

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.
VOL. XLI.

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MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

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Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
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By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XLI.



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Modern History:

BEING A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
Universal History.

The HISTORY of AMERICA.

P E N S Y L V A N I A.

THE family history of Mr. *Penn*, the founder of this *History of*
great and flourishing colony, is foreign to this work. *Mr. Penn*,
It is sufficient to say, that his father was Sir *William*
Penn, the famous admiral who commanded the naval arma-
ment, as colonel *Venables* did the land forces, which *Cromwell*
sent against *Hispaniola*, where, though they failed, they con-
quered *Jamaica*. The particulars of that expedition are to
this day mysterious; but it is agreed, on all hands, that the
attempt upon *Hispaniola* did not fail through the cowardice
of either commander; and, it is certain, that the exiled family
of the *Stuarts*, after the failure of the expedition, kept up a
close correspondence with them both; and that *Venables* was
very deeply concerned in the unsuccessful insurrection at
Chester in their favour. *Penn* was by principle an independ-
ent; but immediately after the restoration, he became a
reigning favourite at court with the two royal brothers. In
1665, he was appointed to command the *English* fleet under
the duke of *York*; and it was universally thought that the
laurels which his royal highness acquired in fighting against
the *Dutch*, were chiefly owing to the great abilities of Sir
William Penn as a seaman.

1665

The History of America.

IN the mean while, Sir *William's* son, *William*, was adding the advantages of a liberal education to the uncommon sagacity he possessed from nature; but, from being an enemy, next to enthusiasm against the established church of *England*, he at last professed himself a quaker. While he was studying at *Christ Church, Oxford*, he and the lord *Spencer*, afterwards earl of *Sunderland*, so noted for the duplicity of his conduct, insulted the students and the clergy who appeared in surplices, and becoming thereby obnoxious, they were by their parents sent into foreign parts to enlarge their minds. Young *Penn*, when he was abroad, received an order from his father, on his being appointed admiral as aforesaid, to return home; and it is probable, that, by this time, both father and son had digested within themselves the plan of their future settlement. The juncture and disposition of the court was extremely favourable to their wishes. The royal brothers wanted to send out of *England* as many sectaries as they could, and thought that the government of them could not be more properly entrusted than with the *Penns*. The latter, on the other hand, could not without great grief see the harrassments which those of their own persuasion every day suffered in *England*; and they had before their eyes the flourishing examples of *New England* and *Virginia* to encourage them in their intention of making like migrations of their own sect and their friends to *America*, where there were still vast tracts of unappropriated land to settle. Sir *William* died in the west of *England*; and was buried in *Bristol*; but probably left the plan of his settlement, in which it is said he was greatly assisted by a relation residing in *America*, with his son.

THE young gentleman, when his father died, was so much immersed in religious disputes that he had for some time no leisure to solicit the grant, which had actually been promised to his father by *Charles II*. But the persecution against his sect raging every day more and more, he obtained it in the year 1679; but was not actually invested with it till the 4th of *March*, 1680-81. The allegations of Mr. *Penn's* petition were, a commendable desire to enlarge the *English* empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be of benefit thereto, as also to reduce the savage nations, by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion. The boundaries granted by the charter to the said *William Penn*, and his heirs were, "all that tract or part of land in *America*, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the east by *Delaware* river, from twelve miles distance northwards of *Newcastle* town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the river doth

and his
charter.

extend

extend so far northward : but, if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then by the said river, so far as it doth extend ; and, from the head of the said river, the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the said river unto the said forty-third degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds ; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and, on the south, by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from *Newcastle* northward, and westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and then, by a strait line westwards to the limits of longitude abovementioned."

HAVING thus described the bounds laid down by this charter, it is absolutely necessary for the understanding the history of *Pennsylvania*, that we give a summary of the chief articles of this famous charter, which is justly thought to be a master-piece of provincial legislation, and was the basis of many succeeding disputes between the proprietary and the planters.

THE third section secures the true and absolute property *Contents of the same.* of the said province to Mr. *Penn*, but with the saving of his allegiance and the sovereignty of the *English* crown. The fourth section grants to him, his heirs, &c. full and absolute power, for the good and happy government of the said country ; to ordain, make, and enact, and under his or their seals, to publish any laws whatsoever, for the raising of money for public uses of the said province, or, for any other end appertaining either unto the public state, peace, or safety of the said county, or unto the private utility of particular persons, according to their best discretion ; by and with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the said country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates and deputies, to be assembled in such sort and form, as to him and them shall seem best, and as often as need shall require. The fifth section gives Mr. *Penn* a power to erect courts of judicature for the administration of the aforesaid laws, provided they be consonant to reason, and not repugnant or contrary, but (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable, to the laws and statutes and rights of *England* ; with a saving to the crown in case of appeals. The sixth impowers Mr. *Penn* to make additional laws, or bye-laws, as occasion shall offer (A), but still agreeable to the laws of *England* ; so as the said ordi-

(A) Though we only mention Mr. *Penn*, yet his heirs, executors, &c. are included.

The History of America.

nances be not extended in any sort to bind, change, or take away the right or interest of any person or persons for, or in, their life, members, freehold, goods, or chattels.

By the seventh section it is provided that a transcript or duplicate of all laws, so made and published as aforesaid, shall, within five years after the making thereof, be transmitted and delivered to the privy council for the time being; and, if declared by the king in council inconsistent with the sovereignty or lawful prerogative of the crown, or contrary to the faith and allegiance due to the legal government of this realm, shall be adjudged void. The eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth sections contain little, but what is in common to other proprietary governments. By the fourteenth section Mr. *Penn* is obliged to have an attorney or agent to be his resident-representative, at some known place in *London*, who is to be answerable to the crown for any misdemeanor committed, or wilful default, or neglect permitted by the said *Penn* against the laws of trade and navigation; and to defray the damages in his majesty's courts ascertained; and, in case of failure, the government to be resumed and retained till payment has been made; without any prejudice, however, in any respect to the landholders or inhabitants, who are not to be affected or molested thereby. The sections fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, contain nothing particular. By the twentieth section, his majesty covenants and grants to and with the said *William Penn*, for himself, his heirs, and successors, at no time thereafter to impose or levy any tax on the inhabitants in any shape, unless the same be with the consent of the proprietary, or chief governor, or assembly, or by act of parliament in *England*.

By the twenty-first section, his majesty, on pain of his highest displeasure, commands all his officers and ministers, that they do not presume at any time to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premises, or that they do in any sort withstand the same: and, on the contrary, enjoins them to be at all time, aiding and assisting, as was fitting, to the said *William Penn*, and his heirs, and unto the inhabitants and merchants of the province aforesaid, their servants, ministers, factors, and assigns, in the full use and fruition of the benefit of the said charter. By the twenty-third and last section, a provision is made, by the king's special will, ordinance, and command, that, in case any doubt or question should thereafter perchance arise concerning the true sense or meaning of any word, clause, or sentence contained therein, such interpretation should be made thereof, and allowed in any of his

his majesty's courts, as should be adjudged most advantageous and favourable to the said *William Penn*, his heirs, and assigns; provided always, that no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due to the crown, may suffer any prejudice or diminution.

It is an historical phenomenon, that so excellent a set of *His concef-* constitutions took their rise from an arbitrary court, and a bi- *sions to the* gotted prince; for, it appeared that all the tract of land, now *adven-* called *Pensylvania*, had been previously granted to the duke *turers.* of *York* by his brother king *Charles*, and was by him re- granted in 1682, by deeds of feoffment, to Mr. *Penn*. During 1682: the dependency of the charter, Mr. *Penn* had been busied in collecting adventurers for peopling his new province, in which he found no great difficulty; and, in virtue of the sixth section of his charter, he passed his first deed of settlement, under the title of "Certain conditions, or concessions, agreed upon by *William Penn*, proprietary and governor of *Pensylvania*, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the same province." But there is nothing particular in this deed, as it contains only the rules of settlement, and trade with the *Indians*, with some general provisions for the peace of the colony. Next year, Mr. *Penn* published a system of government, under the following title: "The frame of the government of the province of *Pensylvania* in *America*: together with certain laws agreed upon in *England*, by the governor and divers freemen of the aforesaid province. To be farther explained and confirmed there, by the first provincial council, if they see meet." The introduction to this celebrated piece is perhaps the most extraordinary compound that ever was published of enthusiasm, sound policy, and goodness, and the author tells us, that it was adapted "to the great end of all government, *viz.* to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." By this frame, which consisted of twenty-four articles, the provincial council, which was ordered by rotation, and the general assembly, were to be the great sources of the government. The number of the provincial council was to be seventy-two, and the governor, or his deputy, were to preside in it, with a treble vote. The members were to be chosen by the freemen. One third of them was, at the first, to be chosen for three years, one third for two years, and one third for one year; in such manner, that there should be an annual succession of twenty-four new members. The business of this provincial council lay in the executive part of the government, in preparing, and proposing to the general assembly, all bills, which they shall, at any time, think

Govern-
ment of the
province.

fit to be passed into laws, within the said province; which bill^s shall be published and affixed to the most noted places in the inhabited parts thereof, thirty days before the meeting of the general assembly, in order to the passing them into laws, as the general assembly shall see meet. As to the general assembly, it was, at first, to consist of all the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and it was never to exceed five hundred. Besides those acts and constitutions, a set of laws were agreed upon in *England*, in the nature of an original compact, between the proprietary and the freemen, partly moral, partly political, and partly oeconomic. Some of them are of a very extraordinary kind, and met with great opposition; particularly that, by which the planters, besides paying the purchase money, were obliged to pay a quit-rent of one penny an acre to the proprietary, for the support of his dignity as governor. The third law provides, that all elections of members or representatives to serve in the provincial council or general assembly should be free; and that the elector, who should receive any reward or gift, in meat, drink, money, or otherwise, should forfeit his right to elect. The rest of those laws are very moderate and plausible, and formed upon the most perfect plan of regulated freedom. Besides those laws, certain conditions were agreed upon between the proprietary and the adventurers, concerning the divisions and laying out of the province and territory; for the reader is to observe, that the province of *Pennsylvania* was bounded, as we have seen; but its territory comprehended other lands granted to Mr. Penn by the duke of *York*, and the lands which he purchased from the *Indians*, and likewise some part of *Nova Belgia*, which he purchased from lord *Berkley* and the heirs of Sir *George Carteret* for 4000 *l.* the possession of which was likewise confirmed to him by a patent.

Its settle-
ment.

THE number of original inhabitants, which Mr. Penn carried over in 1581, are said to have been about 2000, most of them nonconformists, collected at *London*, *Bristol*, and *Liverpool*; but, besides those, a considerable number of adventurers were already settled, both in the province and the territory, and he had sent before him a great number of artificers to prepare materials for building houses, and directing other conveniences for the colony. It is certain, that the noble plan of government laid down for this infant colony in *England* was every way so unexceptionable, and so well calculated for all the purposes of civil and religious liberty, that great numbers had embraced it, in firm reliance, that it would be punctually executed. Mr. Penn had formed himself greatly upon *Harrington's* principles, as the reader may see by his scheme

The History of America.

scheme of rotation, and had been assisted in drawing up his laws and constitutions by Sir *William Jones*, an eminent *English* lawyer of the same stamp; but, upon his arrival in *America*, he found, or pretended to find, some reasons for altering the frame of his government, and for uniting the province with the territory, or, as it is called, the three lower counties, granted him by the duke of *York*. In the last scheme he succeeded, and brought the people of the province to unite with those of the territory in legislation and government; but it was not till the year 1683, that he introduced another charter.

IN *December*, 1682, the freemen of the province and *Its new* territory were convened at a place called *Chester*; but here *constitution.* the insufficiency of the original charter appeared; for, after the counties had returned twelve persons as members of the provincial council, they insisted, because of the fewness of their numbers, and their inexperience in matters of government, that, of those twelve, three might serve as members of the provincial council, and the remaining nine as assemblymen, with the same powers and privileges that were granted by the charter or frame of government to the whole. This request, if not dictated by the proprietary, was extremely consonant to his views. The original charter was considered as being impracticable, and no more than as a probationary law that was alterable, and to be submitted to the explanation and confirmation of the first provincial council and general assembly that was to be held in the province. Therefore the model, as proposed by the petitioners, or remonstrants, was admitted by a new act of settlement, made the 25th of *February*, 1682-3. At the same time, an act was passed for uniting the province and territory, by which all the benefits and advantages, before granted to the provincials, were to be in common to the inhabitants of the territory, as to them; and both, from that time, were to be considered as one people under one and the same government. This constitution, however, was liable to great objections, unless it could be proved that the same proprietary and provincial powers, that had been granted by the original royal charter to the province, and under which the adventurers had embarked, were legally communicated to the territory, and to Mr. *Penn* as being proprietary of the same.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the people, both of the *Mr. Penn* province and territory, seemed to be extremely well contented under his government; but, a territorial dispute happening *goes to* between him and lord *Baltimore*, the proprietary of *Maryland*, *England.* Mr. *Penn* made use of that as a pretext to return to *England*,

and to leave the government under the direction of five commissioners of state, taken out of the provincial council, and who, as we apprehend, were to represent his person, the remainder of that council, and the general assembly. The conduct of Mr. Penn, after he arrived in England, and his close connexions with king James, gave rise to various surmises; and it has been confidently asserted that, under the mask of a quaker, he was a concealed jesuit. This imputation appears to be groundless; for it may be with equal propriety said, that his majesty was a quaker, because neither of them had the least concern about any matters of religion without the pale of his own profession. Mr. Penn's attachment to king James, therefore, was the very same, that it would have been to a prince of any other denomination of Christians. It is, however, certain, that, after the revolution, his personal gratitude to that unhappy monarch carried him to such lengths, that he was considered as an inveterate enemy to the protestant establishment; and, on that account, was sometimes excepted out of the proclamations and acts of grace published by king William and queen Mary. Captain Blackwell, during Mr. Penn's absence in England, administered the affairs of the infant colony, and one John White was speaker of the assembly. An attempt was at this time made to dissolve the late charter, but it failed; and one Moor was complained of by the assembly to the proprietary, as being a busy meddling fellow. The complaint was signed by White, who, it seems, thereby became obnoxious to Blackwell and the proprietary, who had done all they could to divide the freemen of the colony, but without effect.

Grievances
of the pro-
vince.

THE assembly insisted upon a discussion of their grievances, and upon a conference on that subject with the council, which, upon various pretexts, was evaded. This threw the assembly into a flame, and occasioned their entering not only a kind of protest in their minutes against so flagrant a partiality, but to come to the following resolution, viz. "That no person who is commissioned or appointed by the governor to receive the governor's fines, forfeitures, or revenues, whatsoever, shall sit in judgment in any court of judicature, within this government, in any matter or cause whatsoever, where a fine or forfeiture shall or may accrue to the governor." In the mean time, the deputy-governor and the provincial council gave the assembly a meeting, and he informed them, that the proprietary had given positive directions for letting all the laws, excepting the fundamentals, drop or fall; and, afterwards, for calling together the legislative authority, to revise some of them, or to pass others,

as they should think proper. The deputy-governor then complained of the great abuses into which the government had run, the dissention among the members of the provincial council, the uncertain state of affairs in *England*, and the doubtful condition in which Mr. Penn's own right as proprietary stood, the revolution having then but just taken place. *Blackwell*, at the same time, insisted that Mr. Penn was authorized by himself, and with consent of the freemen, to make laws, and under his seal to publish them.

