief for the time being, all rebels wheresoever they be, throughout this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to Captain Cudjoe, and his successors.

Seventh,

Seventh, That in case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy, the said Captain Cudjoe, and his successors hereinafter named or to be appointed, shall then, upon notice given, immediately repair to any place the Governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the said invaders with his or their utmost force, and to submit to the orders of the commander in chief on that occasion.

Eighth, That if any white man shall do any manner of injury to Captain Cudjoe, his successors, or any of his or their people, they shall apply to any commanding officer or magistrate in the neighbourhood for justice ; *and in case Captain Cudjoe, or any of his people, shall do any injury to any white person he shall submit himself, or deliver up such offender to justice.*

Ninth, That if any negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into Captain Cudjoe's hands,

hands, they shall immediately be sent back to the chief magistrate of the next parish where they are taken ; and those that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint.

Tenth, That all negroes taken, since the raising of this party by Captain Cudjoe's people, shall immediately be returned.

Eleventh, That Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, shall wait on his Excellency, or the commander in chief for the time being, every year, if thereunto required.

Twelfth, That Captain Cudjoe, during his life, and the Captains succeeding him, shall have full power to inflict any punishment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themselves, death only excepted ; in which case, if the Captain thinks they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before any justice of the peace, who shall order proceedings
on

on their trial equal to those of other free negroes.

Thirteenth, That Captain Cudjoe with his people, shall cut, clear, and keep open, large and convenient roads from Trelawny town to Westmorland and St. James's, and, if possible, to St. Elizabeth's.

Fourteenth, That two white men, to be nominated by his Excellency, or the commander in chief for the time being, shall constantly live and reside with Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island.

Fifteenth, That Captain Cudjoe shall, during his life, be chief commander in Trelawny town; after his decease the command to devolve on his brother Captain Accompong; and in case of his decease, on his next brother Captain Johnny; and, failing him, Captain Cuffee shall succeed; who
is

is to be succeeded by Captain Quaco ; and after all their demises, the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, shall appoint, from time to time, whom he thinks fit for that command.

In testimony, &c. &c.

LETTER III.

Party sent to discover the Windward Maroon Town under Quao.—Burn some Huts.—Ambushed.—Party under Captain Adair sent to negotiate Peace with Quao.—Description of the Windward Maroon Settlement.—Savage Spirit of Revenge.—Dispute between the Regulars and Militia.—Peace concluded.—Difference in the Articles of the Treaty and those of Cudjoe's.

WE must now return to the Windward Maroons, between whom and Cudjoe there had been no communication for some time. Under their chief Quao they had desolated the parish of St. George's, and committed every excess in the course of their depredations. Previous to the last preparations made against the Trelawny body, which happily brought on the peace, a force, consisting of a detachment of Captain Adair's independent company, under Lieutenants Concannon and Thicknesse, and fifty of the militia commanded by a Lieutenant,

tenant, was sent up the country towards the head of Spanish river, to look for a Maroon town supposed, upon good information, to be situated on or near the banks of it.

After a march of three days the troops came to a spot where the prints of the feet of men and dogs were visible. Here, imagining themselves near the Maroon settlement, they lay under arms the succeeding night, with an intention to attack the town early next morning by surprise. As they expected, day-light discovered smoke proceeding from houses at a little distance, upon which the troops rushed up to the spot; but the Maroons having had notice of their march, and knowing the position of the town not to be tenable, decamped in the night, leaving seventy-four huts, with a fire burning in each. It appeared that this place was not their settlement, but a temporary resort, the neighbourhood of it affording good hunting and fishing. The

troops set the huts on fire, and then went in pursuit of the Maroons, who had purposely made tracts visible by cutting away bushes, and artfully left cocoas, yams, and plantains, at certain distances, to induce their pursuers to believe that they were afraid of being overtaken. At one place Lieutenant Con-cannon found a fire with some jerked hog broiling, and left untouched. After a fruitless pursuit, and much fatigue, the troops turned back, intending to rest on the bank of Spanish river, and to take the course of the stream towards the sea for a guide to the low lands, having no other conductor.

The Maroons, who had imperceptibly hung on their rear and flanks, pushing back towards a spot suited to their tactics, advantageously posted themselves in ambush. Having observed the number of their enemy, they allowed the advance to pass, then suddenly fell furiously upon the rear. The militia fled, and the baggage negroes, to the number of seventy, threw down their loads and

and followed. The regulars took shelter under the perpendicular projection of a mountain that overhung the stream, whence they could hear the Maroons talking, though they could see none of them. By firing at the points where the smoke of the Maroon guns appeared, the soldiers nearly expended all their ammunition. In this situation, almost hid from their enemy, they remained four hours up to their waists in water, exposed to the heat of a vertical sun, and apprehensive of being taken alive and tortured. At length a shot being fired from the opposite side of the river, they imagined that the Maroons were moving round to attack them from a position to which they were exposed, and they made the best of their way across the river amidst a shower of shot, leaving behind them their killed and wounded. The Maroons did not venture to pursue them on ground less advantageous, and the party, harassed, fatigued, and defeated, returned to their quarters in St. George's.

About three months after this, and subsequent to the treaty with Cudjoe, a party of three hundred soldiers, under the command of Captain Adair, was ordered to go in quest of the Windward Maroons, for the purpose of making similar terms with them. One of Quao's men, a hornman, having been taken prisoner, consented to accompany Captain Adair, and undertook to lead him to the principal town, where it happened that a soldier, who had been taken prisoner by some of them, had informed them of the peace Cudjoe had made. This was the first intimation they had had of it, which shows that the communication between the different bodies had not been regularly kept open. As the hornman was acquainted with the treaty that had taken place with the Trelawny Maroons, he was anxious that Quao and his friends should know it, and that the Governor wished to treat also with them. He was very solicitous that Captain Adair should not attempt to take the town by force, and represented its situation

tion to be such as no body of men, or even an individual, could approach without a notice of five or six hours being given from their advanced sentries.

After a march of two days, through a country covered with wood, and full of dangerous precipices, the troops were led to the foot of a very high and steep mountain, where, on some provision grounds, Captain Adair made a halt, and ordered his guide to blow his horn. The Maroons knowing by the information given by the sounds that they proceeded from the missing hornman, returned an answer with one of their horns; but not a man of them was to be seen. Captain Adair then hailed them with a trumpet, and assured them that he was come to make peace; that freedom had been granted to Cudjoe's people, and that it was offered to them on the same terms. The Maroons had greatly mistrusted the intelligence of the soldier whom they had massacred, but this corroboration removed their

suspicion, and, after some parley, they agreed to exchange a Captain for the purpose of settling preliminaries. This was no sooner done than an acre of light brush-wood on the side of the mountain was cleared by the muschet (or couteau) of each Maroon, and exposed to view the whole body, arranged in order.

The terms proposed being agreed to, a part of the troops were suffered to advance to the town. As they scrambled up a narrow path they every where found holes dug to cover the defenders of the mountain, and sticks crossed for resting their guns, with which they enfiladed every angle, that from the steepness it was necessary to make in ascending. After gaining the summit the visitors had again to descend on the other side, by a path equally steep and narrow which led to the town. Difficult as this approach appears, it may be considered as easy when compared to the passages of the Trelawny cock-

pits, of which you will presently hear more. Near the town the path widened so as to admit two foldiers a-breast, and the troops entered with drums beating and some parade, the appearance of which alarming the women and children, they fled to the woods. They soon, however, returned, one after another, on finding that the men did not follow them.

To show the deadly hatred they bore the white people, Thicknesse, who was the first in the town, and the person left with them as a hostage, related, that having taken up his abode with Quao, his children could not refrain striking their pointed fingers at his breast as they would have done knives, had they been permitted, calling out, "Buckra, Buckra." In their savage resentment the women wore rows of the teeth of white men as ornaments; and the under-jaw of the unfortunate fellow who gave them the first intelligence of Cudjoe's peace, adorned one of the hornmen's horn. Before

fore his death was determined upon it had been Quao's intention to send him to the Governor with proposals of submission, upon the terms which he had informed him Cudjoe had accepted, but he was deterred from it by an old obeah-woman, the only one of that sex known to have exercised the art.

Amidst the calm produced by the treaty an event took place which had nearly overset the whole negotiation. A Colonel of the militia, who happened to be out with a large party, hearing that Captain Adair had brought the Maroons to terms, marched up and joined the troops at the town, and being of a superior rank insisted on the treaty being signed in his name. On this a dispute arose between the officers of the regulars and militia; the men of the former were in consequence ordered under arms, and had not the Colonel relinquished his pretensions, a conflict would have ensued. The Maroons could not be indifferent spectators of such

such a scene, and between the contending parties it was not easy to persuade them that they were safe; but Quao, having been a plantation-slave, recollected the manners and character he had formerly observed, and assured his people that there was nothing strange in what they saw, and that they had nothing to fear.

The dispute ended, and the peace was in fact, and as it ought to have been, concluded by Captain Adair, who had done every thing but sign the treaty before the militia came up. However this be, the treaty is inserted in the Journals of the House of Assembly, signed with the name of Colonel Bennet.

The treaty with the negroes of the windward towns, consisting of 14 articles, as inserted on the Journals of the House of Assembly, was made by Colonel Robert Bennet with Captain Quao on the 23d of
June

July 1739, and was much to the same purport as Cudjoe's, except in the following articles :

9th. That in case they are overpowered by more rebels than they can fight they might apply for aid to the Governor.

10th. That in case any negro or negroes belonging to Captain Quao shall be guilty of a crime or crimes deserving death, he shall deliver him or them up to the next magistrate, in order to be tried as other negroes are, but small crimes he may punish himself.

12th. That neither Quao nor his people shall bring any stock or provisions to sell, without a ticket from one of the people residing within the same town ; and that the successors of Quao shall be Thomboy, Apong, Blackwell and Clash.

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It is to be observed that the Maroons in the windward towns did not stipulate for the same mode of trial as those of Trelawny town ; their treaty was made more than a year after Cudjoe's.

LETTER IV.

Maroon Towns.—Trelawny Town described.—The persons of the Maroons.—Perfection of their Senses. Distant Communications by a Horn.—Smell and Taste.—Language.—Superstition.—Government of their Chiefs.—Office of Superintendant.—Laws relative to the Maroons.—Neglect of Regulations.—Existence of the Maroons as a distinct Body.—Useful to individuals and the Public.—Provision.—Grounds and Produce of their Tillage.—Food.—Stock.—Traffic.—Marriages.—Daughters.—Reception of White Visitors.—Funerals.—Observation on the Difference of the Towns.—Population.

HAVING made you acquainted with the origin of the Maroons, and their establishment as a body of free people in the interior of the island of Jamaica, let us take a respite from war, and view them as settled peaceably in their towns. Of these there were five; Trelawny-town, Acompong-town, Scot's Hall, Charles-town, and Moore-town,

town, situated in different parts of the island from the eastern to the western extremity. The people of the eastern towns were called Windward Maroons. I will not enter into a separate description of these places, but speak chiefly of Trelawny-town, as being the most considerable, and that which will make the most conspicuous figure in the sequel of our history.

We have seen, that by the treaty made with Cudjoe, 1500 acres of land in the parish of Trelawny were granted to him, and the body of Maroons under his command. On this land stood the town, about 20 miles to the south-east of Montego Bay. Let your imagination help me to convey you up to immense mountains, successively towering one above the other, presenting tangled forests or immense precipices of barren rock. The habitations of the Maroons of Trelawny were so placed as to form two towns, the old and the new town, at the distance of half a mile from

each other. There were but two roads to Trelawny-town which were passable for horses and mules, and that with the greatest difficulty, one road from the north-east through the parish of St. James's, the other from the north-west through the parish of Trelawny. The former about eight or nine miles from Montego Bay, at a place called John's Hall, becomes steep, and continues so on the side of a long mountain for four miles through canefields and woods to Kensington, whence it runs more even for four miles farther through woods to a penn*, called Vaughansfield, which is at the distance of about one mile and a half from the site of the old town. For half a mile from Vaughansfield the road, now a mere track, leads through pastures and a coffee-walk to the foot of a very steep hill, which it ascends half a mile, then continuing along a clayey ridge, having on the left a barren waste overgrown with fern, and on the right ledges

* A penn is a grazing farm.

of rocks of unequal height, it enters the Old Town, about half a mile farther on.

The other road was from Falmouth, the principal town of the parish of Trelawny, from which the Maroon town stood at the distance of about eighteen miles. It is for the most part level and good for about fourteen miles, to Spring-Vale, whence the ascent is very difficult for three miles, or more, the track passing through two pennis called Chatfworth and Schaw-Castle. From the latter it rises very roughly and suddenly on the New Town, or Furry's, which is situated on a kind of clayey ridge, similar to that about the Old Town. On the acclivity of the mountain, and on a scite extremely unequal, every where rising and sinking abruptly, the Maroon habitations were disposed without any attention to regularity; each house, for the convenience of a sloping ground to carry off the floods occasioned by heavy rains, being placed on a little ridge or hillock, differing in height

from the others; and between these ridges, in various directions, run gullies, or channels, formed by the torrents, in irregular courses. The spots on which the houses were erected, had by degrees lost all the mould with which they had been covered, and presented barren eminences of clay. Here and there, in patches, where the sweepings of the ashes from the houses had been collected, and also on the ground below their hogsties, which were appurtenances to every house, some clumps of plantain trees, and smaller vegetables were nourished by the manure. These productive patches, and the houses, were each surrounded by a fence, made of a prickly shrub, called the *Pinguin*, which propagates itself with great rapidity. The fences, from being neglected, had spread over the different paths left between them, and had narrowed them to very small tracks; which, from the frequent passing of cattle, became deep sloughs in the rainy season, the stiff mire admitting the leg of a man up to the middle.

middle. On this account, the Maroons had made through each others' inclosures small foot-paths, in undiscernible windings, which could not be traced but with difficulty, except by themselves. The houses were in general small cottages covered with thatch, or a long grass called the Foxtail; and were without flooring, the ground within, and in the piazzas, with which most of the houses were provided, being trodden with a mixture of ashes into a firm and compact substance. Some habitations, however, belonging to the chiefs, were roofed with shingles, and several had floored rooms. According to a plantation estimate, the value of the houses might be stated at from 40*l.* to 70*l.*, and a few at double the latter sum. It was on account of the ease with which the Maroons obtained a proper depth for the upright posts which they built with, and drove four or five feet into the ground, that they chose the scite described.

The two towns were similar in most respects: the Old Town was more open and extended than the New one. The communication between the towns was through a very narrow neglected defile, or path, half a mile in length, running through the wood. The Maroons, for their provisions, cultivated, on sufferance, land adjoining to the tract, conceded to them by the treaty. Of the 1500 acres of which their territory consisted, a third was merely rock, about a hundred acres worth cultivating, and the rest of it was over-run with a species of fern and Foxtail grass, which are certain indications of a poor soil. Besides their ground provisions, the Maroons had a stock of cattle; and they kept mares, from which they bred horses for sale. These fed in the woods, and on neighbouring heaths.

The elevated region, on which the settlement was established, is cool and healthy. The site of the New Town commands a
prospect

prospect in which the charms of the sublime and of the beautiful are united, and presents subjects that would have been worthy of the Italian pencil in the age of Leo, and are worthy of the English one under George III. Imagine that you have rode in a carriage from Montego Bay to John's Hall, that you have mounted and walked your horse up the long ascent to Kensington, that you have trotted through majestic woods to Vaughan's-field, made your way to the Old Town, and scrambled a-foot through the defile to the New one; you will stand in need of rest, and I shall therefore let you sleep till the next morning. The smoke of the habitations has been condensed by the weight of the night-air, and has mingled with the thick and fleecy-looking fog rising from innumerable glades. Injure not my description by suffering the intrusion of a misplaced idea of an insalubrious exhalation. The fog of the West-India mountains is not unwholesome. It collects in the course of the night, en-

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velopes

velopes hill and valley, appears at day-break in gently undulating motion to the eye above it, and completely conceals all that it covers. Being up before the sun, how wild and picturesque the scenery that lies before you! From the eminence which you have gained, you see the upper parts of the town, encompassed by rocky precipices and caves, irregular clumps of plantain trees interspersed throughout the little inclosures which surround the houses, and here and there plants of coffee, cassava, and the broad-leaved cocoa. As the morning advances, the fog gradually sinks, and you have before you an ocean, diversified with a variety of little islands, broadening every minute at the base, as they are left by a tide which in its ebb discovers, not sands, but the beauties of wooded hills and vales. At length the sun is on the horizon, evaporation quickens, the remaining mists are dispersed by the warmth of his beams, and your eye travels over an immense country of descending mountains plumed with wood, catches

catches the lively scenery of succeeding plantations, and extends the sight to the town on the coast, to the ocean, to bays and promontories, diminishing as they recede, till it is compelled to rest at last on an uncertain expanse of sea and sky*.

It is not to be doubted that the climate of these mountains, which is seldom less than ten degrees cooler than the low lands of the island, the mode of life of the inhabitants, the constant exercise of their limbs in ascending and descending, and their custom of exploring the vast mountains and precipices of the interior of the country in pursuit of the wild boar, contributed to produce the strength and symmetry in which the Maroons of Trelawny Town and Accompong Town, who were the same race of men, far excelled the other negroes of every description in Jamaica. In character, language, and man-

* Barracks have been since erected on the site of Trelawny Town, as a healthy military station.

ners, they nearly resembled those negroes, on the estates of the planters, that were descended from the same race of Africans, but displayed a striking distinction in their personal appearance, being blacker, taller, and in every respect handsomer; for such of them as had remained in slavery had intermixed with Eboe negroes and others, imported from countries to the southward of the coast of Africa, people of yellow complexions, with compressed features, and thick lips, who were in every respect inferior to themselves.

In their person and carriage the Maroons were erect and lofty, indicating a consciousness of superiority; vigour appeared upon their muscles, and their motions displayed agility. Their eyes were quick, wild, and fiery, the white of them appearing a little reddened; owing, perhaps, to the greenness of the wood they burned in their houses, with the smoke of which it must have been affected. They possessed
most,

most, if not all, of the senses in a superior degree. They were accustomed, from habit, to discover in the woods objects, which white people, of the best sight, could not distinguish; and their hearing was so wonderfully quick, that it enabled them to elude their most active pursuers; they were seldom surprised. They communicated with one another by means of horns; and when these could scarcely be heard by other people, they distinguished the orders that the sounds conveyed. It is very remarkable, that the Maroons had a particular call upon the horn for each individual, by which he was summoned from a distance, as easily as he would have been spoken to by name, had he been near. It appears wonderful, at first, that a single horn should be able to express such a number of names; but, on reflexion, it is not more wonderful than the variety of changes of which a dozen bells are susceptible, or the multiplicity of words that are formed by the combination of twenty-six letters. Allow-
ing

ing that the horn admits a less variation of tones than the chimes of twelve bells, it has a greater advantage in one respect for conveying particular ideas, from being capable of varying the duration of sound, which bells are not; so that, besides the numerical combination of monotonous notes, it can adopt all the modulation of concatenated measure, and the poetical feet might be so associated as to transmit a great variety of ideas. But to return to the Maroons:—It has been said that their sense of smelling *is obtuse, and their taste depraved*. With respect to the former, I have heard, on the contrary, that their scent is extremely prompt, and that they have been known to trace parties of runaway negroes to a great distance by the smell of their fire-wood; and as to the latter, they are, like other negroes, fond of savoury dishes, jirked hog, and ringtail pigeons, delicacies unknown to an European table, but which a Quin himself would not hesitate to name among the first dainties of the

the Epicurean list. I know not whence the word *jirked* is derived, but it signifies cutting or scoring internally the flesh of the wild hog, which is then smoked, and otherwise prepared in a manner that gives it a very fine flavour. The taste is a sense more peculiarly dependent upon social habits than any of the rest; we soon learn to relish the viands agreeable to those about us in the earlier part of life, and to eat and drink as our parents and friends do. The want of a refined palate would not be surprising among a set of uncivilized Africans; but it would be surprising to find them preferring wine to rum, when we recollect that they are accustomed to the latter from their infancy, and that they know nothing of the former; that fermented liquors are insipid to the palate used to distilled ones, and that one might as well expect a London drayman to prefer pale small beer to brown stout. I remember once offering a white man in Jamaica his choice of wine or rum, having at the time no brandy

drawn; he chose the latter, with this answer: " Oh! Sir, any thing that bites the throat."

The Maroons, in general, speak, like most of the other negroes in the island, a peculiar dialect of English, corrupted with African words; and certainly understand our language sufficiently well to have received instruction in it. I cannot be of opinion, that a sincere and fervent endeavour to introduce Christianity among them would have failed. It is true, that a prejudice in favour of the magic of Obeah prevailed among them, as among other negroes; but it is no less true, that the influence of this prejudice operated differently, according to the strength of their understanding and experience. The greatest dupes to it were the most ignorant; and it was a generally received opinion, that the charm of Obeah could have no power over any negro who had been baptized: not but that the weaker ones, whether Maroons

or

or others, dreaded the arts of Obeah even after baptism. Minds forming this estimate of Christianity, could not but be prepared to embrace its soothing doctrines; and it must always be lamented that no attempts were ever made to introduce our religion among the black people in the colonies. I mean to resume this subject when I come to speak of the present state of Jamaica; and shall here only observe, that the superstition of Obeah would have vanished before the power of Christianity, and that no other power is likely to eradicate it. The Maroons continued to believe, like their forefathers, that Accompong was the God of the Heavens, the creator of all things, and a deity of infinite goodness: but they neither offered sacrifices to him, nor had any mode of worship.

It is not to be supposed that an illiterate body of people, among whom ambition was unknown, and who spent their lives chiefly in hunting, raising provisions, and

traversing the woods in pursuit of run-aways, would attend to nice regulations for their internal government. There was no public revenue to manage; no army to maintain, though the whole formed a military body, under appointed officers: right and wrong were supposed to be understood, without being defined. The town consisted of a certain number of families collected together under a chief; and among them resided a superintendant and four other white men, as appointed by the colonial legislature. Subject to the laws made for them in their relative situation, as dependent on the government of the island, they were in other respects at liberty to pursue the dictates of their own minds, and they consequently followed the customs of their fathers. All their disputes were subject to the determination of their chiefs, to whom they looked up with implicit confidence, and whom they usually obeyed without argument. The Superintendant, likewise, took an active part in adjusting their altercations,

cations, which chiefly arose from their propensity to gaming, as they would play for considerable sums of money ; and from drunkenness, of which they were frequently guilty. We have seen, in the treaty with Cudjoe, the succession of chiefs that were then named, after whom, the power of appointment returned to the Governor. The commission, accordingly, continued to be filled up as vacancies occurred, and the successors of Cudjoe maintained a degree of influence and authority equal to his own. Till the death of Furry, who built the New Town, and went to reside in it with a certain number of the Maroons, they were governed in a very despotic manner by their chiefs and some of the older captains. The last of these chief Maroons was named Montague, whom I shall have occasion to mention again, in treating of the causes of the rebellion of 1795.

The duties of the Superintendent consisted in maintaining a friendly correspondence

spondence between the Maroons and the inhabitants of the island, preserving peace in their settlements, preventing the concourse of slaves in the towns, and sending parties out on duty. By his office he was empowered to hold a court with four Maroons, to try those who disobeyed orders, excited or joined in tumults, departed from the towns without leave, or staid out longer than permitted; and to award punishments not extending to life, limb, or transportation. He was bound to reside in his town, from which he was never to be absent longer than a fortnight, without the Governor's leave; and every three months he was to make a return, on oath, to the Governor, of the number residing in his town, how many were able to bear arms, how many unfit for duty, the number of women and children, their increase or decrease, the condition of the Superintendent's house, and the state of the roads. On failure of his duty, the Superintendent was subject to a court-martial,

martial, and liable to be broke. There was a Superintendant in each town, having a salary of 200*l.*, and he had under him four white men at 60*l.* a-year each.

After the treaty with Cudjoe, the Maroons became the subject of successive laws, consisting of regulations respecting runaways, trials, punishments, making roads, and a variety of minute affairs. Being careless whether they brought in a run-away alive, or only his head, a law was passed, with great policy, allowing, besides the usual reward, mile-money for every run-away produced alive. Inveigling slaves and harbouring runaways, were punishable by transportation; that is, the offender was sold to foreigners on other islands, or on the continent of America. Though a concourse of slaves in their towns was forbidden, the Maroons might have dances among themselves whenever they pleased, and, provided the dance were in the day-time, with a small number of slaves. They were not to quit their town

without leave; and, if they staid seven days beyond the time allowed them, they were liable to be taken up and sent home for trial. They were not permitted to purchase or possess slaves. No party in pursuit of run-aways was to consist of more than twelve men, including officers, except on particular occasions; or to go without written orders from the Superintendant; nor were the party to remain out more than twenty days. No Maroons were to be employed by any white person without a written agreement; and debts due to or from them were to be determined by two magistrates in a summary way. Their persons were protected from whipping, or other ill-treatment. They were bound to repair the roads leading to their town once a-year, on being ordered by the Superintendant, for which they were to be paid. Lastly, there was a law which, in consideration of their increasing population, gave them the liberty of relinquishing their rights as Maroons, and residing in any other

other part of the island except the Maroon towns, no longer subject to the Superintendent, but enjoying the privileges of free people. In which case they were bound to enlist in the militia.

To some of these laws very little attention was paid. The Maroons bought slaves without any notice being taken of it. Parties of them were suffered to wander about the island, and many of them formed temporary connexions with the female slaves on the different plantations in the country. Whole families of them left their towns, and were permitted to establish themselves on the back settlements of the planters, without complying with the forms required by the law respecting such removals, from which consequences resulted which we shall hereafter have to observe. From the neglect of this law, it is evident that it was not passed with a view of encouraging the Maroons to disperse and lose the existence of a distinct community, which it has

been imagined would have been beneficial to the island*, but merely to give them room, their limits becoming unequal to their increase. Whether their extermination, as a distinct body, would have been beneficial, is highly problematical. The war of 1795 would not have taken place; but who can say what other communities of the slaves might have been formed in the woods and mountains, and what other wars might have been the consequence? It is very probable that assemblages of fugitives would have been formed in the woody and almost inaccessible retreats of the country, had it not been for the frequent scowering of the woods by the Maroons, in search of run-away negroes. These assemblages would in time have formed new Maroon bodies, as difficult to be subdued as the former; and so far more dangerous than the original Maroons were in their outset, that their connexion with the slaves would have been more

* Edwards.

general. It is very well known, that notwithstanding the vigilance and activity with which fugitives were pursued by the Maroons, a small body of them did actually establish themselves in the mountains, where they had raised huts, and made provision-grounds, on which some had lived for upwards of twenty years. This body, called the Congo Settlement, was discovered in the late war by a party of Maroons crossing the country, and was dispersed, some of the negroes returning to the estates to which they formerly belonged, and others surrendering with the Maroons at the termination of the war.

That the Maroons had proved themselves a useful body, cannot be denied. Besides their utility in preventing assemblages of fugitives, they had been active in the suppression of rebellions; in which it was affirmed by one of their Superintendants*, of whose character you will presently hear

* Major James.

more, that they stood forth with a determined spirit against the insurgents; and in the conflicts of the year 1760, lost several of their people. In the year 1766 they were no less active, as I have been assured by a gentleman who was an eye-witness of their service*, having been one of a party that went against a body of Coromantees, who had taken arms in the parish of Westmoreland, massacring all the white people they met with. A short engagement took place in the mountains; and the rebels, imagining the party, some of whom were covered by the trees, much larger than it was, retreated farther into the woods. Their assailants having endured excessive fatigue, were unable to pursue them, but happened to fall in with a body of Maroons, who being hog-hunting in the vicinity, had not heard of the insurrection. They were soon collected, and being apprised of the danger that threatened the

* Mr. Quarrell, the gentleman alluded to in the preface, and to whom these letters are dedicated.

country,

country, hastened towards the spot where the engagement had taken place, fell in with the party who had come out against the rebels, and found them so exhausted and crippled by their forced marches through the woods, that all they could do was to shew the Maroons the track the rebels had taken in their retreat. They went forward with the greatest alacrity, and before sunset killed and took two-thirds of the number of the negroes, and dispersed the rest, whom in the course of a few days more they brought in. The conduct of the Maroons was highly applauded by the Commander* of the little party, and he and his followers received the thanks of the House of Assembly. On slighter occasions likewise, when small bodies of slaves have committed outrages, the Maroons exerted themselves successfully; and it is but common justice to say, that they were ever ready to support the Government whenever it was necessary. They assembled for the

* Mr. Goodin.

purpose of assisting to repel the invasion of the island, which in the years 1779 and 1780 was threatened by the Count D'Estaing, who was prevented by Admiral Rodney from forming a junction of the French with the Spanish forces collected at St. Domingo for a descent on Jamaica. Prejudice frequently warps truth without intention, and even without knowing that it does so: I therefore the more readily record these facts, as they show that the Maroons, however culpable in their rebellion, or however true the stories respecting the ferocity and backwardness of some tribes of them, were, in general, of use to the inhabitants of the island, and prompt in their services on public occasions.

Agriculture among the Maroons^c was a very simple science. They had few wants, and the supply of those required neither great knowledge nor much labour. They placed a considerable dependence on hunting, and on their rewards for taking fugitives; but
they

they did not therefore entirely neglect the cultivation of land, and were by no means so averse to the toil it demands, as they have been represented. Many of them were negligent of the more certain modes of labour, for they were strangers to the passions which stimulate superfluous industry; but none could be said to be indolent, for their lives were passed in unusual personal exertions, which, as I before observed, conduced to their strength and symmetry. A provident disposition, however, was spreading itself among them: they began to feel the advantages afforded by money, and large parties of them, of their own accord, frequently hired themselves to the planters and new settlers, to clear and plant large tracts of land for certain wages*; and several families of them, as I have already observed, settled

* This may appear favourable to the system proposed, of cultivating Trinidad with free negroes; but let it be recollected, that the Maroons were a small body, and that power remained with the whites, which in a general freedom would not be the case.

by sufferance on back lands which they cultivated for themselves.

Their provision-grounds consisted of a considerable tract of unequal land, from which was produced a stock not only sufficient for their own use, but so superabundant as to enable them to supply the neighbouring settlements. Plantain, Indian corn or maize, yams, cocoas, toyaus, and in short all the nutritious roots that thrive in tropic soils, were cultivated in their grounds. In their gardens grew most of the culinary vegetables, and they were not without some fine fruits: for though to these, in general, the soil of their mountains was unfavourable, being either moist or clayey, yet they had some valuable fruit-trees, among which the Avocado, or Alligator-pear, ranked foremost. Mammées, and other wild but delicious fruits, were at their hand, and pine-apples grew in their hedges. They bred cattle and hogs, and raised a great quantity of fowls. When
to

to this domestic provision of good and wholesome food, we add the luxuries afforded by the woods, the wild boar, ring-tail pigeons, and other wild birds, and the land-crab, which some esteem the greatest dainty in the West Indies, we may doubt whether the palate of Apicius would not have received higher gratification in Trelawny Town than at Rome.