THE assembly, looking upon the whole of the deputy-governor's speech and conduct to be an invasion of their rights and privileges, steadily opposed them, and contended that the laws which they had made could not be dropt, and that they were in full force, unless declared void by the king under his privy-seal. So violent an opposition obliged the deputy-governor to have recourse to other methods; and he prevailed with some of the members to absent themselves from the house, in order to introduce a nullity in its proceedings. This drew from the assembly a severe remonstrance, which they presented to the deputy-governor, besides their voting such withdrawing to be treacherous. Nothing but the great innate sagacity of Mr. Penn could, at this time, have prevented the ruin of his interest both in *England* and *America*. After obtaining his patent, he had been indefatigable in procuring settlers for his colony; and, to render his possession unquestionable, he bought from the natives all the lands they chose to part with. The *Dutch*, before this time, had been settled at *New York*, and upon the freshes of *Delaware* river; but were often interrupted in their possession by the *Swedes*, so that frequent bickerings happened between the governors of the two nations, who were rivals in trade. The *Dutch*, however, prevailed, and drove the *Swedes* from their possessions, in the same manner as the *Swedes* did them, and great part of them fell to the share of Mr. Penn, to the vast emolument of his colony. After this, every day added to the population and trade of *Pensylvania*; and the transporting of emigrants, from the west of *England* thither, became a considerable branch of commerce. The town of *Philadelphia* was now laid out, and a company, consisting of Mr. *James Claypool*, Mr. *Nicholas Moor*, and Mr. *Philip Ford*, bought 20,000 acres of Mr. Penn's propriety; and set up a tannery, a saw-mill, a glass-house, and a whalery. The conditions of the sale were, that the buyers paid 20 *l.* for 1000 acres, but still the quit-rent was reserved; but since that time, it is said, that land there has been commonly sold for above twenty years purchase, and reckoning 20 *s.* an acre.

Difference
between
the assembly
and the
deputy-
governor.

*The colony
flourishes.*

THE flourishing state of the colony soon enhanced to the proprietary, the price of *Indian* lands, which were purchased, not by the acre, but the mile. Mr. *Penn*, however, still continued to purchase, and found his benefit from the tranquillity of his possession, in paying the advanced price. The *Indians*, on the other hand, came into new life, and by the vast profits they made of their peltry trade, they soon accommodated themselves with the utensils and conveniencies of the *English* peasantry. This new manner of living kept them entirely quiet; and the mild administration of the proprietary himself reconciled to his government the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*, who were as numerous there as the *English* themselves. All the rubs, therefore, that Mr. *Penn* met with in his administration were entirely owing to the circumstances of his affairs, which, after the revolution, detained him at the court of *England*, where, as we have already observed, he was looked upon with a very suspicious eye. This was no secret to the *Pensylvanians*, and encouraged them in the opposition they made to his deputy, who was a republican, and had been paymaster to the parliament's army. The powers, however, that had been granted by the two royal brothers to Mr. *Penn*, were after the revolution thought to be derogatory to the royal authority; and, it is more than probable, that Mr. *Penn* compromised matters with the then government, by consenting to receive a governor for his colony from king *William* and queen *Mary*: and colonel *Fletcher* was by the same commission appointed governor both of *New-York* and *Pensylvania*.

Colonel
Fletcher
appointed
governor
by the
crown.

THIS was a pretty extraordinary transaction; for in *Fletcher's* commission no manner of regard seems to have been had to the original charter; and queen *Mary* sent over an order, countersigned by the earl of *Nottingham*, then secretary of state, requiring him, as governor of *Pensylvania*, without any mention of the freemen of the colony, to send aid and assistance, in men or otherwise, to the colony of *New-York* against the *French* and *Indians*. In short, it appears, as if the whole original constitution of the colony had been now dissolved. Instead of six members, for each of the six counties before mentioned, those of *Philadelphia* and *New-castle* were reduced to four each, and the rest to three, so that sixteen members were struck off at once. Upon the meeting of this new assembly, the governor laid before them his commission, and her majesty's letter; but the members were far from being so passive as he imagined. They passed a vote, *nem. con.* "That the laws of this province, that were in force and practice before the arrival of this present governor,

are

are still in force: and that the assembly have a right humbly to move the governor for a continuation or confirmation of the same." This vote was presented in an address to the governor, in which they intimated that their majesties had appointed him to be their governor, on account of the absence of the proprietary, as if the proprietary's right in appointing a governor had still subsisted. Mr. *Fletcher* did not suffer the assembly to continue long under this delusion; "The absence, said he, of the proprietary is the least cause mentioned in their majesties letters patent, for their majesties asserting their undoubted right of governing their subjects in this province. There are reasons of greater moment: as the neglects and miscarriages in the late administration; the want of necessary defence against the enemy; the danger of being lost from the crown.—The constitution of their majesties government and that of Mr. *Penn* are in direct opposition one to the other: if you will be tenacious in sticking for this, it is a plain demonstration, use what words you please, that, indeed, you decline the other."

WHATEVER objections could be made to Mr. *Penn's* ^{*Superfedes*} grant, or to the constitution of his colony, it is certain, that ^{*the pro-*} this language of *Fletcher's* was intemperate, and derogatory ^{*prietary*} to the rights of the freemen, who, thereupon, presented a ^{*right.*} remonstrance, in which they said, "that, as to superseding the proprietary's government, they apprehended the reasons were founded upon misinformations; for the courts of justice, continued they, were open in all counties in this government, and justice duly executed, from the highest crimes of treason and murder, to the determining the lowest differences about property, before the date or the arrival of the governor's commission. Neither do we apprehend, that the province was in danger of being lost from the crown, although the government was in the hands of some whose principles are not for war. And we conceive, that the present governancy hath no direct opposition (with respect to the king's government here in general) to our proprietary's, *William Penn*, though the exercise of thy authority, at present, supersedes that of our said proprietary. Nevertheless, we readily own thee for our lawful governor, saving to ourselves, and those whom we represent, our and their just rights and privileges."

THIS shrewd remonstrance introduced a demand of having ^{*His differ-*} their laws, which they sent up by ten of their own number, ^{*ences with*} accepted, and ratified by the governor. After an obstinate ^{*the assen-*} dispute, they carried their point so far, that Mr. *Fletcher* ^{*bly.*} "sent a message by two of the council to assure the house, in his name, of his confirmation of all the said laws (excepting
one

One relating to shipwrecks) during the king's pleasure." The assembly voted the governor thanks for this message; but, at the same time, they sent a message to the governor, signifying "that aggrivances ought to be redressed, before any bill of supply ought to pass." This message was attended by a petition of right, claiming and desiring the use and benefit of two hundred and three laws, therein specified, as in all respect consonant to their charter, and none of them annulled by the crown in consequence of the power reserved to the sovereign. This warm manner of proceeding drew from the governor an implied menace, that he saw nothing would do but an annexation to *New York*; and this prevailed with the assembly to grant the supply. They had, however, the spirit to resolve, *nem con.* "that all bills sent to the governor and council, in order to be amended, ought to be returned to this house, to have their farther approbation upon such amendments, before they can have their final assent to pass into laws." Though it was now plain, that the charter Mr. Penn had obtained for his colony was no longer regarded by the government of *England*, yet a committee of the assembly had the courage to enter upon the assembly's books, the following protest: "We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, representatives of the freemen of this province in assembly, do declare, it is the undoubted right of this house to receive back from the governor and council all such bills as are sent up for their approbation or amendments: and that it is as necessary to know the amendments, and debate the same, as the body of the bills: and that the denial of that right is destructive to the freedom of making laws. And we also declare it is the right of the assembly, that, before any bill for supplies be presented for the last sanction of a law, aggrivances ought to be redressed. Therefore, we, with protestation, (saving our just rights in assembly) do declare, that the assent of such of us, as were for sending up the bill this morning, was merely in consideration of the governor's speedy departure, but that it should not be drawn into example or precedent for the future."

Goes to
New
York.

AFTER this, *Fletcher* set out for *New York*, without giving his sanction to the laws required; and, by the total rejection of *Penn's* charter, it was generally concluded that the crown had got a complete victory over the proprietary right. Next year, *Markham*, the lieutenant-governor, issued writs for an assembly, which accordingly met; but, when they began to talk of redressing grievances, an order was produced from *Fletcher* for their adjournment, in order to supersede their farther proceedings. Notwithstanding this, they appointed a committee
of

of grievances, and entered their complaints against the arbitrary conduct of the governor, asserting their own right to adjourn themselves; that their cases, legally determined by juries, should not be voided by determinations in equity; and that the money which had been voted should be regularly and duly applied, together with many other grievances, which they insisted should be redressed. The state of affairs in *England*, at this time, did not admit of *Fletcher's* acting strictly up to the tenor of his instructions; and, *Mr. Penn*, who continued still in *England*, had found means to mollify the administration there in his behalf. Upon *Fletcher's* return from *New York*, he met the *Pennsylvanian* assembly with more than usual complacency; but laid before them the danger they were in of their *Indians* joining in the rebellion of the five *Indian* nations, which had always depended upon *England*, but were then confederated with the *French*. His speech, on this occasion, ended in the following remarkable manner; "Gentlemen, I consider your principles, that you will not carry arms, nor levy money to make war, though for your own defence; yet I hope you will not refuse to feed the hungry and cloath the naked: my meaning is to supply those *Indian* nations with such necessaries as may influence them to a continuance of their friendship to these provinces. —And now, gentlemen, if you will consider, wherein I may be useful to you, according to the tenor of my commission, in redressing your grievances, if you have any, you shall find me ready to act by the rules of loyalty, with a true regard to liberty and property."

THOSE soothing expressions did not divert the assembly *Mr.* from their main purpose; and having passed a money-bill, they *Penn's* insisted upon their right of naming collectors for the same, *right* and appropriating it to the purposes for which it had been *restored*. In this demand, they continued so obstinate, that the governor thought proper to dissolve them. All this while, the assembly had never thought fit to give any answer to the *English* government concerning the queen's letter, by which they were required to assist the province of *New York*. When the next assembly sat, the same refractoriness, on their part, continued; and they were again dissolved. In 1696, *Mr. Penn* had managed matters so well for himself, at the court of *England*, that he was restored to his right of naming a governor; and he accordingly nominated *Mr. Markham*, who was his nephew, and had been his secretary. The new governor, as deputy to the proprietary, summoned the assembly, and recommended to them *Fletcher's* late request of succouring the *Indians* of *New York*, whose corn and provisions had

had been destroyed by the *French*. The assembly readily agreed to do this, provided the governor would settle them in their former constitutions, as they stood before *Fletcher's* administration. This request, before the assembly thought proper to grant the *Indian* charity, produced a joint committee of the council and the assembly, who drew up the following expedient. "That the governor, at the request of the assembly, would be pleased to pass an act with a salvo to the proprietary and people; and that he would also issue out his writs for choosing a full number of representatives, on the 10th of *March* next ensuing, to serve in provincial council and assembly, according to charter, until the proprietary's pleasure should be known therein; and that, if the proprietary should disapprove the same, that then the said act should be void, and no ways prejudicial to him or the people, in relation to the validity or invalidity of the said charter."

THIS expedient was unanimously approved of by the house, and a sum of money was immediately raised for the support of the government, and the relief of the poor *Indians*. In the act of settlement, proposed by the expedient, the rotation principle was entirely set aside, and it was resolved that the elections, both for the council and assembly, should be annual and stated. The members of the council for each county were to be two, and those for the assembly four; with proper qualifications as to fortune and residency. The governor or his deputy was to preside in the council; but no act of government was to be valid without the concurrence of the council, or a majority of it^a. That two thirds were to be a *quorum* in the upper walk of business, and one third in the lower; that the assembly should have power to propose bills, as well as the council: that both might confer on such terms as either of them should propose: that such as the governor in council gave his consent to, should be laws: that the stile of those laws should be, By the governor, with the assent and the approbation of the freemen, in general assembly met: that duplicates thereof should be transmitted to the king's council, according to the late king's patent: that the assembly should sit on their own adjournments and committees, and continue to prepare and propose bills, redress grievances, and impeach criminals, till dismissed by the governor and council; and to remain during the year liable to serve upon his and their summons: should be allowed wages and travelling charges: two thirds to make a *quorum*: all questions to

*New plan
of govern-
ment.*

^a Vide Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, p. 35.

be decided by a majority: affirmations to be admitted in all courts, instead of oaths, where required: all persons in possession of lands, by purchase or otherwise, so to continue: sheriffs and their substitutes to give security for office-behaviour: elections were to be free, regular, and incorrupt: no member being permitted to serve without wages, or for less wages than by this act appointed: neither the form or effect of this act was to be diminished or altered, in any part or clause thereof, contrary to the true intent or meaning thereof, without the consent of the governor, and six parts in seven of the freemen in council and assembly met: it was to continue and be in force, till the proprietary should, by some instrument under his hand and seal, signify his pleasure to the contrary: and it was provided, that neither this act nor any other should preclude or debar the inhabitants of this province and territories from claiming, having, and enjoying, any of the rights, privileges and immunities, which the said proprietary for himself, his heirs and assigns, did formerly grant, or which of right did belong, unto them the said inhabitants, by virtue of any law, charter, or grant whatsoever, any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

SUCH was the new settlement of *Pennsylvania*; but though governor *Fletcher* repeated his applications for aid and assistance to the colony of *New York* against the *French* and their *Indians*, he could obtain none; and thus stood affairs in the province, when in the beginning of the year 1700, the proprietary Mr. *Penn* came over in person. He immediately convened the assembly, and laid before them the great disrepute which the colony had incurred in *England*, on account of their piratical practices, and illicit trade; requiring them to proceed vigorously against both. Those matters were referred to proper committees; and a son-in-law of the late governor *Markham*, being found the most culpable as to piratical practices, was committed, and obliged to give bail for his appearance. As to the charge of illicit trade, the assembly disclaimed it, and effectually justified themselves. After this, some farther regulations with regard to the next assembly being appointed, particularly that three members of the council should be chosen in every county, and six for the assembly, they separated. The next assembly proved to be very numerous, and they prolonged their session beyond the time limited by their charter, which probably was occasioned by a new plan of government that was under their deliberation.

The truth is, Mr. *Penn's* notions of government were in some respects too refined to be practicable, and were perpetually fluctuating. The next assembly consisted only of twenty-

1700;
Mr. Penn
returns to
the pro-
vince.

twenty-four members, that is four for each county; and instead of *Philadelphia*, they met at *Newcastle*. The governor informed them of the defects of their constitution, and demanded a supply for the support of his government. Those matters, especially the union between the province and the territory, created prodigious debates, and threatened an immediate separation; but, at last, the debate was referred to a future assembly. The settlement of the property was secured by a bill for the effectual establishment and confirmation of the freeholders of both parts of the united colony, and a liberal supply was granted. The assembly met again the following *August* at *Philadelphia*, and a letter from his majesty, requiring a sum of money for raising fortifications on the frontiers of *New York*, was laid before them, but no regard was paid to it, under pretence that the province was exhausted by their former grants. In *September*, 1701, Mr.

1701.
and from
thence to
England.

Penn convened another assembly, and informed them of the indispensable necessity; he was under to go to *England*, to obviate some ill offices done by his and their enemies with the government there; but offered to do every thing that was in his power to secure them in their privileges and properties. The assembly, in their answer, expressed great dissatisfaction to the state of both, and required some farther security; to which the proprietary gave evasive answers, but offered to leave the nomination of the deputy-governor, who was to act in his absence, to themselves: but they declined that honour, and went upon a new charter of privileges.

THIS introduced a breach between the members of the province, and those of the territory; the latter insisting upon some particular privileges, which, when they were refused them by the others, made them withdraw from the meeting, and it required all the authority and address of the proprietary to make up the breach. At last, after great heart-burnings on both parts, just when Mr. *Penn* was about to embark, a charter of privileges was presented to him, and, being ratified by him, is now the rule of government in *Pensylvania*. By this important charter, liberty of conscience is granted; and, all christians, taking the proper oath of allegiance and fidelity, whatever denomination they were of, were enabled to serve the government, either legislatively or executively. By the second article, it is provided that an assembly should be yearly chosen by the freemen, to consist of four persons out of each county, of most note for virtue, wisdom, and ability, or of a greater number, if the governor and assembly should so agree, upon the 1st of *October* for ever, and should sit on the 14th following, with power to chuse a speaker and

A new
charter.

Other their officers, to be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members, sit upon their own adjournments, appoint committees, prepare bills, impeach criminals, and redress grievances, with all other powers and privileges of an assembly, according to the rights of the free-born subjects of *England*, and the customs observed in any of the king's plantations in *America*. If any county or counties should neglect to send deputies, those who met, provided they were not fewer in number than two thirds of the whole, were to be considered as the legal representative of the province.

Contents of
his last
charter.

THE freemen of each county were to pitch upon three men, whose names they were to present to the governor, to serve the offices of sheriff and coroner, and he was to pitch upon one with the provisions as usual in such cases. The fourth article provided, that the laws of this government shall be in this stile, *viz.* By the governor, with the consent and approbation of the freemen in general assembly met. The fifth article provides that all criminals shall have the same privileges of witnesses and council as their prosecutors. By the sixth article, all matters of complaint relating to property were to be answered before the governor and council only, in the ordinary course of justice, unless appeals thereunto shall be thereafter by law appointed. By the seventh article, the governor was to grant no licence for any public house, without a recommendation from the justices of the county, who, in case of misbehaviour, were empowered to shut it up, or otherwise punish according to law. By the eighth article, in cases of suicide, all property was to descend to the next heirs, as if the deceased had died a natural death; nor was the governor to be intitled to any forfeiture, if a person should be killed by casualty or accident. The same article provides, that no act, law, or ordinance whatsoever, should at any time hereafter be made or done to alter, change, or diminish the form or effect of this charter, or of any part or clause therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, without the consent of the governor for the time being, and six parts in seven of the assembly met: and that the first article, relating to liberty of conscience, should be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably for ever: That the said *William Penn*, for himself, his heirs and assigns, did thereby solemnly declare, grant, and confirm, that neither he, his heirs or assigns, should procure or do any thing or things whereby the liberties, in this charter contained and expressed, nor any part thereof, should be infringed or broken; and, that if any thing should be procured and

done by any person or persons contrary thereto, it should be held of no force or effect.

Hamilton governor. THIS new constitution differed greatly from the original. The governor might nominate his own council, and he was left single in the executive part of the government, and had liberty to restrain the legislative, by refusing his assent to their bills. The assembly, on the other hand, acquired the important privilege of propounding laws, as well as of amending or rejecting them; but though this new constitution was thankfully accepted of by the province, it was unanimously rejected by the territory; and affairs stood in this untowardly state, when Mr. Penn sailed for *England*, after having named *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; to act as his deputy in his absence. Mr. *Hamilton's* great endeavour, during his administration, was to bring about an union between the province and the territory, but, that being found impracticable, the province met in consequence of their new charter, and came to a resolution confirming their own powers. In the mean while, Mr. *Hamilton* died, and was succeeded in his administration by *John Evans*, Esq;

1794.

Succeeded by Evans, who breaks with the assembly.

THIS gentleman, soon after his arrival, affected to be surprized that the representatives of the province, and those of the territory, acted as two distinct bodies, and advised them to unite; intimating, at the same time, that, if they did not, neither of them would be in a condition to act at all. The provincials threw the blame of the disunion upon the territory people, who, at last, offered to receive the charter, and to co-operate with the provincials, who now declined the proposal, to the great disgust of the new governor. The assembly, after this, passed a bill for confirming their charter, but it was sent back to them with amendments, which they voted were destructive to their constitution. This vote was followed by resolutions and addresses, which widened the breach between the governor and the assembly, and the latter resolved, that to admit of the power of dissolution, or prorogation in the governor, will manifestly destroy or frustrate the elections, settled by the charter, which is as a perpetual writ, supported by the legislative authority of this government, and will make way for elections by writs, grounded upon a prerogative, or rather a pre-eminence, which the proprietary and his deputy are by charter debarred to resume. The governor, in his answer, denied that the proprietary by the late charter had granted away that power, and refused to comply with the assembly till he could obtain instructions from *England*; but, in the mean time, he recommended them to dispatch the other business that was before them, which the

exigencies

exigencies of the government necessarily required. The assembly, in their rejoinder to this answer, carried their resentment so high, that they refused to proceed upon any other business, till they received satisfaction as to the great point in dispute. They likewise unanimously came to nine resolutions, in which the proprietary himself was charged as having broken the original charter, and, by his artifices, defeated them of their privileges. He was likewise charged with having extorted from the province great sums of money; on pretence of negotiating their affairs in *England*, and of relieving them as to oaths; but, instead of that, the queen's letter required oaths to be administered to all the members, by which the quakers were disabled from sitting in courts. They made likewise grievous complaints concerning the abuses of surveyors, the clerks of the courts, and justices of the peace, who, they said, were all put in by the proprietary, and thereby he became his own judge in his own cause. Those and other matters were the heads of a representation, or rather remonstrance, drawn up and sent to the proprietary, then in *England*; in which he is represented as an oppressor, and as falsifying his word in almost every respect with the provincials. Many, if not the whole, of those allegations were overstrained, or entirely false; but it seems pretty certain, that Mr. Penn's extreme caution and anxiety to finish a complete model of government, did subject the province to inconveniencies, which, by designing men, were represented as intolerable grievances. Amongst other regulations, which the provincials insisted upon, one was, that a royal commissioner should be established in *Pennsylvania*, for determining all matters wherein the provincials had just cause to complain against the proprietary, his deputies, or commissioners; or that the inhabitants should be restored to their original right, which they had by their first charter, of electing judges, justices, and other officers, as the people of *New England* had by king *William's* charter.

FROM the whole of this representation it appeared, that Mr. Penn the parties were determined to bring the constitution of the province as near as possible to its first principles. The representation was sent; but the parties themselves acted with such firmness, that, though several of the council, and the governor himself, earnestly demanded a copy of it, they were refused it, under pretence that they were not willing to expose the proprietary to censure. The true reason, however, why they let the affair sleep, notwithstanding their loud outcries against their proprietary, was their apprehension of falling under the immediate power of the crown, in which case

they might have oaths multiplied upon them, and be charged with the militia duties, both which were highly repugnant to the principles of the majority of the council. It is more than probable that Mr. Penn, and his administration in *Pennsylvania*, were fully sensible of the difficulties the provincials lay under in this respect, and they managed so well, that, at last, they obtained a majority in the assembly, who submitted to all the grievances they had formerly complained of. Those disputes were greatly augmented by the intemperance of the quakers themselves, who, notwithstanding all their zeal for liberty of conscience, persecuted *Keith*, one of their most famous preachers, upon his conforming to the church of *England*, and went so far as to throw him into prison. This was looked upon as being highly inconsistent with quaker-principles; and his persecutors, by way of apology, (though it is a very trifling one) pretended that they did not punish him for his religious principles, but for having insulted the civil government.

1706-7.
Differences
between
them and
the pro-
prietary.

In 1706-7, the assembly of *Pennsylvania* was far from being so complaisant as of late to the governor and the council; and two parties were formed, the one headed by Mr. *Logan*, secretary to the governor and the council, and the other by *David Lloyd*, speaker of the assembly. Many exasperating motions and messages, not material to be mentioned here, passed between the two parties, and, it is now agreed on all hands, that both of them were so blinded by passion and animosity, it is hard to say, which was most to blame. *Logan* insulted the members of the assembly, when they came with messages to the governor, who seems to have been entirely under the direction and influence of *Logan*; and, therefore, they proceeded against him as a delinquent. The governor, on the other hand, treated *Lloyd* as an incendiary, and threatened to make him feel the weight of his power. All this while, three charters were depending for confirmation. One was that of the privileges; another that of the city of *Philadelphia*; and the last that of securing property; and the assembly were given to understand, that the two former must remain in the same precarious state they were then, until the proprietary and his governor were put upon proper establishments, and freed from the invasions of the assembly. As to the last charter, the governor told the assembly, that it was no better than an unjust project of the speaker to in-croach upon, and even to ingross, the proprietary's rights. The assembly, in answer to this, maintained that nothing had been inserted in the charter, but, by the proprietary's own direction; but we are to observe, that this happened at a juncture,

when the proprietary apprehended that his own powers might be abridged by a bill depending in the *English* parliament; and he found it his interest to strengthen, all he could, the property of the provincials.

By this time, the deputy-governor had received from Mr. *Penn.* heavy complaints of the indignity done him by the representation we have already mentioned, and a copy of the same with which he upbraided the assembly; but they excused themselves from taking any cognizance of the paper, as it was the act of a former assembly, for which they were not to answer. They therefore insisted still upon a redress of grievances. The governor in this contest had manifestly the superiority. The assembly had sent him up a bill, which they had passed for establishing courts of justice, and which the governor thought he could not properly agree to, because, at his arrival in *Pennsylvania*, he had found the frame of their government settled by their last charter of privileges, which had been thankfully received and signed by themselves, and therefore he did not apprehend it to be within his commission or instructions to agree to so important a variation from that charter. The assembly, in reply to this answer, alledged, that even the last charter had been violated, and, very inconsistently with themselves, complained of its insufficiency, because it fell far short of the rights they claimed by their original constitution. At last, they drew up two different remonstrances to Mr. *Penn.*, complaining of the governor and the secretary, and of the proprietary himself, for having left them to be destroyed without any protection by their injustice and tyranny. They then renewed all their complaints contained in their former representation, and added fresh ones. This new remonstrance, to say the least of it, was worded in terms, and with a spirit which plainly enough evinced that they were not to be satisfied, even if all their demands had been granted them.

THE dispute between *Logan* and the assembly still continued, and they drew up an impeachment, consisting of thirteen articles against him, charging him with malversation in his office, and offering to prove all their allegations; but they were evaded by the governor. This produced a remonstrance against the governor himself, containing twelve articles, and charging him with being loose in his principles, arbitrary in his disposition, and scandalous in his private life and deportment. At last the proprietary thought proper to recal *Evans*, who had the mortification to see an address of thanks passed by the assembly on that account, and was succeeded by *Charles Gookin*, Esq. This new governor was as

Gookin
governor.

much under the influence of *Logan* as his predecessor had been. It seems to be pretty plain that all the grievances of the province, and the dissensions between the assembly, and the proprietary, were owing to the unhappy state of Mr. *Penn's* private affairs in *England*, which did not permit him to reside upon his province. He was an illustrious instance of that public spirit which can form the greatest plans, without the least immediate attention to domestic interest. *Gookin*, as well as *Evans* had been, was in necessitous circumstances, and both of them sought their own emolument with an equal disregard to that of the proprietary as of the provincials. We do not perceive that the change of *Evans* for *Gookin* (B) was of any service towards extinguishing the heats between the governor and the assembly. The latter by this time talked in a more positive haughty strain than ever. This was occasioned by the knowledge they had of the proprietary's distress circumstances (for we are informed that about this time he was confined for debt in the prison of the fleet) which threw his governors upon the province for their subsistence. This obliged them to act a most scandalous part; for if they did not obey the orders of the proprietary, they were displaced; if they broke with the assembly, they were in danger of starving. The assembly, therefore, now declared that they expected some more consideration than formerly from the governor, whom they supported at their own expence. *Gookin* at first pretended to act with a high hand, and by *Logan's* advice he disowned the power of the assembly, and refused to hold any correspondence with them. He lived, however, long enough in *Pennsylvania* to repent of this haughty proceeding, and before his return to *England*, he convened the assembly, and made them the following mean proposition, "That, for the little time he had to stay, he was ready to do the country all the service he could; and that they might be their own carvers, in case they would in some measure provide for his going back to seek another employment." All the answer the assembly thought fit to make to this prostituted offer, was to present the governor with 200*l*.

Sir William
Keith
governor.

THE next deputy-governor was *Sir William Keith*. This gentleman, when young, had been engaged in some treasonable practices with *Frazer* afterwards lord *Lovat*, the same who lost his head on *Tower-hill*, not from any principle either civil or religious, but in hopes of becoming useful to the government, by the discoveries he could make, and thereby re-

(B) The author of the *British* empire in *America*, is so ignorant of the affairs of this pro- vince, that he entirely omits the mention of this governor.

pair his ruined fortune; which he never could do, for he died a beggar, in the lowest sense of the word. Tho' a man of no deep parts, yet he was plausible, insinuating, and cunning, and by affecting to be a professed politician, he gained from many, even sensible, people, an opinion of his wisdom. He was sensible of *Penn's* distresses, and he had address enough to get himself recommended by the board of trade as a proper governor for *Pennsylvania*. Having observed the miscarriages of the two last governors, and how little their private fortunes were indebted to their administration, he resolved to observe a conduct very different from theirs. Having called the assembly together, he dropt all the high airs of a governor, and made them a most soothing speech, without mentioning even the name of a proprietary. In short, he insinuated in his speech enough to let the members know, that provided they considered him, he was resolved to refuse them nothing they could decently ask for. They struck in with his meaning; and though *Keith* was a very expensive man, yet he conducted himself with so much address, that they appeared to be entirely satisfied with his administration, as he was with their retributions; and the indulgence he shewed to all their requests, though upon the mercenary motives we have mentioned, greatly contributed to the present flourishing state of the colony.