It has been said, that the Maroons let their provision-grounds, both those belonging to themselves, and those they held on sufferance, go to ruin, and trespassed on the provision-grounds of the settlers in the mountains. I am informed that the fact was otherwise; that those of the settlers were often insufficient, their negroes being employed in different labour, and that they purchased the superabundance of the Maroons. Their grounds, after the corn was cut down, might, for a length of time, appear to the eye in a ruinous state; while under the surface a large stock of nutritive

roots were growing to maturity. These roots were their surest support at the period when a scarcity was most to be apprehended, after a long-continued succession of dry weather. In the course of time these patches of land were cleared and replanted, and they again gradually assumed the appearance of being neglected; it is no wonder, therefore, that the eye of a casual visitor should have been deceived, and that he should have been led to declare, "that he perceived no vestige of culture:" but I cannot so well account for his asserting, "that the Maroons supplied themselves from the plantations of the whites by purchase or theft*," as I have the best authority for what I have affirmed respecting the superabundance disposed of by the people of Trelawny Town.

The women chiefly were employed in the cultivation of their grounds; but this they did not account an imposition upon

* Edwards.

them by the men. We are not to imagine that what would be real cruelty in a refined state of society, is cruelty, or even hardship, in a rough and unpolished people, among whom every individual depends upon his own exertions for his support. In what country on the globe is it, that in the class of mankind doomed to labour, we shall not find tribes, the women of which participate the toils of the men? Is it France? Is it England? If the Maroon women were employed in burning trees and in tillage, the men, besides hunting and pursuing run-aways, were employed in fencing the grounds, building and repairing houses, attending to their cattle and horses, of which they had about 200 head, and carrying on their petty commerce. They were none of them mechanics, all their knowledge of that kind was confined to the art of erecting a house, and repairing a gun.

Their traffic consisted in the disposal of the increase of their stock of all kinds,

their jirked hog, and superfluous provisions, which enabled them to purchase other commodities, and to put money by. They made a considerable profit by manufacturing tobacco. They bought the leaf of the plant on the estates within the distance of twenty or thirty miles, which their women and children assisted them in carrying home, each loaded with a weight proportioned to the strength of the carrier. The purchase was put into bags, which were made by knitting the fibres of the trumpet-tree and mahoe bark, the ends of which were contracted into a bandage that went round the fore-head, and served as a stay to the load, which rested on the back. The leaves were dried and prepared for use by the men, who twisted them into a kind of rope, of about the third of an inch in diameter, which they rolled up in balls, and carried out in the same manner to the different estates for sale.

The Maroon marriages, or contracts of cohabitation, were attended with no religious

gious or juridical ceremonies; the consent of the woman to live with the man being sufficient. That being obtained, gifts of clothes and trinkets were made to the bride; and frequently the bridegroom received presents of hogs, fowls, and other things, from the relations of the woman, to whom, in case of a separation, they were to be returned. A plurality of wives was allowed. A man might have as many as he could maintain; but very few had more than two, and most of them confined themselves to one. It was very expensive to have several wives; for the husband, on making a present to one, was obliged to make an equal gift to each of the others. Each wife lived in turn with her husband two days, during which time the others cultivated their grounds, or carried their provisions to market: the property of each was distinct from that of the others, but the husband shared with all. The children of the different women were to be noticed by their father only on the days when their
respective

respective mothers sojourned with him. A breach of this decorum would have inflamed the injured mother with jealousy; a passion, however, in every respect confined to the temporary dame, for to the others all the extra-gallantry of the man was a matter of indifference. If the men sometimes behaved with brutality to their wives or children, it was generally the effect of intoxication. It has been asserted, "that they regarded their wives as so many beasts of burden, and felt no more concern at the loss of one of them, than a white planter would have felt at the loss of a bullock*." Without saying how far this observation may be applicable to other people, I will here introduce an anecdote, though rather out of time, which will elucidate the point. In the course of an attempt that was made to convert the Maroons to Christianity, which will appear in its proper place, polygamy was considered, and the Maroon told that as a Christian, he could not have

* Edwards.

more than one wife. Having been attached to two for some time, and having children by both—"Top, Massa Governor," said he, "top lilly bit—you say me mus forsake my wife."—"Only one of them."—"Which dat one? Jesus Christ say so? Gar a'mighty say so? No, no, massa; Gar a'mighty good; he no tell somebody he mus forsake him wife and children. Somebody no wicked for forsake him wife! No, massa, dis here talk no do for we."—In other language thus: "Stay, Sir," said the Maroon, "stay a little. You tell me that I must forsake my wife."—"Only one of them."—"And which shall that be? Does Jesus Christ say so? Does God say so? No, no, Sir; God is good, and allows no one to forsake his wife and children. He who forsakes his wife must be a wicked man. This is a doctrine, Sir, not suited to us*.

* No reader of common understanding will see in this any argument against the conversion of the negroes to Christianity. It must take place gradually; and I mean when I come to that head, to shew that the work may be best attempted first among the Maroons remaining in Jamaica.

However, these people were certainly in a state far removed from civilization, and I do not doubt that their passions might have occasionally instigated them to violences that were savage: yet that at any time they would kill their children by dashing them against rocks *, I cannot but think an assertion without proof. The murderer would have been brought to condign punishment by the Superintendant; who, so far from thinking it prudent to keep his distance, would have instantly seized the wretch. I speak particularly of Trelawney Town, the Superintendant of which had been long resident there, and whose character, we shall presently see, fully refutes the charge of a dastardly prudence.

Instances of revenge arising from jealousy seldom occurred among the Maroons. Like their African progenitors, they parted with their wives for incontinency, without

* Edwards.

inflicting

inflicting severer punishments. In Africa, the men had the power of selling the adultrefs. The younger females were not generally votreffes of Diana. When a girl was of an age to become a wife, the parents killed a hog, and made a feaft, to which the neighbours were invited. Plenty of good things were provided; nor was rum fpared by the elders, while the younger people danced. Each of the party put a fmall piece of money in the girl's mouth, generally a quarter of a dollar, but the parents' piece was frequently gold. Although this feaft was intended by the family as a fignal to the young men for making an offer, the girl herfelf ufually preferred a ftate of celibacy for fome years after it, was publicly known *that ſhe had killed hog.*

When gentlemen through curiofity vifited the town, which was very rarely the cafe, they were hofpitably and refpectfully entertained. The vifitors could not expect

to meet in the houses with such convenient articles of furniture as they were accustomed to at home. Some of the principal men furnished a table with a clean damask cloth, on which they placed the various dainties I have already mentioned. Several small articles of silver plate were used. Sometimes they produced malt liquor and wine, and always rum. While the company were at dinner, the Captain, or whoever might be the entertainer, appeared in his best cloaths: if a Chief, he wore a kind of regimentals, perhaps some old military coat finely laced, which had been given to him by a gentleman whose name he had assumed *: with this he wore a ruffled shirt, linen waistcoat and trowsers, and a laced hat. He did not presume to eat with his company, or to sit at the table with them, but took his seat at a respectful

* The Maroon names would appear extraordinary to a reader ignorant of the Maroon custom of adopting the names of the gentlemen of the island. It was universally practised among them.

distance,

distance, and conversed occasionally on being addressed. The beds with which they provided their guests were not of feathers, but of wholesome, fine picked corn-trash, with clean sheets. There was seldom occasion for musquito nets, the houses being very rarely infested with those venomous gnats that prove such pests in the lowlands. The Maroons produced candles for the use of their visitors, but at other times a large fire at the door sufficed them for light. They are accused of a practice of prostituting their daughters by force to their guests, but the fact is, that compulsion was not necessary; and if ever it was used, would their more civilized visitors be exempt from a share of the crime? Would not such an act of wanton brutality redound infinitely more upon them, than upon those who were considered so much their inferior in every respect? But thus it is, that when men are intent on arguments to depreciate a cause, they run beyond their object, and prove too much

for the side they maintain. Let me not commit the same fault: I am not the apologist of this body of people; it is to be regretted that among them, as among other negroes, the young women had no scruples in offering themselves to white men in order to procure dress and finery, although they were naturally attached to lovers of their own complexion, who participated their favours, even when kept by the former in a state of ease and comparative splendour. Would I could say that the shocking offers with which these black fathers are charged, were confined to their complexion! Would to God I could say, that in religion and in morals, a great example was set by those who boast a fair skin, and pass with the title of Christians!

The funerals of the Maroons were much the same as those of other negroes. Deaths were not more frequent among them than elsewhere, although they seldom had recourse to the aid of medicine. Not
that

that they were averse to it; for, if an opportunity offered, they readily applied to the plantation doctors, and sometimes they took simple herbs prescribed to them by their old women. It was their custom to sing over their dead previous to burial; and, inclosing the body in a wooden coffin, they interred it in some part of their inclosure.

I have already given you a description of their mode of carrying on war, and of the nature of their cockpits, which it was necessary for me to do, to enable you to understand the contest maintained with the original Maroons under Cudjoe: I have therefore, before I conclude, to recall to your mind that, in the course of this letter, I have principally had in view the people of Trelawney Town; that body, of whose rebellion I mean to give you some account in my next. The difference between the inhabitants of the various towns is not very great. Those of the windward, or

eastern part of the island are rather more civilized. Those of Accompong are in every respect the same as the people of Trelawney Town, being only a part of them who had followed Accompong, the brother of Cudjoe, to settle in the town called after him. But neither the Accompongs, nor any other of the Maroon bodies, could be induced to join in the rebellion of those of Trelawney Town. On the contrary, they condemned it severely, and manifested their displeasure at it by reviling the messengers that had been sent to them.

In closing this Letter, let me observe, that the population of the Maroons in general had rapidly increased. The number that surrendered in the years 1738 and 1739 did not amount to 600; in 1770 they consisted of 885, men, women and children; in the year 1773 they were 1028; and in the year 1788 had increased to about 1400.



LETTER V.

Causes of the Maroon War.—Previous Occurrences.—Description and Character of Major John James.—Old Montague.—Major James neglects the Office of Superintendent.—Superseded by Captain Craskell.—Insubordination of the Maroons.—Hopes placed on Lord Balcarres.—Craskell driven from the Maroon Town.—The Punishment of Two Maroons by the Hand of a Slave.—Insolent Letter from the Maroons to the Magistrates of St. James's.—The Trelawney Militia proceed towards the Maroon Town.—Smith's Message.—Mediators go up to the Town.—Their Reception and Proceedings.—The Result of the Meeting.—Sensation produced in the Capital.—Opinions respecting an immediate Accommodation.—Peaceable Disposition manifested by the Maroons.—Their Humiliation and Submission.—The Militia discharged, and Regulars recalled.—Observations.

WE are now to enter upon that portion of our subject with which you have been so much interested in conversation, and with which the public are little acquainted, although it was much talked of at the time, and employed the pen of a gentleman

man who was undoubtedly an able writer on West Indian affairs. I respect the motives of his publication relative to the Maroon war of 1795 in the island of Jamaica: but certainly the relation I am about to give of that war, will be found to differ greatly from his account of it; and I trust that the minute manner in which I shall treat the occurrences of that period, will prove sufficiently interesting not only to you, my friend, but to all who may take these Letters up in the form of a book, to render the detail not tedious.

Although wars be necessarily attended with horror; yet the account of them affords, in the perusal of truth, a pleasure similar to that of a well-told tale; expectation is kept alive by uncertainty, and by the interest we naturally take in the fate of contending parties, in the efforts of courage, and in the exercise of talents. Some may be inclined to think a Maroon insurrection a petty warfare of unskilful negroes; but I believe that the officers
who

who served in this campaign will allow that the events of it, and the tactics opposed to them, if not so grand as those that fill the Grecian and Roman pages of history, were at least as singular and embarrassing as any that were presented to the mind by the enormous armies that, about the same time, extended from one end of Europe to the other. A small body of negroes defied the choicest troops of one of the greatest nations in the world, kept an extensive country in alarm, and were at length brought to surrender, only by means of a subvention still more extraordinary than than their own mode of warfare.

The causes of the Maroon insurrection are to be sought in events and objects more remote and more serious than the occurrence which immediately preceded their taking up arms. That occurrence will be stated in its proper place; but I shall first trace the real sources of that unfortunate war, and show the progress of
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the spirit that led to it. I say unfortunate war, not on account of the immediate issue of it, which, it is well known, was favourable to the colony, but on account of the loss of the worthy and gallant men that fell in it, and of the remoter consequences of it to a body of people who, however established in the country, or defective in civilization, had rendered services to the colonists, to whom they had been, in some respects, a useful people for a long series of years.

Little attention had been paid to the spirit of the treaties made on the surrender of the Maroons in the years 1738 and 1739. They had been suffered to indulge in idle excursions through the country, in small parties, without their officers or any responsible man, under the various pretexts of seeking for run-away slaves, trading in tobacco, and vending the products of their hunting and fowling. Opportunities were thus afforded them of having an intercourse
with

with the slaves; among whom they frequently formed temporary connexions with the women, and of course had children on some of the planters estates in a state of slavery. It should seem natural, that a free negro would wish to place his offspring in a situation similar to his own: but little was to be apprehended on this account; for it is a fact which will appear incredible to those who are unacquainted with the character and disposition of negroes, that they rarely felt any such desire in favour of their children; but notwithstanding this, the influence of women over them, as over more civilized people, being very great, it is evident that one part of the duty of a Maroon was likely to be counteracted. He who connected himself with a woman whose brother, sister, or other relations, were fugitives, would probably be tempted to remit his pursuit of them, and even to favour their concealment. This was found to have been the case in some instances, and it is wonderful that it did not happen more

frequently. The general animosity between the Maroons and the slaves, resulting from the office of the former in apprehending the latter, (an office which it was their interest to perform,) had been invariably maintained from the time of their treaty; yet still it is surprising that the intercourse mentioned, did not in half a century extinguish that animosity, and, by uniting their affections, place the fugitive in safety. But whether owing to the superior influence of the Maroon women, to the love of gain, to their thinking more highly of themselves, and knowing that the slaves considered them as their superiors, or whatever cause; certain it is, that however love might occasionally exert his power, a general spirit of amity never took rise among them, and as distinct bodies they remained the most determined foes.

It was a fortunate circumstance that the Maroons, valuing the freedom they possessed themselves, were totally indifferent to that
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of their children born slaves, whose situation as to comfort and happiness they considered equal to their own; for had the natural affection been as powerful in these cases as in others, there is no knowing to what lengths it might have carried them. But in this deficiency of nature they are not singular; for, as I have before told you, the white people on estates have as many sabbie wives as they please, and change them as often as they please; and there are few properties in the West Indies on which families of mulattoes have not been left by each succeeding overseer and book-keeper. A father parts for life with his child, whom in its very birth he consigns to slavery, with as much indifference as with his old shoes.

But although the finer feelings had produced no effect on the Maroons, indulgence in wandering from place to place had among many of them gradually induced habits of idleness, which it was the interest

of the island to check by strict measures, and by enforcing a rigid adherence to the spirit of the treaties. The necessity of this was at length observed, but perhaps too late: and some laws, which I have mentioned in the preceding letter, were enacted respecting the Maroons. Such were the remote causes of the Maroon insubordination, and I shall presently detail the more immediate ones; but first let me state, that from the time the Maroons were established as a free body, no dispute had arisen with them till the year 1773, when, some surveyors being employed to mark the lines of the adjoining patents, or grants of crown-lands, for the purpose of determining the boundaries of their 1500 acres conceded by treaty to them, they took alarm, supposing an encroachment to be made on their territory, and threatened the surveyors. They proceeded however to no outrage, but applied to their Superintendant to write to some gentlemen in whom they had confidence, to come and see justice done

done to them. Those gentlemen immediately went to them, and remained in their town till the matter was justly and satisfactorily settled. From that period no new altercation took place till the year 1795*.

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* In April 1774, a party of windward Maroons, headed by Captain Davy, Chief of Scots Hall, with Captain Bennet Smith and the Rangers, after scouring the heights of Hellshire, in the Parish of St. Catherine, in search of run-aways, embarked in boats to search Pigeon-Island and the Keys off Old Harbour. While there, the Maroons impressed, from what cause is uncertain, with an apprehension that a plan was in agitation to carry them off the island, but perhaps inflamed by liquor; and finding ten or twelve sail of merchantmen lying in the harbour within the Keys, landed at the wharf of a gentleman named Thompson, and in a most outrageous manner cut and maimed one of his negroes, who being at work upon the wharf challenged as a run-away, and asked who was his master, had answered that he should not tell, but that there was his master, pointing to Mr. Thompson, a little way off in his Piazza. An outcry being raised on this outrageous act of Captain Davy's, a captain of a ship standing near, calling out to Mr. Thompson that the Maroons were killing his negro, he ran to the wharf. In a struggle between Davy and one of the masters of the merchantmen, Davy's gun slipped down, which Mr. Thompson secured; and on Davy's flight, and not returning when called to, Mr. Thompson, to intimidate him, fired the gun over his head. On this, Sam Grant,

As the chief immediate cause of the Maroon rebellion hinged on the esteem and

a Charles Town Maroon, running out of a house, fired at Mr. Thompson, who was saved by a negro that accidentally stepped in between them, and was shot dead. Sam Grant immediately ran up the road, reloading his piece as he went, calling out for an absconded and secreted Maroon named Mac Guire. All this happened in sight of the people in the few scattered houses at this place, and a company of soldiers stationed there, past whom Grant flew, followed by a mulatto boy, calling out "murder, stop him." In this manner Grant was pursued for a mile, when Captain Townshend, of a Bristol ship, an active young man, from a house above, crossed the road with a loaded whip to stop Grant, whom he saw endeavouring to escape. The Maroon desired him to let him pass, saying, "I don't want to hurt you." This being refused, the latter, with his gun resting upon his arm bent, discharged it, and killed Captain Townshend upon the spot. Grant escaped to Scots Hall, where on a trial held on him by the Maroons there, he was declared guilty, and sent down to Spanish Town to take his trial. It will scarcely be doubted that every point was stretched in Grant's favour, when it is known that he was acquitted upon a doubt of his intention to murder, on discharging his gun in the unusual position of placing it across his arm bent, although the muzzle of the piece nearly touched Captain Townshend's thumb, which it blew off, and could not have been of course three feet from his throat, where the charge entered. This Sam Grant is at this time Major of Maroons, and Chief Commander at Charles Town.

affection

affection of the inhabitants of Trelawney Town for their Superintendent, I must here make you acquainted with his character. About the year 1763, the Governor of Jamaica, the Hon. W. Henry Littleton, in consequence of a warm recommendation, appointed John James to be the Superintendent of Trelawney Town. He was the son of John James, who we may remember was, previous to the treaty with Cudjoe, Captain of the corps of Rangers; and their most formidable, active, and enterprising enemy: a man who, from the many dangers to which he had exposed himself in the first war, was by them considered as invulnerable by balls, and possessing an Obeah-protecting power against bullets*.

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* In the insurrection of the Coromantee slaves in the year 1766, a similar prejudice was manifested in respect to a gentleman of the parish of St. Mary's, whose name was Sholto Douglas, a man descended from a noble family in Scotland, and who had long resided in Jamaica, universally esteemed and beloved. He had purchased a large parcel of slaves, who, in conjunction with others brought with them from Africa, had been prevailed upon to rise and kill

The father had also been Superintendent, and no man, his son excepted, ever pos-

the white people. Mr. Douglas was esteemed by them a very good master. Having acquired some knowledge of the Coromantee language, he was in the habit of talking familiarly and pleasantly with them, and generally shook hands with them at meeting. This conduct naturally creating attachment, his negroes felt a compunction in joining in an insurrection while he was alive, but the influence of their countrymen prevailed, and they resolved on putting him to death; but how, was the question: for his superior knowledge, and the appearance of his countenance (his hair and eyes being uncommonly light, and his spectacles which he wore on account of the shortness of his sight being generally on) had impressed their minds with an idea of his being a *white Obeah man*, and that neither knife, bill, nor axe, could cut his flesh, or sever his head from his body. It was therefore determined to waylay him on his return from Spanish Town, in a short route he usually took through his negro provision-grounds, where he was expected on a certain day. One or two of the negroes were to go forwards and meet him: on his putting out his hand to shake hands with them, they were to drag him off his horse, and the rest of the gang were to run up and assist in *wringing off his head*, since no weapon could penetrate his flesh. They had actually proceeded to the spot proposed, but some providential occurrence detained Mr. Douglas in town till he heard of the insurrection, and he returned home by a different road from that in which the negroes expected him. This project was made known by the confession of one of the men engaged in it, on his being tried for rebellion, and condemned.

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fessed so great a degree of influence over the Maroons. The high opinion they entertained of the father's bravery and activity descended to the son, in whom they beheld all they so much respected and admired in their old enemy, and friendly Superintendent. As they supposed the former invulnerable, they deemed the latter invincible. Nature never produced a form more calculated for vigour and activity. Barefoot, he equalled the speed of the hardiest Maroons over rocks and precipices, darting on with an agility peculiar to himself. He was indefatigable in every pursuit to which the Maroons were accustomed, and nothing that he pursued escaped him. Hunting the wild boar had been his earliest amusement and employment. His constitution of course was vigorous, and his body hardened; and with these he possessed an intrepidity of mind that seemed to court danger. When dreadful disputes took place among the Maroons, their cutlasses brandished against one another, and serious

mischief likely to ensue, he would run among the thickest of them, knock down the most refractory, put them into irons, and afterwards punish them. In these cases they would often themselves determine the punishments to be inflicted, which being too severe, he was obliged to exert his authority to mitigate. They loved, venerated, and feared him. He arranged and settled their accounts for their labour, adjusted differences, and neither suffered them to be imposed upon, nor to impose upon others. Had he been born a Maroon, he could not have been better acquainted with their character, disposition, and prejudices. If he could not boast of the greater refinements of education, he had sufficient to be fully competent to the business of his office, in which a knowledge of accounts was necessary; and if his talents were not those that might have been expected, had his mind been more cultivated, they were such as well suited his employment. Although at times seemingly ferocious, he possessed

possessed an excellent disposition and forbearing temper, particularly in the company of gentlemen with whom he frequently associated, being himself of one of the best families in the island, and a man of independent fortune. In the year 1791 he was appointed Superintendant-General over the whole of the Maroon Towns in the island, with the rank of Major, and his son appointed to act under him in Trelawney Town. Such was Major John James, of whom it was necessary to speak thus particularly.

For upwards of thirty years after the treaty with the Trelawney Maroons, a succession of Captains, from old Cudjoe to the death of Furry, as I have before observed, exercised a despotic authority over them, and supported the Superintendants, whenever they thought it necessary to enforce their commands. After Furry's death, the respect attached to the office of Chief Maroon-Captain gradually declined, and at

length entirely sunk into the shew of a few exterior ceremonies. Old Montague was the last Captain of Trelawney Town. He wore a gaudy, laced, red coat, and a gold-laced hat with a plume of feathers. None but their captains and officers sat in his presence, except upon the ground. He was the first helped at meals; no woman ate with him, and he was waited on by the young men. He presided in the councils, and exercised an authoritative tone of voice to enforce order, which, however, he seldom effected; for he was, in fact, considered in no better light than as an old woman, but to whom the shadow of respect was to be paid, as he bore the title of Chief.

For a time the expiring authority of the Chiefs seemed transferred to their Superintendent, Major John James, with double vigour, which increased while he continued in the office; and when he abandoned it, he retained their affection. He and his family were considered by the Maroons

as having a kind of hereditary right to the superintendancy over them. It was not by resignation that he quitted it. He had held that of Trelawney Town for many years; and, it is certain, executed the duties of his office with diligence and propriety, till his attention was called from it by concerns that required the greater part of his time. When, therefore, the law of residence was enforced, he complained of the insufficiency of the salary annexed to his office, and paid no regard to that law, being engaged in the settlement of an estate at the distance of twenty-five miles from the Maroon town. At length the Maroons, who were delighted to have him with them, became discontented with his absence, and for several years, during the sessions of the House of Assembly, preferred repeated complaints against him. He certainly had no desire to lose his appointment; but influenced by prospects of more substantial advantage, or indulging in amusements, for he was

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no enemy to dissipation and pleasure, he persisted in absenting himself from his place of duty, and the House of Assembly being no longer able to overlook his neglect, he was removed from his office of Superintendant-General, and his son from the superintendency of Trelawny Town; to the latter of which Captain Craikell was appointed.

Captain Craikell was an officer in the regular service, son of the former engineer of the island of Jamaica, and a very reputable young man. Were the propriety of the appointment to have been determined by character alone, he would have had no occasion to fear a comparison; but, unfortunately, in a competition of general talents for an administration of so singular a kind, he sunk before his predecessor into a comparative insignificance. The Maroons became uneasy at the measures they had taken against Major James; for their object had been to compel him to the residence

residence required by law, and not to have had him superseded: they sincerely loved him; no other appointment could satisfy them while he lived; and they saw, with regret, the remedy that had been the result of their application to the House of Assembly. They contrasted, according to their judgment, the abilities and habits of James and Craskell; and as the former rose in their estimation, the latter fell into contempt. What offers might have induced Major James to continue in the discharge of the office with his son under him, cannot be ascertained; but it was undoubtedly the interest of the island to humour prejudices which had grown up through the laxity of discipline, and which no pains had been taken to rectify. James was fore at the deprivation of the office, and it was regretted by the whole country; but the measure was deemed unavoidable. Had it been consistent with propriety, and with the dignity of the Legislature, to recede from the determination they had been

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compelled to adopt, Major James might have been suffered to remain Superintendent-General, to be called upon only as it should have been found needful; but such a concession, even allowing that it would have averted the storm, of which his removal was the chief and immediate cause, could not possibly be expected, nor can the wisest human foresight always suggest the surest expedients of counter-acting the hidden evils of futurity.

From the appointment of Captain Crafkell, the insubordination of the Maroons, which had been gradually taking place since James's dereliction of his duty, and the succession of unqualified Chief Captains, unable to enforce authority without his assistance, began rapidly to increase. The weight of influence fell into the hands of seven or eight of the inferior Captains, who were unalterably attached to James, and whom nothing short of his re-appointment would satisfy. These frequently
visited

visited him, complained of Craikell's being unfit for the command, and made comparisons highly gratifying to James, whose language, it is said, contributed more to irritate, than appease their discontent. He might, perhaps, have felt an illaudable gratification in these petty triumphs, the consequences of which he did not foresee; but he must be entirely acquitted of the slightest design of promoting a rebellion, the success of which, had it been possible, must have ruined him and every part of his family, with the rest of the colonists. The sole object the Maroons had now in view, was the restoration of Major James. The whole of their refractory conduct, their violence and insolence, had no other tendency, and shewed their anxiety to effect it. This it was that suggested their murmurs for the want of land, and their complaint of the treatment they received from the white people; and this it was that led to the seizing of an occasion to dismiss their new Superintendant.

In the month of April 1795, Lord Balcarras, who, as we have already seen, was appointed to succeed Sir Adam Williamson as Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, arrived in the island; and the landing of that nobleman, in whom civil and military talents were known to be happily blended, afforded a joyous presage of the future security and welfare of the country, notwithstanding the horrid war that was then desolating the neighbouring island of St. Domingo; where the negroes had been driven into arms by the French Government, in support of doctrines unfounded in nature, and peculiarly hostile and destructive to the order and well-being of every West Indian colony; and from which it was of the highest importance to preserve those of Great Britain. His Lordship would, no doubt, have considered himself happy, had his talents been required only for the defence of the island from external foes; but the dawn of his administration was clouded with appearances of internal

commotion ; for, so early as the middle of July, the Maroons drove their Superintendent from the town. This was the first decided act of their rebellion*.

Captain Craskell, compelled to retire, went, however, no farther than Vaughanfield, a place, as we have seen, at the distance of a mile and a half from Trelawney Town ; whither the Maroons, on the 17th, dispatched thirty-nine of their men, with their officers, to warn him not to return to their town, and to desire him to acquaint the white people that they were ready for them, and that if the whites did not come to them they would come to the whites.

On the 18th, the Magistrates of the parish of St. James's wrote a letter to Lord Balcarres, informing him that a serious disturbance was likely to break out imme-

* Votes of the House of Assembly of Jamaica.—Appendix, No. 2.

diately among the Maroons; that they had driven their Superintendant away, threatened to destroy some neighbouring plantations with the white inhabitants on them, called in their people, and sent their women into the woods; and that they designed to kill their cattle and their children who might be an incumbrance to them; that the cause of the disturbance was the inflicting the punishment of flogging on two Maroons, who had been convicted on the evidence of two white people of killing tame hogs; that the Maroons expected to be joined by those of Accompong Town, and by some slaves; and that attacks were expected by two parties in the parishes of Trelawney and St. James's. In giving this information, the Magistrates requested a detachment of horse to be sent for the protection of the country.

The whole cause of the Maroon revolt has been attributed to their resentment for
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the flogging of two of their people*. It appeared afterwards, that these were persons of no consideration among them, and that but for the occasion afforded them of a pretence for complaining, they would themselves have hanged them without ceremony. The two men had been found guilty of theft, and punished before the slaves in the common workhouse, by a runaway negro who had formerly been taken by them; an act certainly impolitic. As the culprits went through the town and plantations they were laughed at, hissed, and hooted by the slaves: the more

* In the debate on this subject, in the House of Commons, Mr. Bryan Edwards says: "Concerning the origin of the war, the case was this: two of the Maroons having been guilty of a felony in the Town of Montego Bay, by stealing from a poor man two of his pigs, were tried according to law, and according to the very letter of their treaty, and sentenced to receive a few lashes at a cart's tail. The sentence was mild, and the punishment not severe; but the whole body of the Trelawney Town Maroons, in revenge for the indignity offered to two of their number, immediately took to arms, and soon afterwards actually proceeded to set fire to the plantations."—*Parl. Debates*.

discontented part of the Maroons seized upon the transaction as a reasonable ground for manifesting the temper they were in, and proceeded accordingly to dismiss Captain Craskell. The intelligence given to the Lieutenant-Governor respecting the intended junction of the Maroons of Accompong Town, and of the preparatory measures taken by those of Trelawney Town, was more the result of alarm than of inquiry: no such measures were taken, nor did the Accompongs ever testify any intention of joining the others, as will be seen in the sequel. The Trelawney Maroons had long manifested their discontent against the Accompongs, for not yielding to them the original treaty made with Cudjoe, which they claimed the right of keeping. About this time it was again sent for, to be shown if necessary, and was given by the Accompongs, but never returned to them.