ONE effect which this good understanding between the governor and the assembly produced, was the diminishing the influence of *Logan* in the assembly. Mr. *Penn*, in 1718, died at his seat near *Reading* in *Berkshire*, and left his interest in the province in the hands of trustees, who were his widow, *Henry Gouldney*, *Joshua Gee*, and his secretary *Logan*. This share in the trust soon revived the interest of the latter, who by representing *Keith* as a needy man, and as attempting to ruin the proprietary's interest in the province, divided a majority of the council against him. *Keith*, on the other hand, accused *Logan*^b with having vitiated the records of the council, and the latter standing on his own defence, and throwing out great personal abuse against the governor, *Keith*, ventured not only to dismiss him from his post of secretary, but to fill it up with another. *Logan* upon this, went over, full of resentment, to *England*, and received from the other trustees letters to *Keith*, whom they reproved for his behaviour to *Logan*, and private instructions for his future conduct. Those instructions turned upon very interesting points. In them, the widow *Penn*, who seems to have taken the lead in the affair, complains bitterly that the power of the legislature having been

1718.

^b See governor *Keith's* letter to the widow *Penn*, Sept. 24, 1724.

The History of America.

lodged in the governor and assembly, the absent proprietary had been deprived even of his negative, contrary to his intention and his undoubted rights. *Keith* is likewise charged with having transmitted the laws enacted in conjunction with the assembly, directly to the ministry at *London*, without any intermediate check. "Therefore (continues the widow's private instructions) for remedy of this grievance, it is required, that thou advise with the council, upon every meeting or adjournment of the assembly, which require any deliberation on the governor's part: that thou make no speech, nor send any written message to the assembly, but what shall be first approved in council; that thou receive all messages from them in council, if practicable at the time; and shalt return no bills to the house, without the advice of council; nor pass any whatsoever into a law without the consent of a majority of that board."

*His artful
manage-
ment.*

KEITH, unwilling to enter on any dispute that might disappoint him of his government, had, at his first entering on it, submitted to give a bond of 1000*l.* to the proprietary, that he would follow certain conditions of government. This undoubtedly was an unconstitutional measure, and nothing but Mr. *Penn* and his family's distresses, by which they saw themselves become insignificant in the province, could have induced them to exact it. *Keith*, however, stood so well with the assembly, that he not only ventured to disregard this bond; but against all the rules of sound policy, if not in direct violation of his trust, he openly communicated to the assembly all the several instructions he had received, with all the answers he had returned to the same. *Logan*, in the course of the dispute, discovered, that the proprietary, during his absence, had not received one shilling of profit from the government. The assembly pretended, that by their original article of quit-rents, they were exempted from the obligation of paying any thing towards the expences of the government, though, in fact, they had paid a great deal. They therefore closed with *Keith*, without taking notice of the government-subsidies, and agreed with him in obstructing all demands of that kind, or any other contained in the said private instructions that were repugnant to their charter, or inconsistent with their privileges, which they grounded, not very consistently with themselves, upon their original constitutions.

KEITH remained after this in so high credit with the provincials, that he could have defeated all *Logan's* schemes; but he seems to have been too much intoxicated with his popularity. He had, during his dispute, been strenuously supported with the interest, the advice, and the pen (such as it was)

was) of *Lloyd*, the assembly's speaker, whom we have already mentioned; but, thinking himself now above any assistance, he quarrelled with *Lloyd*, though he had received four thousand pounds from the assembly for his extraordinary services in joining with them against the proprietary's interest. *Lloyd* and his party then joining with *Logan*, managed so well with the trustees in *England*, that the latter ventured to promise to send a successor to *Keith*. The provincials, having now some hopes of emancipating themselves from the least dependance upon *Keith*, in the next assembly shewed a sudden and surprizing coldness towards all he proposed. Two motions were made, the one for furnishing him with six hundred pounds, and the other with five hundred; but both were over-ruled, and all he could obtain was four hundred. In all the subsequent part of the session they treated him with remarkable neglect. They delayed the business of the province, which they reserved for the administration of his successor; and when *Keith* warmly insisted upon their giving him a public testimonial of his good government, they were, with great difficulty, brought to give him one that was very scanty, and not adequate to his merits. This raised *Keith's* indignation so much, that, though he knew he was to lose his government, he did not apply as his predecessor *Gookin* had done for any present. After nine years administration of remarkable tranquillity, *Keith* was reduced to the condition of a private man; but even then he could not submit to a private condition. Being in hopes that he could still embroil the affairs of the government, so as to render it necessary for the proprietaries to reinstate him, he very imprudently procured himself to be chosen an assembly-man; but all the views he had of embarrassing the government, and distressing the proprietaries miscarried; and he was obliged to return to *England*, where he lived without a friend to support him, and spent the very small remains of his fortune in fruitless expectations.

And miserable fate.

It was about this time that the foundation of the dispute was laid concerning taxing the estates of the proprietary. The provincials pretended that the presents which they made to the *Indians*, in a manner, paid for the lands purchased from them by *Mr. Penn.* When those lands were resold, the quit-rents upon them were still retained by the proprietary, who, by the original charter of the province, was the only merchant who could buy them, and by the amazing increase of population in *Pensylvania*, the value of lands so purchased improved so greatly, that it was easily to be foreseen the quit-rents must, in a short time, amount to an immense sum. As those quit-rents had been reserved by the proprietary, who was likewise

Continuance of the differences between the proprietary and the assembly.

gover-

governor, under the pretence of their defraying the expences of government, which ever since his residence in *England* had been paid by the province, it was insisted upon by the assembly that the proprietary's estate should be taxable in common with the rest of the property of the province. This claim was vigorously opposed by the proprietaries, there being nothing in the charters to authorize it, and both sides becoming obstinate, the dispute at last brought the province to the brink of ruin.

Vast increase of the colony.

THE reader in the history of a province chiefly peopled by men whose principles disclaimed the use of arms, and who were far from being adventurers in matters of commerce, can expect little entertainment, besides its civil transactions; and indeed they are perhaps more instructive than any other, when we consider the stupendous prosperity of this country, so lately planted, and so flourishing by pacific measures. After the Revolution had taken place, *Pensylvania* was no longer considered as a refuge for the persecuted. but as one of the chief emporiums of *America*; and it was filled with colonists from all parts of the world. Besides the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, vast numbers of *Palatines* went every year to it from the port of *Rotterdam*; and their example was followed by other *Germans* and *Swedes*, who, notwithstanding their different sects of religion, lived in wonderful harmony together, and the whole formed perhaps the most peaceable and industrious, and therefore the most happy, people in the world; nor is it perhaps an over-stretched calculation to say, that at this time *Pensylvania* contains 280,000 souls.

THIS prodigious increase of population, together with the growing power of the *French* in *North America*, introduced into *Pensylvania* maxims very different from those of its original planters, who, when they sought an asylum there, could not foresee that one time or other they should be in danger, without the use of arms, of falling a prey to their ambitious neighbours. As to Mr. *Penn*, the father of the colony, it is pretty plain by his reserving to himself, in the sixteenth section of his original charter, the office of captain-general, and the power of making war, when necessary, that he was void of those passive sentiments; and his governors had made repeated efforts for establishing a military force in the province; but, for some time, they had not been able to succeed thro' the vast majority which the quakers had in every assembly. We shall, in the course of our history, see the terrible effects which this ridiculous principle of non-resistance introduced.

Case of its currency.

THE next great interesting point that occurs in the history of this province is the case of their currency. *Pensylvania*, like

like the other *English* colonies in *North America*, found that its current specie was insufficient to answer the defect that arose upon the ballance of trade between them and *England*; but long resisted the general practice entered into by the other colonies of issuing a paper currency for supplying the topical purposes of gold and silver, which they were obliged to send to *England*. It was not before the year 1722, that they issued 15,000*l.* in provincial bills; but even in issuing this inconsiderable sum, they proceeded with vast caution and circumspection. They made no loans but upon land security, or plate deposited in their loan office. They obliged the borrowers to pay five per cent. for the sums they took up; and they made their bills a tender in all payments, under the pain of forfeiting the commodity or vacating the debt. That they might keep their paper currency as near as possible on a par with their specie, they even imposed penalties for those who made extraordinary allowances for being paid in the latter instead of the former; and that they might be more gradually reduced, they provided that one eighth of the principal, as well as the whole interest money, should be annually paid. The provincials, however, finding by experience, and, in course of time, the insufficiency of so small a paper currency, to answer the exigencies of so populous a province, increased their currency by degrees to 80,000*l.* to be current for sixteen years. This measure was attended by one, perhaps, not equally warrantable; because it gave a power to the trustees of the loan office to re-emit the currency as it should be paid off either to the same persons or others, without any due authority for that purpose.

At first the proprietaries made no objection to those issues; *Gordon* but finding their interests likely to be affected by them, *governor*, Major *Gordon*, who succeeded Sir *William Keith* in the government, though he approved of the increase of paper currency in general, gave the provincials to understand that they would be no longer gratified in the emission of paper money, unless particular care was taken to pay the quit-rents of the proprietaries in gold and silver; and at least, that as paper, notwithstanding all the precautions which had been taken, was now at a discount, that not only the difference between that and specie or bullion, should be made up to them, but likewise the loss arising upon the exchange; and to this demand the province was partly obliged to submit. In the year 1740, the *Pensylvanians* were included in the complaint which the merchants of *Great Britain* brought into the house of commons, on account of the excessive abuse of paper-money in the eastern colonies of *America*, and which, for want of proper

per funds to support its credit, was greatly depreciated, to the infinite prejudice of the national commerce. The house, upon this, addressed the throne to put a stop to the evil, by instructing the several governors not to give their assent to any farther laws of that nature, without an express proviso, that they should not take effect till his majesty's approbation had been first obtained. A bill was afterwards brought in to restrain the northern colonies in general from issuing paper bills of credit, but was opposed, and miscarried, chiefly through the influence of the proprietaries of *Pensylvania*. Notwithstanding the above address, and the general outcry raised by the merchants against a paper-currency, the lords of trade and plantations were so well satisfied of the necessity of the circulation of 80,000*l.* paper currency in *Pensylvania*, that an act for that purpose, then lying before the lords of trade, was, by their recommendation, passed into a law, but not till after the proprietaries demands had been satisfied.

*History of
the com-
merce of
Pensylva-
nia.*

HAVING thus given our reader, we hope, a full view of the civil interests and concerns of *Pensylvania*, we shall now proceed upon those that are commercial. According to a letter published from Mr. Penn^c in the infancy of the colony, the province of *Pensylvania* consumed above 180,000*l.* yearly of *English* growth, and the whole of this its commerce added 30,000*l.* a year to the revenue. During Sir *William Keith's* government, he settled in *Pensylvania* a number of *Palatines*, who had been disappointed of their settlements in *New York*; and those emigrants poured in such numbers into *Pensylvania*, that the government of that province refused to receive any more, unless they paid a pecuniary tax for their reception, which obliged many ships full of them to go to other *British* settlements. This undoubtedly was bad policy, as the country was then but thinly peopled; and the *Pensylvanians* themselves were so sensible of their mistake, that the tax was abolished. To give some specimen of the swift encrease of population in this country, we need but to mention that from *December 25, 1728*, to *December 25, 1729*, no fewer than 6200 *Germans*, and others, were imported into the colony; and this importation continued till it was thought by many that the proportion of numbers within the province between *British* subjects and foreigners, was too unequal, and would in time require some public regulation. Even the losses of the province were so many proofs of its wealth, for, by a fire which broke out in the year 1730, the loss of houses, goods, and furniture in *Philadelphia*, was greater than seve-

^c *British* empire in *America*, Vol. I. page 316.

ral other cities in the *British America* could have suffered without being ruined. In the year following, an association amongst the merchants of *Pensylvania* was entered into for supporting the paper currency, which had been emitted by the lower counties upon *Delaware* river, and is distinguished by the name of the *Pensylvanian* territory, which currency was limited to 12,000*l.* This measure proved to be as wise as it was generous, and placed the territory currency upon a par with that of the province. As the population of *Pensylvania* encreased, so did the measures taken for its prosperity. Supplementary laws were made to secure both the liberty and property of the provincials. The act against buying lands of the natives was explained. Hawkers and pedlars were regulated. A tax was imposed upon persons guilty of certain heinous crimes, and an excise laid on all wine, rum, brandy, and other spirits retailed in the province. Precautions were likewise taken against the importation of poor and impotent persons; and for raising good hemp, and imposing penalties upon all who should manufacture into cordage unmerchantable hemp. According to the best accounts we have been able to receive, the *Pensylvanians* finding that their raising tobacco would be but an unthankful manufacture, because *Maryland* and *Virginia* were sufficient of themselves to supply all *Britain* with it, wisely applied themselves to other home cultivations, in which they have prospered, considering the shortness of the time to a degree exceeding almost belief. This, in a great measure, is owing to the industry and penurious living of the *German* and other foreigners. The country produces all kinds of *British* grain, *Indian* corn, buck-wheat, and its soil is particularly adapted for the cultivation of flax and hemp; so that it is thought that nine tenths of the common people and labourers are clothed in the linnen manufacture of *Pensylvania*, besides what the inhabitants manufacture for sale to other provinces. At present, the *Pensylvanian* flax seed is thought preferable to that exported from *Holland*.

BESIDES the commodities we have already mentioned, the *Pensylvanians* export salt beef, and pork, hams, bacon, cheese, butter, soap, wax-candles, starch, powder, apples, cyder, tanned leather, tallow and tallow candles, common wax, myrtle wax, strong beer, linseed-oil, skins, furs, castor, and a very small quantity of tobacco. In order to encourage the culture of hemp, they at first granted a bounty of one penny a pound on its exportation, and then three half-pence; but finding all this encouragement to be ineffectual, they at last manufactured their hemp into cordage. They likewise made considerable exports of iron, in pigs, bars, and pots, walnut-logs,

*Foreign
and domest-
tic.*

logs, planks, staves, heading and hoops. Ship-building is another very profitable branch of *Pensylvanian* commerce; but the number of tons of shipping, though amounting to some thousands, which they yearly build, exclusive of those employed in the colony trade, is not, in the present flourishing state of the colony, easily to be ascertained. The same may be said with regard to the present state of their trade with their neighbours. It is certain, that the *Pensylvanians* import dry goods of all kinds from *Great Britain*, and their wines from *Madeira* and other places. Their salt, by an act of the *British* parliament in 1727, is allowed to be imported duty-free. From the western sugar islands, and other *British* colonies, they import sugar, rum, molasses, cotton, indigo, coffee, dyeing woods, mahogany-plank, and other commodities. They likewise trade with *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*; and, by the way of *Jamaica*, with the *Spanish* islands in *America*. Their trade with the *French* and the *Dutch Antilles* islands, though illicit, is very lucrative; and it is said that they return near 6000 pistoles a year from *Curassao* alone, besides what they gain by provisions, which they sell at *Surinam*, and to the *French*. But it is necessary, for the information of the reader, to be a little more explicit. In 1736, the entries in the port of *Philadelphia* were two hundred and twelve, and the clearances two hundred and fifteen vessels. Before the *French* war was broken out, in 1742, the entries rose to be two hundred and thirty, and the clearances two hundred and eighty-one. The number of vessels cleared from that port for twelve months preceding *March 12*, 1750-1, is three hundred and fifty-eight; those that were bound to the northward of *Delaware* capes, viz. to *New York*, *Rhode Island*, *Boston*, with its out-ports, *Hallifax* and *Newfoundland*, make about ninety of that number; to *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *North* and *South Carolina*, and *Georgia*, about twenty-nine; and the remainder sailed for *Europe*, and the *West India* sugar islands and colonies. Their craft that go to the southward, viz. to *Virginia* and *Maryland*, are not so valuable as those that go to the northward, some of which carry five or six hundred barrels of bread and flour.

BESIDES their trade with the *Europeans* and their colonies, the *Pensylvanians* carry on no small traffic with their neighbouring *Indians*; of whom it is necessary to say somewhat in this place. The *Indian* traders from *Pensylvania* find the rivers *Delaware*, *Susquehanna*, and *Potomack*, fordable in the summer season, which is an infinite conveniency to them.

* DOUGLASS'S Summary, Vol. II. p. 333.

They set out in the beginning of *May*, and continue out three or four months. They buy the skins they trade for, not from the *Indians* themselves, but from a kind of brokers who are settled on their confines, and to whom they pay gold and silver for all they receive. It is observable, that till of late, by the instigation of the *French*, the *Pensylvanians* never lost a single man by the *Indians*, which ought to be an instructive lesson, that good usage, a peaceable behaviour, and, at least, plausible dealing, will do almost every thing with those savages that can or ought reasonably be desired of them. Tho' the *Iroquois* savages, of whom we have treated so much in the history of *Canada*, and who now consist of six nations, go by the general name of *Mohawks*, yet the last is reckoned to be the smallest of all the six nations. In the wars among the other *Indians*, of which we have very little knowledge, ^{Its interest} with the the tribe called *Tuscarora* being worsted, was adopted and received by the antient five nations, and formed the sixth. Those savages are far from being so heedless as is commonly imagined with regard to their own interest, and they often put the *English* in mind that the *Delaware* and *Susquehanna Indians* had been conquered by them, and that they therefore had no right to dispose of their lands. The *English* not only supply those savages with guns, hatchets, and kettles, but mend them gratis, which perhaps is no bad policy, as it prevents them from applying themselves to handicraft operations. We shall have occasion to mention those *Indians* farther when we treat of the congress between them and the *English* at *Lancaster*. To conclude this account of the *Pensylvanian* trade, its amazing improvement may be known by the imports from *England* to that province, which in the year 1757, amounted to 268,426 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* sterling. For this they paid annually to *Great Britain*, besides their own natural productions, 60,000 *l.* in specie or bullion; of which they receive 10,000 from *Virginia* and *Maryland*, 25,000 from *Spain* and *Portugal*; 4000 from the *Canaries*, 4000 from *Newfoundland*, and the rest from the *French* and *Dutch* islands.

THE flourishing state of this colony is a sufficient proof of the sound judgment of its founder *Penn* in his legislative and commercial capacity, however unaccountable he may have been (and such he certainly was) in other points of conduct. Upon his death his family reaped the benefit of all his plans; and notwithstanding the tenaciousness of the assembly in matters of property and independency, they made good their original claims; so far as they were founded on the new constitution of 1704. In *August* 1732, *William Penn*, Esq; the then

Arrival of
the propri-
etary.

then proprietary, arrived at *Chester* in *Pensylvania*, and was so cordially received by the inhabitants, in gratitude to their beneficent founder, that he entered his capital (as we may call it) of *Philadelphia* at the head of almost eight hundred horse, who came out to meet him, and was received by a formal speech from the recorder. Soon after he met the heads of the six *Indian* nations, and renewing the friendship between them and his province, made each of them a present of a curious gun.

WHEN, in consequence of the war declared between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, the expedition against *Carthagera*, under admiral *Vernon*, was undertaken, *Pensylvania*, among the other northern colonies, was called upon to furnish soldiers for that service. Mr. *Thomas* was then governor of *Pensylvania*, and he had succeeded to *Logan*, who had acted as president from 1736 to 1738. The reader may easily conceive that such a message was highly disagreeable to an assembly of quakers. The necessity of the juncture, however, induced them to vote 4000*l.* for the king's service, and they left to the governor the care of raising the soldiers. Here the provincials it must be admitted, behaved in a mean and dishonourous manner; for though they themselves were sensible, that the governor had no way of raising men, but among the labourers of the colony, who were, most of them, indented servants, the assembly opposed them. Their pretext was, that those servants were part of their property, and as transferable as the rest of their goods. In this ridiculous plea they were joined by the freemen, their representatives, and the dispute was carried on so obstinately, that they brought lawyers from *New York* to plead their cause in the courts of *Pensylvania*. There they must have been defeated, had not the assembly slept in and refused to part with the supply they had voted, unless the servants were restored to their masters. This condition was what the governor could not comply with, and the money was accordingly applied to the indemnification of the freemen.

Refractio-
niness.

So flagrant an insult upon justice and government could not fail of rendering the assembly apprehensive of its consequences, and therefore next year they strove to wipe off all suspicions by passing the following vote, "The house taking into consideration the many taxes their fellow-subjects in *Great Britain* are obliged to pay towards supporting the dignity of the crown, and defraying the necessary and contingent charges of government, and willing to demonstrate the fidelity, loyalty and affection of the inhabitants of this province to our gracious sovereign, by bearing a share of the burden of our fellow-

fellow-subjects, proportionable to our circumstances, do therefore, cheerfully and unanimously resolve, that 3000*l.* be paid for the use of the king, his heirs and successors, to be applied to such uses as he, in his royal wisdom, shall think fit to direct and appoint." In consequence of this vote, three thousand pounds were actually paid into his majesty's exchequer by the colony's agent. In the year 1745, when the expedition against *Louisbourg* was resolved on, it was communicated to the assembly of *Pennsylvania* by governor *Shirley*, and they were required to assist in the same. They accordingly took the message into their consideration, and voted a supply of 4000*l.* to be laid out in provisions for the troops; but they refused to be any other ways assisting in the expedition, and expressed great doubts as to its practicability. This supply, however, was extremely seasonable.

NEXT year, the success of the *Louisbourg* expedition encouraged the *British* ministry to form a scheme for driving the *French* entirely out of *North America*, and many impracticable calculations were made of the proportions of men or money, or both, which each *American* province was to furnish towards this momentous enterprize. The *Pennsylvanians* among others were called upon by letters from the secretary's office at *Whitehall*, dated the 6th of *April*, 1746, and they voted 5000*l.* as their contingent. This, however, they did with a very bad grace; for pretending that the revenue could not furnish the money, they proposed to raise it by adding the like sum to their paper currency. The governor informed them that he was expressly restrained by his instructions, a matter which the assembly themselves well knew, from agreeing to any extension of the provincial paper-currency, and therefore desired that they would raise the money by some less exceptionable method. The assembly, upon this, agreed to issue the supply out of the money dormant in the loan office; for exchanging torn and illegible bills, and to replace it by a new emission of bills to the same amount, to be sunk out of the product of the excise in ten years. Though this method was not without exception, yet the governor agreed to it, and passed the bill, and five hundred men were raised, and employed for near eighteen months, in defending the frontiers of *New York*. When this expedition, for reasons best known to the ministry at home, was laid aside, a new bill was brought into parliament for restraining the northern colonies in general from issuing paper bills of credit; but it fell to the ground. Mr. *Thomas*, by this time, had been succeeded in the government of *Pennsylvania* by *Anthony Palmer*, Esq; as president, and in the year 1748 he was relieved by *James Hamilton*, Esq; who was appointed governor, a

native of the place, and son of the famous barrister, whom we have mentioned on another occasion. Though this appointment was unexceptionable, and though by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle, Pennsylvania*, as well as the rest of *North America*, was restored to tranquillity, and though the interest of the proprietaries had been greatly instrumental in defeating the abovementioned bill, yet nothing could reconcile those stubborn provincials to the proprietary government.

THEY saw with a jealous eye the great and astonishing increase of the proprietary's estate and interest in the province; and they complained that the whole was obtained at their charge by being obliged to defray the expence of the *Indian* affairs, which was every day growing upon them. The governor saw their drift, and would willingly have diverted it, but was unable, and, at last, they formally called upon the proprietaries to take a share of the charge upon themselves.

The latter replied, "That they did not conceive themselves to be under any such obligation, even though the people had been taxed for the charges of government: that as not one shilling had been levied on the people for that service, it was so much less reasonable in the people to ask any thing of them: that they had, notwithstanding, charged themselves with paying their interpreter even much more than could be due to him on their account, and were also then at the expence of maintaining his son with a tutor in the *Indian* country, to learn their language and customs for the service of the country; as well as of sundry other charges on *Indian* affairs: that they had been at considerable expence for the service of the province both in *England* and there: that they pay the *Indians* for the land they purchase: and that they are no

Altercations between them and their governor
Hamilton.

more obliged to contribute to the public charges, than any other chief governor of any other colony." In answer to this reply the assembly, in *May 1751*, remonstrated upon the justice of their request; upon the vast advantages the proprietaries gained by the *Indian* treaties, and upon the large sums raised by the interest of the paper money and the excise; the last producing 3000*l.* a year, with the tax arising from licences of various kinds; all which was appropriated to the governor's support, and therefore they repeated their request to know what share of the *Indian* expence the proprietaries were willing to bear. It was no wonder, after what had passed, if the proprietaries returned a very sharp answer, in which they threw out some bitter insinuations against the assembly's conduct, as tending to inflame the minds of the people. They denied all the matters of fact advanced by the assembly; they pleaded the authority of the board of trade in *England* on their side, and they asserted, that the province
upon

upon an average had not expended above four hundred pounds a year upon the *Indian* affairs, an inconsiderable sum, when compared to the immense advantages it reaped by having those savages for its friends and allies. The rest of the remonstrance is in the same strain. The whole of it is firmly, but decently penned, and signed by the two proprietaries, *Thomas* and *Richard Penn*.

WHEN this answer was laid before the assembly, being unable to reply to it, they ordered it with all the papers introductory to it to lie upon their table. They had at this time under consideration the immense increase of their colony; and they had unanimously resolved to strike an additional sum of 20,000*l.* in order to replace defective bills; and increase the provincial capital, in proportion to the increase of inhabitants; as also to re-emit and continue the sums already in circulation. It is almost incredible, that men of sound and sober sense should so obstinately insist upon a matter which they themselves knew to be impracticable. When they carried up the bill to the governor, he returned it with his negative, which was softened with several obliging expressions as to the measure itself, but excused himself by the time being too unseasonable, on account of the outcries raised in *Great Britain* about plantation paper currency, for an application to be made to the crown concerning any extension or re-admission of theirs. The assembly treated this answer as an evasion, and seemed to be under no apprehensions of what was suggested by the governor; but they adjourned themselves, that they might take his answer into farther consideration. Upon their meeting towards the end of *May*, the governor sent a message to inform them, "that the country of *Allegheny*, situate on the waters of the *Ohio*, partly within the limits of *Pennsylvania*, partly within those of *Virginia*, already was, or soon would be, invaded by an army of *French* and *Indians* from *Canada*: in which case the *Indians* inhabiting there, who were a mixture of the six nations, *Shawanese*, *Delawares*, and *Twigtwoes*, lately recommended as allies to the province by the said six nations, would be obliged to leave the country, and his majesty's subjects trading with them would be cut off, unless timely warned by the messengers sent to them by himself for that purpose: that *Montour*, an interpreter, had heard the *French* declaration delivered, and the reply of the *Indians*, which was firm and resolute, but not to be relied upon as they were in want of all things." The governor then proceeded in the most pathetic manner to recommend to their consideration the danger of the colony.

State of
the colo-
ny's com-
merce.

THE assembly's conduct on this alarming occasion seemed to give grounds for thinking, that they rather rejoiced, than grieved, at the distresses of the colony. They urged that the *British* government had never meant to comprehend *Pennsylvania*, a province that had been always remarkable for supporting its public credit, in the prohibitions for extending the paper currency. They remarked, in their answer, that the three years preceding 1739, when their paper currency for 80,000*l.* was under consideration, the exports from *Britain* to *Pennsylvania* amounted to no more than 179,654*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* sterling; but that for the years 1749, 1750, and 1751, they amounted to 647,317*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* sterling, which vast increase they very properly urged as an invincible argument for their demand. The governor, though satisfied in his own mind that the measure was right, put off giving them any answer to this representation until their next meeting, which was to be in *August*. This was a well judged delay, for the members of the assembly employed the interval in procuring from *Indian* traders intelligence of the state of affairs on the *Ohio*, the designs of the *Canadians*, with the condition of the *Twigtwees*, and other *English Indians*; and finding all that the governor had said to be true, they voted eight hundred pound to be raised as a present to the savages, of which six hundred was to be distributed by the governor at his discretion. The other two hundred was allotted to cover, as the *Indians* call it, fourteen *Twigtwees*, who had been killed by the *French* and their *Indians*, while they were generously protecting in their village some *English* traders, though there was then no war between *France* and *Great Britain*.

UPON the next meeting of the assembly, the governor passed the currency bill; but with an amendment, to which he was indispensably bound by his instructions, which was, that the act should have no effect till it received the royal approbation. The reading of this proviso set the house in a flame, and they unanimously resolved, "not to agree to this amendment, because they apprehended it to be destructive of the liberties derived to them by the royal and provincial charters, as well as injurious to the proprietaries rights, and without any precedent in the laws of the province." The governor, on the other hand, laid before them the inability he was under from his instructions to pass the bill without the clause. They justified themselves under their charter claims, and insisted upon it, that the instruction was only a thing of course, and that they were exempted from the apparent intention of it, which never was meant to affect them. Notwithstanding this, and a great deal of reasoning to the same purpose, the governor

governor refused to pass the bill without the amendment; as he did not think that the occasion was so extraordinary as to justify his breaking through his instructions. The complexion of this dispute reflects no great honour upon the quakers; because it very plainly appeared that *Pennsylvania* was so well established in its credit at the court of *Britain*, that had the bill gone over with the governor's consent, it would readily have received the royal approbation. The governor during the whole dispute appears to have behaved with all the decency and tenderness possible towards the provincials, and put them in mind how very jealous the ministry of *England* then were of charter-governments. Nothing could convince the quakers, who still unwarrantably insisted upon their governor's breaking into a royal instruction, and one too that was founded on an address of a *British* house of commons, and, rather than accept of an amendment, they unanimously dropt the bill. Not contented with that, they insulted the governor with farther papers and declarations, the reasonings of which, if they contained any meaning, was, that the governor ought to do what the assembly directed, without being bound down to any instructions, either from the crown or the proprietaries. In thisullen disposition they remained till the year 1754, at which time, though the *French* were making the most alarming encroachments upon all the *British* colonies in *America*, they seem to have taken no concern either in resisting them, or securing themselves.