On the day that the magistrates of St. James's wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor, they

they also sent a message to the Maroons, proposing that four of their justices should meet four chosen Maroons on the next day to settle all differences *. To this an insolent answer was returned in the following words: "The Maroons wishes nothing else from the country but battle; and they desires not to see Mr. Craskell up here at all. So they are waiting every moment for the above on Monday." This was signed Colonel Montague, *and all the rest*; and in a post-script was added, "Mr. David Schaw will see you on Sunday morning for an answer. They will wait till Monday nine o'clock; and if they don't come up they will come down themselves." This curious epistle, it was afterwards well known, was dictated by a few drunken Maroons, to a poor ignorant white man without the concurrence of old Montague, who was then sick and absent; nor was it known to one-tenth part of the people: and I must not omit

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

to say, that the principal men among the Maroons have ever denied that they voluntarily entered into a rebellion against the authority of the Government, declaring they were forced into hostilities on a principle of self-preservation, being persuaded, from the subsequent conduct of the white people, that their destruction was determined. Be this as it may, a turbulent spirit had been evinced among them, to subdue which firmness was necessary. While therefore some headstrong Maroons were using a soldier of Captain Craskell's ill, and compelling him to write to his commander, that it was too late to do any thing good, and that they wanted nothing, having got plenty of powder and ball, the Trelawney militia moved up to Green-Vale, a penn at the foot of the mountains leading to the Maroon Town, about three miles distant, and of most difficult access. Mr. Tharp, the Custos of the parish, and several other gentlemen, accompanied the corps. As they approached the hill, they observed

served a single man winding along the acclivities with astonishing agility, and brandishing a lance to show that he had no other arms. This was a Maroon Captain of the name of Smith, a young fellow of exquisite symmetry, whose limbs united all that was requisite both for strength and activity: the superiority of his gait, as he descended the side of the mountain, and the wild grace with which he flourished the lance over his head, excited the highest admiration. He approached the Custos, and delivered a letter to him, in which he was requested to proceed to the town, accompanied by Mr. Gallimore, Mr. Knowles, Mr. Galloway, and Mr. Stewart*. The invitation was accepted, and these five gentlemen went forward to Trelawney Town, where they

* In the hasty statement published by Edwards, he mistook the persons who went to this conference: nor were they accompanied, as he says, by General Reid and Major James, who had previously gone to Trelawney Town; and it appears by the letter of the Custos, written on his passage to England, that the sending for the gentlemen mentioned was by the advice of Major James.

found General Reid, Mr. Mowat, and Major James, their late Superintendent.

The Maroons had prepared for this meeting, and received their visitors under arms, not however in the manner of a regular army, but with an apparent ferocity, wild manœuvres, and evolutions little suited to a deliberate and free discussion; nor indeed could the scene be viewed without a degree of alarm. Some of the Maroons had been qualifying themselves, as they often did on great occasions, with a sufficiency of rum, with which they had been abundantly supplied by intimidated persons in the neighbourhood willing to secure their favour.

After much clamour, it was settled that one of their captains, named John Jarrett, by no means the least violent, should moderate his voice, and deliver himself in such a manner as to enable one of the gentlemen to write down what the Maroons wished

wished to say. This being reduced into some form, the grievances they complained of appeared to be as follows:

1. An infringement of their treaty by the magistrates of Montego Bay, in causing the punishment of whipping to be inflicted on some of their people by the hand of a slave.

2. That the land originally granted them for their subsistence was worn out, and being not sufficient for their support, they required an additional quantity, saying that the penss of several settlers in the neighbourhood would suit them.

3. That Captain Craskell, their Superintendent, was, on account of his timidity, unqualified for his office; and as they had experienced the disposition and abilities of Major James, they were desirous of his re-appointment, and averse to receiving any other.

Other matters were also alleged by them as grievances, but which they were induced to relinquish, on condition that the gentlemen present would consider themselves as pledged to obtain redress for what was specified in this statement from the House of Assembly, who were to meet early in the ensuing month: at the same time they showed a firmness of determination to pursue their object till these claims were satisfied. The gentlemen promised that their causes of complaint should be inquired into by the Legislature, in order to be redressed.

The Maroon speaker, after expatiating on the insufficiency of their lands, the inability of Craskell, and the qualities of James, without whose re-appointment they could not be satisfied, exclaimed: "You are our Tattas (that is, Fathers), we your children; our situation, and the superiority we have in this country, we derive from our connexion with you; but when we
do

do the duty required of us for these advantages, do not subject us to insult and humiliation from the very people to whom we are set in opposition*." He concluded by relating the triumph and language of the negro who flogged the men, and who was a slave whom they had previously taken up and lodged in the workhouse for punishment. The slaves of course, says one of the planters †, made use of such an opportunity to revenge themselves on the Maroons.

The Maroons being soothed by the promises they had received, and the mediators‡ being relieved from the apprehensions caused by the mode of their reception, the latter assented to the reasonableness || of the complaint of the former, engaging to use all their influence to promote their wishes. Pleased at the result of the visit, or with a

* Votes of the House of Assembly. † Id. ‡ Id.
 || Id.

view of farther insuring the satisfaction that appeared, it entered the mind of one of the mediators to propose a collection of money among themselves, for the people with whom they had come to mediate, and each gave something, except the gallant Colonel Gallimore. He saw in success, obtained by tumult and violence, and in rewards bestowed on insolence, the seeds of future turbulence; therefore, instead of producing his purse, he took from his pocket some bullets, and showing them, said: "This is the reward you deserve, and no other coin shall you get from me." In the evening the mediators left Trelawney Town, hoping they had for a time, at least, tranquillized the Maroons.

However satisfied the visitors were with the issue of their visit, the public mind was not so easily pacified in the capital, where a diversity of opinion arose respecting the conduct to be pursued towards the Maroons. General Palmer, of the parish of
St.

St. James's, wrote a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, recommending, in the name of a meeting assembled on the occasion, a compliance with their demands; and, in a second letter, urged the reinstatement of Major James and his son*. Mr. Tharp, one of the great proprietors, and then Custos of the parish of Trelawney, who, since the meeting he attended in Trelawney Town as Mediator, had joined the fleet about to sail for Europe, also recommended temporizing and acquiescing in the demands made, as they were reasonable. In a letter written the day before he left the island, after imputing the rebellion of the Maroons to the improper conduct of the Magistrates of St. James's, and a few trifling causes of discontent, he declared he was confident that hostilities would have commenced some days before, without specifying what prevented their taking place; but stating, that

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

he believed Craskell, from what he understood, to be unfit for the office of Superintendent; that Major James was the idol of the Maroons, and that nothing less than his re-appointment would satisfy them*.

Soon after the departure of the Custos for England, where he had estates that required his care, the Maroon affairs assumed a better aspect, and his judgment respecting the influence of these dreaded mountainers over the slaves, which, in his opinion, would bring ruin on all, appeared to have been hastily formed; for neither the plantation-negroes, nor the other bodies of Maroons, discovered the slightest design of supporting them. On the contrary, those who were the most suspected, the Accompongs, publicly testified their disapprobation of the conduct of the people of Trelawney Town, declaring that they had a Superintendent (Captain Forbes) whom

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

they

they loved, and whose advice they were resolved to follow*. They immediately made a formal renewal of their compact with the whites, rendering the ceremony more solemn by the baptism of all the younger Maroons. Some of the plantation-negroes in the neighbourhood about this time preferring complaints against their overseers, their conduct was at first construed as taking advantage of the situation of things: but no alarm from the general conduct of the slaves could be justified, for never was a spirit of order and obedience more observable among the negroes than at this period. Even Edwards, who charges the Maroons with an early seduction of the slaves, says; "Happily the class of people on whom they relied for support, remained peaceably disposed; nor did an instance occur to raise a doubt of their continuing to do so." Neither did the

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

planters attribute the discontents expressed on the plantations in the vicinity, to the influence of the Maroons; on the contrary, one of them * says, "What check have we so effectual as the Maroons?" and mentions this as a motive for settling with them without hostility; at the same time recommending the recollection that, in the rebellion of 1766, the Maroons brought in the head or person of every slave in rebellion, in the space of one month.

Finding that, far from being supported, they were upbraided by the Accompong, the Trelawney Town Maroons had leisure to reflect on the insolence of their conduct, and after some days evinced a less intractable disposition. On the 26th of July, information was received from a white man who had been at their town, that they were peaceable, and said they would be satisfied, as Craikell was removed, if

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

they were left alone*. It appeared clearly that the Maroons were divided among themselves; that the milder and more numerous part were kept in awe by the smaller and more violent, who were the younger. It was evident, too, that they were now in a state of repentance; for, in an account sent on the 28th by Major James, who had been requested to remain among them till the business was arranged by the Executive Power, they were stated to be in so humiliating a condition, as to be ready to accede to whatever might be requested of them. One of them was in irons, by his order, for an impertinent expression, and the body of Maroons offered to sacrifice him rather than aggravate their offence: it was also determined among them, that six of their principal officers should go the next day to make a submission, and obtain a passport from General Palmer to Spanish Town, to lay their complaints

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

before the Governor, and submit themselves to him.

Thus affairs seemed to be in a train of tranquillity; and, indeed, so confident was Lord Balcarres of it that, on the militia being permitted by their commander to go home, and on the representation received of the state of things, he dispatched orders for the return of the troop of light dragoons that had been sent from Spanish Town, and suffered the 83d regiment of foot, which he had before expressly detained, to sail for St. Domingo under convoy of the *Succefs* frigate. He also sent orders for Captain Craskell to repair to Spanish Town, and directed that the Chief Captains of the Maroons should proceed to Town by the 31st of July to make their submission. In consequence of which, though the order arrived too late to be obeyed strictly, six Captains of the greatest influence set out for Spanish Town.

Having

Having brought you to a fair prospect of tranquillity, I shall conclude this Letter with a few observations on the complaints and demands made by the Maroons, and on the motives that induced some of the great proprietors to wish an accommodation with them as speedily as possible.

The punishment of the two Maroon delinquents, once convicted, was certainly no violation of the treaty, the offence for which they suffered having been committed against a planter. Whether the mode of it be justifiable, is another question. The Maroons were free men, and punishments inflicted upon them should have been executed by the legal officer of the Government. They were flogged by the workhouse driver, a slave hired by the master of the workhouse, at the expence of the parish, for the purpose of punishing slaves. The mode, then, of inflicting the punishment, afforded some legal footing for the insubordination of the Maroons to rest upon, but it was

not a grievance that would of itself have produced such turbulent effects; for, although they were piqued at some expressions by which the slaves vented their hatred and spleen, the objects were such notorious bad characters that the Maroons did not wish to consider them as belonging to their town, where they had not been for a considerable time, and where they had neither house, provision-ground, nor friend: one of them was not even known by the name he had assumed of Peter Campbell. The Maroons often afterwards declared, that they wished for permission to hang both of them, having long considered them as run-aways and thieves.

The conduct of the Maroons was still less justified on the plea of wanting land for their support. It was not long before, that the Assembly, on a similar complaint, had caused their tract to be surveyed and examined, and had judged it to be adequate

to their support, notwithstanding their increase. Besides, they were actually trespassers on the adjoining settlers, who permitted them to continue on sufferance; and many of them lived at a great distance from their lands. The fact therefore is, that this demand of additional land, was merely brought forward to support the turbulent insubordination into which they had been gradually falling, and which was now breaking forth into excesses.

The great and real cause of their discontent was the loss of Major James; but even this cause will not afford them a justification. The Government might have inclined to gratify their prejudices without being able to accomplish their wish; nor could it be expected that any man would, for life, devote himself exclusively to an office that interfered with the important interests of his family. It was an unwarrantable hope, springing from unregulated passions.

It is evident then, notwithstanding the opinion of the Mediators at Trelawney Town, that they had no ground of complaint beyond the mode of inflicting the punishment upon the two criminals; that they had no claims whatever; and that their pretensions and desires were urged in a very unreasonable manner. The great anxiety therefore for an accommodation, which was but too clearly manifested, was the result of other motives than justice to the Maroons. It was the result of apprehension for the events that might be the consequences of hostilities with them. Nor can it be wondered at, that a pacification was anxiously fought, when we find that in that part of the country, there was no military force to act on the instant; that time was requisite to collect the militia, that there was an uncertainty in the minds of the Magistrates as to the disposition of the slaves, that the co-operation of the other Maroon towns was expected, that the nature of Maroon warfare was dreaded, and,

and, above all, that such a disturbance would injure the credit of the island among the monied men in Great Britain*.

* Votes of the House of Assembly. See Appendix, No. 2. for the Votes cited in this volume.



LETTER VI.

The Maroon Captains set out for the Capital.—Alarming Reports.—Martial Law.—Murenson's Declaration.—The Lieutenant-Governor sets out for Trelawney.—The Success Frigate recalled.—The Maroon Captains arrested.—Proclamation.—Post at Wemyss Castle.—Lord Balcarres establishes his Head-Quarters at Vaughan's Field.—State of the Maroons.—Johnson and Smith called in.—Their Settlements burnt.—Surrender of a small Body of Maroons.—Their Reception.—Palmer and Parkinson sent back to Trelawney Town.—The Maroon Towns burnt.—Ferment of the Public.—Force collected.—Commencement of Hostilities.—Colonel Sandford advances to the Scite of the Old Town.—Consequence.—Colonel Gallimore killed.—The Maroons retire to Guthrie's Defile.—Progress of the War.—Dunbar, the Maroon.—The Troops take Possession of the Scite of the Old Town.—Chambers, the Accompong, shot.—A select Party of young Men offer to go in Pursuit of the Maroons.—Why rejected.—Major James leads a Party to the Entrance of Guthrie's Defile.—He is insulted by Mistake.

IN the end of July all was peace, and the humbled Maroons were directed to send
their

their captains by the 31st of the same month to Spanish Town, to make their submission*. This it was impossible to comply with, owing to a delay occasioned by the messenger who brought the dispatches; but the Maroon captains came down as speedily as possible, and proceeded on their way to the Capital. In the meantime, the public mind was considerably agitated by the affairs of St. Domingo, by an apprehension of the contagion of revolutionary principles spreading to Jamaica, by a currency of vague reports respecting French agency in the island, and by a reluctance to sending troops off the country at so alarming a juncture. It should seem that the Commander in Chief was also actuated by these motives; and they were certainly sufficiently substantial to excite vigilance and decision. A council of war was accordingly held on the 3^d of August; the members of which, considering the flying reports that Frenchmen and people of

* Votes of the Assembly.

colour were conspiring with the Maroons, the danger of suffering the departure of the troops ready to sail for St. Domingo, and the necessity of justifying Lord Balcarres in detaining them, concurred in opinion that it was requisite to establish martial law; which was accordingly proclaimed.

That the detention of the troops was a wise measure, is not to be contravened; but it cannot be denied that the South side of the island was alarmed by reports from the North side, of which the North side knew nothing; and the North side by reports from the South side, of which the South side knew nothing; and, whatever might have been the intentions of the revolutionary French, and no one will doubt that they would have revolutionized Jamaica had they been able, it does not appear that any conduct of the Maroons, subsequent to their proposed submission, justified a suspicion of their insincerity. Indeed, all the evidence obtained respecting their offences, not only related to past matter,

matter, or to matter subsequent to hostilities, but was not deposed till some weeks after the declaration of martial law *; and the like may be observed of all the evidence relative to the designs of the French. They were depositions taken subsequently of conversations and vague notions of different times prior to the departure of the six captains from Trelawney Town, or of expressions used, and acts committed, after their being thrown into irons.—The Maroons never thought about the forces on the island, knew nothing of the intended embarkation for St. Domingo, had not been tampered with by the French, nor had they themselves, at this time, tampered with the slaves. A neglected, half wild body of people; they were ready to be tumultuous or submissive according to the ascendancy of their passions. When cool, they would grow enraged at the sight of Craskell; and in the excess of rage and tumult, bands of

* Votes of the Assembly.

them would become cool at the blows of James. These were not people to be plotting deep conspiracies. They had ignorantly braved the Government, and it was necessary to make them feel their dependence: they had felt it, and it became politic to make them easy and happy in that dependence. The chief motives by which the Council of War were influenced, must undoubtedly have arisen from the apprehension of a general insurrection among the slaves on revolutionary principles; an apprehension which the very nature of the French Revolution, more than the suspicious deposition of a French prisoner *,
just-

* One Murenson, who in a declaration and examination taken on the 28th of August, stated that Fauchet, the French agent at Philadelphia, had received orders to raise as many men of colour as possible, to be sent to Jamaica to urge the slaves to insurrection, and that he had acted accordingly: that one hundred and fifty French agents had been sent to Jamaica; that he was informed five French men of colour had gone to the Maroon Town; that one of the agents of colour said he was the friend of one of the chiefs of the Maroon negroes; that Fauchet assured him that the French would land ten thousand negroes at some dis-

tance

justified their entertaining. On these grounds they armed the Lieutenant-Governor with the powers of martial law ; and on the 4th of August his Honour left Spanish Town in order to take the command of the troops in person, in a quarter where the revolt was expected to break out. Previous, however, to his departure, he dispatched an express-boat after the *Succefs* frigate, with orders for her to alter her course, and convey the troops to Montego Bay. The boat came up with the frigate at the East end of the island, and accordingly on the day that Lord Balcarres left Spanish Town, the 83d regiment, under the command of Colonel Fitch, disembarked at the port appointed.

rance from Kingston, with two muskets and two broadswords each, to be distributed among the negroes in insurrection. This declaration of Murenson's was made at a time when the Maroon war was in its height. He afterwards contradicted it, saying he had made it with the view of being liberated ; and in the end it turned out that not one of the one hundred and fifty agents he spoke of, as sent by Fauchet, was ever seen. See Appendix, No. 2.

While

While these events were taking place, the six Maroon captains, having provided themselves with regular passports from General Palmer, were proceeding on their way to Spanish Town, to make their submission. On their arrival at Landoverly, in the neighbourhood of St. Ann's Bay, a small town situated nearly at an equal distance from Trelawney Town and Spanish Town, about forty-five miles from either, they were stopped, notwithstanding their passports, and secured by the commanding officer of the militia, to wait the pleasure of the Governor; who, on their being brought before him in his way through St. Ann's, on the fifth of August, ordered them into irons. Lord Balcarres then continued his route through Falmouth to Montego Bay, where on the 8th he sent a message to the Maroons, in which, after upbraiding them for their conduct, and informing them that the passes to their town were all occupied by troops, and that they were surrounded by thousands, he told them

that he had issued a proclamation offering a reward for their heads after the 12th of August, and advised and commanded every Maroon capable of bearing arms to appear before him at Montego Bay on that day, to submit themselves to his Majesty's mercy, enjoining and commanding them at the same time to bring in all the strange negroes with them as prisoners. This summons being dispatched, Colonel Sandford, with one hundred and thirty of the 18th and 20th Light Dragoons, who had arrived in the parish of Trelawney on the 6th, took post on the 9th, with some militia, at Spring-Vale and Wemyss Castle, near the foot of the mountain, about four miles North of the Maroon Town, sending detachments to Parnassus and Blue Hole. To this party a number of gentlemen attached themselves in the course of the next two days, confident that so formidable a force in the face of the Maroons would induce them to surrender. The Commander in Chief had previously advanced with the 83d regiment, and established

blished his head-quarters at Vaughan's Field, which was, as I have already said, a mile and a half from the Maroon Town, having ordered the militia to Kensington, three miles and a half in his rear, to afford protecting parties to the convoys of provisions.

The decision, activity, and celerity of these movements, which were the consequence of martial law, augured well; and had the six Captains* arrested at St. Ann's Bay, who certainly had the greatest control over the Maroons, been brought to communicate with them, no doubt a salutary effect would have been produced among them. This expedient, however, was not thought of, or was not deemed necessary, and a resort to the prowess of the troops considered as the readiest and most effectual means of complete success; Lord Balcarres

* They were called the Six Captains, but only four of them were captains; the two others were men of the greatest influence.

being

being determined to crush this rebellion in its birth *. Indeed, after the support his Lordship had received from the Legislature, he considered all temporizing as lost time, and leading to dangerous consequences. It will be no depreciation of this energy of spirit to observe, that Lord Balcarres must have been entirely unacquainted with the Maroon mode of war, and the nature of the ground that was to be the scene of action: it was therefore natural that he should despise the resistance that two or three hundred uneducated Maroons could oppose to the discipline and valour of from twelve to fifteen hundred regular troops then at his command, supported by several thousands of militia, called into active service by the proclamation of martial law.

The Maroons were now much divided, and different opinions arose, the elder and milder people inclining to an immediate

* Votes of the Assembly.

submission, which was opposed by the younger and more irritable. These urged the breach of faith in the detention of the six Captains as a reason to believe that none would be observed to themselves, and to dread the Governor's intention towards them. Unfortunately, in the absence of those captains no control could be preserved over them but by Major James, who also had left them in full confidence of their being disposed to submission. It was at this time, and not before, that Palmer, with Quaco and another Maroon, went to several estates, and attempted to instigate them to join their people: the attempt, however, was not successful*.

On the first information received by the Maroons of the arrest and confinement of their Captains at St. Ann's Bay, they dispatched intelligence to the outlying Maroons, and particularly to Captain John-

* Examination of William.—Votes of the Assembly.

son, a man of much weight among them, and Captain Smith, who, with their families, had been suffered to establish themselves on the back lands in the parish of Westmoreland, adjoining estates in the neighbourhood of which they lived very peaceably, and engaged in useful employments. It is evident, from the highest authority*, that there were many other Maroons residing in Westmoreland who had no connexion with Trelawney Town, and who had delivered themselves up at the beginning of the rebellion. A circumstance that proves the improbability of its being a premeditated insurrection, or of there having been a previous tampering among the slaves, since even numbers of the Maroons themselves were not aware of it. As a farther corroboration of this, we shall find, in the course of the following pages, that some of the Accompong Maroons fell in battle against the rebels, and that there

* Votes of the Assembly.

was no aid given to them by the plantation-negroes, if we except the handful of run-aways who attempted to pass for Maroons*, although they held their heads proudly for many months, gained advantages, and seemed to triumph. However, when Johnson and Smith received intelligence from the Maroon town of what was passing, it is certain they were living peaceably on their settlements in Westmoreland; and, in this instance at least, it is to be regretted that attention had not been paid to the law, by which it was enacted, that Maroons in their predicament should enter into written engagements with their employers, surrender their claim to the Maroon land, and enrol themselves in the militia; in which case they would have been no longer considered as Maroons, but as persons enjoying the privileges of other free people. This precaution

* In the course of six or seven months, the idle slaves that dropped in at different times, did not amount in all to a hundred.

having

having been disregarded, they were now urged by the Trelawney people to return to the town, and the danger of their situation, and the treatment of their Captains, while employed on the faith of a General Officer in conciliatory and submissive measures, were painted to them in such colours, that they removed their women and children into the woods, and went up to Trelawney Town with their young men, in all nine active and enterprizing fellows.

The Maroons now looked up to Johnson and Smith, who, far from encouraging resistance, advised peaceable measures; and having prevailed upon them to make a trial, left them to return to the place where they had concealed their wives and children, whence they repaired to their settlements, which they found had been destroyed by a party of the Westmoreland militia, their houses burned, and their provision-grounds laid waste. The door of

reconciliation seemed now to be shut against them, and they carried their families to Trelawney Town, vowing vengeance and retaliation. On the road, Johnson and his sons finding some plantation-negroes at work in the woods, took them off with them, venting threats against the white people. The slaves, however, escaped, and communicated these threats to the magistrates in Westmoreland: another proof of the existing enmity between the slaves and the Maroons.

Meanwhile, the pacific measure resolved upon was attempted. On the 11th of August, in the morning, thirty-seven* able Maroons, with old Montague their Chief, went down from Trelawney Town, and surrendered their arms to Lord Balcarres at the head-quarters at Vaughan's Field, in consequence of the proclamation

* Edwards says they were chiefly old men ; on the contrary, they were most of them young men, and excellent shots.

of the 8th. With these were two Maroon captains, named James Palmer and Edmund Parkinson *. On surrendering themselves they declared, that although some of the Maroons were badly disposed, many were desirous of coming in, but were afraid; and the whole body have since declared, that had this trial of the surrender of the thirty-seven succeeded, most of the rest, if not all, were prepared to follow the example, but unfortunately the reception of old Montague and his companions was not such as they expected. They were all, old Montague excepted, bound with their hands behind, and on the 13th sent into confinement at Montego Bay; one of them, exasperated at his disappointment, having previously put an end to his existence by ripping out his bowels. You will not, I am sure, think me capable of relating these facts through invidious motives; but not

* There was no Maroon Captain of the name of *Leonard Parkinson*; the print given by Mr. Edwards with that name, would suit any of the Maroons.

to mention them, would be to subject myself to an imputation of a serious nature, no less than what a very high authority denominates a lie of omission*. It was judged proper, and no doubt generally appeared so at the time, that the thirty-seven Maroons who surrendered should be ordered to prison. It was however resolved, that two of them should be sent to prevail upon the others to surrender also, and for that purpose Captain Craikell recommended Palmer and Parkinson as most worthy of confidence. They were accordingly dispatched to Trelawney Town; but upon the report they made of the reception and treatment of the thirty-seven, the Maroons, far from following the others, immediately set fire to both their towns; and retired, next day, the 12th, at noon, to the settlement of Schaw Castle.

* Paley's Principles of Moral Philosophy, Book III. ch. 15. By suppressing evident facts to gratify the prejudices of a set of men, or indulge their own, the best historians would lose all authority, and sink into the character of party writers.

At this juncture, the public mind was in a great ferment. Many gentlemen on the North side, more acquainted with the Maroons than the inhabitants of the South side, and resident near the scene of action, ignorant of the grounds on which the Council of War in Spanish Town had decided on martial law, considered the measures as hasty, and hardly justified by circumstances and the situation of the Maroons at that time. The principal officers too, thought themselves entitled from their local knowledge to be more consulted; though, at the same time it must be owned, they made a vain estimate of their power, to reduce the Maroons, if necessary, without the aid of the regular troops, which was fully evinced whenever hard duty was required. From sentiments like these, however, jealousies began to arise in the militia, which, happily, were soon extinguished by the judgment and prompt decision of Lord Balcarres. The whole island was now alarmed, and some of the wealthy

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planters

planters declared they would stand forward with their fortunes to support the defenders of the country. Whatever difference of opinion existed on some heads, all were now agreed in the necessity of humbling the Maroons, and every one offered his services. Preparations were made to secure the country on all quarters. Besides the force already with Lord Balcarres, there were one hundred and fifty of the 13th regiment of light dragoons dismounted under Colonel Walpole, who was sent to command the troops to the South in St. Elizabeths; detachments of the 17th regiment of light dragoons under Captain Bacon, and one hundred of the 62d regiment of foot under Colonel Hull, ordered to the North side from Spanish Town, with other smaller detachments of troops, stopped in their way to join their respective regiments in St. Domingo.

Things had now come to a crisis, and, on the 12th of August, early in the morning

ing, a company of free people of colour, commanded by Captain Hamilton, belonging to the St. James's militia, on their march to join Lord Balcarres, were attacked within a mile of Vaughan's Field, near a spring at the bottom of some grounds cultivated by the Maroons on sufferance. Captain Hamilton made a gallant stand, and his assailants retreating, he joined the Commander in Chief with the loss of only two men killed and six wounded. On the same day, an advanced post of the militia at Chatworth, below the ruins of Schaw Castle, and a mile to the north of Trelawney Town, were fired upon from the heights above them. Hostilities were thus unequivocally commenced on the part of the Maroons, and extinguished all doubt of their determination; a determination which must surely have sprung from the rashness of despair, if they reflected a moment on the unequal force with which they had to contend: but
which,

which, from the result, might appear to have been inspired by their dependence on their fastnesses.

Lord Balcarres now resolved to lose no time, and, on the 12th; sent a dispatch by Captain Craikell to Colonel Sandford, with an order, on the receipt of it, which would be at half past two or three at latest, immediately to take possession of the New Town, wheel to the right and occupy the provision-grounds, by which he would have the Rebels in the rear, and his Lordship would have them in the front. Colonel Sandford had received an old incorrect plan of the country through which he was to pass, that had perplexed him and given him much trouble. Fortunately he had been joined by Mr. Robertson the commanding officer of Fort Dalling, who was professionally a land surveyor, well acquainted with the Maroon towns and the feat of war. With his assistance, and the attendance of a Trelaw-

ney Town Maroon *, Colonel Sandford had managed to clear his way, and to open the paths leading to the Maroon towns. On the morning of the 12th, he had advanced to Schaw Castle, where the Maroons were seen on the heights between that place and the New Town, blowing their horns, and menacing him in every way they could devise. He remained quiet, however, till a quarter past five o'clock in the afternoon, when he received the order, which, it is evident, should have arrived sooner. He instantly advanced with the greatest alacrity, and climbed the very difficult acclivities of the mountain

* This Maroon deserves to be particularly mentioned. His name is Thomas, and he was a captain. His character was well known to Mr. Robertson, in the neighbourhood of whose penn he had long resided, and by whom he had been employed in frequent expeditions in the interior of the country. Confident of his fidelity, Mr. Robertson spoke of him to Colonel Sandford, who offered to protect and reward him for his services; and he was accordingly brought to the Colonel by Mr. Robertson. Far from requiring inducements to serve, Captain Thomas felt hurt that rewards should be thought necessary. His conduct through the war was uniformly good. He still resides in his old habitation, and enjoys a small annuity paid him by the parish.

with

with his dragoons mounted, accompanied by some of the militia and many volunteers, and took possession of the scite of the New Town. On the approach of the troops, the Maroons retreated within the defile, and remained on a position where, unseen themselves, they could observe the motions of the body acting against them. It appears to have been the intention of the Commander in Chief, that Colonel Sandford should remain at the station he was directed to take, in order to co-operate in an attack he meditated on the side of the Old Town: but had this co-operation even taken place, had Lord Balcarres been at the Old Town, as naturally expected by Colonel Sandford, it would not have cut off the Maroons from the route to Tackey's eastward, nor prevented their taking possession of their defile at Guthrie's to the South, for they watched both approaches with the greatest vigilance. Be that as it may, Colonel Sandford, on his arrival at the scite of the New Town, being assured by

by the officer who brought the dispatch, that there was no road or provision-ground to the right, as mentioned in the order, but that he might advance to the Old Town, observing that it was only a quarter of a mile, and that the road was not worse than that by which they had ascended, listened unfortunately to these counsels, and taking Captain Robertson for his guide, entered the defile at the head of the dragoons, followed by Colonel Gallimore and his volunteers, and about twenty dismounted volunteer troopers. The extent of the column was nearly half the length of the defile, and the Maroons suffered the head of it to reach within a third of the Old Town, without giving the slightest indication that they were ranged behind the bushes. At length, an unexpected and tremendous volley of small arms, from behind trees, was fired from the left upon the column from one end to the other : all pressed forward, and Colonel Sandford, at the head of his men, advanced towards the

town, where two paths leading to it meet. Another volley was now poured from behind the trees, and Sandford fell, close by Captain Robertson. Had he escaped, it is probable he would have maintained the position of the Old Town; an open elevated situation, at a sufficient distance from the covered fire of the Maroons. Far different was the event. On his death a panic pervaded the whole body: disorder ensued, no one was collected enough to direct or advise, and flight seemed the only resource for safety. The troops took the nearest way from the town to head-quarters, some of them keeping up a scattered fire on an imaginary enemy, no Maroon having appeared since the fall of Sandford, which was ascertained by several gentlemen who immediately after walked through the town and the same road to head-quarters. There was no recovering the panic that had seized the troops: all contended for the front of the race*.