IN *February* 1754 the province met, and ordered in a bill for striking 40,000*l.* to be made current, and emitted on loan, and for re-emitting and continuing the currency of the bills already in circulation. While they were proceeding on this bill, the governor sent them down a written message, together with three letters, one from the earl of *Holderness* to himself, a second from the commissioners of trade and plantations, and a third from the *French* commandant on the *Ohio*, to Mr. *Dinwiddie*, deputy-governor of *Virginia*. That from the earl of *Holderness* informed him of an intention the *French* had to invade the *British* settlements with an armed force, and enjoining him to be upon his guard, and to resist by force any hostile attempts made upon the province by a foreign power, and that it was proper all the other provinces should correspond together, and be assisting to each other in repelling such invasion, and that he should call together the assembly, and engage them to grant such supplies as the exigencies of affairs might require. The letter from the commissioners of trade mentioned a sum of money that had been ordered by his majesty for presents to the six *Indian* friendly

1754.
Intelligence
concerning
the danger
of the pro-
vince.

nations; and his having directed the governor of *New York* to hold an interview with them; "and it having, continues the letter, been usual upon the like occasions formerly, for all his majesty's colonies, whose interest or security were connected with, or depended upon them, to join in such interview; and that, as the present disposition of those *Indians*, and the attempts made upon them to withdraw them from the *British* interest, appear to them to make such a general interview more particularly necessary at that time, their desire was, that he, the governor, would lay this matter before the council and general assembly, or the province under his government, and recommend to them forthwith, to make a proper provision for appointing commissioners, to be joined with those of the other governments for renewing the covenant chain; and that the said commissioners might be men of character, ability, integrity, and well acquainted with *Indian* affairs." The letter to Mr. *Dinwiddie* denied the charge of the *French* encroachments upon the *British* dominions, but asserted that monarch's right to the lands upon the *Ohio*.

Message of
the govern-
ner on the
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THE governor in the message he sent to the assembly with all this interesting intelligence, endeavoured to rouse the members into a sense of their danger, and to persuade them to raise the force necessary for repelling it, informing them at the same time how willing the other *British* governments were to co-operate with them. He likewise recommended that they should send an agent to the banks of the *Ohio* to reside with the *Indians* there, and prepare a bill for regulating the *Indian* trade. Though nothing could be more wise and just than those admonitions, yet the answer the assembly sent was vague and accompanied by their currency bill, the passing of which they, in fact, made the price of any attention they were to pay either to the letters that had been laid before them, or to the preservation of the province. The governor, in his answer, upbraided them with this, and again rejected their bill; but offered, if they would establish proper funds, to agree to their striking a farther sum in bills of credit, in which he thought he was warranted by the emergency. The assembly, in return, entered upon the most shameful cavils and distinctions, in which it is plain they were still resolved to do nothing for their own security; though at last they promised to send commissioners to *Albany*. The governor shewed wonderful patience at those insults upon his understanding, and that of every man of common sense in the *British* America; and contented himself with remonstrating upon their stubborn disobedience to his majesty's orders at a time when he assured them that his dominions were invaded by the

Obstinacy
of the as-
sembly.

French,

French, adding, that their own province 'was the most immediately in danger.

To explain this last hint, it is to be observed, that the *French* at that very time were fortified upon a spot of ground which always had been foreseen, would endanger the province if it came into their possession; and therefore Mr. *Penn.*, the proprietor, had actually proposed to have a fort, or strong trading house, erected near that place, and had offered four hundred pounds, and one hundred pounds per annum for twenty years for building and maintaining it. But this proposal was, for very slender reasons, rejected by the provincials. The governor then proceeded to inform them, that the place fortified by the *French* actually was within the limits of the province, but very properly observed, that they were equally bound to the obedience of his majesty's directions, whether it lay in *Pennsylvania* or *Virginia*. The assembly most ridiculously demurred to this last proposition, under pretence that the governor was only instructed to act upon the defensive, that they had nothing to do with the defence of *Virginia*, and that they were not fully apprized of the boundaries of the two provinces. It was in vain for the governor to combat their obstinacy, by producing gentlemen who had been witnesses of the *French* encroachments, and who gave evidence of their being within the province of *Pennsylvania*. In short, notwithstanding all the tenderness he shewed, and the compliances he made, they adjourned themselves to the sixth of *May*.

On the 2d of *April* they met again by a special summons *Farther* from the governor, who laid before them fresh advices he *danger and* had received from the governor of *Virginia*, and the necessity *a supply* of their granting a speedy supply to obviate the danger of the *granted.* juncture. This message being laid before the assembly the sums of 20,000, 15,000, 10,000, and 5,000*l.* were proposed to be given, but all of them rejected by a double majority of voices, and then they adjourned themselves, on pretence of their consulting their constituents. When they met again, the governor communicated to them the news he had received of the *French* assembling upon the *Ohio*, to the number of 1000 regulars, and having taken the *Virginian* fort there. He likewise laid before them the pressing instances of governor *Dinwiddie*, and governor *Delancy* of *New York*, for their coming to speedy and vigorous resolutions. Proposals in consequence of a plan sent from the ministry at *London*, were likewise mentioned for a confederacy of all the *British* provinces in *North America*, so as to act in concert against the common enemy, which the governor likewise

Which is granted, but upon impracticable conditions.

recommended, and desired, that they would instruct their commissioners, who were to repair to *Albany* upon that head. Those sensible, and indeed pathetic representations, had no other effect with this stubborn undutiful assembly, than to raise their demands upon the governor in proportion as his calls arose upon them for their own defence. It is true they offered a joint bill for granting an aid of 10,000*l.* to the king; and 20,000*l.* for replacing torn and ragged bills. This bill was likewise returned, (as they could not but foresee,) by the governor with an amendment, which, though rational and equitable, threw the house into such a flame, that they unanimously rejected the bill with the amendment (C). It is observable, during the whole of this debate, and the reasoning upon it, this assembly of humble quakers put themselves upon the very same footing with a *British* house of commons, and maintained that the governor could no more alter their money-bills, than the house of lords could those of the commons. This absurd and ridiculous prepossession influenced all their proceedings. It is foreign to this work to take notice of the various altercations those quakers ran into from this principle. It may be proper, however, to observe, that they were at this very time possessed of more public money than could have answered the supply, without burdening the people with a ten years farther extension of the excise.

Another supply voted, but upon the like terms.

THOUGH the danger became every day more and more threatening to *Pensylvania*, yet the assembly, instead of providing against it, entered upon a set of resolutions, in which they endeavoured to throw all the blame of their inactivity upon the governor and the proprietary interest, and to erect themselves into an absolute independent money-court. Having come to those resolutions, they, in a civil message to the governor, declined to be concerned in the proposed confederacy, but said they had given a present to be made to the *Indians* at *Albany* by their commissioners. Upon the next meeting of the assembly, which was by special summons, *August* the 7th, the governor acquainted them with *Washington's* defeat upon the *Ohio*, with the duty they lay under of providing for their distressed *Indian* allies, who had been driven to take refuge in *Pensylvania*, and the necessity of their dropping all farther disputes, and raising an immediate supply, especially, as their brother provincials upon the fron-

(C) The assembly proposed to sink the money raised by an extension of the excise-act for ten years, but the governor was of opinion that four years were sufficient.

tiers had applied to him for protection. He likewise acquainted them with the proceedings of the commissioners at *Albany*, with their being unanimous as to the confederacy proposed, and laid before them their plan for putting it in execution. The result of all this intelligence was, that the assembly, after various debates, prepared and presented to the governor a bill for striking 35,000*l.* in bills of credit, of which 15,000 was to be for the king's use, and the remainder for replacing defective bills. The governor, who possibly expected this, in a very polite manner excused himself from passing the bill without amendment, but referred them to his successor, who was expected in a few days.

THIS was the last act of Mr. *Hamilton's* government. He had desired to be dismissed from so undesirable a service, in which he had behaved with the utmost moderation and equanimity, and with so much tenderness to the absurdities of the provincials he governed, that he acquired the esteem even of the quakers themselves. He was succeeded in the beginning of *October 1754*, the time when a new assembly had been just chosen, by *Robert Hunter Morris, Esq.* The first speech of this new governor contained little besides general professions of his attachment to the interests of the colony, of his readiness to concur with them in passing any additional laws they might think to be for their benefit, and representations of the danger of the colony from the now avowed intentions of the *French* against the *British* provinces. However harmless in the course of things this speech was, it excited wonderful doubts and jealousies among the members of the assembly. They called for a copy of the governor's commission, and the royal approbation of it, and then returned a very dry common place answer; but they gave his excellency, at the same time, to understand that they were resolved to tread in the footsteps of former assemblies, concluding, in a desire to be adjourned, in which the governor concurred. Their next meeting was in the beginning of *September*, when the governor laid before the assembly the annexed letter from Sir *Thomas Robinson*, the secretary of state (D), to which we refer

(D) *Whitehall, July, 5, 1754.*

“ Sir,

“ Your letter of the 25th of *November* last, in answer to the earl of *Holderness's* of the 28th of *August*, having been received and laid before the king, I am to acquaint you, that it is his

majesty's express command, that you should, in obedience thereto, not only act vigorously in the defence of the government under your care, but that you should likewise be aiding and assisting his majesty's other *American* colonies, to repel any hostile

refer the reader. The reproaches in this letter, though just, were harmless and ineffectual, and prove the great ignorance of the *British* ministry as to the character of the *Pensylvanian* quakers. The letter was enforced by a more particular information of the strength and progress of the *French*, and of the wavering condition of the six friendly nations of *Indians*, who certainly would, all of them, go over to the *French*, which many of them had already done, if the *English* did not bring into the field a power sufficient to protect them. All those representations, as they were unbacked by any compulsive power, were treated by the assembly with the usual contempt. They knew the power of money was in their hands, that in that, none could controul them, and they were the best judges of their own danger. The old expedient of a currency was again proposed, and the new governor was presented with a fresh bill for striking the sum of 40,000*l.* in bills of credit; one moiety for the king's use, and the other for replacing damaged bills. This bill was attended by a message, in which they attempted, in a most scandalous manner, to throw the blame of their province's danger upon their former governors, insisting upon the amendment of their bills; and insinuating, that from *Sir Thomas Robinson's* letter they thought they had been misrepresented to the ministry in *England*.

Sir Dudley Rider's opinion.

DURING the dispute between *Mr. Hamilton* and the assembly, *Sir Dudley Rider*, the attorney general, gave his opinion upon that governor's case in the following manner, "I am of opinion, it is by no means safe or adviseable, or consistent with his duty, to pass such bills without a suspending clause." In consequence of this opinion, to which the quakers paid no regard, the governor refused to give his assent to the bill without the amendment; but, in consideration of the

hostile attempts made against them; and it was with great surprize, that the king observed your total silence upon that part of his majesty's orders, which relate to a concert with the other colonies, which, you must be sensible is now become more essentially necessary for their common defence, since the account received by you from major *Washington*, with regard to the hostilities committed by the *French* upon the river *Ohio*,

which verify, in fact, what was apprehended, when the earl of *Holderness* wrote so fully to you in *August* last, and which might have been, in great measure, if not totally prevented, had every one of his majesty's governments exerted themselves according to those directions, the observance whereof I am now, by the king's command, to enforce to you in the strongest manner." I am, &c.

emet-

emergency, he offered to join with the assembly in any bill the members should think the pressing occasions of the province demanded, provided a fund was established for sinking the same in five years. After some other expressions of course, "there is, concluded he, great danger of its being disapproved by his majesty; and what loss and confusion such an event would cause in the province, by the paper-bills becoming of no value, I need not particularly mention." This answer, the latter part of which the members thought struck at their independency and despotism in money matters, threw the assembly into a greater flame than ever, and they charged him with subserviency to the proprietary interest, as he had offered to dispense with the much litigated instruction, if that could be served.

WHILE matters remained in this untowardly state between the governor and assembly of *Pennsylvania*, another letter, more explicit than the former, came from the secretary of state to be communicated by the governor to the assembly. It informed them that the ministry having come to some resolutions for the defence of *America*, his majesty had commanded two regiments of foot, consisting of five hundred men each, to repair to *Virginia*, there to be completed to seven hundred each, and that governor *Shirley* and Sir *William Pepperell* had been ordered to raise two regiments more of 1000 each, which were to be officered from *Great Britain*; all of them to be commanded by a general officer of rank and reputation, who happened afterwards to be major-general *Braddock*. The same letter strongly recommends the furnishing the officers and troops with proper necessaries and conveniences. It insists upon the province raising in proportion to its ability, contributing towards establishing a common fund for the *American* service, and for levying and paying the men to be raised there. This letter was enforced by a speech from the governor, shewing the expediency and necessity of their compliance. Though nothing could be more plain and reasonable than all that the ministry had required, yet the assembly, instead of complying, fell upon the attorney-general's opinion, as proceeding on wrong principles, and, in a message they sent to the governor, they not only endeavoured to shew that *Pennsylvania* was not comprehended in the instruction insisted upon, but that they had sufficiently provided for the emergency, if the governor would pass the bill. They then demanded of the governor to know whether the royal instruction was the only impediment to his passing the bill, and required him to lay before them the instructions he had from the proprietaries. To this message, which was both voluminous and impertinent,

Messages and answers upon a new letter from the secretary of state.

continent, the governor, in answer, evaded laying before them the proprietary instructions, till a proper time, and declined passing the bill, because the supply could be otherwise raised. "Were there, said he, no other method of raising money for the present service, but that by them proposed and insisted upon, their conduct might have appeared in a more favourable light; but that as they had, or ought to have had in bank by the laws in being, 14, or 15,000*l.* together with a revenue of 7000*l.* a year; as the city and province were in rich and flourishing circumstances, the people numerous, and burdened with none, or very trifling taxes, he could not consent to pass the bill proposed." To this, and many other arguments urged by the governor, the assembly returned a rejoinder, justifying the requisition they made of his instructions; and intimating, that an appeal to the crown was the only method left them of being continued in the use and benefit of their birth-right and charter liberties; which they insinuated to be in danger by their being refused a sight of them.

*Measures
for a mili-
tia.*

THE governor had already so far agreed with the assembly's request as to the proprietary instructions, as to acquaint them, that he had it in charge from the proprietaries, to recommend to them in the most pressing manner to provide with all imaginable dispatch for the defence and safety of the province, not only by affording such aids as his majesty from time to time should require, but by establishing a regular militia, providing arms and stores of war, and building proper magazines; all to be done in such a manner as to be least burthenfome to the inhabitants, and particularly so, as not to oblige any to bear arms, who were, or might be conscientiously scrupulous against it. But the governor finding the assembly insist upon a sight of the other instructions, as their right, he treated this pretence with some indignation, and put them at defiance, as to any address they intended to present to the crown. He then endeavoured to divert their attention from those ridiculous subjects, by informing them that he had lately received intelligence, that 6000 (E) of the best troops of France were actually arrived at the lower fort on the *Ohio*, and were there employed in fortifying the country. He therefore once more entreated them to grant the supplies required, and to enable him to raise a considerable body of men to be employed in conjunction with his majesty's troops; to establish a regular militia, and provide the necessary stores of war.

(E) When we consider the acuteness of those quakers, we would have acted more politically if he had not aggravated the danger beyond the truth.

THE

THE assembly treated this alarm with the utmost contempt and neglect, and in all their subsequent proceedings they rose in their insults upon the governor. They ordered the papers, which had passed between the proprietaries and them, to be printed, which they pretended they had delayed till then, out of tenderness to the proprietaries. Those papers, however, when rightly considered, do no discredit to the proprietaries, as acting under a royal charter. The assembly then came to unanimous resolutions concerning the proprietary instructions, in which they declare it as their opinion, that the said instructions were the principal, if not the sole, obstruction to their bill: and refer to points contained in their reply to the governor's charge against them. They then descend to other particulars, in which they upbraid the governor with his ignorance of their constitution, and after various strictures upon the revenue of their province, they attacked him upon the alarm he had given them upon the *French* invasion, which they endeavoured to ridicule, by fixing it to the limits of *Virginia*. They then shewed the improbability of 6000 *French* troops getting, as it were, by stealth, to the lower part of the *Ohio*. In the course of their reply they make use of the following strong expressions, which we cannot in justice to the original settlers omit, however little they are applicable to the then assembly. "Under the sanction, say they, of a charter, a sober, industrious people, without any charge to the crown or the proprietary, first settled this wilderness, and by their frugality, and the equity of their laws, laid the foundation of a flourishing colony, which already, within the ordinary life of man, has made a considerable addition to the dominions of the crown, by an increase of dutiful and loyal subjects, and bears no mean rank in contributing to the wealth and trade of our mother country."

AFTER this remonstrance, in consequence of the plan which they had formed of being independent as much as they possibly could, both upon the proprietary and the governor, they unanimously resolved to raise 5000*l.* on the credit of the province, for the accommodation of the king's troops; and empowered certain members of their own to negotiate the loan, and allow such interest as should be found necessary. This resolution produced a tedious contest of very little importance to our readers. At last the assembly came to a resolution to make their appeal to the crown, and that a fair and modest state of their case would recommend them to the royal protection, and screen them from the malignity of their adversaries. Of this resolution they apprized the governor, whom they still accused of being totally ignorant of their constitution and finances;

*Security of
the assembly.*

*Five thousand pound
raised.*

finances; and thus, in the main, stood the state of affairs in this province when general *Braddock* arrived in *America*. Upon that gentleman's arrival, the assembly met again on a special summons from the governor, who repeated the old topics of their danger, the necessity of a supply; the opening roads from the inhabited parts of *Pensylvania* towards the *Ohio*; the junction of the *Pensylvanian* forces with those of the eastern provinces, and the cutting off all the supplies, which the *French* had used to receive from the *British* colonies, and which had enabled them to subsist their troops. He added, that it was general *Braddock's* desire, a post should be established between *Philadelphia*, and a place called *Winchester*; and that the money, for their quota of the expedition, should be deposited in the hands of a common treasurer, who was to act as such for the contingents of the other provinces. Some ridiculous altercations happened after this, between the governor and the assembly, in which he seems to have been to blame; because the charges he brought against them were frivolous, and served only to exasperate them at a time, when their hearty concurrence with public measures was so necessary for public safety.

THE next affair of importance that fell out, was an application from governor *Shirley* to governor *Morris*, to know how far the province of *Pensylvania* would contribute towards the charge of his building a fort near *Crown Point* upon the *British* territories. The arrival of the troops from *Great-Britain* happened about this time, and the governor sent them another message, in which he informed them, among other things, that to render his majesty's measures effectual, it was expected, that the colonies should raise an additional number of forces, and should furnish provisions, and all necessaries, to those employed for their protection: that this being so reasonable in itself, he could not doubt its being complied with by all the provinces, in proportion to their abilities; and he hoped, that as *Pensylvania* was the most interested in the event, they would exert themselves as became the representatives of a province actually invaded, and having their all depending on the success of the present enterprize. The rest of the message ran in the usual exhortatory terms. The return was suitable. Twenty-five thousand pounds were granted to the king's use: five thousand pounds of it were appropriated for the sum borrowed for the service at the last sitting: ten thousand pounds for the purchase of provisions, at the request of the government of *Massachusetts-Bay*, for victualling their forces: five thousand pounds to answer the occasional draughts of general *Braddock*: and the remaining five thousand

Farther
expences of
the pro-
vince.

land, for the maintenance of such *Indians* as had taken refuge in the province; and other contingent expences. This plausible vote was, however, only an empty found; because the money was to be raised by an emission of paper-currency, which was to be sunk, according to the former ineffectual proposal, by a ten year's extension of the excise. The bill, consequently, was rejected by the governor, who, at the same time, recommended to their encouragement one *Scarroyady*, an *Indian* chief, of great consequence among the *Ohio Indians*, and so well affected to the *English* interest, that he had raised a company of men for its service. That same day, Mr. *Quincy*, who was commissioner to *Pensylvania* from the government of *Massachusetts Bay*, presented a memorial to the assembly, begging them to find some other means for rendering their vote of supply effectual; representing, that it was impossible for his province to do more than it had done; it being quite exhausted by its immense expence against the *French*, and putting them in mind that they had not a moment to lose.

NOTHING can better illustrate the character of those stubborn *Pensylvanians* than their conduct on this occasion. Devoted enthusiastically, not as they said, to the soil, but the constitution of their province, they had suffered the sword, in a manner, to be put to their throats, rather than agree to a measure they had once declared against, and with a governor as immoderately obstinate as themselves. The latter, perhaps, was the most indefensible, as it cannot be supposed, that in the then urgency of public affairs, he could ever have incurred any blame had he agreed to the quaker's proposal. But no sooner did Mr. *Quincy* apply to them in a mild and pathetic manner, than they voted to raise 15000 *l.* of which 5000 *l.* were to repay the sum so before borrowed for victualling the king's troops; and 10,000 *l.* to answer the request of the *Massachusetts*'s government. This favour was duly acknowledged by Mr. *Quincy*, who won the hearts of the assembly, by seeming not greatly to approve of their governor's conduct. In the mean while, the governor had not thought proper to return, as usual, the last money-bill that had been sent up to him by the assembly; giving for this reason, "That it was a bill of so extraordinary a nature, that he thought it his duty to lay it before his majesty, and should keep it for that purpose."

AT the same time, the governor informed the assembly, that the *French* had fitted out fifteen sail of the line, on board of which they had put 6000 land troops; that they were bound to *America*; and that they knew *Pensylvania* to be

An alarm
about a
French in-
vasion.

be a plentiful, but a defenceless, country. After this, the governor accompanied the governors *Shirley* and *Delany* to *Annapolis*, where they had a conference with general *Braddock*, and the governors *Sharp* of *Maryland*, and *Dinwiddie* of *Virginia*. When the assembly met again, squabbles arose between them and the governor upon the most uninteresting points; and he sent them a very sharp message concerning the disposal of the money raised against the *French*, no more than 5000 *l.* of which were left to the disposal of general *Braddock*; the remainder being 20,000 *l.* and all the surplus of the excise, for eleven years to come, being subjected to some members of their own houses, and to the assembly for the time being. In the answer, which the assembly returned to this charge, it is absolutely denied. In the bill, said they, 5000 *l.* of the sum was appropriated to pay for provisions bought, and given for the use of the forces in *Virginia*, under general *Braddock*; 10,000 *l.* more was given to buy provisions for the *New England* forces under his command; 5000 *l.* more was subjected to his order, and to be disposed of for the king's service as he should think fit; and the remaining 5000 *l.* was appropriated for the subsistence of *Indians* taking refuge in this province, payment of posts or expresses, hire of carriages, clearing of roads, and other necessary contingent expences for the king's service, as might be incumbent on this government to discharge. The rest of this answer, which is very long and spirited, bears very hard upon the governor. Upon the breaking up of the house, they were assembled by special summons on the 13th of *June*, and several letters were read from Sir *Peter Halket* and colonel *Dunbar*, officers who served under *Braddock*, acknowledging the receipt of certain presents from the house to the officers of their respective regiments, of the most acceptable kind, and returning thanks for the same.

GENERAL *Braddock*, by this time, had set out upon his expedition against fort *Du Quesne*, not without venting severe reproaches against the *Americans* in general, and particularly the *Pensylvanians*, for their backwardness in enabling him to take the field before the trees of the woods through which he was to march had put forth their leaves, so as to conceal the *Indian* ambushes, to which, in fact, he afterwards owed his defeat, and the loss of his life. Before he set out on his march, he sent messages to the governors of *Pensylvania*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, acquainting them with part of his plan of operations, and that he expected they would supply him and his army with whatever they might want. At the same time he sent them intelligence, that he

was informed the *French* intended to fall upon their back settlements. Those advices were the grounds of the extraordinary summons of the assembly; and the governor demanded their counsel how to proceed, laying before them, at the same time, the necessities of the juncture, and their own danger. The assembly demanded a copy of *Braddock's* letter, which was refused them; though the governor offered to communicate it to a committee. In a few days after, he sent them another message, that all the money that had been advanced by the province to the commissaries of the army was expended; that the *French* were determined to oppose *Braddock* with the whole force of *Canada*; that *Pensylvania* was every day threatened with new dangers and invasions, and that men must be raised for public services; a variety of which this message pointed out.

THE quakers of *Pensylvania*, by this time, began to be sensible how impracticable their pacific system was against a designing and determined enemy like the *French*, and such merciless inhuman savages as their *Indians*. They were, however, too proud to own their error, and though convinced of it, they continued to treat the governor's messages with their usual contempt and distrust. They insinuated, that all those alarms only served to authorise a fresh demand for a militia-law, which the governor knew to be incompatible with their principles as quakers. Notwithstanding this, they prepared two money-bills, one for striking 10,000 *l.* for the exchange of defaced bills; and one of 15,000 *l.* more for the king's use. Those bills were drawn upon the model of that which had been passed by governor *Thomas*, and approved of by the crown, even after it had sent the so much litigated instruction. In this, the assembly triumphed greatly, and, indeed, they seem to have then been in earnest. *Pensylvania* had that year been afflicted with a severe frost and drought, which had subjected the inhabitants to numberless inconveniencies; and the assembly earnestly pressed the governor to dispatch the bills, that the members might return to their respective homes, where they were threatened with the calamitous circumstances, not only of war, but of famine. The governor returned the bill, with amendments, which the assembly steadily refused to agree to, (which, to say the truth, he could not but foresee) and he adhered to them with equal obstinacy. The 10,000 *l.* bill, however, at last was passed. The assembly upon this adjourned to *September*; but they had a special summons to meet on the 23d of *July*.

Compliance of the assembly with Mr. Quincy.

THE occasion of this extraordinary meeting was the famous defeat of general *Braddock*; which the governor, in a speech to the assembly, set off with all the horrid circumstances attending it; and represented to them the danger of a province, which, like *Pennsylvania*, was unprovided with a militia. "There are, said he, men enough in this province to protect it against any force the *French* can bring, and numbers of them are willing and desirous to defend their country upon the present occasion; but they have neither arms, ammunition, nor discipline; without which it will be impossible to repel an active enemy, whose trade is war.—I therefore hope, that you will, without delay, grant such supplies, as may enable me not only to secure the people of this province, but, by reinforcing and assisting the king's troops, enable them to remove the *French* from their present encroachments." The assembly was sensible of their danger, and immediately voted an aid of 50,000 *l.* by a tax upon all real and personal estates in the province. The governor, while this affair was under their consideration, informed them, that colonel *Dunbar* was upon his march from fort *Cumberland* to *Philadelphia*; and that they must fall upon measures for the protection of their western frontier. To this message the assembly replied with great quickness, that they hoped *Mr. Dunbar's* troops would be employed on that service.

Proposal concerning the Allegheeny mountains.

NEXT day, while the assembly was deliberating upon the proposal for taxing the proprietary estate in common with others, the governor sent them a message, containing an offer, on the part of the proprietaries, of a thousand acres of land, west of the proprietaries, without purchase-money, and for fifteen years clear of quit-rents, to every colonel who should serve on an expedition from that or the neighbouring provinces against the *French* on the *Ohio*; seven hundred and fifty to each lieutenant-colonel and major; five hundred to each captain; four hundred to each lieutenant and ensign; and two hundred to every common soldier: and requiring the house to afford some assistance to such as should accept the same. At the time this message was delivered, the town of *Philadelphia*, and indeed the whole province, was in a prodigious ferment. Not only the defeat of *Braddock*, but the daily accounts which the *Pennsylvanians* received of the *French* and *Indian* cruelties, excited a general indignation against the ill-timed obstinacy of the assembly; and a great number of the inhabitants joined in a remonstrance, which was presented to the members, representing, that 100,000 *l.* was as small a sum as would answer the present exigency; and signifying the willingness of the presenters to contribute their proportion of the same, or

of a larger sum if necessary. Besides this remonstrance, some thousands of inhabitants in other townships, joined in petitions to the same purpose, and praying to be furnished with arms and ammunition for the defence of their houses and families. Those representations sunk deep into the minds of the assembly, and produced from the members an address to the governor, of which the following quotation is a part: "We think it our duty, on this occasion, to be neither parsimonious, nor tenacious of such matters as have been in dispute, and now under the consideration of our superiors; but, reserving to ourselves all our just rights, we have resolved to grant 50,000 *l.* for the king's use, by a tax on all the real and personal estates within this province, in which we shall proceed with all possible dispatch; hoping to meet in the governor the same good dispositions he so earnestly recommends to us."