The

* A singular circumstance occurred on the troops entering the New Town. A dragoon, in a burning hut, laid his hands

The party arrived at head-quarters in the dark, many of them weakly testifying their joy on escaping by firing their pieces in the air; noise and confusion ensued, and more danger was apprehended from friends than foes. Lord Balcarres having slipped from a plank, rendered slippery by rain, received a contusion over the eye, which some at first imagined proceeded from a ball; his Lordship, however, put a stop to the uproar, and restored order. The troops were kept on the alert all night, lest the Maroons, elated with their success, should venture to follow it up; but these were otherwise employed, having returned to their town to recruit their spirits by the aid of rum, an application to which had before rendered them frantic and desperate.

hands upon a book entitled Wake's Cathecism. This he thrust into his jacket directly over his heart. As he passed through the defile, he received a ball which must have killed him on the spot, had it not been for the book which had about two hundred pages in it. The bullet penetrated it within three leaves, where it lodged.

So

So great were their excesses this night, that at least sixty of them, by their own confession, lay in a state of insensibility from intoxication till two o'clock next day, when, with the assistance of the women, and less intoxicated men, they were removed into the Cockpit of Petit River, within Guthrie's defile. Could the Commander in Chief have divined their situation, and detached troops to the town in the morning, more than a fourth of the young Maroon men would have fallen into their hands without the power of resistance : but a foresight of this kind is not to be expected, and greater caution was now become necessary to prevent similar disasters, from which fatal consequences might be apprehended.

It is to be observed, that as Colonel Sandford was entering the defile, a detachment of militia, that had been ordered to join him at Schaw Castle, had followed him, and was coming up to the site of
the

the New Town, where they were directed to remain; which they did all night. The spot being less tenable than that of the Old Town, as it is less cleared, shows that there was nothing to prevent the latter from being also occupied by the troops.

It is much to be regretted that the panic by which the troops were hurried away to Head Quarters, prevented their occupying the site of the Old Town, after they were in possession of it, and might have maintained it without resistance. The immediate encamping there would not only have saved the lives of many who died of their wounds, or through fatigue, but would have left on the minds of the Maroons an impression that even their defiles were not to be depended upon; whereas abandoning the town was giving them a triumph, and confirming their reliance on their position.

The Commander in Chief issued a proclamation, pointing out the ill consequences

of not adhering strictly to orders, alluding to the conduct of the unfortunate Sandford, who had been directed to remain on the ground to which he was ordered; and although some of his friends were willing to believe his orders were discretionary, it is known from the highest authority that they were positive*. His fault was atoned for by the loss of his life; and if we reflect upon the circumstances that induced him to act from the best of his judgment, the rigour of duty will perhaps be found not fully to support the censure that followed his fall; for, besides the danger attending a halt through the night in the position he had taken, it had not been in his power to comply with the orders he had received, not being able to find the spot mentioned in them, on which he was directed to take his post. After inquiring in vain for it, reflecting on the disadvantages of the position he had been obliged to take, believing

* Votes of the Assembly.

that the Commander in Chief had marched to the Old Town to co-operate with him, and urged by a representation that diminished in imagination the difficulties to be encountered, having performed his duty as exactly as he could, without being able to adhere to the strict letter of his orders, he yielded to hope and valour, and was unfortunate.

In this disastrous affair, there fell of the regular troops, besides Colonel Sandford and his quarter-master, fourteen men; of the militia, thirteen persons, among whom was the gallant Colonel Gallimore, their commander; and of the volunteers, eight: and many were wounded. Notwithstanding this loss, such was the advantageous mode in which the Maroons engaged, that not a single man of them was killed. Numberless cruelties were said at the time to have been practised on the wounded, but this assertion proved erroneous. Those who were shot remained in the places

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where

where they fell, and some of the wounded fled into the woods, where they languished and perished : others died through fatigue, which was evinced by two bodies that were found a few days after at the foot of the hills, one being very slightly wounded on the neck, and the other not wounded at all. Colonel Gallimore's death was not immediate ; he was certainly wounded, and never seen after. The Maroons could give no account of him, which they would have been able to do had he fallen into their hands, as he was personally known to them, and had very lately been at their town with the mediators. They had the watches, knives, pencils, and other things of the rest that fell, but nothing of Gallimore's, except his gun, which he must have dropped on being wounded, and making for the woods. As his body was never found, it is probable that the confusion of the scene, and approach of night, favoured his retreat into the covered grounds, where, from fatigue, or loss of blood, he may

have expired, like others, in some recess; which, from the difficulty of being penetrated, time itself may never discover. Gallimore was a brave, active man, and generally beloved.

The Maroons now found that the site of the Old Town was not a secure position, and therefore resolved to station only a small party of men there to keep a look-out, for there were three other accessible approaches less difficult than that which had been attempted; one from Vaughan's Field, which was the easiest; another by a circuitous track from the New Town, leading into the former near its entrance to the Old Town; and a third to the eastward, through Tackey's Defile. The body of Maroons, therefore, retired to their women in Guthrie's Defile, the entrance of which they occupied in such a manner, as to render it impregnable. It appeared otherwise, however, to many a soldier who carried this post in imagination,

and talked of covering the front by an advance, protecting the line by two flanking parties, and pushing on briskly. Very proper language when it can be applied, but here misplaced. The sides of this defile are nearly perpendicular*, and can only be entered one by one, nor have any of the gallant fellows who attempted it ever returned. The practicability of advancing upon an enemy in these cockpits is not to be judged of by other feats of war; nor the hardships of a campaign, by those sustained in a regular warfare. The tactics required in the Trelawney mountains are not to be learned from Saxe, Symes, Dundas, or any other writer on the Military Art.

It was resolved to surround the seat of action as far as it was practicable, and reinforcements were called up, consisting of a hundred men of the 62d regiment

* See a description of this defile in Cudjoe's war, *ante*, p. 49.

under

under Colonel Hull, a detachment of that gallant regiment, the 17th of light dragoons, and large bodies of militia. The men were employed several days in destroying all the provisions in the vicinity of the Maroon Town, a work the Maroons could not venture out of their fastnesses to repel. Upon the heights, however, within three quarters of a mile of the head-quarters, their advanced piquets kept their ground in sight, relieving their sentries with the utmost regularity, and communicating intelligence by their horns from height to height along their posts. The different bodies employed in destroying the provision-grounds, fired frequent volleys into the gullies, which made the woods re-echo, and the Maroons smile, for they knew where to obtain provisions, and were amused at the waste of powder. Success had increased their insolence, and rendered them more daring. Johnson and Smith had joined them with their families; and the confidence they reposed in these chiefs, particularly the

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former,

former, to whose command they submitted themselves, gave greater regularity and effect to their enterprises, and kept alive the hope of forcing the Government to advantageous terms.

Lord Balcarres, still conceiving it to be the intention of the Maroons to defend their town, determined to make a general attack upon it. A small field-piece was with the utmost difficulty advanced, under the direction of Colonel Fitch, from the head-quarters, through some of the ruined provision-grounds, on an acclivity more a precipice than a hill, to the scite of the New Town, where divisions of the 17th and 20th light dragoons had huttet themselves. To effect this, it was necessary to cut a track, the line of which was directed by the bugles of the 17th regiment ; who, with a party of negroes under Colonel Fraser, the Engineer, and a detachment of the dragoons, were clearing the way to meet the track begun in the opposite direction
by

by a party of negroes employed with Colonel Fitch. The first day's attempt was defeated by violent rains, such as cannot be easily imagined by those who have not been in tropical climates. It was now the very height of the rainy season, and it never failed to pour down daily for three or four hours, sometime between noon and sunset. A second attempt on the next day succeeded, and the field-piece was mounted at the New Town. After the troops had taken possession of it, various articles of linen and plate, of considerable value, were found in trunks hid in the adjoining bushes, which proves that the Maroons were not so destitute of conveniences as has been said: many of the dragoons were furnished with chintz night-gowns. It is remarkable that at the time of transporting the field-piece, a Maroon named Dunbar, who afterwards came in with a flag, was so near with twelve men, as to hear Colonel Fitch give an order in a common tone of voice to an officer standing

standing near him, to advance his bugle, and answer Colonel Frazer's as soon as it was heard. Dunbar declared he was not thirty feet off, and that he would have made his party fire, but that he was not so situated as to make an immediate retreat, from the large body that might have been brought against him, there being above two hundred men at a halt near Colonel Fitch when he gave the order. This Maroon, notwithstanding the vigilance with which the surrounding country was guarded, passed the post at Vaughan's Field at 11 o'clock at night on the 30th of August, and burned the buildings at a plain called Bandon, only six miles from the head-quarters on the road to Montego Bay.

Lord Balcarres now prepared for the general attack, his Lordship himself heading the troops from Vaughan's Field, Colonel Hull advancing with those at the New Town, and Colonel Incedon marching
by

by the way of Tackey's. In the ascent there was much firing to intimidate the Maroons; but they, we have already seen, had decamped, and the three divisions arrived together without any opposition or annoyance, except from some shots fired at a great distance by a dozen of Maroons standing upon a high rock that overlooked the town, and by which two men were wounded. On the arrival of the troops, the remains of Colonel Sandford, and eighteen other bodies, were found and buried. In consequence of this movement, Lord Balcarres was enabled to advance the greater part of the forces from Vaughan's Field, to within three quarters of a mile of the Maroons posted at Guthrie's Defile, leaving behind only a small detachment to guard the stores, and the sick and wounded.

The troops took possession of the site of the Old Town in the beginning of the month of September, when Lord Balcarres

not finding the rebels, as he expected, defending their town, gave the command to Colonel Fitch, and set out for Montego Bay, to make the necessary arrangements for carrying on so singular a war. The body of Maroons that had surrendered were still in confinement at Montego Bay; these his Lordship deemed it prudent to ship on board a vessel in the harbour, as the best mode of securing them; and extraordinary rewards were offered for the heads of Palmer and Parkinson, the two men who had been chosen from among them to return and persuade the rest of the Maroons to surrender. They were supposed to have acted contrary to the design with which they were sent, and to have instigated the burning of the towns: but that was not the fact; for no sooner was it reported to the Maroons, that the party who had submitted, had been tied and sent prisoners to Montego Bay, than each man, of his own accord, determined to set fire to his house, declaring he would die rather than

than surrender, and be shipped off the country with his arms in his hands; and in this resolution Palmer and Parkinson concurred.

Soon after that event, a captain of the Accompong Maroons, named Chambers, went up to the post the Trelawney people had taken, for the purpose of persuading them to submit; but his knowledge of the secret track by which he passed proved fatal to him; for the Accompongs having taken a decided part in favour of Government, it was suspected he might be induced to guide the troops. He was shot by Palmer, and his head was cut off in resentment against his tribe.

Previous to Lord Balcarres's departure for the seat of Government, a select party of active young men, fit for the woods, and consisting chiefly of such as had been in the habits of hunting the wild boar in the interior forests of the mountains, often
accom-

accompanied by the Maroons, presented themselves to his Lordship, offering to go with a chosen band of Black-Shot, many of whom had been their companions in the toils and pleasures of the chase, and pursue the Maroons wherever they could; requesting, at the same time, to be commanded by Major John James. Lord Balcarras listened with satisfaction to this offer, but gave a positive denial to the request with which it was accompanied, declaring that there were charges to be exhibited against Major James on which he should have him tried. He gave them any other choice, which they declined; and were, in consequence, ordered to join their respective corps.

To persist in a demand, after such reasons had been assigned from such authority, bespoke unbecoming arrogance and presumption; but, on the other hand, the denial created no little disgust, and that disgust was farther increased on the following

ing

ing occasion. Major James, who had waited with confidence for the threatened trial, hearing no more of it, went into Trelawney, and attached himself, with some of the young men whose offer had been fruitless, to a party going out from that quarter. When he went on service with his friends, it was immaterial who had the nominal command, the real command was conceded to him. He led this party to the Maroon tracks, and told them the route the rebels would take. By smelling the smoke of their fires, he directed the party to a spot where they found an old invalid or two, who had not strength to escape, and, after a very tedious and fatiguing march, close at the heels of a body of Maroons, he brought them up to Guthrie's Defile. "So far," said he, pointing to the entrance, "you may pursue, but no farther: No force can enter here; no white man, except myself, or some soldier of the Maroon establishment, has ever gone beyond this. With the greatest difficulty

difficulty I have penetrated four miles farther, and not ten Maroons have gone so far as that. There are two other ways of getting into the defile practicable for the Maroons, but not for any of you. In neither of them can I ascend or descend with my arms, which must be handed to me step by step, as practised by the Maroons themselves. One of the ways lies to the Eastward, and the other to the Westward, and they will take care to have both guarded if they suspect that I am with you, which, from the route you have come to-day, they will. They now see you, and if you advance fifty paces more, they will convince you of it." He had hardly spoken, when the Maroon horn sounded his call. To this he made no answer, and then a voice addressed the party, desiring to know if he was among them. "If he is," said the voice, "let him go back, we do not wish to hurt him; but as for the rest of you, come on and try battle if you choose." It being impracticable to enter the

the defile, the party, exhausted by fatigue and hunger, returned by a circuitous route ; and coming to a post where a field-officer of the regulars commanded, James, who was ill before he set out, being now extremely wearied, threw himself down on the foot of a flight of steps leading up to the door of the house. From his dress and person, neither of which had any marks of superiority, but on the contrary had a dirty appearance, the sentry ordered him to get up. James, after a short rest on the steps, was ascending to go in ; but the sentry again was rough, and told him that it was ordered that people coming there, should be sent to the back of the house. An altercation ensued, which brought out the officer, who probably not knowing Major James, abused him. Such a man was not accustomed to put up with abusive language ; he retorted with violence, and well it was that some gentlemen interfered, and took him away. Although this occurrence was by some suspected to have arisen from

a prejudice in the mind of the officer, it was more generally supposed to have been a mistake, as he was too worthy a man to have acted thus from motives of resentment. On James no court-martial was ever held, but he served no more: he retired in ill health, and the accusation preying upon his mind, he lingered in a declining state, and died in the course of the next year. It is not to be wondered at that he was not tried. With many valuable qualities, he was a weak man, but of weakness only could he have been convicted.



LETTER VII.

Plan of Operations.—Command given to Colonel Fitch.—General Reid advances with the Militia to Vaughan's field.—Parley between Colonel Fitch and the Maroons.—Dunbar and Harvey suffered to visit the Maroon Prisoners in Montego Bay Harbour.—Consequence.—Party protecting working Slaves ambushed.—General Animosity of the Slaves towards the Maroons.—Lieutenant Tomlinson.—Colonel Fitch and a Party go to Lee's post.—The Party ambushed.—Brisset and others killed.—Colonel Fitch killed.—Captain Lee mortally wounded.—Character of Colonel Fitch.—Lord Balcarras's Speech.—Murenson and Count La Fitte brought before the House of Assembly.—The former denies every Part of his Declaration.—The House of Assembly recommend to Lord Balcarras, that they and all the French be sent off.—Grant to Lord Balcarras during Martial Law.—Grant to the Accompong Maroons.—Two Companies of Free People of Colour raised.—Rewards for killing or taking a Trelawney Town Maroon.—State of the War.—Gloom cast over the Island.

THE future plan of the war, which was resolved upon before the Lieutenant-Governor left the seat of action, was to con-

fine the Maroons in a circle, and vast
 bodies of negroes were employed to fell
 trees, in order to form the posts, or, in the
 military language, the cordon. The exe-
 cution of the plan was committed to Co-
 lonel Fitch. At this time General Reid
 advanced with the militia from Kensington,
 and occupied the quarters at Vaughans-field,
 where one company of the 83d had been
 left. This division of the militia consisted
 of detachments of the St. James's, West-
 moreland, and Hanover regiments, to
 which the General, by his own personal
 interest, added a large body of confidential
 Black Shot, collected from different plan-
 tations. With this force he made several
 attempts to penetrate to the Maroon posts,
 and to surprise their foraging parties.
 He also projected a general attack upon
 their main body in the Cockpit, according
 to their own mode of war. Detachments
 of militia from all the parishes of the
 county of Cornwall were ordered to march
 and lie in ambush by the several paths lead-
 ing

ing to the Cockpit, while the main body of the militia, consisting of about three hundred men, marched directly to it, in order to surprise the Maroons; who, if they endeavoured to escape, could not fail to fall into the ambushes laid for them. The militia, on their approach to the Cockpit, instead of proceeding, wheeled to the left and marched into the Old Town; but, being ill received by the Commanding Officer there, returned to Vaughansfield, where they had marched in the morning. The other expeditions projected by General Reid were rendered fruitless and distressing by violent and incessant rains, which damaged the powder. The militia were now harassed to death, yet bore every fatigue patiently and without a murmur. At length they became so tired of the service, that on the companies being relieved every fortnight, few of those who went from the posts returned. It was so harassing, that not many could bear it. Captain Oldham, of the 62d, died of fatigue.

Soon after the command had devolved on Colonel Fitch, the Maroons used to come, in bodies, to the heights above his quarters, and call to him. He invited them to a parley, assuring them that they should not be hurt, but suffered to return when they pleased; on which they requested him to withdraw his sentries; and, on that being complied with, some of them came down. They declared to him, that the Maroons were ready to submit on a promise of pardon, and an assurance that they should not be sent off the country. Colonel Fitch told them that he was not authorized to grant them any specific terms, but would undertake to promise all of them their lives; that he would in the mean time write their wishes to the Lieutenant-Governor, and candidly communicate his answer. They pressed him to take the arrangement upon himself, but he persisted in not exceeding his authority, telling them that if they wished for peace, he would be glad to conclude one with them, or even a truce,

truce, but that he was equally ready for hostilities; for that if he were not employed in reducing them, he must go and attack the French at St. Domingo, and that it was immaterial to him with which of the king's enemies he fought. At last they declared that they would surrender upon his good word, that is, depending on his honour for favourable terms, if he would permit two of their men to go and visit their friends who had surrendered, and were at Montego Bay. This was agreed to, and they selected for the purpose Dunbar and Harvey, who, leaving their muskets and ammunition with General Reid, were suffered to pass unmolested.

During their absence many of the Maroons came together, sometimes to the number of sixteen, to Colonel Fitch's quarters, protesting the most peaceable inclinations. At the end of two days the visitors returned, bringing with them a

few pounds of salt. Colonel Fitch remonstrated with them on carrying in the salt, which was unnecessary, as they were to surrender the next day, but on their observing that the quantity was so small as scarcely to admit a division, he suffered it to pass. With Dunbar and Harvey old Montague returned from Vaughans-field, where he had been kept. This mission, as might have been foreseen, was attended with effects similar to the return of Palmer and Parkinson, whose companions had been sent into confinement on their surrender. Dunbar and Harvey reported that their friends were *on board a ship*, and in consequence Colonel Fitch had no more visits from the Maroons, who now prepared to fight to the last man rather than surrender.

Previous to employing the working parties of negroes on opening the ground for the cordon, Colonel Fitch judged it right to advance some posts on the outlets or tracks by which the Maroons supplied them-

themselves with provisions from the adjacent country. This was immediately done, and, as the approach to Guthrie's defile was incumbered with low trees, intermixed with bushes and straggling plantains in a ruinous state, he determined to clear it. Some hundreds of slaves were employed on this work under protection of the two flank companies of the Westmoreland militia, which had remained at the old town with Colonel Fitch. The Maroons sent a party under a captain called Charles Schaw, to lie in ambush and surprize these companies, in which they were successful; for, coming upon them unexpectedly, they forced them to retreat with a loss of six or seven men killed, and some wounded, besides about ten slaves of the working party massacred. And here I cannot but repeat, that nothing could be more ill founded than the notion that the Maroons had great interest with the slaves. Perhaps on a few of the plantations near their settlement, where they had formed connexions, they
might

might have had influence as far as those connexions extended, but by the generality of the slaves they were hated ; hence the greatest readiness and alacrity shown by those intrusted with arms against them. Many thousands, with similar dispositions, might have been employed, had it been thought advisable, but those only were allowed to serve whom their masters chose and vouched for. This massacre did not decrease their aversion. Several other slaves had been surprized and slain by the Maroons, when acting in no manner against them—a practice for which Johnson's party was remarkable. Of the slaves that had joined the Maroons, the whole number appeared to have come from a few adjacent plantations and polinks ; they did not amount in the whole, men, women, and children, to a hundred, and of these many had been forced away. The ambuscade into which the flanking companies of the Westmoreland fell, was within half a mile of Colonel Fitch's quarters. Among

the killed was Lieutenant Tomlinson of the Light Infantry, whose head was cut off, and afterwards seen suspended by the hair to the bough of a tree. It was imagined that he owed his death to the loss of his spectacles, by which he missed the route taken by his comrades. Tomlinson was an active and worthy young man, ever ready to offer his services, and his death was much regretted.

About a mile and a quarter to the southward of Colonel Fitch's position, there was an advanced post, consisting of some huts, surrounded by slight pallisadoes, occupied by thirty privates, two corporals, and a serjeant, under Captain Lee of the 83d, who, finding his situation by no means a safe one, as it was commanded by heights accessible to the Maroons, informed the commanding officer of the danger of it. Paying immediate attention to this information, Colonel Fitch, on the 12th of September, about nine o'clock, set
out

out for Captain Lee's post, attended by Colonel Jackson of the militia, Lieutenant Brunt the Adjutant of the 83d, Captain Brisset, Mr. Vaughan, and several other persons, among whom were two Accompong Maroon captains, whose names were Reid and Badnage. It is to be observed that at this time the Accompongs had offered to serve against the Trelawney Maroons, and Colonel Walpole, who commanded in their district, had sent some of them to the seat of action. Previous to his departure from the Old Town, Colonel Fitch set his watch with Lieutenant Dixon's of the artillery, who a few days before had arrived at Head Quarters, with a detachment, two field-pieces, and a howitzer, desiring him to fire one of the field-pieces precisely at twelve o'clock. This was to ascertain the exact bearing of Lee's post, for which purpose a compass also was used; and I mention it to give some idea of a country, where, in so short a distance, the windings and intricacies of a track are such

as to defy all certainty of its course or termination.

Colonel Fitch, on his arrival at the post, being satisfied with the representation that had been made of it by Captain Lee, requested Mr. Vaughan to return to Head Quarters and desire the firing of the field-piece to be delayed exactly half an hour longer than the hour first fixed. In the mean time adding to those who had accompanied him Captain Lee and sixteen of his men, he moved forward with the double intention of advancing the post, and of establishing it in a position less liable to be annoyed. As this party proceeded, the mountains seemed to rise higher and higher, and the valleys to sink : a better situation was sought in vain, none presented itself. Marching on, however, they came to a spot, where the Accompong captains, observing some recent traces of the Maroons, said it was better to advance no farther, as the rebels had just been there, and could
not

not be far off. Being ridiculed for their timidity, they proved that they had good grounds for the advice they had given, by pointing out the tops of the wild coco or eddo that had been lately dug up, and other incontestible evidences.

Proofs so unanswerable made an impression on Colonel Jackson, who immediately represented to Colonel Fitch, that his life was too valuable to be unnecessarily risked, requesting permission to advance with Captain Brisset a little farther to reconnoitre the ground, and declaring, that if the nature of it proved impracticable and unpromising, he would return, but if at all favourable, he would dispatch immediate information to him of it. The earnestness with which Jackson spoke made Colonel Fitch smile.—“What, Jackson,” said he, “in a point of duty do you think I should not be as forward as any other man?” Then in a placid manner, which was natural to him, he added: “Well; go
“with

“ with Briffet; there is no keeping him
 “ back; but I shall expect to see you here
 “ again in ten minutes; for if no eligible
 “ position presents itself within a quarter of
 “ a mile, I must endeavour to secure Lee
 “ a little better.”

Colonel Jackson proposed to Captain Briffet, that they should go alone, but the latter desired the two Accompong Captains, Reid and Badnage, to advance with them. They moved on accordingly, Colonel Fitch and the party following slowly. When they had proceeded about a hundred yards, the path striking into two smaller ones of very abrupt descent, Jackson proposed taking the one, and Briffet preferred the other. After a moment's hesitation, Briffet, turning to the two Accompongs, said hastily,—
 “ Come, take that way, and I will follow
 “ you.” These three had gone down about
 five yards, and Jackson, who had pushed
 in to examine the nature of the path he
 proposed, had returned and was just descending

ascending after the others, when a tremendous volley of small arms, which made the towering mountains, or rather immeasurable precipices that enclosed the scene of action, resound with thundering reverberations, was poured upon the whole party by the Maroons, from an elevation within ten paces of them. The soldiers mechanically discharged their pieces at the smoke made by the volley, but to little purpose; for as usual, the unseen enemy were covered and protected by trees and rocks. On the fire of the Maroons, Brisset, wounded, was seen staggering to the right, and probably fell dead among the bushes. Reid, the Accompong, gave a loud shriek and fell; Badnage, the other Accompong, fell dead without a struggle or a groan. Jackson escaped unhurt, and running back on ground lower than the path, came up to Colonel Fitch, whom he found seated on an old fallen tree, his arm supported by a projecting stump, and his head resting on his hand. His blood was trickling down
 from

from the middle of his waistcoat, and the short red and brown striped linen jacket which he wore, stuck out behind, appearing as if a rib had been broken. There could be no doubt that he was mortally wounded. Jackson, taking him by the hand that hung motionless by his side, repeated his name to him. "It is Jackson, your friend Jackson, look at me." Saying this, he drew from his side a small dagger, and holding it up to Colonel Fitch, assured him that he should not fall alive into the hands of the rebels while he could prevent it, declaring at the same time that he would die with him rather than leave him. No one who knew Jackson could doubt that he would have executed this brave resolution, had the occasion required it. Fitch knew him capable of it, and turned his face with a benign look towards him, as if to say something kind; but by this time the Maroons had reloaded, and the clicking of their guns as they were fired one after the other, giving notice

of their being ready to fire, Colonel Jackson called out to the soldiers to lie down, which being obeyed in proper time, the second volley did little mischief. On hearing the order, Colonel Fitch turned his head towards the men, appearing to wish to speak, while Jackson at the same instant was endeavouring to pull him down under cover. This he resisted and again turned, seemingly to speak to Captain Lee or the men; but remaining in the situation I have described, he was too conspicuous a mark, and Jackson's efforts to remove him from it were succeeding when they were too well aided by a fatal ball, which penetrated Colonel Fitch's forehead just above the right eye, and he fell lifeless.

Several of the party being killed, and many wounded, among whom were Captain Lee and Adjutant Brunt, the former mortally, Colonel Jackson thought it best to retreat as speedily as possible; and with the remainder of the party effected his

escape, returning, after meeting the men left at Lee's post, who had advanced on hearing the firing, to Colonel Fitch's post, where one of the wounded soldiers died that night, and another the next morning: Captain Lee survived a few days longer. The loss on this occasion was eight killed and seven wounded. No man was ever more lamented than the gallant and amiable Colonel Fitch. In his person he was tall and graceful. The manly beauty of his face expressing the liberality of his mind, rendered his countenance extremely interesting and engaging. Easy and affable in his manners, he was never happier than when relieving the wants of his soldiers, or providing some comfort for the younger officers from his own stores. It was his custom to lay in a stock of things for his men, which he occasionally dealt out in presents or rewards. His social disposition enlivened the tropic summits that were the seat of the Maroon campaign: his table was crowded by his friends, and, by method in his establishment,

blishment, he threw around his hut a certain elegance that bespoke the gentleman. His activity in the field equalled his modesty in company. He fell in the bloom of youth. He was brave, benevolent, and of a bewitching address. He had talents, and energy to make them useful; he was therefore a great loss to his country: and his private virtues endeared him to his friends, to whom his death was a deep wound.

On the 22d of September the House of Assembly met, and the Lieutenant-Governor, in his speech, told them, from documents* which he had ordered to be laid before them, he had reason to believe hostility had been long premeditated by the Maroons, and at the instigation of the Convention of France; that the conspiracy had been frustrated before it had ripened into maturity; that the precipitate and insolent conduct of the rebels had given him the advantage of acting with celerity and

* Votes of the Assembly.

vigour;

vigour; that the troops had stormed and carried their country, dispossessed them of their towns, and driven them to fastnesses rugged and barren, where they could only subsist as a body of robbers.

A few days after the meeting of the Assembly, two French prisoners, La Fitte and Murenson, suspected of conspiracy, were brought before the House. It seems that there was not sufficient proof to convict them; for the Assembly contented themselves with requesting the Governor to send them off the island. Murenson was the person who had made the declaration I mentioned before*, every part of which he now contradicted, declaring that he had fabricated the whole from the dread of being sent on board the prison-ship, stationed in the harbour. The Assembly farther requested the Governor to send all

* Letter 6th; and see also Appendix, No. II.

French persons, except those enrolled in the militia as British subjects, to that part of St. Domingo in possession of Great Britain, or to Great Britain, and engaged to provide for the expence. They thanked the Lieutenant-Governor for detaining the troops in the island, and at the same time represented the danger that would attend their being sent away. They voted his Honour twenty pounds a-day for his table during martial law; and granted 500 l. to reward the Accompong Maroons for their good conduct, and particularly to provide for the families of Badnage and Reid, who had fallen with Colonel Fitch.

As the king had authorized Sir Adam Williamson during his administration, to raise a corps of negroes for his Majesty's service in Jamaica, it was now again recommended in a letter from the Duke of Portland to Lord Balcarras; but to this the House did not think proper to agree: an act, however, was passed for raising two companies

companies of free people of colour, and for providing for the families of the killed and disabled; and a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 300 dollars to any person free or a slave for killing or taking a Trelawney Maroon, and 150 dollars for killing or taking any slave who joined the Maroons. These rewards were augmented by the offers made by the different parishes, and amounted in the aggregate to upwards of 900 dollars.

At this crisis the inhabitants of the island, in looking back, had to view the following melancholy statement of the war. In the attack upon Captain Hamilton, there were two killed and six wounded: in Colonel Sandford's engagement thirty-seven killed and five wounded: the Westmoreland militia, with their working party of slaves, had been ambushed, seven of the soldiers killed and five wounded, and ten of the slaves killed: Captain Oldham, of the 62d regiment, had perished through fatigue: of

Colonel Fitch's party there were eight killed and seven wounded ; two exprefs dragoons, and a ferjeant of the 62d regiment killed : Brooks's house burnt and two men killed : Schaw Caſtle burnt : Bandon burnt : Shands burnt : Stephens and Bernard's houſe burnt : Kenmure burnt, and twelve negroes carried away : Darliſton Traſh-houſe burnt : Catadupa, Mocha, and Lapland burnt, and two negroes carried away : Lewis's burnt. This was the progreſs of the loſſes ſuſtained by the troops and the country : on the other ſide, not a Maroon was known to have been killed ; the rebels had ſeen the troops abandon in a panic one of their towns, had ſet fire to both, and retired to their faſtneſſes. The loſs of Colonel Fitch threw a gloom over the whole iſland, and the frequent diſcomfitures which had rapidly ſucceeded one another, ſpread apprehenſions through the colony that were not to be allayed by the Governor's encouraging ſpeech at the opening of the Aſſembly.

LETTER VIII.

General Walpole appointed to the Command.—His System.—His first Operations.—Godly's Post attacked.—Lieutenant Richards engages a Party of the Maroons.—Fatal Error of his Serjeant.—General Walpole establishes Posts to the Eastward and Southward.—Arrival of a Reinforcement.—Colonel Skinner.—Stores and Coffee Houses at Nairne, and the Works at Amity Hall, burnt by the Maroons.—The Maroons, dislodged from the Cockpit at Guthrie's, take possession of another. Forced to retreat.—Take a Position on a Height.—Driven from it.—Establish their Head-Quarters in Ginger Town Bottom.—Post at Guard Hill.—Johnson's Activity, and arbitrary Disposition.—Surprised, and compelled to fly.—A Party of Brown Men fall in with the Maroons.—Gallantry and Zeal of the Regiments of Militia in general.—Action between Captain Drummond and Johnson.—State of the Public Mind.—Council at Falmouth.—Petition of the Maroon Prisoners.—General Anxiety for a Termination of the War.

WHATEVER hopes the House of Assembly had conceived from the Lieutenant-Governor's speech at the opening of the Sessions,

Sessions, or however relieved from their apprehension of a descent upon the coast by the brigands of St. Domingo, and of their plotting a revolution in the island in concert with the Maroons, it is clear that they were not altogether of opinion that the gallantry of the troops, eminent as it had been, had reduced the war against the rebels to a matter of little moment: on the contrary, the serious light in which they still considered it, appears from the measures they adopted; immense rewards were offered for taking or killing a rebel Maroon, and great encouragement given towards fitting out parties. On the North side of the island, the state of the war was viewed in a still less favourable light, particularly by such of the inhabitants as were in actual service against the Maroons.

It was about this time, that Major Sam Grant, and the Maroons of Charles Town, were ordered on duty to Kingston, where they made a very short stay; for complaining

plaining of their rations being insufficient, or not duly served, they decamped one night, and set out for Charles Town. Whether their complaint were well or ill grounded, this act of insolence and disobedience was not to be justified by it. Had the complaint been preferred to the Governor, it would no doubt have obtained redress. The circumstance, however, gave the greatest alarm to the inhabitants.

On the death of Colonel Fitch, Colonel Walpole was appointed Commander in Chief of the forces, with the rank of Major-General. On the 15th of September, immediately after he had received his dispatches, he quitted Accompong Town unattended, and flew with inconceivable rapidity through a very dangerous track to the head-quarters at Trelawney Town. He found the troops very much dispirited by the recent misfortunes, jaded and fatigued to the greatest degree, badly
hunted,

huted, and ill accommodated. But unaccustomed to despond himself, he instantly bent all his powers to remove the causes of despondence in others, and to remedy, in the best manner, the evils they encountered. All enterprize was rendered impracticable by the incessant rains which now daily poured down with increasing violence; and General Walpole's conversations with the people of the country gave him but little hope of stimulating them to exertions. Worstcd repeatedly, though sustained by such a force, they began to consider the contest as endless and unavailing; nor is their despondence to be wondered at, when we recollect the little impression that had been made upon the rebels, not one of whom was known to have been killed, while they, on the other hand, had spread devastation around the country, and had slain many fine fellows.

Under these circumstances, General Walpole, reflecting that the colony would be
totally

totally lost, should the troops now under his command be again defeated, thought it his duty to run no risk in making an attack, not only unless the probability of success was clearly in his favour, but also unless the result of that success would give a decisive turn to the operations of the war. He had fully considered the nature of the country, and the tactics which in so novel and uncommon a scene of action, were best adapted to a war, in carrying on which it was necessary to form a systematic plan. Perpendicular mountains, and rocks impending over narrow glades, and defiles for many miles round, were the natural fortifications of the place, presenting barriers almost insurmountable: every thing was in favour of defensive operations, every thing discouraged an assault. To turn upon the rebels their own mode of warring, and to compel them to engage on equal terms, was the judicious determination of General Walpole. He gradually established posts on a more ex-

tended scale, to cover the neighbouring settlements; which, had the plantation negroes been ill-disposed, would have also answered the purpose of keeping them in awe; and instead of attempting to pen the Maroons in a cordon, (for he knew it would have been just as feasible to pen pigeons in a meadow,) he employed the working negroes under cover of strong advanced parties, to clear the heights that surrounded his camp, the approaches to the Maroon defile, and an eminence near his head-quarters, which almost looked into the interior of the cockpit.

While General Walpole was maturing his plan, an attack was made on the post that was Lee's, now called Godly's*, but commanded by Captain White of the 83d regiment. One of the out-sentries declaring that he saw a Maroon pass him in the

* It was called Godly's, from Major Godly of the 83d, having repaired it after it was beat in, subsequent to Lee's death.

dark,

dark, the men were turned out, and being formed into two parties, advanced from the post at day-dawn. The rebels nowhere appearing, Major Godly, with Captain White of the same regiment, returned to his hut to take some coffee, and called to a negro boy to bring it. As the boy was coming, a volley was fired, and he was killed. The officers resolved not to abandon the post, and with great bravery held it till a detachment was sent to their assistance, on the arrival of which the Maroons moved off. This post, however, was withdrawn about three weeks after*.

The working negroes continued clearing the circumjacent ground, and at the same time General Walpole exercised some of the most active of his troops in the tactics he

* It was not passed for six weeks from this time; for the troops could not penetrate farther with safety till the end of November, when a party went to inter the remains of Colonel Fitch, and those who fell with him. Only their bones remained; et inter costas Ducis repertum est ipsius cranium.

had adopted, which, in fact, were those of the Maroons improved, and in which the foldier was to attend to the screening of his person, at the place where he fired and re-loaded, as much as to the destruction of the enemy. When the land was laid sufficiently open, General Walpole detached Lieutenant Richards with about seventy of the 17th light dragoons, to ascend the eminence on the right of Guthrie's Defile, in order to ascertain whether a descent into it that way were practicable or not. A small support of a serjeant and ten men were ordered to advance on the left of the direct approach to the defile, where the impossibility of penetrating was well known; but in that direction the men answered the purpose of a feint, to draw off the attention of the Maroons, and were ready, if necessary, to support the real attack. The dragoons being fresh, not having marched above a mile, ascended the hill with great alacrity, and were received by the Maroons with great firmness,
and

and on each side a rapid fire commenced. The precipices prevented the soldiers from advancing; but for some time a regular fire was kept up both by them and their enemy, from behind trees, rocks, and stumps. By this, however, little or no mischief was done to either party; yet it shewed the judgment of General Walpole in the mode he had adopted, and convinced the rebels that their assailants knew how to take advantage of the face of the country as well as they. The small party on the left fell into a fatal error. Lieutenant Richards being very inferior in number, and his ammunition nearly expended, thought it might be necessary to cover his retreat, and therefore sent to order up his support. As the small party were crossing the track that led to the defile, in order to join him, a horn was blown within the cockpit. Whether it was that the serjeant who commanded, imagined that Richards had forced an entrance, or that he thought it the shortest way to form the junction,

certain it is that he wheeled to the left, and took the road into the defile. The cartridges of the men with Lieutenant Richards being now almost gone, a loud call was given for the serjeant, and a reasonable time allowed for his ascending the hill. His not appearing, gave rise to an apprehension of his having been decoyed into the defile by the sound of the horn, and if so, of the inevitable destruction of himself and his men. The event was soon announced by a heavy fire: not one of them lived to return*.

The Maroons now regarded their post as secure from all that could be attempted against it; and so it would have been

* Some of the dragoons who had fired their last round, were hastening to quarters when this discharge took place, and were met by General Walpole, who ordered them back again.—“Please your honour,” said one of them, “we have not a cartridge left.”—“Then, what is that firing I hear?” replied the General.—“Why, your honour,” cried the soldier, “the boys firing their last rounds, and the devil-a-one you will get away while he has a cartridge left.”

thought

thought by men of ordinary talents : General Walpole thought otherwise. His plans were ripening, and time only could perfect them ; but whether negotiation were to be resorted to, or war continued, he wished to keep his enemy as near him as possible. At a place called One-eye, to the South-east, at the extremity of the line of cockpits, he established a post, as close to them as was convenient, and another on Hector's River, to the North-east. He obtained all the information of the country that the surveyors could give him ; and from the Accompong Maroons he gained the minuter knowledge of practicable tracks and unfrequented springs. Full of confidence in his plans, he looked forward to the end of the wet season for the completion of them, contenting himself to guard against every disaster while the continuance of the heavy rains impeded enterprises, and rendered the risk of failure greater than the prospect of success.

In the beginning of October, Lord Balcarres thought it necessary to augment the forces under General Walpole, and accordingly sent him detachments of the 13th, 20th, and 49th, with the remainder of the 16th under Colonel Skinner, an officer whose known valour and conduct on former occasions had raised him so highly in the esteem and affection of all who knew him, that nothing could have been more welcome to the Commander in Chief, or more animating to the troops, than his arrival: not but that General Walpole had with him officers of judgment and bravery, particularly Major Brown, who certainly was entitled to high praise; but the universal estimation in which Colonel Skinner stood, inspirited the men, and was to the General and officers an earnest of success.

The Maroons continued to make inroads on the country; for, as I have already observed, it was impossible to coop them

up in limits: like the wild creatures of a forest, they found issues at every point. On the 24th of October, a party of them came out from their fastness, and burnt the house and coffee-stores at Nairne and other mountains*; and descending upon the sugar plantations, destroyed Amity-Hall Works, and forced away some negroes from an adjoining estate.

The rainy season now abated, and General Walpole began his offensive operations. Having gained an accurate knowledge of the country, he determined, in the first place, to cut off the Maroons from all points of convenient rendezvous; and he particularly considered, that if he could deprive them of the resource of water, he should secure an advantage that must tend to a termination of the war. This, therefore, was one of his chief objects;

* The word *mountain* is applied to settlements on mountains, which are generally of coffee and ground provisions. Mr. Such-a-one's mountain, a coffee mountain, &c.

and from the scarcity of that necessary of life in the surrounding mountains in dry weather, he had great hope of accomplishing it. The position now held by the rebels supplied water in abundance, there being a spring called Petit River bottom in the cockpit to which Guthrie's Defile led, and where they were encamped on a small flat of seven acres. From such a position it was absolutely necessary to dislodge them, and the General soon convinced them that it was not, as they had flattered themselves, impossible. The hill above his quarters being now cleared, he ordered a howitzer to be mounted upon it, and shells to be thrown into the cockpit, from which they were soon driven, leaving it to their conqueror; who, upon their evacuating it, entered with his troops by the formidable defile. "Damn dat little Buckra," said the Maroons on retiring, "he cunning more dan dem toder. Dis here da new fashion for fight; him fire him big ball a'ter you, and when big ball 'top, ~~de~~

damn funting fire a'ter you again. Come, boys, make we go take farer, and see wha he will do den."—"Damn that little white man, he is more cunning than the others. This is a new mode of fighting: he fires a big ball among us, and when that seems to stop, the damned thing of itself fires again upon us. Come, my boys, let us be off, and see when we are at a distance what he will do."

On leaving Guthrie's, the Maroons took possession of an adjoining cockpit, and sent their women and children to a remote one on a different line. They had now got upon strong ground again, and they threw up a kind of breastwork of old stumps and plaintain trees, which might have been very easily forced, had it not been for the fire they could have poured in from above it. During the remainder of the day they had a little rest, but next morning a supply of shells being carried up, they were dislodged from their new

retreat, and they took to a stupendous height on the left. Here, more accustomed to the shells, which, owing to the distance from which they were now thrown, fell at random, they were less intimidated, and endeavoured to maintain their position. By the vigilance of Mr. Werge of the 17th light dragoons, who, unperceived, followed a woman that had come down for water, and was returning with her load, a path was discovered, through which the dragoons pushed up, and were left masters of the height, the Maroons retreating down a very steep precipice, by Putty-Putty Bottom, a small dell, where there was a natural well of water in a deep cave, to a place called Ginger-Town Bottom, to the Eastward on the North range of cock-pits, where very few Maroons had ever penetrated before. In this they established their head-quarters, as it was convenient for supplying themselves with provisions from the negro grounds on the Trelawney mountains, and for procuring water. The
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circumspect, but active operations of the troops, now convinced the Maroons that they would soon be compelled to move farther still, as they would be cut off from water, unless they could dislodge the troops from the posts they had taken: in consequence, they made several attacks, in which they were constantly repulsed. The 17th light dragoons established themselves on the hill, which, as the advanced post, was called Guard Hill, where convenient huts and barracks were erected; and in their rear, the 62d under Colonel Hull, were as comfortably established at Petit River bottom.

The body of the Maroons against which these operations were carried on, consisted of their greatest force, and were still called old Montague's, though commanded by Captain Charles Schaw; but the chief commander among them was Johnson, who was generally at the head of a force inferior in number to those with Schaw, but more active and enterprising.

prising. These were the men by whom the greatest ravages had been committed: these, led by Johnson, had burned the settlements in Westmoreland, and afterwards Mocha, Catadupa, Lapland, Ginger Hill, Gowdeys, and other places. Johnson surprised a convoy of provisions guarded by ten soldiers, going to the posts established at Mocha and Augustus, and cut off the heads of the soldiers. He had no particular station, but shifted from ground to ground, according to the enterprise he meditated. Though known to be at a certain place one day, he would the next surprise another place at the distance of twenty miles. He was not encumbered with women or children, and to his own party he had attached about forty slaves, whom he had armed. These had cause to repent it; but having once joined they could not retract, and suffered themselves to be persuaded that when a peace took place, they would be included in the terms as Maroons. Some of them Johnson flogged
for

for not fighting, while he made others Captains, whom he again broke or flogged if they deserved it. This treatment was general; nor did he scruple to inflict the same punishment on his own sons; and, Smith excepted, whose vigour and valour were equal to his own, he was a despot over his men; yet under his discipline they fought better than the rest. On his surrender, he declared that he had never been surpris'd, but when the slaves were his out-sentries; and that though several of these had been killed, he never lost but two Maroons. He was, however, surpris'd on the 8th of November, by a very select party from Westmoreland, consisting chiefly of people of colour under Mr. Williams and Russell, and nothing but his uncommon valour saved him. Far from screening himself during the engagement, he was loud in giving his orders, and was violent in the abuse of Williams, whom he knew. Being wounded with a ball, he immediately cut it out with his knife, and continued exerting him-

himself to the utmost to obtain the victory; but all his efforts proved fruitless, and after a hard struggle, he was obliged to quit the field, which he managed to do with great address.

Several skirmishes took place, but no affair that was attended with any important result. On the Trelawney side, a party of brown people under Captain Stewart, a militia officer, fell in with a body of Charles Schaw's men, and two or three rounds were exchanged. Some of the brown people fled, others hid themselves. The Maroons being far superior in number, it was perhaps fortunate that their ignorance of the superiority prevented a pursuit. They called to know who commanded the party. The officer very judiciously preserved silence, for had he spoken, he would have been shot. The moment was awful, but his prudence was rewarded; the Maroons left the ground, and he had the honour of carrying off his killed and wounded.

On

On the same side of the country, some judicious enterprises under Colonel Stevenson, tended to cramp the rebels in that quarter; and Colonel Shawe, at the head of the Kingston troops, rendered signal services in similar excursions. Indeed the officers of the militia, and the men in general, displayed great gallantry and zeal in the service of the island.

In the beginning of December, it was again the fate of Johnson to experience the effects of discipline united with valour. Captain Drummond of the 16th, with several companies of the regulars, and about fifty confidential black shot, fell in with him in the mountains near Chesterfield, and a smart action ensued. In the early part of it, Johnson was actually dislodged by the black shot from the eminence on which he was posted, and these, well and closely covered by the troops, were forcing him from another position he had taken, when detachments of the 13th light dra-

goons

goons and St. Elizabeth's militia from the post of Chesterfield, hearing the engagement, hastened to the spot, and, deceived by the thickness of the underwood and the obscurity occasioned by the smoke, unfortunately directed their fire on the body who were assailing the Maroons. Though no personal mischief was done, it had the effect of discontinuing the action at a moment when it promised a victorious result. In the confusion caused by the mistake, Johnson drew off his men, and Captain Drummond was obliged to be satisfied with the consciousness of having done his duty. The black shot with him had suffered much, but their leader, Cud-Joe, gained great credit, and was afterwards properly rewarded. Cudjoe and his men were under the command of Captain MacLean, who distinguished himself in the most gallant manner, and deserved the warmest gratitude of the country.

I have not thought it necessary to break through the train of military events, but
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it will now be proper to go back a little, and observe the state of the public mind. When it is recollected that a handful of untrained negroes had, for near five months, defied the whole force of the island, and some of the best troops in his Majesty's service; that many valuable lives had been lost in the contest, while scarcely a rebel had fallen; that many parts of the country had been laid waste; that the enemy who were to be reduced fought differently from every other enemy, could easily evade their assailants, and remove by ways, unknown and inaccessible to the troops from one part of the island to the other; and that they were the descendants of a race of people who had on a similar contest, and by similar warfare, gained their objects, it will not appear surprising that every man who had a stake in the country, every inhabitant of the colony, should feel an alarm, and be anxious for the termination of the war. The uncertainty of the issue, and the gloomy countenance of the island, induced the

the Lieutenant-Governor to hold a council at Falmouth. The meeting was large and respectable, but a despondency prevailed in it far beyond what circumstances justified. It is true that the Maroons were not subdued or penned up, but affairs were actually in a better train than at the opening of the Assembly in the month of September, when hope of a speedy reduction of the rebels was by many people admitted. At that time, nothing was heard of but sinister events, and a country smoking around: since that, the advantages had been chiefly on the side of the troops; and though victory was seldom easily obtained, the Maroons had been taught to respect their foe, now accustomed to a mode of war which had been improved against the instructors of it: yet so discouraged, so hopeless, were the persons who composed the council, that they proposed to send into the woods some of the Maroon chiefs who had been confined in irons, as ambassadors to *persuade the rebels to make peace.*

General

General Walpole, who had come down from the mountains to attend the council, and whose mind was not swayed by the apprehensions which influenced the majority of the members of it, declared to them that he could entertain no hope from a negotiation which was to be conducted by ambassadors who had been in fetters; recalled to their minds the issue of the visit which, during Colonel Fitch's command, had been made by Dunbar and Harvey to the Maroons who surrendered on the 11th of August; and, strongly urging his sentiments against the proposed scheme to the Governor and the Council, begged them not to place the island at the mercy of the rebels, by a solicitation that would virtually acknowledge them conquerors, and sow the seeds of future wars, if not of a speedy general insurrection. He concurred in opinion that the war was not to be a war of extermination, yet forcibly insisted that peace should not be concluded under adverse circumstances and apparent

impotence, but granted after advantages obtained, as the dictate of mercy or justice combined with power; and he earnestly besought them to give him time to mature his plan, as the continuance of the campaign for some weeks longer could be attended with no very great burden to the country, and might eventually save it. These judicious reflexions, convincing in themselves, were too strongly stated to be resisted, the council unanimously concurred in them, and General Walpole was suffered to pursue the system he had planned.

At this time, the small body of Maroons who surrendered at Vaughan's-field on the 11th of August, petitioned to avail themselves of the law of 1791, by which their people were enabled to relinquish the state and condition of Maroons, and settle in the country as free negroes. A similar petition had been made by others who had been taken up, being chiefly people of colour descended from Maroons. The
first

first petition was not granted *: the latter was; the petitioners having committed no acts of rebellion or disobedience.

All apprehension of a conspiracy subsisting between the Maroons and the French was completely removed; the declaration of the French prisoner, Murenson, had been done away by his subsequent confession; and the most diligent search for emissaries from St. Domingo had proved fruitless. Every alarm now centered in the Maroon war: in the approaching dry season, imagination anticipated the view of plantations reduced to ashes, and the horrors of a general insurrection. Most of the inhabitants would have given half of their

* It was probably owing to some confused information respecting this petition, and the desire of the council for peace, that Edwards ran into the mistake, "that similar overtures had been made by the body of Maroons in arms; that many wise and worthy men among the inhabitants thought their terms ought to be accepted; and that General Walpole himself concurred in the same sentiment."—*Edwards.*

fortunes to be relieved of their anxiety ; and all, except those on the field of action, had been urgent and clamorous for peace on almost any terms, and were preparing for themselves humiliation, disgrace, and danger, from which the firmness and ardour of General Walpole saved the island.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

An Act to repeal an Act, intituled, “An Act to repeal several Acts and Clauses of Acts respecting Slaves, and for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and for other Purposes;” and also to repeal the several Acts and Clauses of Acts, which were repealed by the Act intituled as aforesaid; and for consolidating, and bringing into one Act, the several Laws relating to Slaves, and for giving them further Protection and Security; for altering the Mode of Trial of Slaves charged with capital Offences; and for other Purposes.

[Sect. I. Preamble. Laws and clauses of laws to be repealed.—II. Proprietors, &c. to allot land for every slave, and to allow him to cultivate it.—III. Slaves otherwise provided for.—IV. Owners obliged to provide for disabled slaves.—V. Slaves to be clothed by their owner once a year.—VI. Owners to instruct slaves in the Christian religion.—VII. Owners to give in an account of provision-ground.—VIII. Premium to slaves for informing on runaways. &c.—IX. The killing or apprehending rebellious slaves rewarded.—X. Persons mutilating slaves fined and imprisoned. Mutilated slaves, in certain

cases declared free. Justices to inquire into such mutilations, and prosecute the offenders. Owners sued for costs.—XI. Justices to issue their warrants to bring mutilated slaves before them.—XII. Persons wilfully killing slaves to suffer death.—XIII. Persons cruelly beating slaves, how punishable.—XIV. Arbitrary punishment restrained.—XV. Putting iron collars or other chains on slaves, prohibited.—XVI. Justices and vestry to support disabled negroes. How such slaves are disposed of.—XVII. Owners must not allow their slaves to travel without tickets under penalty. Penalty on neglect of duty.—XVIII. Slaves allowed holidays.—XIX. Slaves allowed one day in every fortnight.—XX. Time allowed for breakfast, &c.—XXI. Penalty for suffering unlawful assemblies of slaves.—XXII. Civil or military officers to suppress such assemblies.—XXIII. Overseers, &c. who suffer such assemblies, to be imprisoned. Proviso.—XXIV. Negro burials to be in day time.—XXV. Imprisonment for negroes suffering assemblies at their houses.—XXVI. Slaves not to keep fire-arms.—XXVII. Punishment on slaves offering violence to whites.—XXVIII. Punishment on slaves harbouring slaves.—XXIX. Who are deemed runaways.—XXX. Reward for securing runaways. Proviso.—XXXI. How runaways are to be disposed of.—XXXII. Time of tickets limited.—XXXIII. Account of births and deaths must be given in.—XXXIV. Overseer to pay if his neglect.—XXXV. Surgeons to give in an account of slaves dying. Encouragement for increase of slaves.—XXXVI. Further encouragement for increase of slaves.—XXXVII. Penalty on free negroes, &c. granting tickets to slaves.—XXXVIII. Whites granting such tickets punishable.—XXXIX. XL & XLI. Keepers of gaols, &c. to advertise runaways, detain them until paid their fees, attest the charges for mile-money, &c., allow them provisions, and not hire them out.—XLII. Certain runaways, how liable to be punished.—XLIII. Runaways absent six months, how punishable.—XLIV. Slaves guilty of Obeah, how punishable.—XLV. Slaves attempting to poison, to suffer death.—XLVI. Slaves punishable if found in possession of large quantities of fresh meat.—XLVII. Slaves stealing horned cattle how punished.—XLVIII. Slaves guilty of crimes how tried.—XLIX. Jurors to serve under penalty.—L. Three justices to form a court.—LI. How executions are performed.—LII. Slaves giving false evidence how punished.—LIII. How fees of slaves discharged by proclamation are paid.—LIV. Clerk of the peace to record slave trials.—LV. Five days notice of trial to be given.—LVI. Slaves executed, or transported, to be valued.—LVII. Such valuation to be paid by Receiver-general.—LVIII. Slaves returning from transportation suffer death.—LIX. Punishment for inferior

inferior crimes.—LX. Provost-marshal to deliver runaways to workhouse keeper.—LXI. Runaways to be committed to workhouse.—LXII. Horses, &c. belonging to slaves, to be taken up and sold.—LXIII. Penalty for permitting slaves to keep horses.—LXIV. Oath to be made that slaves have no property.—LXV. Slaves not to purchase horses, &c.—LXVI. Penalty for concealing slaves against whom warrants are issued.—LXVII. Slaves attempting to depart this island, how punishable.—LXVIII. Penalty for assisting slaves to go off the island.—LXIX. Penalty on whites for aiding slaves to go off the island.—LXX. Persons so offending to be proceeded against.—LXXI. Overseers not to leave estates on holidays.—LXXII. Slaves not to be mutilated.—LXXIII. Punishment on such as escape from the workhouse.—LXXIV. Penalty for suffering slaves to escape.—LXXV. Slaves not to hunt with lances, &c.—LXXVI. Justices to do their duty in martial law.—LXXVII. Jurors, &c. protected.—LXXVIII. How penalties shall be recovered and disposed of.

WHEREAS it is for the public good, that all the laws respecting the order and government of slaves, should be consolidated and brought into one law, in order to prevent confusion, and that justice may more effectually be executed respecting slaves; and whereas it is found necessary, for the purpose of giving further security to slaves, that the mode of trial of slaves charged with capital offences should be altered; and whereas, in order thereto, it is necessary that all the herein after-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, should be repealed; viz. &c. &c. &c. We, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly of this your majesty's island of Jamaica, do most humbly beseech your majesty, that it may be enacted, Be it therefore enacted, by the lieutenant-governor, council, and assembly of the said island, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, That, from and after the passing of this act, all and

every the said herein before-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, and every part thereof, be and stand annulled, repealed, and made void, and are hereby annulled, repealed, and made void to all intents and purposes whatsoever; any thing in the said laws, and clauses of laws, or in any other law, contained to the contrary, in anywise notwithstanding.

II. And whereas nothing can contribute more to the good order and government of slaves than the humanity of their owners, in providing for and supplying them with good and wholesome provisions, and proper and sufficient clothing, and all such other things as may be proper and necessary for them, during their being in a state of slavery: For which end and purpose be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, every master, owner, or possessor, of any plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands whatsoever, shall allot and appoint a sufficient quantity of land for every slave he shall have in possession upon, or belonging to, such plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands, as and for the proper ground of every such slave, and allow such slave sufficient time to work the same, in order to provide him, her, or themselves with sufficient provisions for his, her, or their maintenance: and also, all such masters, owners, or possessors of plantations, pens, or other lands, shall plant upon such plantations, pens, or other lands, in ground-provisions, at least one acre of land for every *ten* negroes * that he shall be possessed of on such

* In the former act an acre of provisions was allotted to every *four* negroes, exclusive as above, but it was found an exorbitant and unnecessary allowance, and the alteration was made as it now stands expressly that the law might be enforced.

plantation, pen, or other lands, over and above the negro-grounds aforefaid; which lands fhall be kept up in a planter-like condition, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

III. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, That every fuch mafter, owner, or poffeffor, or his or her overfeer or chief manager, fhall personally infpect into the condition of fuch negro-grounds once in every month at the leaft, in order to fee that the fame are cultivated and kept up in a proper manner, of which oath fhall be made, as in this act is hereafter directed. And whereas it may happen, that in many plantations, pens, fettlements, and towns in this ifland, there may not be lands proper for the purpofes aforefaid; then, and in that cafe, the mafters, owners, or poffeffors, do, by fome other ways and means, make good and ample provision for all fuch flaves as they fhall be poffeffed of, equal to the value of two fhillings and fix-pence currency per week for each flave, in order that they may be properly fupported and maintained, under the penalty of fifty pounds.*

IV. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, That no mafter, owner, or poffeffor of any flave or flaves, whether in his or her own right, or as attorney, guardian, trustee, executor, or otherwife, fhall difcard or turn away any fuch flave or flaves on account of or by reafon of fuch flave or flaves being rendered incapable of labour or fervice to fuch mafter, owner, or poffeffor, by means of ficknefs, age, or infirmity; but every fuch mafter, owner, or poffeffor,*

as aforesaid, shall be, and he is hereby obliged, to keep all such slave or slaves upon his, her, or their properties, and to find and provide them with wholesome necessaries of life, and not suffer such slave or slaves as aforesaid to be in want thereof, or to wander about, or become burthensome to others for sustenance, under the penalty of ten pounds for every such offence, to be recovered in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace in this island; who is hereby authorized, empowered, and required, to cause such master, owner, or possessor, his, her, or their attorney or agent, and such other persons as he shall judge necessary, to be summoned before him, to enable him to judge and determine of the propriety of such information, and whether such master, owner, or possessor, ought to incur the said penalty; and in the mean time, and until such trial can be had, the said justice of the peace, on his own view, or upon the information of any white person, upon oath, is hereby empowered and required, to take up such wandering, sick, aged, or infirm slave or slaves, and to lodge him, her, or them, in the nearest workhouse, there to be clothed and fed, but not worked, at the expence of the master, owner, or possessor, until such trial as aforesaid can be had; and if it shall appear to the said justice, on such trial, that the party or parties so complained of is or are guilty of the said offence, and shall refuse to pay the said ten pounds, and the fees to such workhouse for the maintenance of such slave or slaves, together with the charges of the conviction, the said justice is hereby required and empowered, under the penalty of twenty pounds, forthwith, by warrant under
his

his hand and seal, directed to the constable, to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol of the county or parish where the offence shall be committed, there to remain until he or she shall pay the said sum of ten pounds, and charges as aforesaid; one moiety of which said fine shall be paid to the informer, and the other moiety shall be paid into the hands of the churchwardens of such parish, for the poor of said parish; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

V. And for the better encouragement of slaves to do their duty to their masters, owners, or possessors, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, or possessor of slaves, shall, once in every year, provide and give to each slave they shall be possessed of proper and sufficient clothing, to be approved of by the justices and vestry of the parish where such master, owner, or possessor of such slaves resides, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion, and shall do their utmost endeavours to fit them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently they can, cause to be baptised all such as they can make sensible of a Deity, and the Christian faith.

VII. And

VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, or possessor of slaves, his or her overseer or chief manager, at their giving in an account of their slaves and stock to the justices and vestry, on the twenty-eight day of December in every year, shall, under the penalty of fifty pounds for every neglect, also give in, on oath, an account of the quantity of land in ground-provisions, over and above the negro-grounds, upon such plantation, pen, or other settlement, where there are lands proper for the cultivation of such provisions; and, where there are not lands proper for such purposes, then an account, on oath, of the provision made on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, or means adopted for the maintenance of the slaves thereon; and shall also, at the same time, and under the like penalty, give in an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity of the clothing actually served to each slave on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, for the approbation of the justices and vestry as aforesaid; *and shall, likewise, at the same time declare, on oath, that he hath inspected the negro-grounds (where such grounds are allotted), of such plantation, pen, or settlement, according to the directions of this act.*

VIII. And, in order to encourage slaves for every good and worthy act that they shall do, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every slave or slaves that shall take up any runaway slave, or inform against any person who shall have or conceal any runaway slave or slaves, so that such runaway slave or slaves may be taken and restored to his owner or
owners;

owners; every such slave or slaves, so informing, shall be entitled to such reward as any justice shall in reason and justice think just and reasonable, and be paid by such person or persons as such justice shall determine ought to pay the same, not exceeding twenty shillings.

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave or slaves shall kill or take any slave or slaves in actual rebellion, he or they shall receive from the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed, the sum of three pounds, and the sum of five pounds if taken alive, and a blue cloth coat, with a red cross on the right shoulder, to be paid by the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed or taken; the whole expence whereof shall be reimbursed by the receiver-general for the time being, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated.

X. And, in order to prevent any person from mutilating or dismembering any slave or slaves, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, mistress, owner, possessor, or other person whatsoever, shall, at his, her, or their, own will and pleasure, or by his, her, or their, direction, or with his, her, or their, knowledge, sufferance, privity, or consent, mutilate or dismember any slave or slaves, he, she, or they, shall be liable to be indicted for each offence in the supreme court of judicature, or in any of the assize courts of this island; and, upon conviction, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, and imprisonment, not exceeding twelve

months, for each and every slave so mutilated or dis-
 membered; and such punishment is declared to be
 without prejudice to any action that could or might
 be brought at common law, for recovery of damages
 for or on account of the same: And, in very atrocious
 cases, where the owner of such slave or slaves shall be
 convicted of such offence, the court before whom
 such offender shall have been tried and convicted, are
 hereby empowered, in case they shall think it necessary,
 for the future protection of such slave or slaves, to
 declare him, her, or them, free, and discharged from
 all manner of servitude, to all intents and purposes
 whatsoever: And, in all such cases, the court are
 hereby empowered and authorised, if to them it shall
 appear necessary, to order and direct the said fine of
 one hundred pounds to be paid to the justices and
 vestry of the parish to which the said slave or slaves
 belonged, to the use of the said parish, the said justices
 and vestry, in consideration thereof, paying to such of
 the said slave or slaves, so made free, the sum of ten
 pounds per annum, for his, her, or their, maintenance
 and support during life; and in case any slave or slaves
 shall suffer any before-described mutilations, such slave
 or slaves, on his, her, or their, application to any
 justice of the peace, the said justice of the peace shall
 be, and is hereby, directed, required, and empowered,
 on view, and certain conviction of the fact, to send
 such slave or slaves to the nearest workhouse where
 such offence shall be committed, and such slave or
 slaves shall be there safely kept, and carefully attended,
 at the expence of such parish, until such time as there
 may be a legal meeting of the justices and vestry of
 such

such parish; which justices and vestry, so met, are hereby created and appointed a council of protection of such slave or slaves: And the said justices and vestry, so met, are hereby directed and empowered, to make further and full enquiry, upon view, into the commitment of the mutilation of such slave or slaves; and, if to them it shall appear proper, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered and required to prosecute to effect such owner or owners; the expence of which prosecution shall be paid by the parish where such offence shall be committed: And in case the owner or owners of such slave or slaves shall appear capable of paying the costs and charges of such before-mentioned prosecution, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered to commence suit or suits against such owner or owners of such slave or slaves, and recover all costs and charges out of purse, by them laid out and expended in such suit or suits: And the keeper or supervisor of the workhouse where such mutilated slave or slaves shall have been first committed, is hereby directed and required, upon due notice of the first meeting of the justices and vestry of the parish where the offence was committed, to produce such mutilated slave or slaves, for the inspection and direction of such justices and vestry, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect, in not producing before such justices and vestry such slave or slaves.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in case any justice of the peace shall receive any complaint or *probable intelligence from any*

slave or otherwise, that any slave or slaves is or are so mutilated, or is or are confined without sufficient support, it shall and may be lawful for such justice of the peace, and he is hereby empowered and required, forthwith to issue his warrant to any constable, ordering him immediately to proceed to the place where such slave or slaves, so mutilated, are confined, and such slave or slaves to release and bring before such justice, who, on view of the fact, is hereby authorised to send such slave or slaves to the workhouse for protection, and who is there to be kept, but not to be worked, until enquiry shall be made into the fact according to law.

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person hereafter shall wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly, kill, or cause to be killed, any negro or other slave, such person so offending, shall, on conviction, be admitted guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer death accordingly for the said offence: Provided always, That such conviction shall not extend to the corrupting the blood, or the forfeiture of lands or tenements, goods or chattels; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding.

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, any person or persons that shall wantonly or cruelly whip, *maltreat*, beat, bruise, wound, or shall imprison or keep in confinement, without sufficient support, any slave or slaves, shall be subject to be indicted for the same in the supreme court of judicature, or in
either

either of the courts of assize, or courts of quarter-sessions in this island; and, upon being thereof legally convicted, he, she, or they, shall suffer such punishment, by fine or imprisonment, *or both*, as the judges or justices of such courts shall think proper to inflict; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding: And such punishment is hereby declared to be without prejudice to any action at common law that could or might be brought for the recovery of damages for and on account of the same, in case such slave or slaves shall not be the property of the offender.

XIV. And, in order to restrain arbitrary punishments, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no slave on any plantation or settlement, or in any of the workhouses or gaols in this island, shall receive more than ten lashes at one time and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or administrator, or overseer, of such plantation or settlement, having such slave in his care, or supervisor of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol, shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, supervisor, or gaol-keeper, shall, on any account, punish a slave with more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for one offence, *nor inflict, or suffer to be inflicted, such last-mentioned punishment, nor any other number of lashes, in the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effects of any former punishment, under the penalty of ten pounds**

* In the former act 5 ^l/₂

for every offence, to be recovered against the person directing or permitting such punishment.

XV. *And whereas a mischievous practice hath sometimes prevailed of punishing ill-disposed slaves, and such as are apt to abscond from their owners, by fixing or causing to be fixed round the necks of such slaves, an iron collar with projecting bars or hooks to prevent the future desertion of such slaves; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such practice is hereby declared to be utterly unlawful, and that no person shall, on any pretence whatsoever, under the penalty of fifty pounds, punish any negro or other slave, whether his own property or otherwise, by fixing, or causing to be fixed, any iron or other collar round the neck of such slave, or by loading the body or limbs of such slave, for any offence whatsoever, with chains, irons, or weights, of any kind, other than such as are absolutely necessary for securing the person of such slave; and all and every the justices of the peace, within this island, are hereby authorised, directed, and required, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, on information and view of such offence, to order such collar, chains, irons, or weights, to be immediately taken off from the slave or slaves wearing or bearing the same.*

XVI. *And whereas, from the decease and removal of residence of many proprietors of slaves, and other circumstances, and from the manumission of negro, mulatto, and other slaves, without any suitable provision being made for their future maintenance, many unhappy objects, afflicted with contagious distempers, or disabled from labour by sickness, old age, and otherwise,*

wife, and having no owners, prove dangerous, or become a burthen and nuisance to the several towns and parishes of this island: for remedy whereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices and vestrymen of the several towns and parishes in this island be empowered, and they are hereby empowered, to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of the said several towns and parishes, in the same manner as the parochial taxes are usually laid, for the purpose of raising such a sum as they shall judge sufficient to provide for the maintenance, clothing, medical care, and attendance, in the workhouses or other convenient places of the said several towns and parishes of this island, of such negro, mulatto, or other slaves, or other unhappy objects as aforesaid: And the magistrates respectively of such town and parish are hereby empowered and required, upon application being made to them, or either of them, to order all such objects as aforesaid to be removed and conveyed to the respective workhouses of each parish where (if a slave) the former proprietor or proprietors, owner or owners, of such slave lived or resided; or, if a person of colour made free, where the person or persons who manumitted or set free such person of colour resided before his decease, there to be lodged and taken care of as aforesaid: And the magistrates and vestries of the several towns and parishes, as aforesaid, are hereby empowered and required to make from time to time all such humane and salutary regulations, for the purposes aforesaid, as to them shall appear necessary and expedient.

XVII. And whereas it is absolutely necessary, that the slaves in this island should be kept in due obedience to their owners, and in due subordination to the white people in general, and, as much as in the power of the legislature, all means and opportunities of slaves committing rebellious conspiracies, and other crimes, to the ruin and destruction of the white people, and others in this island, prevented, and that proper punishments should be appointed for all crimes to be by them committed; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no slave, *such only excepted as are going with firewood, grass, fruit, provisions, or small stock and other goods, which they may lawfully sell, to market, and returning therefrom,* shall hereafter be suffered or permitted to go out of his or her master or owner's plantation or settlement, or to travel from one town or place to another, unless such slave shall have a ticket from his master, owner, employer or overseer, expressing particularly the time of such slave's setting out, and where he or she is going, and the time limited for his or her return, under a penalty not exceeding forty shillings for every slave so offending, to be recovered from the master, owner, employer, or overseer, in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace, by warrant of distress, complaint being made to him upon oath, unless the master, owner, employer, or overseer, of such slave shall prove, upon oath, before any justice of the peace of the parish or precinct where such master, owner, employer, or overseer, may or shall live, or happen to be, that he did give the said slave such ticket as aforesaid, or that such slave went away without his consent;

consent; and if such justice shall refuse or neglect his duty, either in causing the penalty to be forthwith levied, on complaint being made to him as aforesaid, on the owner, overseer, or any other person, who shall suffer a slave, being under his or their direction, to go without a ticket as aforesaid, every justice so offending shall forfeit the sum of five pounds; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding*.

XVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That for the future, all slaves in this island shall be allowed the usual number of holidays that were allowed at the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide: Provided, That, at every such respective season, no two holidays shall be allowed to follow or succeed immediately one after the other, except at Christmas, when they shall be allowed Christmas-day, and also the day immediately succeeding; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding: And if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer of such plantation or settlement, shall presume, at the seasons aforesaid, to allow any holidays to any slave belonging to any such plantation or settlement, other than as directed by this act to be given, every person so offending, shall forfeit the sum of five pounds.

XIX. And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island, to allow their

* In the former act it was also provided that the slave himself, going without a ticket, should be punished, which is now omitted.

slaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision-grounds (exclusive of Sundays), except during the time of crop; but the same not being compulsory, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the slaves belonging to, or employed on, every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the holidays herein before-mentioned, be allowed one day in every fortnight, to cultivate their own provision-grounds, exclusive of Sundays, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the care of such slaves.

XX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every field-slave on such plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed, according to custom, half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no slaves shall be compelled to any manner of field-work upon the plantation before the hour of five in the morning, or after the hour of seven at night, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the care of such slaves.

XXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, shall hereafter suffer any strange slaves, exceeding twelve in number, to assemble together and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, or in any yard or place
under

under his, her, or their, care or management, or shall not endeavour to disperse or prevent the same, by immediately giving notice thereof to the next magistrate or commissioned officer, that a proper force may be sent to disperse the said slaves; every such master, owner, guardian, or attorney, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize, pay a fine of fifty pounds to his majesty, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof: Provided nevertheless, That information of such offence shall be made, upon oath, before any of his majesty's justices of the peace, within the space of five days after the commission of such offence.

XXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all officers, civil and military, shall be, and are hereby empowered and required, to enter into any plantation, settlement, or other place, to disperse all such unlawful assemblies, and to suppress and prevent all unlawful drummings or other noise, as before-mentioned; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXIII. And whereas it has been found by experience, that rebellions have been often concerted at negro dances, and nightly meetings of the slaves of different plantations, when such slaves are generally intoxicated; and as it has been found also, that those meetings tend much to injure the healths of negroes;

be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer, or, in his absence, any book-keeper, or other white person, having the care and management of any plantation or settlement, shall suffer any slaves to assemble together, and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, every such overseer, book-keeper, or other white person so offending, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature, or before the justices of the assize, suffer six months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize: Provided information is made, upon oath as aforesaid, before one of his majesty's justices of the peace, within five days after the commission of such offence: And provided always nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any master, owner, or proprietor, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer thereof, from granting liberty to the slaves of such plantation or settlement only, for assembling together upon such plantation or settlement, and playing and diverting themselves in any innocent amusements, so as they do not make use of military drums, horns, or shells; but that they shall and may grant such liberty when and as often as they please, any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided, that such amusements are put an end to by twelve of the clock at night.

XXIV. *And, in order to prevent riots and nightly meetings among negro and other slaves, to the disturbance of the public peace, and the endangering their healths, be*
it

it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all negro burials shall in future take place in the day time only, so that the same may be ended before sunset; and if any master, owner, or possessor of slaves, his or her overseer, or chief manager, shall knowingly suffer or permit the burial of any slave otherwise than as before directed, he shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.

XXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall hereafter suffer any unlawful assembly of slaves at his or her house or settlement, every such Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall, upon due conviction thereof, suffer imprisonment, not exceeding six months: Provided nevertheless, That information thereof shall be given, on oath, within five days of such unlawful meeting.

XXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all slaves who shall hereafter be found to have in his or their custody, any fire-arms, gun-powder, flugs, or ball, such slave being thereof convicted, before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict, by whipping or hard labour in the workhouse, not exceeding the term of six months.

XXVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall offer any violence, by striking or otherwise, to any white person, such slave, upon due and proper proof, shall, upon conviction, be punished with death, transportation, or
con-

confinement to hard labour, not exceeding two years, or otherwise, as the court shall, in their discretion, think proper to inflict; Provided such striking or conflict be not by command of his or their owners, overseers, or persons entrusted over them, or in the lawful defence of their owners' persons or goods.

XXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any slave or slaves, who shall knowingly harbour or conceal any runaway slave or slaves, shall be liable to be tried for the same at the slave court hereinafter appointed, and on conviction, suffer such punishment as the justices at the said court shall think proper to inflict, *not extending to life or limb.*

XXIX. And whereas it is very dangerous to the peace and safety of this island, to suffer slaves to continue out as runaways, and it is absolutely necessary to declare and make known to the public what slaves shall be deemed such; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, any slave or slaves who *shall be absent from his owner or employer, without leave, for the space of ten days, and shall be found at the distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or other settlement, to which he, she, or they, belong, without a ticket or other permit to pass, except as before excepted, in going to and returning from market,* shall be deemed a runaway.

XXX. And

XXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any person whatsoever, who shall apprehend such slave or slaves, shall, for every one so apprehended, be entitled to receive from the owner, employer, overseer, or manager of such slave or slaves, the sum of ten shillings, and no more; besides mile-money, at the rate of one shilling per mile for the first five miles, and six-pence per mile afterwards: Provided such slave or slaves had absented him, her, or themselves, ten days without the privity, knowledge, or consent, of the proprietor, overseer, or other white person, residing on the plantation or settlement to which such slave or slaves shall belong; which time of absence of such slave or slaves shall be declared on the oath of such proprietor, overseer, or other white person, as aforesaid, if the party taking up such slave or slaves shall require it: But it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that every person or persons who shall apprehend any slave or slaves, that usually reside in, or are employed in, any of the towns of this island, and that at the time are actually runaway or absent from their owner, employer, or manager's, service, ten days, shall be entitled to the reward of ten shillings, although the slave or slaves should not be eight miles distant from their employer's habitation: Provided nevertheless, That nothing in this act contained, shall be construed to extend to an allowance of the said sum of ten shillings and mile-money, in addition to the sum allowed to maroon negroes for apprehending runaways: And provided also, That it is not hereby intended to deprive the said maroons of their

legal and established reward of forty shillings for each negro.

XXXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the person or persons so apprehending such slave or slaves, shall convey him, her, or them, to their respective owner, employer, or manager, or to the workhouse of such parish, if any workhouse is established there; and in case of there being no workhouse, to the next gaol, in case the owner, employer, or manager, of such slave or slaves shall refuse to pay the said sum of ten shillings, and mile-money as aforesaid, or take the oath as to the time of absence; in which case, the gaol or workhouse keeper is hereby required and ordered to receive such slave or slaves into his or their custody, and to pay the party delivering such slave or slaves the said sum of ten shillings and mile-money as aforesaid, and no more, for each slave so delivered, under the penalty of five pounds: Provided nevertheless, That if such slave or slaves is or are brought to any gaol or workhouse by any white person, free negro, free mulatto, or Indian, no gaoler or workhouse-keeper shall pay such sum before such person shall have taken an oath, (which oath such gaoler or workhouse-keeper is hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to file in his office and produce, whenever thereunto required by the owner or possessor of such slave or slaves,) that the slave or slaves so apprehended was or were at the reputed distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or settlement, to which such slave or slaves do belong (except as before is excepted), and that such slave or slaves had no ticket

ticket or other permit in writing from his master, mistress, overseer, employer, or manager, at the time such slave or slaves was or were apprehended, for him, her, or them, to pass unmolested, and that the said slave or slaves had been carried first to the owner, employer, or manager of such slave or slaves (provided such owner, employer, or manager, shall be in the parish in which such slave or slaves shall be apprehended), and that the master, mistress, overseer, or manager, had refused to pay for the apprehending him, her, or them, according to the intent and meaning of this act.

XXXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no ticket shall be granted to any slave or slaves for any time exceeding one calendar month.

XXXIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year (the time of giving in as aforesaid), or within thirty days after, the owner, overseer, or manager of every plantation, pen, or settlement, shall give in, on oath, an account of all the births and deaths of the slaves of such plantation, pen, or settlement, for the preceding year, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered from the owner of such plantation, pen, or other settlement.

XXXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, if the not giving in upon oath such several accounts shall be owing to the neglect of the overseer or manager of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, it shall and may be lawful for the owner,

proprietor, or possessor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, to stop and detain the penalty he or she shall suffer by this law, out of the wages of such overseer or manager.

XXXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the doctor or surgeon of every plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall, on the twenty-eighth day of December, in every year (the time of giving in as aforesaid), or within thirty days after, give in an account, on oath, of the deaths of such slaves as have died in the preceding year, or during such time as such doctor or surgeon hath had the care of the slaves on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, with the cause of such deaths, to the best of his knowledge, judgment, and belief, under the penalty of one hundred pounds for every neglect: And in case it shall appear, to the satisfaction of the justices and vestry, from the return of the owner, overseer, or manager aforesaid, that there has been a natural encrease in the number of slaves on any such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the overseer shall be entitled to receive from the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the sum of *three* pounds* for every slave born on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, in the time aforesaid, and which shall be then living, *after deducting the decrease*; and the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall have a deduction from the first of his or her public taxes that shall become due,

* In the former act, *twenty shillings*.

of the sum so paid to the overseer, on producing a certificate of the justices and vestry of such encrease, and a receipt of the overseer for the sum so paid.

XXXVI. *And, in order that further encouragement may be given to the encrease and protection of negro infants, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every female slave, who shall have six children living, shall be exempted from hard labour in the field or otherwise, and the owner or possessor of every such female slave shall be exempted from all manner of taxes for such female slave, any thing in the act commonly called the poll-tax law, or any other of the tax laws of this island passed, or annually to be passed, to the contrary notwithstanding; and a deduction shall be made for all such female slaves from the taxes of such owner or possessor, by certificate of the justices and vestry, at the same time, and in manner as directed in the case of an annual encrease of the number of slaves as aforesaid: Provided nevertheless, That proof be given, on oath, to the satisfaction of the said justices and vestry, not only that the requisite number of children, together with the mother, are living; but also that the mother is exempted from all manner of field or other hard labour, and is provided with the means of an easy and comfortable maintenance.*

XXXVII. And whereas, the more effectually to conceal runaway slaves, or prevent their being apprehended, tickets are given by Indians, free negroes, or free mulattoes; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, granting or giving such ticket, with such intent,
shall

shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the said offence before the supreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of assize in this island where the offence shall be committed; and, on conviction, shall suffer the loss of freedom, transportation, or such other punishment as the court, in their discretion, shall think proper to inflict.

XXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if such ticket shall be granted or given by any white person, with such intent as aforesaid, to any slave or slaves, before or after his or their absenting themselves from their owner, employer, overseer, or manager, such white person shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the same before the supreme court of judicature, or either of the assize courts of this island, where the offence shall be committed; and, on conviction, shall suffer such punishment as the court, in their discretion, shall think proper to inflict.

XXXIX. And, to the end that the owners and proprietors of runaway slaves may have a due knowledge where such slaves are confined, after their being apprehended and sent to any workhouse or gaol in this island, in order that such owners and proprietors may apply for such slaves; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, all and every the keepers of the workhouses, or gaol-keepers, in any of the parishes of this island, shall, and they are hereby obliged, once in every week, to advertise in the Gazette of Saint Jago
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de la Vega, the Royal Gazette of Kingston, and the Cornwall Chronicle, the height, names, marks, and sex, and also the country, where the same can be ascertained, of each and every runaway slave then in their custody, together with the time of their being sent into custody, and the name or names of the owner or owners thereof, if known, and that upon oath, under the penalty of ten pounds for every slave so neglected by him to be advertised; and, for the expence of such advertisement, they, the said workhouse-keepers or gaol-keepers, shall and may, and they are hereby authorized to, charge the owner or proprietor of such runaway slave so advertised, at and after the rate of one shilling and three pence per month for each paper, and no more; and that it shall and may be lawful for the keeper of the workhouse or gaol-keeper, to detain and keep in his or their custody such runaway slave or slaves so brought unto him or them, until the owner or owners thereof, or some person on their behalf, properly authorized, shall pay unto him or them what he or they so paid to the person or persons who apprehended and brought such slave or slaves into custody, with two shillings and six pence in the pound for laying out his or their money, the cost of advertising, after the rate above mentioned, and six pence for every twenty-four hours such slave or slaves shall have been in custody, for maintenance, and two pence per day for medical care and extraordinary nourishment where necessary, and also the charges of advertising above directed, and no other fees whatever; and that the gaoler, workhouse-keeper, or supervisor, and no other person, shall attest, upon oath, that the

charges in the account for mile-money, and the reward for apprehending such slave, were actually paid to the person who brought such runaway, and that the whole of the charges in the said account are strictly conformable to this law.

XL. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the keeper of every workhouse or gaol in this island shall, under the penalty of ten pounds for every neglect, provide and give to every slave confined in such workhouse or gaol, a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome provisions daily; that is to say, not less than one quart of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full-grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams, and also one herring or shad, or other salted provisions equal thereto.

XLI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no gaol-keeper in this island, or any person acting under him as clerk or deputy, shall, on any pretence whatsoever, work or employ any slave or slaves sent to his custody, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, belonging to, or in the possession of, any such gaol-keeper, nor hire or lend such slave or slaves out to work for any other person or persons, during such time such slave or slaves shall be in his custody, but that all such slaves shall be and remain in the common gaol of the county or parish, in order to be inspected by any person or persons desiring the same; and in case any gaol-keeper shall offend herein, he shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.

XLII. And

XLII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all slaves who shall have been in this island for the space of two years, and shall run away, and continue absent for a term not exceeding six months, shall be liable to be tried by two justices; and, upon conviction thereof, such slave or slaves shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict.

XLIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall run away from his owner or lawful possessor, and be absent for more than six months, such slave, being duly convicted thereof, shall be sentenced to be confined to hard labour for such time as the court shall determine, or be transported for life, according to the magnitude of the offence.

XLIV. And, in order to prevent the many mischiefs that may hereafter arise from the wicked art of negroes going under the appellation of Obeah men and women, pretending to have communication with the devil and other evil spirits, whereby the weak and superstitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt them, whilst under their protection, from any evils that might otherwise happen; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, any slave who shall pretend to any supernatural power, in order to promote the purposes of rebellion, shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to

direct; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

XLV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall mix or prepare, with an intent to give, or cause to be given, any poison or poisonous drug, or shall actually give, or cause to be given, any such poison or poisonous drug, in the practice of Obeah or otherwise, although death may not ensue upon the taking thereof, the said slave or slaves, together with their accessaries, as well before as after the fact (being slaves), being duly convicted thereof, shall suffer death, or transportation for life, as the court shall determine; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XLVI. And whereas great number of horned cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mares, mules, and asses, are frequently stolen and killed by negro and other slaves, in so secret and private a manner, that it is with the greatest difficulty they can be found out and discovered, in such manner as to convict them of such offence, although large quantity of beef, mutton, and the flesh of other valuable animals, are found upon him, her, or them; in order, therefore, to prevent such evils in future, and to punish the perpetrators of such acts agreeably to their crimes, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall fraudulently have in his, her, or their custody or possession, unknown to his or her master, owner, overseer, or other person, who shall have the

overlooking or employing of such slave, any fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or afs, in any quantity exceeding five and not exceeding twenty pounds weight, such negro or other slave, upon due conviction thereof before any two magistrates, shall be whipped in such manner as such magistrates shall direct, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and if there shall be found in his, her, or their custody or possession, a larger or greater quantity than twenty pounds weight of fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or afs, and such slave shall not give a satisfactory account how he or she became possessed of such meat, that then such negro or other slave, upon conviction thereof, shall suffer such punishment as the said two justices shall think proper to direct, not extending to life, or imprisonment for life.

XLVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall, after the passing of this act, steal any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or afs, or shall kill any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or afs, with intent to steal the whole carcass of any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or afs, or any part of the flesh thereof, such negro or other slave shall, on conviction thereof, suffer death, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict.

XLVIII. And whereas it is necessary to declare how, and in what manner, slaves shall be tried for the

the several crimes which they may hereafter commit, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, upon complaint made to any justice of the peace of any felony, burglary, robbery, burning of houses, cane-pieces, rebellious conspiracies, compassing or imagining the death of any white person or persons, or any other offence whatsoever committed by any slave or slaves, that shall subject such slave or slaves to suffer death or transportation, such justice shall issue out his warrant for apprehending such offender or offenders, and for all persons to be brought before him, or any other justice of the peace, that can give evidence; and the evidence of slaves against one another, in this and all other cases, shall be received; and if, upon examination, it appears probable that the slave or slaves apprehended is or are guilty, the justice before whom such examination shall be had and taken, shall commit him, her, or them, to prison, and bind over the witnesses to appear at a certain day, not less than ten days from the day on which the complaint shall be made, and at the place where the quarter-sessions are usually held, and, where there are no quarter-sessions held, at the place where the parochial business is usually transacted, and shall certify to two other justices of the peace the cause of such commitment, and require them, by virtue of this act, to associate themselves to him, which said justices are hereby severally required to do, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect or refusal; and the said justices, so associated, shall issue out their warrant to summon twelve persons, such as are usually warned
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and impanelled to serve on juries (the master, owner, or proprietor of the slave or slaves so complained of, or the attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper of such master, owner, or proprietor, or the person prosecuting, his or her attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper, always excepted), personally to be and appear before the said justices, at the day and place aforesaid, to be expressed in such warrant, and between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, when and where the said persons so warned are hereby severally required to attend, under the penalty of five pounds; and when and where the said justices shall cause the said slave or slaves, so complained of, to be brought before them, and thereupon nine of the said persons so summoned, as aforesaid, shall compose a jury to try the said slave or slaves, and shall by the said justices (*the charge or accusation being first read*) be sworn to try the matter before them, and to give a true verdict according to evidence; and such charge or accusation shall be deemed valid, if sufficient in substance; and if the said jurors shall, upon hearing the evidence, unanimously find the said slave or slaves guilty of the offence wherewith he, she, or they, stand charged, the said justices shall give sentence of death, without benefit of clergy, or *transportation*, or confinement to hard labour *for any limited time not exceeding two years* *, according to the nature of the offence, and shall cause such sentence to be carried into execution, and at such time and place as they shall think proper, women with child only ex-

* In the former act, *for life*.

cepted, whose execution shall be respited until a reasonable time after delivery: Provided always nevertheless, That at every court of quarter-sessions held in each and every parish or precinct within this island, the justices there assembled shall and may, after the usual business of the said court shall be done, form themselves into a court, for the purpose of enquiring into, hearing, and determining all manner of offences for which any slave or slaves are liable to be punished with death, or transportation, or confinement to hard labour, *as aforesaid*, and shall open the said court by proclamation, declaring the same to be a slave-court for such purpose, and shall thereupon, on the like charge in writing, and in like manner, in all other respects, as the three justices associated and met as herein before-mentioned are, by this act, directed to proceed in the trial of slaves for such offences, proceed to try, and deliver the gaol or workhouse within the said parish or precinct of, all and every slave and slaves who shall or may then be in the custody of the marshal or keeper of the workhouse, within each and every parish or precinct as aforesaid, and shall forthwith cause a jury, consisting of nine jurors, to be called and taken from the pannel returned to the said court of quarter-sessions, and shall cause them to be severally sworn, as they shall appear, to try all and every such slave and slaves as shall be brought before them, charged with any such offences as aforesaid, and a true verdict give according to evidence, as in other cases.

XLIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the jurors who shall be returned to serve as jurors at the quarter-sessions, to be holden as aforesaid, are hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to be and appear at the said slave-court, so to be formed and holden as aforesaid, and to serve as jurors thereon as they shall respectively be called: Provided also, That nothing in this act contained shall hinder or prevent the said justices, upon any such trial, where any slave or slaves shall be condemned to die, from respiting the execution of such sentence for any term not exceeding thirty days, or until the pleasure of the Commander in Chief shall be known, in case proper cause shall appear to them for so doing; and that if the jury upon any such trial shall apply to the said justices to suspend the execution of any sentence until the pleasure of the commander in chief is known, the said justices shall be obliged to suspend the same for thirty days, except in cases of trial of any slave or slaves convicted of actual rebellion; in all which cases the said justices shall, if they think it expedient, order the sentence passed on such slave or slaves to be carried into immediate execution.

L. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That not less than three justices shall constitute a court for the trial of any slave or slaves, for any crime or offence that shall subject such slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour *as aforesaid*; and that, upon all such trials, no peremptory challenges of any of the said jurors,

jurors, or any exception to the form of the indictment, shall be allowed.

LI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where the punishment of death is inflicted, the execution shall be performed in a public part of the parish and with due solemnity; and care shall be taken by the gaoler or deputy-marshal, that the criminal is free from intoxication at the time of his trial, and from thence to and at the time of his execution, under the penalty of five pounds; and the mode of such execution shall be hanging by the neck, and no other; and the body shall be afterwards disposed of in such manner as the court shall direct: And provided also, That where several slaves shall be capitally convicted for the same offence, one only shall suffer death, except in cases of murder or rebellion.

LII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, in case any slave or slaves shall wilfully, and with evil intent, give false evidence in any trial had under this act, such slave or slaves, being thereof convicted, shall suffer the same punishment as the person or persons on whose trial such false evidence was given would, if convicted, have been liable to suffer.

LIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, where any slave or slaves shall be discharged by proclamation, the deputy-marshal or workhouse-keeper shall be entitled to receive all such
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fees as shall be due to him or them for such slave or slaves, at the time of such discharge, from the public, upon application and due proof made, in the most solemn manner, to the assembly, or any committee thereof, and that such slave or slaves, during the time they were in the custody of such deputy-marshal or workhouse-keeper, was and were found and provided with proper and sufficient provisions, equal to what is allowed by this law.

LIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a record shall be entered up of all proceedings on the trials of slaves, for any crime that shall subject any slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for the term of two years, in a book kept for that purpose by the clerk of the peace, or his lawful deputy, of the precinct; who is hereby obliged to attend all such trials, and to record the proceedings within thirty days after such trial, under the penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish the sum of two pounds fifteen shillings, and no more, for attending each trial, entering up the record, and any other business incidental thereto: And further, that the deputy-marshal for the said parish, or some proper person acting under him, shall also be obliged to attend such trial, under the same penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and that he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish forty shillings, for attending at the trial and execution of such

such offender as shall be condemned to die, and no more.

LV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all trials of any slave or slaves under this act, sufficient notice of such trial shall be first given to the owner, proprietor, or possessor, of such slave or slaves, his, her, or their lawful attorney or attorneys, or other representative or representatives; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

LVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any slave or slaves shall be put upon his, her, or their trial, and shall receive sentence of death or transportation, the court, at the time of trying such slave or slaves, shall also enquire what sum or sums of money such owner, proprietor, or employer of the said slave or slaves ought to receive for such slave or slaves, and certify the same, so that such sum or sums of money do not exceed the sum of sixty pounds for each slave sentenced as aforesaid.

LVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any slave or slaves shall be brought to trial, and shall be valued according to the direction of this act, such slave or slaves shall be paid for by the receiver-general of this island, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated; and the money arising from the actual sale of such slave or slaves as shall be so transported by the deputy-marshal shall

shall be accounted for, on oath, to the churchwardens of the parish where the offence shall be tried, to be by them paid over to the receiver-general, for the use of the public.

LVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave, who shall be transported from this island, under the direction of this act, shall wilfully return from transportation, such negro or other slave shall, upon conviction, suffer death, without benefit of clergy.

LIX. And whereas there are many inferior crimes and misdemeanours committed by slaves, which ought to be punished in a summary manner, by order of the magistrates; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for any two justices of the peace to hear and determine, in a summary manner, all such crimes and misdemeanours, giving sufficient notice to the owner or proprietor of such slave or slaves, or his or her attorney or attornies, or the person having the care of such slave or slaves, of the time and place of trial, and to order and direct such punishment to be inflicted on them as such justices, in their judgment, shall think fit, not exceeding fifty lashes or six months confinement to hard labour; the expences of which trial shall not exceed ten shillings to the constable, and shall be paid by the master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves; and in case such master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves, shall refuse or neglect to pay such expences,
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it shall and may be lawful for the said justices, or either of them, to issue his or their warrant, under his or their hand and seal, directed to any constable, for levying the same on the goods and chattels of such master, owner, or employer, and to sell the same at public outcry, for the purpose of paying such expences, together with the charges attending the granting and executing such warrant and sale of goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any, to the owner thereof.

LX. And whereas great advantages have arisen to the community from the establishment of workhouses in the respective parishes in this island, for the reception of runaway and other slaves; And whereas there now are many such slaves in the possession of the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, who might be employed in the workhouses in this island to great advantage; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for the governors and guardians of the respective workhouses in this island, if to them it shall seem meet, to demand and receive from the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, all or any of the runaway negroes or other slaves in his or their possession, or that may hereafter come into his or their custody or possession, upon the said governors and guardians paying unto the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, the full amount of the fees and other contingent charges attending the said runaway slaves during the time of their being committed to gaol, agreeably to this or any former act; and the

the provost-marshal and his lawful deputies shall comply with such requisitions, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

LXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no runaway slave shall, on any account, be committed to gaol by any magistrate of a parish where there is any workhouse established, but to such workhouse only.

LXII. And whereas the permitting and suffering negro and other slaves to keep horses, mares, mules, or geldings, is attended with many and great mischiefs to the island in general; in order, therefore, to remedy the same, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, the master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, in possession of every plantation or pen in this island, having on any such plantation or pen any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, the reputed property of any slave or slaves, knowing the same to be such, shall cause them to be taken up, and shall produce them at the most public place in the parish where taken up, at such time as the justices and vestry shall, by advertisement in the public newspapers, appoint for that purpose, and that such horses, mares, mules, and geldings, be then and there sold and disposed of at public outcry; and if any master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse so doing, each and every of them shall, for every neglect or refusal, respectively
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forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in a summary manner before any two justices of the peace for the parish or precinct where such neglect or refusal shall happen, by the oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses; which penalty shall be to the use of the person informing.

LXIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, no master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, in possession of any plantation, pen, or settlement, shall knowingly permit or suffer any slave or slaves to keep on such plantation, pen, or settlement, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding; and, in case of so doing, shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in manner aforesaid.

LXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, at the respective times of their giving in an account of their slaves and stock to the justices and vestry, shall also make oath, that none of the said horses, mares, mules, or geldings, so given in, do belong to any negro or other slave; and that such person, so giving in, or his, her, or their, employer or employers, hath not, nor have, in his, her, or their, possession, to his, her, or their, knowledge or belief, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, belonging to, or reputed to belong to, any slave or slaves; and in case any person or persons shall neglect or refuse so to do,
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every person so neglecting or refusing shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in the same summary manner, and to be disposed of as herein before mentioned.

LXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, no negro or other slave in this island shall purchase or buy any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, under the penalty of forfeiting such horse, mare, mule, or gelding, and to be disposed of as herein before-mentioned: And if any person whatsoever shall sell or give any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, to any negro or other slave, or to any person in trust for such negro or other slave, every such person shall, for every such horse, mare, mule, or gelding, so sold or given, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds; and every person who shall purchase, or be concerned in the purchase of, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, in trust for any negro or other slave, shall forfeit the sum of thirty pounds; which said penalties shall be recovered in the same summary manner and disposed of as herein before mentioned; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

LXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in future, whenever a warrant shall be granted by one or more of his Majesty's justices of the peace against any slave, if the said slave cannot be immediately taken on the said warrant, the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer, of such slave shall be served with a copy of the said warrant; and

if he, she, or they, do not carry the said slave before a magistrate, to be dealt with according to law on the said warrant; and if it shall be afterwards proved that the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer, of such slave wilfully detained or concealed said slave, he, she, or they, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds.

LXVII. And whereas several slaves have lately found means to desert from their owners, and depart from this island, to the great damage of such owners, in evil example to other slaves, who may thereby be induced to attempt or conspire to do the same; And whereas there is reason to suspect that such slaves have been aided and assisted in such escape and departure by other persons, and there is not any adequate punishment provided by law for such desertion and departure, or attempting or conspiring to desert and depart this island, or for persons aiding, assisting, or abetting, such deserters: For remedy whereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, if any slave shall run away from his, her, or their, owner or owners, employer or employers, and go off, or conspire or attempt to go off, this island in any ship, boat, canoe, or other vessel or craft whatsoever, or be aiding, abetting, or assisting, to any other slave or slaves in such going off this island, he, she, or they, so running and going off, or conspiring or attempting to go off, or so aiding, assisting, or abetting, in such going off, being thereof convicted, shall suffer death, or such punishment as the court shall think proper to direct.

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LXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall, from and after the passing of this act, knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves in going off this island, and shall be convicted thereof, either in the supreme court or in any of the assize courts of this island, such Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall be forthwith transported off this island by the provost-marshal-general, or his lawful deputy, into whose custody such person or persons shall be committed; and if such person or persons, so convicted, sentenced, and transported, shall afterwards be found at large in this island, he, she, or they, being so thereof convicted before the supreme court of judicature or courts of assize in this island, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.

LXIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any white person or persons shall knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves, in going off this island, he, she, or they, being convicted thereof by bill, plaint, or information, in the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds for each slave; one moiety whereof shall be to our sovereign lord the King, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof, and the other moiety to the party or parties at whose suit or complaint such person was convicted, and shall also suffer imprisonment, at the discretion of the said court, for

any space of time not exceeding twelve months, without bail or mainprize.

LXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to proceed against the person or persons so aiding, assisting, or abetting, such slave or slaves in going off this island, whether the principal or principals be convicted or not; any thing in this, or any other act, law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

LXXI. And whereas the overseers of estates in this island make a frequent practice of leaving the several estates under their care and management, on the respective seasons allowed for negro holidays, whereby many dangerous meetings and pernicious practices are carried on; in order, therefore, to prevent the like for the future, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer in this island shall absent himself from the estate under his care and management, on any of the particular holidays herein before mentioned to be allowed to slaves, without leave of his employer, every such overseer so offending, shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of five pounds, to be recovered by information, upon oath, before any justice of the peace, in a summary way, in the parish where such offence shall happen; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

LXXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for any justice
of

of the peace, sitting on the trial of any slave or slaves, or otherwise, to sentence or order any slave to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatsoever.

LXXIII. And be it further enacted, That if any negro or other slave, who may be sentenced to be confined in the workhouse for the term of two years or a less time, shall escape from such confinement before the expiration of his sentence, such negro or other slave, being retaken, shall, on proof of his or her identity, before two justices of the peace, be adjudged by them to be sent back to confinement, and to receive a whipping, not exceeding fifty lashes.

LXXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the provost-marshal, or any of his lawful deputies, or any lawful constable, or workhouse-keeper, shall willingly or negligently suffer any slave or slaves to escape, who shall be committed to his or their custody for any offence under this act, so that such slave or slaves shall not be retaken within two years, such marshal, constable, or workhouse-keeper, who shall suffer such escape, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, without injury to the right of the owner to sue for the value of the same.

LXXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no negro or other slave shall be allowed to hunt any cattle, horses, mares, mules, or asses, in any part of this island, with lances, guns, cutlasses, or other instruments of death, unless in the company of his or their master, overseer, or some other white

person by him or them deputed, or by permission in writing; and if any negro or other slave shall offend, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he or they, being thereof convicted before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as they shall think proper to inflict.

LXXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the justices aforesaid, and they are hereby required, to do their several and respective duties under this act when martial law shall happen to be in force, as they might or ought to have done if martial law were not subsisting; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary thereof, notwithstanding.

LXXVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all jurors serving at slave courts, and every person and persons whose presence may be requisite, at the examination of any slave or slaves, or upon the trial of any slave or slaves, and who shall be required to attend by warrant under the hand and seal of any justice of the peace, and all and every slave and slaves who shall be brought as witnesses, shall be protected in their persons from all mesne or judicial process whatsoever, in their going to, attending at, and returning from, such examinations or trial, and that such slaves shall not be subject to be levied on.

LXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all penalties in this act mentioned, and not already declared how they shall be recovered

covered and applied, shall, if not exceeding twenty pounds, be recovered in a summary manner before any two of his Majesty's justices of the peace, by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels; and, if exceeding twenty pounds, to be recovered in the supreme court of judicature of this island, or in either of the courts of assize, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoin, protection, wager of law, or non vult ulterius prosequi, shall be entered; one moiety of which penalties shall be to the parish where the offence is committed, and the other moiety to the informer, or him, her, or them who shall sue for the same.



No. II.

VOTES OF THE ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA.

Martis, 22^o die Septembris, 1795.

THE Speaker reported, that the house had attended his honour the Lieutenant-Governor in the council-chamber; and that his honour was pleased to make a speech; of which, Mr. Speaker said, he had, to prevent mistakes, obtained a copy; and the same being read, was ordered to be entered, and is as follows:

“GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL.

“MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,

“The urgency of public affairs has put me under the necessity of calling you together at a very early season of the year.

“The unfortunate insurrection which has taken place among the Maroons of Trelawney-Town is the immediate cause of my now assembling you.

“These

“ These insurgents have committed the most daring acts of unprovoked rebellion.

“ I have every reason to believe, that hostility has long been premeditated, and at the instigation of the convention of France; whose object it undoubtedly is, to throw this island into a state of anarchy and confusion.

“ I have ordered the several documents to be laid before you: The evidence contained marks, in a strong manner, the designs, the progress, and the expectations of the enemy, in fomenting internal commotion.

“ By the blessing of Providence, this conspiracy has been frustrated before it had ripened into maturity.

“ Their plan of raising a rebellion might have produced a co-operation of the most dangerous tendency, and the early intimation we have obtained thereof is truly fortunate.

“ The precipitate and insolent conduct of the rebels gave me the advantage of acting with celerity and vigour; for, had I permitted them to gain time, and to manage the war according to their arrangements and those of their supporters, this island would have been undone, and the inhabitants must have submitted to a dominion similar to that now exercised in several of the windward islands.

“ The

“ The valour and conduct of his Majesty’s forces have secured every advantage that could be attained by regular manœuvres.

“ The troops now occupy a chain of posts through the Maroon district; they have stormed and carried their country; they have dispossessed them of their towns, and have driven them to fastnesses rugged and barren, where they can subsist only as a band of robbers.

“ The insurrection has now assumed, in some degree, the form of a local disturbance; and it will deserve your most serious consideration, whether statutes may be so framed or amended as to put proper and efficient power into the hands of government, without subjecting the country to the serious inconveniences that result from the declaration of martial law.

“ MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,

“ I have to lament the heavy expence incurred in consequence of the measures I have been obliged to adopt: But as you have witnessed the necessity of striking at the root of the rebellion, so I trust you will grant such supplies as, in your wisdom, the exigency of the service may require.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL.

“ MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,

“ When you reflect, that the principles of the present rulers of France are to overturn every system of govern-

government founded on social order, morality, and religion, you will be aware that a degree of danger results to you, from the general prosperity hitherto enjoyed by this happy island : This they will endeavour to destroy, and this, I trust, your energy and unanimity will maintain.

“ Great vigilance is required, at this moment, to guard against the admission of their dangerous systems; and every effort is necessary to resist their pernicious consequences, wherever they may appear.

“ It is with those maxims that I have entered upon the administration of Jamaica, and I now meet you with the avowal of those sentiments.

“ It gives me the highest satisfaction to observe the steadiness, the discipline, and the alacrity of the militia. It is with every confidence I have assured his Majesty, that in them he is possessed of a force which, I am decidedly of opinion, will be found equally capable of being presented with effect to an external or internal enemy.

“ The glorious and important victory gained by Lord Bridport, and the recent advantages obtained by his Majesty's fleets, assuredly lessen the impending danger to this island; and the general aspect of affairs, in the interior of France, may fairly lead our hopes to an honourable termination of the present war.

“ In calling to your recollection the many blessings which we have enjoyed under the illustrious house of
Hanover,

Hanover, you will receive with every sentiment of joy the accounts of the solemnization of the marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with the Princess Caroline of Brunswick; and I congratulate you on an event so interesting to his Majesty's domestic happiness, and to the welfare of his people."

A Message from his honour the Lieutenant-Governor, by his secretary, as follows:

"MR. SPEAKER,

"I am commanded by his honour the Lieutenant-Governor to lay before the house authentic copies and extracts of several letters, papers, and documents, referred to in his honour's speech of this day; of which the following is a list:

- No. 1. Letter from the magistrates of St. James to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.
2. Proposals of the magistrates of St. James to the Maroons of Trelawney-Town.
3. Answer of the Maroons to the proposals of the magistrates of St. James.
4. Letter from John Merody, assistant in Trelawney Maroon Town, to the Superintendent.
5. Letter from the Superintendent of Trelawney Maroon Town to Samuel Vaughan, esquire.
6. Letter from James Stewart, esquire, to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.
7. Letter from the Custos of St. James, to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

No. 8.

- No. 8. Letter from the Custos of St. James to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.
9. Letter from the honourable John Tharp, esquire, to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.
10. Letter from Isaac Lascelles Winn, esquire, to Lewis Cuthbert, esquire.
11. Letter from Samuel Vaughan, esquire, to Lewis Cuthbert, esquire.
12. Letter from the Superintendant of Trelawney Maroon Town to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.
13. Letter from Samuel Vaughan, esquire, to Lewis Cuthbert, esquire.
14. Examination of the Superintendant of Trelawney Maroon Town.
15. Extract from the examination of John Merody, assistant in Trelawney Maroon Town.
16. Deposition of Leah Fletchall.
17. Extract from the examination of John Graham, a free mulatto.
18. Extract from the examination of Miles Hall, a free mulatto.
19. Examination of William, a negro slave.
20. Letter from John Tharp, esquire, to Samuel Vaughan, esquire.
21. Examination of Abraham, a negro slave.
22. Extract of a letter from Robert Campbell, esquire, to Thomas Harper, esquire.
23. Declaration and examination of Jean Josef Moranson.

No. 1.

*Letter from the Magistrates of St. James to his honour
the Lieutenant-Governor.*

“ MY LORD,

Montego-Bay, 18 July, 1795.

“ We are sorry to inform your lordship, that a very serious disturbance is likely to break out immediately with the Maroons of Trelawney Town. They have obliged their Superintendant to quit the town; they have threatened the destruction of the two plantations nearest them, and of all the white people on them; all the people belonging to the town have been called in; the women are sent into the woods, and, between this and Monday, they propose to kill their cattle and their children who may be an incumbrance. The chief of this we have in evidence from various individuals; but, for the information of your lordship, we inclose the last letter from the Superintendant. Since this letter was written, the letter from the magistrates to them, in answer to a proposal they made, was sent them, and we expect an answer this morning to it; but your lordship must well know the difficulty of quelling such a body of men, after they have once committed themselves, and their spirits roused.

“ We have dispatched a letter to General Palmer, to call out the troops; and Colonel James has ordered out two companies of militia, for the immediate protection of the plantations in the neighbourhood, and we hope the next intelligence will render unnecessary calling out the rest.

“ Mr. Vaughan also informs us, he has sent an express to Colonel Swaby, Custos of St. Elizabeth, to have the militia in readiness for action, and to inform the neighbouring parishes on the south side; and has given the same intelligence to the Custos of Trelawney.

“ We beg leave to suggest to your lordship’s consideration, the propriety of a company of the light horse being sent on each side of the country, in case the militia are generally called out, to overawe the negroes during the absence of the militia, or for any other necessary duty.

“ The immediate cause of this disturbance was the inflicting the punishment of flogging on two Maroons, who had been convicted, by the evidence of two white people, of killing tame hogs.

“ Since writing the above, Mr. Schaw, inhabiting their boundaries, has informed us, that they expect this day to be joined by Accompong Town; but they have delayed their attack till to-morrow or Monday, when it will be by two parties, one on each parish; and that they expect to be joined by some negroes of some particular estates.

“ We have the honour to be, MY LORD,

“ Your lordship’s most obedient humble servants,

WM. DUNCAN,

J. ROBT. JAMES,

GEO. M’LENAN,

JOHN PERRY,

SAM. VAUGHAN, *junior*,

MACLAURIN GILLIES,

DON. CAMPBELL,

JOHN INGRAM.

“ P. S.

" P. S. We are in want, as the Custos formerly advised, of both arms and ammunition.

" *Right Honourable Earl Balcarres, &c. &c.*"

No. 2.

Proposals of the Magistrates of St. James to the Maroons of Trelawney Town.

" The magistrates of St. James propose to send four of the oldest justices, to meet four chosen Maroons, at Vaughan's-field, or Haddington, to-morrow, to settle all differences.

" *Saturday, 18th July, 1795.*

DON. CAMPBELL.

JOHN PERRY.

" The four magistrates will be General Reid, Colonel James, Mr. Mowat, and Mr. Cunningham, if it is possible to find them, or else others."

No. 3.

Answer of the Maroons to the Proposals of the Magistrates of St. James.

" GENTLEMEN,

" The Maroons wishes nothing else from the country but battle; and they desires not to see Mr. Craikell up here at all. So they are waiting every moment for the above on Monday.

" COLONEL MOUNTAGUE, and all the rest.

" Mr. David Schaw will see you on Sunday morning, for an answer.

" They will wait till Monday, nine o'clock; and if they don't come up, they will come down themselves."

No. 4.

Letter from John Merody, Assistant in Trelawney Maroon Town, to Thomas Craskell, esquire, the Superintendent.

Trelawney Town, July 19th.

“ The Maroons inform you, that they do not want any thing, for they have got plenty of powder and ball; for it is too late to do any thing that is good. They have received an answer from the bay, by Mr. David Schaw, and he has taken all the business upon himself; for there will be four magistrates from the bay to-day, at Mr. Schaw’s property; they do not want any more letters from you, except it is from the bay.

“ They have stopped me up here, as you did not let me know before you went away; but I suppose they will let me go on Monday; for they are very severe with me.

“ JOHN MERODY.

“ *Thomas Craskell, esquire.*”

No. 5.

Letter from Thomas Craskell, esquire, Superintendent of Trelawney Maroon Town, to Samuel Vaughan, esquire, one of the Magistrates of St. James.

“ SIR, Vaughan’s-field, 17th July, 1795, nine o’clock.

“ Your letter of the 16th I received just this moment, inclosing one from the magistrates. I am sorry it will not have the desired effect: The Maroons, to the amount of thirty-nine, headed by their officers,

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Y

came

came to tell me this morning, that I must send and acquaint the whites, that they were ready for them, and that those who came to me in behalf of the delinquents were fools; that I must not return to the town; and further, if the whites did not come to them, they would come down here to-morrow evening or Sunday. I should be very happy could this business be amicably settled; but am sorry to say, I think it impossible, after what has happened. I beg you will make my excuse to the magistrates, not answering their letter; but am of opinion, no time should be lost. Although very unwell, I beg leave to offer my services upon every occasion where it is thought necessary. I have wrote Mr. Tharp, that the Maroons were quiet; as I shall have no way of sending to him, I beg you will take the trouble. There are several Maroons now at Martha-Brae.

"I am, with respect, SIR,

"Your very obedient servant,

"THO. CRASKELL.

"I am at present without a horse, or should have been with you.

"*Sam. Vaughan, esquire.*"

No. 6.

Letter from James Stewart, esquire, one of the Magistrates of Trelawney, to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

"I am directed to inform your honour, that in consequence of several letters received on Saturday
last

last from the Custos and magistrates of St. James's, apprizing this parish of a rebellious disposition of the Maroons being discovered, the militia of Trelawney were collected in as numerous a body as the short notice given them to prepare for service would allow of; and that they proceeded from the town of Falmouth yesterday morning to Mr. Atherton's penn, which is distant about three miles from the Maroon Town, where they arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon. Shortly after, a Maroon, carrying his lance, came down with a letter, which he delivered to the Custos, Mr. Tharp. The purport of it required the attendance of the following gentlemen; viz. the honourable John Tharp, Jarvis Gallimore, Edward Knowles, James Galloway, esquires, and myself. We accordingly put off our regimentals, and went up to their town; where we found Major John James, their former Superintendant, General Reid, and John Mowat, esquire; who had gone up previously to confer with them. The Maroons, collected in a body of about three hundred men, received us, armed with their usual weapons, and displayed at our entrance into the town evolutions peculiar to their mode of fighting. The gentlemen first with them had mitigated much of their rage; but yet their countenances and manners indicated a spirit of violence, which was strongly expressed by the language and gestures employed in the detail of grievances, which I have inclosed to you. Other matters were alleged by them as grievances; which they were induced to relinquish, on condition that the gentlemen present would consider themselves pledged to obtain redress for what

was specified in the statement. But at the same time shewing a firmness of determination to pursue their object, if their claims were not to be granted. Under such circumstances, little time could be afforded for deliberation. We therefore thought it, at the instant, not bad policy to appease them by a promise, that their causes of complaint should be enquired into by the legislature, in order that they might be redressed, with which dependance they appeared satisfied; but would not by any means consent to Mr. Craskell's return to his office, and insisted that Major James should remain with them all night, which he agreed to do.

"They were acquainted with the intended meeting of the House of Assembly early in the next month; when they depend their complaints will be attended to."

"Seeing an appearance of satisfaction amongst them, we quitted the town about six o'clock in the evening, and returned to the militia, remaining at Mr. Atherton's penn, which was immediately discharged, by order of the Colonel (Bell). We have had no intelligence from the town this morning; therefore I suppose they will continue quiet; this is but my own opinion, as alarms still exist in the minds of people."

"I have the honour to be,

"Your lordship's respectful humble servant,

"JAMES STEWART.

"Trelawney, Monday, 20 July, 1795."

"Right Honourable Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c."

'State

' State of grievances complained of by the Maroons of Trelawney Town, made this 19th of July, 1795, before the honourable John Tharp, James Stewart, General Reid, John Mowat, Jarvis Gallimore, Edward Knowles, and James Galloway, esquires; who went to the said town, in consequence of a letter sent to convey the wish of the Maroons to have a conference with them.

' 1. They complain of certain ill treatment suffered by two of their young men, by a whipping inflicted on them at Montego-Bay by the hands of a slave (ordered by magistrates); which they say is an infringement of the treaty.

' 2. That the lands granted them originally by the country for their subsistence, being worn out by long and repeated productions, are not sufficient to afford the provisions necessary for their support; they therefore claim from the island an additional quantity of land, and say, that the adjoining lands, the properties of Messrs. Vaughan and David Schaw, would suit them; and also, the lands commonly called and known by the name of Crews, now Robert Kenyon, would be convenient to them.

' 3. They complain against the conduct of Captain Thomas Craskell, the Superintendant appointed to regulate the Maroon Town; and say, that he is not qualified to discharge the necessary duties of the office; for when the young men quarrel and fight, instead of interfering with his authority to adjust their differ-

ences, he appears frightened, and runs to his house for safety; and as they have experienced the disposition and abilities of Captain John James (their late Superintendent), they are desirous of his re-appointment to the office, and are adverse to the appointment of any other person.'

No. 7.

Letter from the Custos of St. James to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

" MY LORD,

Montego-Bay, 21st July, 1795.

" There has been a meeting held here, to receive the report of the gentlemen who went at the desire of the magistrates of this parish, to hear the complaints of the Maroons, and to endeavour to settle the differences subsisting between them and the white people.

" From their verbal report it appears, that three things are necessary to quiet the Maroons, which are as follows:

• That the last law should be altered, in respect to the punishment of public whipping:

• That their Superintendent should be removed, and Mr. James, their former Superintendent, or one of his sons, be appointed in his place:

• That an addition of three hundred acres be made to their land.'

" The gentlemen assembled on this occasion, both of this parish and Trelawney, are of opinion, that
such

such requests should be complied with by your lordship in part, and by the recommendation of your lordship for that part which depends on the legislature, for the present peace of the country; leaving it to the time of a general peace for some plan and measures to be pursued, which will, in future, secure the country from alarm or damage from this body of people.

“ It was the sense also of this meeting, that I should recommend to your lordship the justice and propriety of a suitable provision being made for Captain Craskell, whom it may appear necessary to your lordship to remove, for the peace of the country; as it does not appear that he has been deficient in his duty, and as the only motive for his removal is to comply, in this instance, with a prejudice which circumstances have lately given rise to, without an imputation laying against his official capacity.

“ We have just received your lordship’s favour, informing us, that three troops of light horse were ordered to proceed here. I am desir’d by the gentlemen assembled at this meeting to make their best acknowledgments to your lordship, for the immediate attention your lordship paid to the representations from this parish.

“ I have the honour to be, MY LORD,

“ Your lordship’s most obedient,

“ And very humble servant,

“ J. PALMER.

“ *Right Honourable Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.*”

No. 8.

*Letter from the Custos of St. James to his honour the
Lieutenant-Governor.*

“ MY LORD,

Montego-Bay, 23d July, 1795.

“ News having arrived from the interior of the country, that the Maroons are still in doubts of the peaceable intent of the whites, declaring that we are only delaying the business in order to collect force; we therefore recommend your lordship to re-appoint, with as little delay as possible, Major James, or his son, to the station of Superintendent. At the same time, as some individuals among this body, we are informed, are presuming on the measures that we have entered into respecting them, we beg leave to suggest to your lordship’s consideration, the necessity of giving the Superintendent the strongest injunctions to curb the refractory spirits among them, to encourage their communication as usual with us, but in particular to make them sensible, that they are, as formerly, amenable to the laws and magistracy of the country, and to caution them against their committing offences against them. After these reports, we hope your lordship will see the necessity of retaining the light dragoons till these affairs are perfectly settled.

“ From a most unfortunate circumstance, the packet prepared for the post, for your lordship’s information on this business, has been detained: I have now the honour to forward it. With great consideration,

“ I have the honour to be, MY LORD,

“ Your lordship’s most obedient,

“ And most humble servant,

“ J. PALMER.

“ *Right Honourable Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.*”

No. 9.

Letter from John Tharp, esquire, to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

" MY LORD, Negril by South, 25th July, 1795.

" The hurry and bustle of the late disturbance in Trelawney Town, occupied by the Maroons, prevented me from the honour of addressing your lordship earlier on the subject; and although I avail myself of this late opportunity, I trust it will receive your lordship's excuse.

" From some improper conduct of the magistrates of St. James's, and a few trifling causes of discontent, the Maroons were actually in a state of rebellion; and I am confident, however light it might appear to some, that hostilities would have commenced, on their part, as on Monday last. Their present Superintendent, Captain Craikell, they have turned out of the town; and indeed, I believe, from what I understand, that he is a very unfit person for that office, as they require and love a man of undaunted courage, and one that will make them sensible of it when occasion requires. Major James, their former Superintendent, is their idol; and nothing less than his re-appointment will satisfy them. He (Major James) went alone last Sunday, and got them to name such as they wished to see at their town: I was one; and upon my arrival I found them in every respect prepared for hostilities. As Mr. Stewart, whom we deputed to give your lordship the particulars of this event, has already done so, a repetition here will be unnecessary: but we judged at this period, when our long-boats are daily captured

captured by the French privateers, composed of motly crews, that, if an account of hostilities were known, it would be a fine opportunity for the brigands to have executed their favourite plan of universal destruction to British property; and therefore we judged it highly proper to temporize with them, particularly as their claims were not unreasonable; although the number of Maroons may not exceed three hundred, yet the fastnesses they possess, and the command of all the mountain provisions, with the aid they could at pleasure receive from our slaves, were forcible causes for taking upon us to recommend an accomplishment of their demands; and I hope that your lordship will feel the necessity of our acquiescence. To-morrow I shall depart with the fleet from this place; but I could not do so without doing what I conceived to be my duty, and without assuring your lordship that I am, MY LORD,

“ With the utmost respect,

“ Your most obedient,

“ And very humble servant,

“ JOHN THARP.

“ *Right Honourable Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.*”

No. 10.

Letter from Isaac Lascelles Winn, esquire, to Lewis Cuthbert, esquire.

“ DEAR SIR,

Adelphi, 26th July 1795.

“ Mr. Vaughan and myself being in the habit of providing alternately messengers to carry public dispatches, and this being my turn, he has just now sent me the inclosed letter, to be forwarded to you, which
he

he has left open for my perusal, and desired me to add any thing material that may have reached me since we parted last night relative to the Maroons.

“ As it must strike you, that the information Mr. Vaughan mentions, of three Maroons being in quest of Captain Craskell, with intent to assassinate him, is totally repugnant to the other accounts of the present peaceable appearance of the Maroons; and if the former be true, the latter must be fallacious, and the behaviour of that people deceptious; I think it may be proper to add, that Mr. Love, whom Mr. Vaughan mentions as the author of the information, resides with his wife and seven children upon a mountain contiguous to my penn, called Summer-Hill, which joins the Maroon lands; which affords me opportunity of knowing his (Love's) character: He is an ignorant credulous babbling creature, on whose report no confidence can be placed. There is, I believe, no doubt that the Maroons did, in the commencement of this disturbance, menace both Mr. Vaughan and Captain Craskell; which Love, I suppose, has learned, and endeavoured to make a merit of communicating what we knew six days since.

“ Upon the whole, this cloud seems dispersing, without producing the storm it once threatened: nevertheless, it merits the serious attention of government; we live amongst stubble, fully dry, and a few incendiaries might easily put it in a blaze. The example those people have just now set our negroes is dangerous in the extreme; and that they had evil
inten-

intentions in the beginning, I fear is too true; for though the flogging two of their people is made the ostensible reason of their taking up arms, it is certain that they had exhibited great turbulence, and dropped menaces, a week previous to that punishment being inflicted on the two delinquents. However, it seems to me, that very material advantages may be derived to the public from this occasion, if it be availed of; and that provision may be made for our future security, in a way that shall seem to be gracious concessions on our part, and favours to the Maroons. It is better that government should have the trouble of perusing many unimportant papers, than that it should miss of one salutary suggestion: I will put down my ideas on this subject, and take the liberty of troubling you with them by post.

“ I am, in great haste, DEAR SIR,

“ Respectfully yours,

“ I. L. WINN.

“ *Lewis Cuthbert, esquire, Spanish-Town.*”

No. 11.

Letter from Samuel Vaughan, esquire, to Lewis Cuthbert, esquire.

“ DEAR SIR,

Montego-Day, 26th July, 1795.

“ The affair of the Maroons is of so much consequence to the country, that it deserves a little pains to be taken to obtain a perfect knowledge of it, and to settle it. This letter then would require little apology, if it did not even serve as a continuation to my former correspondence on this subject.

“ My

“ My last letter, sent three days since in the dispatches to Lord Balcarres, which I suppose you received, contained a mixture of pleasant and unpleasant accounts. The present one will consist chiefly of the first, and present almost the happy close of this disagreeable business.

“ The white man who refused meat to the Maroons, in a second representation, tells me, the Maroons desired him to call the driver to flog them, when he blamed their impertinence; and that he simply said, he would make a complaint to their Colonel and Major James. Lieutenant Bernard, who was the particular person who offended, has since been to the white man, and made an apology, giving as an excuse, that he had taken too much rum.

“ I have since sent the overseer of Vaughan’s-field to the town. He says, the people are very peaceable; and as their late Superintendant is removed, they are very well satisfied, if they are let alone. The accounts which may come from Mr. James, I dare say, will corroborate this account.

“ The letters from Colonel Swaby of St. Elizabeth, and Captain Forbes of Accompong Town, give the best accounts of the fidelity of the Accompong negroes, who are to renew their compact with the whites next Tuesday; when all the younger are to be baptised. They have acted entirely by Captain Forbes’s advice and directions.

" On the other hand are only these two reports; one from a Mr. Love, who has the care of a plantation in the neighbourhood, that three Maroons are now in search for Captain Craikell, with intent to kill him; the other comes from one of Vaughan's-field negroes, who desires I would not go up there, as the Maroons threaten my life. I do not place any confidence in either report: but shall inform Mr. James of them. I have written to our agent by the fleet, giving him a short view of the whole, to satisfy all concerned with this country at home, and to give him the latest accounts.

" The light horse are in our barracks; and both officers and men are highly satisfied with them.

" I remain, DEAR SIR,

" Your's, very sincerely,

" SAM. VAUGHAN, junior.

" P. S. If I have time, I will, next post, send you a copy of my letter to the agent.

" *Lewis Cuthbert, esquire, Spanish Town.*"

No. 12.

Letter from Thomas Craikell, esquire, Superintendent of Trelawney Maroon Town, to his honour the Lieutenant Governor.

" MY LORD,

Montego-Bay, 21st July, 1795.

" Your lordship will have been informed of the disturbances that have lately taken place amongst the Maroons of Trelawney Town, from the magistrates of this

this parish and from Trelawney. I took every step in my power to prevent its rising to so serious a point, offering my mediation between them and the whites ; and thought I had obtained my object, by receiving their solicitation for a compromise, and a proposal to punish the delinquents themselves. Previous, however, to the answer of the magistrates, thirty-nine waited on me, and told me to go to the whites, and to tell them, they were ready to receive them ; at the same time, I must not return to the town. As they were perfectly sober at this time, and as many were present in this body of those who had desired an accommodation, I am inclined to believe, the proposal for accommodation was simply on their part to gain time, to prepare themselves for the whites. At this notice, I immediately went to Vaughan's-field, an adjoining plantation, and sent an express to the magistrates below, informing them of the circumstance, in order that we might have time to prepare for any attack on their part. I received, on my arrival at Vaughan's-field, an answer from the magistrates, accepting the accommodation proposed ; and I then wrote up to the Maroon Town, and at the same time sent this letter of the magistrates, desiring the Colonel would either himself come to me at Vaughan's-field penn, or send an intelligent officer that I might talk over the business, and promised he should not be detained ; which they did not think proper to comply with, but wrote me in answer, " That they would send one of their people to me on Sunday the 19th, for the answer from the magistrates to a challenge they now sent ; adding, if they got none by the 20th

at nine o'clock, they would (if the whites did not come to them) go and meet them themselves." I waited at Vaughan's-field till the 19th, that the Maroons might not suspect that steps were taken to suppress them; but on that day (as Mr. Vaughan had wrote up to his overseer to leave the property, and to take along with him the negroes), I thought it prudent to retire below; but previously wrote to the Maroon Colonel, that I had left it to go to the bay, to procure an accommodation for them, and should return in two days. This I did also with a view to gain further time, being sensible they had collected already their strength. Your lordship will have been informed of the further proceedings, from the magistrates. I have only to request of your lordship to order a court of enquiry upon myself, that, as an officer, my character and conduct in this business may be cleared up. I have been present this day at a meeting of the gentlemen of this parish, on this affair; and remark their recommendation to your lordship that I should be removed. I should be far from wishing, on any occasion, to interfere with the general peace of the country; and if the measure of my removal would render the Maroons a less troublesome body and a less dangerous one, by complying with their wishes I shall most cheerfully acquiesce in it: but as I have undertaken this line as a means of livelihood; as I left former connections to enter into it; and as I lost the opportunity of getting into the light horse, with those additional lieutenants who were promoted to it in 1793, to which I was entitled by being a half-pay lieutenant, in consequence of my holding the station
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in the Maroon town; I hope your lordship, if my conduct has been (as I trust it will be found to be the case) unexceptionable, will afford me some other means of employing myself in his Majesty's service, in which I have now been fifteen years a lieutenant, and was on service at St. Juan's on the Spanish main, and in this island a great part of the last war.

" I have the honour to remain, MY LORD,

" Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

" THOS. CRASKELL.

" *Right Honourable Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.*"

No. 13.

Letter from Samuel Vaughan, esquire, to Lewis Cuthbert, esquire.

" DEAR SIR,

Montego Bay, 28th July, 1795.

" I do not know the contents of the dispatches from Trelawney, but am persuaded those from this parish were with every consideration of the prerogative of the governor, with whom every thing must originate in respect to the Maroons.

" There is no private history in the business, to occasion measures different from what might be thought proper in town. An accommodation with them was made, because we have no military force to act on the instant; time was requisite to collect the militia; there was an uncertainty whether negroes might not be connected with them; the co operation of the other Maroon towns, particularly of Accompong Town,

was expected; the nature of their warfare was dreaded, as also the effect a disturbance would have on the credit of this country among the monied men at home. These are the motives that induce the landed interest and great proprietors here to wish for an accommodation; and when they found it was attainable, by such trifling sacrifices as have been recommended to be granted, they did not hesitate to sanction them.

“The mode that was adopted to quiet the Maroons was unquestionably the very best. There is a respectability (if I be allowed to use the expression) preserved by this town, unknown in the other smaller ones; and the spirit of their treaty and institution is with far greater purity kept up, and the old men have a very extensive influence over the body in general. These two points, joined to the influence possessed by the landed proprietors, by means of the heads of the town (who generally adopt their names, and receive occasional benefits from them, which attaches them to these particular persons), rendered the latter the fittest means of becoming acquainted with the causes of their dissatisfaction; and they were also better enabled to stop it than a court of justice or an armed force. The gentlemen went up as friends and mediators, and were considered as such; nothing was pledged but recommendation; which of course leaves the terms open, either to rejection or modification, as may be thought proper by the executive.

“The language made use of at this conference by the Maroons further points out the propriety of it:
for

for instance ; “ You are our tattas, we your children ; our situation and superiority we have in this country we have from our connection with you ; but when we do the duty required of us for these advantages, do not subject us to insult and humiliation by the very people whom we are set in opposition to.” They then related to us the triumph and language of the workhouse people who flogged them, and whom they had previously taken up and lodged for punishment in the workhouse ; and who, of course, made use of such an opportunity to revenge themselves on the Maroons.

“ Had the gentlemen known, that the Accompong negroes would not join ; that they were unconnected with the negroes ; that, on the contrary, the negroes would, on the small plantations near the town, and generally in the low lands, evince the spirit of opposition they did, even for their complete extirpation ; had they known (as I fancy will turn out to be the case) that the town itself was divided, the milder and more numerous part being kept in awe by the smaller and more violent ; yet still they would, in my opinion, have made the recommendation, in order to avert hostilities, which would have been attended with far worse consequences to the country, than the immediate damage they might have occasioned. I have, in my former letters, mentioned the accommodation to be contrary to the sentiments of the middling classes of this town, and the negroes ; but still you must regard it to be that of the great landed proprietors, who must be supposed to understand what is most

likely to maintain the peace and the interest of the country.

“ The recommendation also is not unusual; for, only three years ago, the parish of St. James recommended their complaints to the attention of government; and the late law was in part the consequence of the suggestions then thrown out.

“ The gentlemen, as I mentioned in a former letter, certainly forgot to require the punishment or delivery of the delinquents who were guilty of the riot at Montego-Bay: but this may be required by the Governor, and any other satisfaction that may be thought necessary to restrain them in future, or to prevent alarm; and they are in so humiliating a condition (as Major James represents), that there is nothing that may be required of them but what will be acceded to. One man is now in irons there, by his order, for an impertinent expression; and the body of Maroons have offered to sacrifice him, rather than aggravate the present offence. To-morrow, Major James says, some of their officers will be here, to make their submission. I have, however, just received messages from Vaughan’s-field negroes, not to trust myself there, on account of the threats of some of these people, who are constantly in ambush about it, with bad intentions against myself. This makes it clear, that whatever may be the sentiment of the body, still there are refractory discontented spirits, that require an example to restrain them, and to establish the old dominion of law over them.

“ I think

“ I think it is necessary to mention to you, that, at the time the gentlemen went to the conference, the Maroons had obliged Captain Craskell to quit the town, with the full determination never to admit him again. He staid at our penn till I received, and sent him, intimation of his danger; and he only saved himself by about five hours from certain death, as our penn was attacked, as mentioned in a letter I sent you, for that particular purpose. Major James, without the smallest intention of interfering with the executive, was desired to remain among them, that he might, by his influence and presence, prevent their being guilty of any overt act against the peace by them, till the business was arranged by the executive. I saw Major James yesterday, who mentioned that neither himself nor his son could accept of the appointment, under the present law of nine months residence.

“ As a further motive for settling this affair without open hostility, I think it proper to inform you, that the negroes of several estates have, within these few days, made complaints against management, although belonging to estates that are understood to be managed with great clemency. I was on the bench to-day, with our Custos and another magistrate, when a complaint of this kind came from all the negroes at Content estate, in this parish. Mr. Barrett tells me he goes this evening to Anchovy-Bottom, to quiet a complaint of a similar nature. Tryal negroes have done the same yesterday; and the Custos has, within these few days, had four or five similar applications.

Whence does this arise, but from the times? and what check have we so effectual as the Maroons?

“ On examination it will be found, perhaps, that much short of what you may conceive in town will check the Maroons; and to check them is allowed on all hands as necessary. But in the consideration of the business it should be recollected, that, in the rebellion of 1766, the Maroons brought in the head or the person of every slave in rebellion, in the space of one month.

“ The dispatches dated the 23d, from Lord Balcarres, are just delivered to me (two o'clock); and I have forwarded them, after perusing that for the Custos and Captain Craikell. They are so late, that the Custos cannot answer this post; nor can Captain Craikell, or the Maroons, be up by the 31st. It is thought proper, therefore, by the Custos (who is just desiring me to mention it), that no interruption is thought proper to be made to the intention of the Maroons coming down to-morrow; as something may, in consequence, arise favourable to the settlement of the business in town; nor is there time to stop them. Captain Craikell is at Flamstead. Our Custos will set out from here next Saturday for town; and about the time he arrives there, he supposes the Maroons, with their Superintendant, will be able to be there. You will please to communicate this to his lordship, making the necessary apology for his orders not being so immediately complied with, and for the Custos not writing by this opportunity. If

the dispatches had come by the post, which came out of Spanish Town after the messenger, they would have been twenty-seven hours earlier here, and all parties would have been on the bay. With this, I send you a copy of my letter to the agent, intended to prevent alarms in England, that might prejudice the credit of the country; in fact, to prevent bills being noted, that went by the packet, from false rumors. You may forward it by any opportunity.

"I remain, DEAR SIR,

"Your assured and very obedient servant,

"SAM. VAUGHAN, *junior*.

"P. S. The Speaker, Custos, Mr. Barrett, Colonel James, &c. &c. all know the contents of this letter.

"P. S. I observe the light horse are ordered to town, when affairs are settled. On the late occasion, they could not have been effective till the fourth or fifth day after they left Spanish Town, in consequence of fatigue. This points out the propriety of a body being stationed here, when such can be spared from town; for, in case of disturbance, they will have a march to make even from here.

"Lewis Cuthbert, *esquire*."

No. 14.

The Examination of Thomas Craskell, esquire, Superintendent of Trelawney Maroon Town.

"Q. What is your situation and office?

"A. Superintendent of Trelawney Town.

Z 4

"Q. Is

" Q. Is it your opinion that the Maroons of Trelawney Town can command the aid of the plantation negroes, or a considerable part of them, in their neighbourhood, at pleasure?

" A. From the general intercourse which the Maroons have with the plantation negroes all over the country, they might influence a considerable part, if not all of them.

" Q. How long have you acted in capacity of Superintendent?

" A. Since the 20th December, 1792.

" Q. Have you any reason to suspect that the Maroons of Trelawney Town have had intentions of creating a general insurrection in this island?

" A. I do not think they had any immediate intentions of doing so; but believe, from their conduct, it was their intention to have done so in a few months. Captain Jarrett, having taken offence at a punishment inflicted on two Maroons, said, it was a shame; but the time was not yet come. Captain Jarrett is one of the principal of the Maroons.

" THOMAS CRASKELL.

" *Taken and sworn before me,
this 1st September, 1795,
Montego-Bay,*

" ROBERT JACKSON."

No. 15.

Extract from the Examination of John Merody, late Assistant of Trelawney Maroon Town; taken before the Commander in Chief at Head-Quarters, Vaughan's-field, the 16th August, 1795.

“ Q. Did you ever know that the Maroons had tampered with any estates negroes, or others, to induce them to join them in rebellion against the whites?

“ A. That one night, shortly before the proclamation was issued, when the deponent was in bed, and the Maroons supposed him asleep, he overheard a conversation to the effect, that about one hundred estate negroes were ready and willing to join them.

“ Q. Did you ever hear that any plantation negroes had any ammunition concealed, for the use of the Maroons.

“ A. At the time above stated, I also overheard that the hundred negroes, said to be ready to join them, had a quantity of gun-powder, to the amount of about two kegs, which they had concealed in the woods.

“ Q. You read and explained the Commander in Chief's proclamation to the Maroons?

“ A. I did.

“ Q. What did they say of it, after they understood it.

“ A. Colo-

"A. Colonel James, Tharp, and Jackson, recommended their coming down, and submitting themselves to mercy; but the young men positively refused it, and said, the militia were fools to think of coming into these woods to fight with them."

No. 16.

The Deposition of Leah Fletchall.

"Saith, That about three weeks ago, between the time of the disputes between the magistrates of Montego-Bay and the Maroons, and the time of Lord Balcarres coming down, this deponent heard persons in conversation, one of whom making use of the expression, 'They have sent one to France,' her curiosity was thereby much excited. That she further heard, apparently the same say, 'Things are not there as they are here; there, all are citizens, and upon a footing; here, we are kept in ignorance, and know nothing; but we will wait and see how the matter ends. If they get the better, then will be the time for us to come forward.'" That further conversation passed; but the above was all this deponent could distinctly hear: That there appeared to be only two persons, and, from their dialect, either people of colour or negroes; but they were so situated, that they could not be seen from the place where the deponent was.

her

LEAH X FLETCHALL.

"Sworn before me, at Montego-Bay, this 27th of August, 1795,

mark.

"JOHN CUNNINGHAM."

No. 17.

No. 17.

Extract from the Examination of John Graham, a Mulatto Man, working as a Carpenter in Trelawney Maroon Town; taken at Montego-Bay, the 29th August, 1795.

“ That the Maroons said, they expected to be joined by one hundred and fifty slaves to begin with; but that afterwards they would be joined by thousands; that when once they got the advantage over the whites, all the slaves would join them; that one and all agreed in holding this language, excepting Colonel James, who was then sick in bed, and Tharp, who was absent from the town: That the Maroons did not expect they would be attacked so soon; but that they should previously be joined by the one hundred and fifty slaves: That they expected to gain a great deal by their battle, if commenced whilst the French were at war with the English in St. Domingo: That they had also said, the slaves had got a keg of gunpowder for them.”

No. 18.

Extract from the Examination of Miles Hall, a Mulatto Man, working as a Carpenter in Trelawney Maroon Town; taken at Montego-Bay, the 29th August, 1795.

“ That he has heard the Maroons say, they expected to be joined by one hundred and fifty slaves to begin with; and by very great numbers all over the island afterwards; that when they once got the advantage over the whites, all the slaves would join them; that these seemed the sentiments of the Maroons in general, excepting Colonel James and Tharp.”

No. 19.

No. 19.

*Examination of William, taken up on Friday, 14 August,
1795, at Spring-Garden Estate.*

“ Says, That he belongs to Robert Linton, at Parnassus; that he has been runaway two months; that after being taken up, he got away a second time, and staid with —, a watchman belonging to the estate of Thomas Roberts; that in going to Spring-Mount, through the woods, he was taken up by three Maroons, viz. Captain James Palmer, John Wallace, and Quaco, on Friday the 7th instant, and was asked by Palmer, if he would go with them to fight against the white people; that they took him with them into the woods between Samuells and Bandon; they remained there a week; that then Quaco and Palmer went with him in the night to Belvidere, also Wallace, who has a wife there, to get people to join them. Wallace went towards Seven-Rivers, and Palmer and Quaco with him (William) to Eden, through the woods, fearful of being stopped by the guard at Mount Pelier; that they went to a fellow belonging to Eden, called Harry; that Quaco asked Harry if he would join them; Harry demanded, for what; Quaco answered, to fight against the white people; that he (Harry) hesitated, and Quaco told him, that they would kill all that would not join them, on which Harry consented, but asked if they would let him go and see his wife; Palmer and Quaco answered, they did not wish to stay long, lest they should be taken up; that Harry asked, what they would do if the whites got the upper hand; they answered, they did
not

not intend to fight the whites immediately, until they saw how those who are now engaged came on; that they had not sufficient powder to begin, but were going about to see what they could get, and to get more people to join them; that they told Harry, if the whites got the better of those who were now fighting, they could not get the better of those who were to join them. He says, when he was taken, Palmer gave him three cuts on the wrist, and caught the blood in a calabash, intending to make him drink it the next noon, and swear not to return to his master, but to go about to get people to join them; that James Palmer is not among the Maroons engaged, but belongs to the party who took him; that they stay in a cave in the woods, aback of Bandon, and near Samuell's. He promises, on condition of forgiveness, to discover the different haunts of this party, and seems willing to have his life at stake on the result."

The above examination was taken this 17th day August, before D. Bernard junior, and F. C. Scott.

No. 20.

Letter from the Custos of Trelawney, to Samuel Vaughan, esquire, one of the Magistrates of St. James.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am this moment honoured with your packet, and with I could return a more favourable report to its contents. The Maroons appear to be meditating of mischief; and unless they are dealt with very politically, they will, in, my opinion, bring on similar

evils to those of St. Domingo, or the other windward islands. One of the well inclined was here yesterday, my name-fake; and he assured me, all the young people were ripe for any thing, but exclaimed very much against the present Superintendant, and declared, that, unless he was removed, evils would ensue. It has been reported here, that the Maroons have declared, that if the brigands come down, they would instantly join them; for that they could not be worse than the white people wished to make them. This I do not doubt myself; but am satisfied we should carefully avoid the evil day, and not precipitate it; for the influence of the Maroons with our negroes must produce certain ruin to all of us.

“ I am on the eve of departure, the ships going out on Thursday morning; but as I mean to spend Sunday next with my friend Mr. Palmer, either at Rose-Hall or Brandon-Hill, I should be happy we could meet there, and talk over this business. In the mean time, I will take steps to prohibit the sale of powder, &c. to the Maroons, from the store-keepers at Falmouth, in such a manner as shall be most private, and without giving suspicion of any cause for so doing.

“ I am, with much respect, DEAR SIR,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ JOHN THARP.

“ *Good Hope, Monday morning, 13th July, 1795.*

“ *Samuel Vaughan, esquire, St. James.*”

No. 21.

An Examination taken before the Honourable George Murray, Custos of the Parish of Westmoreland; John Lewis, one of the Representatives of the said Parish; James Lawrence, Colonel of the said Parish; Thomas Barker, Lieutenant-Colonel; William Loch, Major; and David Finlayson, one of the Magistrates of the said Parish.

“ Abraham, a negro man, belonging to the Bog estate, in the said parish, declares, that, on the August, he was with Quashie, King, Aberdeen, and another negro, at work in the woods, splitting shingles: That three Maroons, named Johnson, Brown, and Cuffee Leslie, came to them, and ordered them to desist from work, and go with them: They remonstrated; but the Maroons asked, if they did not know there was a quarrel with the backra's and Maroons; that backra had spoiled the country; and they must go with them, and when they had got the better of the backra's (white people), they should live very easy, and should have their freedom: However, they persisted; but the Maroons declared, they would cut off their heads, and were armed with gun, lance, cutlafs, and knives: That they (the negroes) were carried unto the deep wood, and were told, they were going to the Maroon town: At night they were tired, struck fire, and roasted victuals, and then went to sleep. Quashie, King, and Abraham, availed themselves of their being asleep, and ran away, returning immediately to the estate, and surrendering themselves

selves to the overseer. Isaac, brother to the others, was also taken by them, but not at the same time. His evidence differing very materially from the others, and some circumstances appearing suspicious, he was, from great caution, committed to gaol. The four first coincided exactly in the same story, and, by appearance and consistency, with advice from the magistrates, and promises of reward to take up the Maroons, were sent home.

“ A negro named Aberdeen was taken away, and is not returned.

“ MY LORD,

“ You will permit me to apologize for this rough examination, taken before me and others; but as it was your lordship's particular wish to receive it, and trust to my memory, I have written it out, and shewed it to Mr. Murray, who acquiesces to the substance of the evidence, and believes it true.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ MY LORD, with very great respect,

“ Your lordship's most obedient servant,

“ JOHN LEWIS.”

No. 22.

Extract of a Letter from Robert Campbell, esquire, to Thomas Harper, esquire, at Montego-Bay, dated, New York, May 18, 1795.

“ There is no news here but what you have in Jamaica ere this reaches you. General ———, a mulatto

mulatto, in St. Domingo, declared to a gentleman who lodges in this house, and often dined with him, that the cap of liberty would be put up in Jamaica this summer. So keep a good look-out among you."

No. 22.

*The Declaration and Examination of Jean Josef Moran-
son, taken the 28th August, 1795.*

"I left France some time in the month of April, 1794, bound for Jacmel: I was the bearer of papers which citizen Tallien, one of the principal representatives of the people, had delivered to me for the commandant of the district of Jacmel. At that same time, three Frenchmen, entrusted with a secret mission to Polverel and Santhonax, sailed from France: One of these three was taken in a vessel which passed for a Dane, and brought to Jamaica about fifteen months ago. I arrived at New York in all the month of July, from whence I went to Philadelphia, to see Citizen Fauchet, the Minister Plenipotentiary for the Republic, with whom I had been intimate at Paris. I informed him that I was going, respecting the property of my wife, to Jacmel, and that I was the bearer of a packet for the commandant of that place; which papers I left with him until the time I should depart for Jacmel. I remained three days at the house of Citizen Fauchet; during which time we always spoke of affairs of politics: His attachment to me induced him to impart with me matters of the utmost consequence, particularly what concerned Jamaica. I went then to join my wife at New York,

after having asked of Citizen Fauchet to procure me a direct opportunity for Jacmel. At New York, I enquired for vessels to execute my voyage; but the want of such an opportunity, together with the terror which had been inspired to me respecting Hispaniola, induced me to return to Citizen Fauchet, and begged of him to find out some pretence to send the papers I had left with him, telling him, I would not expose myself by going to a place where I had every thing to fear. Eight or ten days after, he sent, by the way of St. Thomas, the Citizen Seche, who undertook the mission, and delivered the packet to Rigaud, and returned to Philadelphia; nine weeks after, or thereabout, we learnt the arrestation of Polyerel and Santhonax. Having returned to Philadelphia, Citizen Fauchet told me, he had received orders from Rigaud, and the Republican Chiefs at Hispaniola, to raise as many men of colour as possible on the continent, in order to send them to Jamaica, there to be employed to insurrect the negroes of that island, under a pretence of liberty and equality. The same Fauchet gave me a letter to carry to Citizen L'Arcumbal, the Consul at New York, to engage him to procure some people of colour for that purpose, and to send him an account of it. At the end of a few days, to my certain knowledge, a citizen of colour, who spoke English, and who kept a correspondence with Citizen Granville, also a man of colour, who was then a prisoner in Jamaica, sailed from New York, disguised as a foremast man, in a schooner to come to Kingston, and find his said friend. Citizen Fauchet came to New York, where he spent some days with me: He had

come there on purpose to prepare the necessary hospitals for the Squadron, which had been announced to him. I had an opportunity of knowing the orders he had just received from the National Convention: It was ordered to him, to procure a great quantity of provisions; to send immediately an express to get ready, at Cape François, hospitals, lodgings, and barracks; it was also mentioned, to follow the orders of Lavaux and Rigaud, for what particularly concerned Jamaica. Some time after, the Citizen Commissary Hugues sent three men of colour, who spoke English, from the windward islands to Citizen Fauchet at Philadelphia; but not finding him there, they came to New York to join him. I was present when they delivered their packets to Fauchet; and they had orders to come, in as short time as possible, to Jamaica. One of these three, who might pass for a white man, embarked on the 3d of November, in the same vessel on which came my wife, with several other passengers; amongst whom was an English man of colour, and an inhabitant of the environs of Martha Brae in Jamaica, and intimate with Citizen Fauchet and the Consul L'Arcumbal. About two months after, the same English man of colour returned to New York, and brought to me a letter from my wife; and some days after he embarked again for Kingston, with many people of colour, in a vessel loaded only with great corn: One of them said, he was the friend of one of the chiefs of Maroon negroes. In the month of April last arrived at New York twelve or fourteen men of colour, came out from the prison-ship: I was present when they came to the Consul's, with one single

passport for them all, from the British government, which had been delivered to the captain of the vessel. Five of those men of colour embarked, to my knowledge, at New York for Jamaica, two of whom are brothers, named Gaspard, and another called Laptaine, who also said they were friends to Granville. This Granville told me, on my arrival at Kingston, that those same men had gone to the Maroon Town, and certainly there would shortly be an insurrection. I am so fully persuaded of it, and assured of the fact, from the friendship which subsists between Fauchet and me, who had in confidence communicated to me the project of revolting the negroes of Jamaica, he having sent, for that purpose, upwards of one hundred and fifty French people, the major part of whom were men of colour, that in consequence, fearing some accident for my wife, I thought it my duty to come to her, with an intention to bring her back immediately to New York. I also declare, that I brought to Granville a letter from Fauchet, the contents of which I am entirely ignorant of, which is the only one I brought. I declare also, that the major part of the facts here set forth were known to the Count Lasitte; since, without ever having seen him or known him before, he came to my lodgings in Kingston at different times, when his conversation and questions breathed only an insurrection of the negroes of this country, and that he considered it as unavoidable. I also know, that the Count Lasitte is the intimate friend of a French merchant who resides at New York, and is appointed from the French Republic as the agent for the affairs of the state,

and .

and that he has advanced money to Mr. Lafitte during his stay at New York; and that even the Citizen Consul L'Arcumbal has given to Mr. Lafitte, when he was at New York, either as a loan or otherwise, from two to three hundred dollars. I likewise declare, that Mr. Lafitte has confessed to me, that no other motives kept him here, but of endeavouring to get out of prison about fifteen prisoners, great patriots, for whom he interested himself very much, being his countrymen, and had been taken in Olanier's brig; that he had even caused a petition to be presented in name of said prisoners; I know to my certain knowledge, that said prisoners entertained a correspondence with Lafitte. About two months before my departure from New York, I went to spend some days with Mr. Fauchet, at Philadelphia: He had just received papers of the greatest consequence, which I took cognizance of, being communicated to me: Those papers had been brought by the Semillante frigate, with some other vessels come from France, which, in their way, went to Newfoundland, there to burn the British vessels they could find there; which frigate and vessels brought in part arms, particularly four large cases, containing three thousand broad swords destined for Hispaniola, which a cutter brought to general Lavaux, with order to assemble all the people of colour he could collect, and to give the same orders to Citizen Rigaud, so that the nation might depend on ten thousand men for secret expedition. In the communication I have taken of the orders sent to Citizen Fauchet from the Convention, it was said, that the Squadron should immediately sail from France; that
their

their first object was to be, secret expedition against the British islands; to send to Rigaud and Lavaux all the people of colour, as volunteers, speaking English; the order was, that Rigaud and Lavaux should make no attack on the enemy until further orders.

“ Before my departure from New York to Philadelphia, I went to take leave of Citizen Fauchet: He delivered to me orders for Citizen L’Arcumbal, to give me a certificate of residence, without any date; he acknowledged to me, that, in the course of September and October, Jamaica would belong to France, the taking of which was inevitable, from the means that had just been taken; that the French were to land ten thousand negroes at some distance from Kingston, all of them armed with two muskets and two broad swords, to be distributed to the negroes in insurrection, whilst the squadron should attack the ports in the environs of Kingston. All the above facts are strictly true. Had I foreseen the misfortune of my arrestation, I would have brought with me the proofs, I being the friend and even the confidant of Fauchet. In case the British government should not be satisfied with what I have just declared, I oblige myself to leave here all my papers and effects, the value of which amounts at least to twenty thousand French livres, as a deposit, until I shall send from New York every and all the informations that may be required; it being easy for me to take them out of the registers. I also engage to instruct the government, by all the vessels that shall sail from New York and Philadelphia, of all what passes in the offices of
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the French Republic; by which means I shall convince the British nation, that I am not an enemy to the English, as some have endeavoured to persuade.

“ N. B. There will be found a contradiction in my first and former declaration, on what respects the friendship subsisting between Citizen Fauchet and myself; which I did because I thought my interest required it. I am well assured, that Citizen Fauchet is not recalled, as has been reported; but, admitting he were so, I am certain I always shall find means to give to the British government every information that can be required, especially on what has been or may be done in the colonies, from the easy access I have had during my stay in North America, and by the acquaintance I have with the agents of the Republic, being very intimate with them. Though my opinion may be contrary to theirs, the interest of my children, and the property I have in France, have obliged me to dissimble. In short, I oblige myself to do whatever the British government shall judge proper, and to execute their instructions; engaging myself to return within the space of four months.”

A true translation from the French original.

J. B. GROSICARD, Sworn Interpreter.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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