*A grant of
50,000 *l.**

THOSE professions, however, came to nothing, and were calculated only to blind the public; because the proprietary estate was to be taxed for part of the money that was to be raised; a provision which the assembly knew would defeat the grant, if the governor should obstinately adhere to the letter of his instructions; the 50,000 *l.* money-bill, therefore, was returned with an amendment, by which the whole proprietary estate was to be exempted from the tax. The governor, when called upon for his reasons for this exception, gave four. The chief one, next to his instructions and commission, was, "For that the proprietaries, by their governor, having consented to a law for vesting in the people the sole choice of the persons to assess, and lay taxes, in the several counties, without reserving to themselves, or their governor, any negative upon such choice; and this concession being made with an express proviso, that the proprietary estates should not be taxed, it will be very unreasonable to empower such persons by a law, without their previous consent, to tax their estates at discretion." He afterwards repeated his offer of lands to the west of the *Allegheny* mountains to officers. The assembly stuck by their tax, in which they said they were warranted by common sense, and all the general maxims of policy, which led them to lay a tax upon part, in order to save the whole. They said, that if his argument had any force, it had the same force in behalf of the people; and, consequently, he ought, in duty, to reject both parts of the bill for the same reason: that, for their parts, happening to think otherwise, they had laid the tax as cheerfully on their own estates, as on those of their constituents. As to the grant of the *Allegheny* lands, they treated it as a

*ineffectual,
and void.*

matter of amusement, and as proposed only to make the taxing of the proprietary estate appear less reasonable, adding, that they did not propose to tax the proprietary as governor, but as a fellow-subject, a land-holder, and possessor of an estate in *Pennsylvania*; whose estate would be more benefited by a proper application of the tax than any other estate in the province: that the proprietary did not govern them: that the province, at a large expence, supported a lieutenant to do that duty for him: that if the proprietary did govern them in person, and had a support allowed him on that account, they should not have thought it less reasonable to tax him, as a land-holder, for the security of his land.

Differences continued between the governor and the assembly.

THEY insisted farther, that the positive law of the province, mentioned by the governor, was no other than the law for raising county rates and levies, which were by the same act appropriated to purposes for which the proprietaries could not reasonably be charged; such as wages for the assembly-men, rewards for killing wolves, and the like; and not a general constitutional law of the province. Their remonstrance was closed in a most masterly spirited manner; and the obstinacy of the governor, in adhering as he did to the exemption, was generally condemned. He was unmoved by all the pathetic, and indeed affectionate, exhortations to compliance, which they could lay before him, still trusting that the growing danger of the province would oblige them to pass the bill with the amendment. It was easy to foresee the ruin that must attend this obstinacy on both sides; and that another point, as disagreeable to the quakers as the exemption of the proprietary estate, must soon come upon the carpet, which was a militia-bill. It is to the honour of the more moderate quakers, that perceiving the violence which their agreeing to such a bill must do their profession, some of them resigned their seats in the assembly; and others of them employed all the interest they had in the province, in procuring members to be elected in their room, who were not quakers; and some private gentlemen generously struck out a plan for removing the objection of taxing the proprietary estate.

ALL those wise and publick-spirited purposes were in danger of being defeated by the madness of the lower rank of people, actuated by ignorant enthusiasts and preachers. They no sooner understood that the *French* had not followed the blow they had given *Braddock*, than they despised the danger under which a few hours before they had trembled; they termed *Braddock's* defeat a just judgment of God, for disturbing the *French* in the quiet possession of their own country; and concluding, that *Pennsylvania* was under the immediate

pro-

protection of Providence, they set at nought all military men and measures. On the 9th of *August* 1755, the governor sent the assembly a very alarming message, requiring them to put the province into a posture of defence by establishing a militia; so as that a due regard may be had to scrupulous consciences. Two days after, he informed them that he had been required by colonel *Dunbar* to provide quarters for his troops; but had been answered by the mayor and corporation of *Philadelphia*, that they knew of no law for that purpose, and recommended it to them to prepare one, those troops being then upon their march into the province, whether they were to remain there or not. Next day, he informed the assembly, that the *Owendachts* and other *Indians*, who had come to *Philadelphia* on invitation from the government, expected to be treated with large presents. The assembly, in answer, said, they knew nothing of the matter; that they never had invited those *Indians*; and that his refusing to pass the money-bill, had disabled them from making presents of any kind. The governor, at the same time, offered to pass a bill for striking any sum in paper-money, provided funds were established for sinking it in five years. The assembly refused to alter the bill they had already sent up.

1755.
The consideration of the militia resumed.

MATTERS stood in this situation, when the assembly was given to understand, that notwithstanding their application to the governor, that the residue of *Braddock's* troops should remain upon their frontier, they were, by governor *Shirley's* order, to quit it, as *Pennsylvania* was populous enough to protect itself. The governor, therefore, called upon the assembly to secure the back-settlements. The members treated this alarm as a matter that had been concerted between the two governors, and were quickened by fresh messages from their own governor; that his secretary would lay before them the copies of sundry petitions, which had been presented to him from several parts of the province, representing their naked and defenceless condition; and praying to be enabled to defend themselves, which they were sensible was not in his power to comply with: that he would also lay before them a letter from one *John Harris*, giving an account of a large party of *Indians*, actually set out from the *French* fort, with design to fall upon, and destroy, the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring provinces: he therefore advised them to be upon their guard. The *French*, at *Louisbourg*, at this time were so much distressed for provisions, that it was thought if they were not supplied from *Pennsylvania*, which was the only *English* province capable of doing it, they must surrender the place;

for which reason, the governor required the assembly to fall upon some measure for preventing such supply. This was, undoubtedly, a very necessary caution. *Pensylvania* at that time abounded with the necessaries of life, and many of the inhabitants, though industrious, were mercenary, and had for ready money supplied the *French* agents. In the meanwhile, governor *Shirley*, as *Dunbar's* superior, sent him an order to resume the expedition against fort *du Quesne*, with the assistance he might have from *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, in reinforcements, provisions, ammunition, artillery, ordnance stores, carriages, horses, and all other things to fit him out for his march. Governor *Morris*, therefore, recommended the consideration of the said order to the assembly. It was about this time that a very singular measure took place.

Five hundred pounds
generously
offered by
private
persons.

THIS was an association of private gentlemen of the province, not members of the assembly, to the following purpose; which ought to stand on record as a perpetual evidence of their disinterested public spirit: "We the subscribers observe, with great concern, that the governor and assembly differ in opinion, in respect to the taxing the proprietaries estate; and, lest by such difference in opinion, the bill for raising 50,000 *l.* for his majesty's service should not take effect; and as the assembly, in their message to the governor, seem to be of opinion, that were the proprietaries lands to be taxed, the sum would not exceed five hundred pound: we, rather than the least check should be given to his majesty's service at the time of imminent danger, by a matter so very trifling, do hereby promise and engage to pay five hundred pound, money of *Pensylvania*, into the publick stock, for the king's use, in lieu of what the proprietaries would pay as their part of the 50,000 *l.* were their lands to be taxed. And we declare the absence of the honourable the proprietaries to be our motive for making this proposal, being well assured, that, were they present, it would have been altogether unnecessary; and we doubt not but they will honourably acquit every subscriber of this expence."

Press matters
of consequence.

THE assembly refused to take any cognizance of this offer, farther than to order that the proposal be sent up to the governor, as a farther security to him, in case he should give his assent to the bill for raising 50,000 *l.* for the king's use. They again, at the same time, pressed him to pass the money-bill, as the most effectual way of assisting the expedition against fort *du Quesne*; and they put him in mind, that there was a law in force against supplying *Louisbourg*, or any of the

the *French* settlements with provisions (F). All this did not reconcile the breach between them and the governor, who still called out for a militia; but at last they came to a resolution to order 1000 *l.* if so much remained in their treasury, to arm the back inhabitants. Matters continuing in this desperate state, they told him that they purposed to adjourn to the 16th of *September*; and that they would refer the discussion of the militia to a new assembly; intimating, at the same time, that both his and their conduct was under the deliberation of the ministry at *London*. At their next meeting, the governor demanded an additional supply of provision to be sent to *Albany*, for the use of the additional forces raised by the province of *Massachusetts-Bay*, who were to be employed against *Crown-Point*, and this at the request of governor *Phipps*. He likewise demanded a like supply for the additional provincial troops of *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*, that were to be employed in the same service. Upon this, the assembly demanded a sight of governor *Phipps's* letter, but it was refused them; though he offered to communicate some part of his information to a few of them. The public business was then agitated with more acrimony on both sides than ever; and fresh disputes arose concerning the expence of 3000 *l.* which had been employed upon the public roads towards the *Ohio*; and which the assembly represented as being extravagant, and triple the estimate which had been laid before them. At last, the assembly, to clear themselves from all possible imputation either of insincerity or backwardness towards raising money, voted a loan, or voluntary subscription, of 10,000 *l.* (G) the same to be paid to the lenders by the ensuing assembly, the time for whose meeting was at hand. But this was not done before they drew up, with the greatest accuracy and precision, a full vindication of themselves from all the bitter charges brought against them by the governor, of their having, by their delay and parsimony, obstructed and hurt the public service; and, particularly, of their having been the occasion of *Braddock's* defeat, and of all the inhumanities that had been perpetrated by the *French* and *Indians* in the back settlements. This they did by producing a variety of testimonials from the gentlemen of *Massachusetts bay*, and officers employed in the service, all of them

(F) This law seems not to have been sufficient, as the *French* might have been supplied by the *Indians*, and other nations, trading in provisions with *Pennsylvania*.

tees for the receipt of the loan, were *Isaac Morris*, *Evan Morgan*, *Joseph Fox*, *John Mifflin*, *Reese Meredith*, and *Samuel Smith*, of the city of *Philadelphia*, gentlemen.

(G) The names of the trust-

acknowledging the vast benefit they had received from the alacrity of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and the seasonable supplies it had sent them:

Ten thousand pounds voted for provisions.

THE vote of 10,000*l.* by a voluntary subscription was towards furnishing of provisions and blankets, or other warm cloathing, to the troops now at, or near, *Crown Point*, on the frontiers of *New York*. A new election being then at hand, it seemed to be the general sense of the province, that something effectual should be done towards establishing a militia, and, as we have already observed, most of the well intentioned quakers procured an assembly of different professions to be chosen in their room. The party, however, continued firm in their resolution to tax the proprietary estates, and the governor had left no means untried to procure a majority of the proprietaries friends to be returned for the ensuing assembly; but his endeavours seem to have been frustrated. Upon the meeting of the assembly, on the 14th of *October* they were informed by their speaker, that he had seen in the secretary's hands some letters of importance to the assembly concerning *Indian* affairs. Upon this information, they acquainted the governor, after sitting four days, that unless he had something concerning *Indian* affairs to communicate to them, they would adjourn, which they accordingly did to the first of *December*. Fifteen days of this recess were elapsed, when the governor convened them again, and informed them that a party of *French* and *Indians*, to the number of 1500, as he was informed, had passed the *Allegheny* hills, within about eighty miles of *Philadelphia*, and were encamped on the *Susquehanna*. He then reproached them for their inactivity, in terms the best calculated to make them unpopular. He upbraided them for having suffered the *Delaware* and *Shawanese Indians* to be gained over by the *French*, and informed them, that their parsimony had deprived him of all the means of furnishing the back settlers with money, or forming them into regular bodies to be of service, though they were a very brave and a willing people. He then repeated his demands for a supply, represented the ravages then committing in their province by the *French* and their *Indians* in the most frightful colours, required them to prepare a bill for establishing a regular militia, and declared himself ready and willing to consent to a law for emitting any sum in paper-money the present service may require, if funds were established for sinking the same in five years. But he desired them not to waste their time in offering him such a bill as had been presented to him in the late assembly.

Different petitions to the assembly.

THE conjuncture was now so terrible, that the assembly was staggered by numbers of petitions, which poured in up-

on them from all quarters of the province. Some of the petitioners applauded the spirit which the assembly had shewn, some condemned it, and recommended a coalition with the governor upon any terms, while some recommended pacific measures, and trusting to providence. The assembly, after recovering from their alarm, examined the letters and papers that had been laid before them, and declared, that they could not find from them that any such number of *French* and *Indians*, as the governor had mentioned, were encamped upon the river *Susquehanna*; and all that they could discover was, that the back settlers were greatly alarmed and terrified; that cruelties had been committed on the inhabitants by the *Delaware* and *Shawanese* Indians, principally within the lands purchased by the proprietaries at *Albany*, but the year before. They insinuated, at the same time, as if the hostilities of the *Delaware* and the *Shawanese* had been owing to some underhand management, which they did not care to touch upon. The next message the governor sent to the assembly, imported, "That the enemy had fallen upon the settlements at a place called the Great Cove, and slaughtered or made prisoners such of the inhabitants as could not make their escape: that those adjoining were quitting their habitations, and retreating inwards: and that he must therefore most earnestly press them to strengthen his hands, and enable him speedily to draw forth the forces of the province, as any delay might be attended with the most fatal consequences."

As the members of the assembly had as good intelligence as he had of what passed in the province, they knew that this was no false alarm; they therefore took the governor's message into immediate consideration, and granted 60,000*l.* to the king's use, to be struck in bills of credit, and sunk by a tax of 6*d.* per pound, and 10*s.* per head, yearly for four years, laid on all the estates, real and personal, and taxable within the province. This bill, when sent up, was immediately rejected by the governor, who thereby incurred the severest censure of preferring his own safety to that of the province, and the service of the proprietaries to that of the king and the public. He still continued to upbraid the assembly with its inactivity, and informed them that his council had unanimously advised him to repair to the back settlements, where affairs were in a most miserable situation, which he proposed to do, and to take with him a quorum of the council, that he might pass such bills, if agreeable to him, as they should please to send him. All the answer the assembly made, was a desire to know whether he would or would not pass the bill, which he evaded answering, but refused

They grant
60,000*l.*

fused to return it. Soon after, the governor sent the assembly a message, that three hundred of the *Susquebanna Indians* had sent to him, proffering their service to act in conjunction with the provincial troops. The governor intimated, at the same time, that if they were not taken at their words, they would certainly join the *French*, which might be attended with the ruin of the province; and that he had delayed his journey to the back settlements, till he should know what support they were willing to give those savages. The assembly sent him nothing in answer, but recriminations, and some suggestions, as if the falling off of the *Delaware* and *Shawanese Indians* had been effected by the ill treatment they had received from the proprietaries and their agents. They pressed him to pass the money-bill, in which it was provided, "that if at any time, during the continuance of the act, the crown should declare the said estate exempt as aforesaid, in such case the tax, though assessed, should not be levied, or, if levied, should be refunded, and replaced by an additional tax on the province." The truth is, the assembly was far more justifiable at this period, than the governor or the proprietary interest; as they substantially agreed to every thing he could desire, and he differed from them only as to the form of raising the money. Finding all they did ineffectual, to leave him inexcusable, they sent him the following message. "May it please the governor, We have considered the governor's message of yesterday, relating to the application and pressing instances of the *Indians*, and are glad to find, that he is at length prevailed on to declare himself ready and desirous to do any thing consistent with his duty to the crown, for the protection and assistance, as well of our allies, as of the inhabitants of this province in general. We never have, and we hope never shall, desire him to do any thing inconsistent with that duty. He has it now in his power to do what he may think the exigence requires, for the service of the crown, the protection of our allies, and of the inhabitants of the province. As captain-general, he has, by the royal charter, full authority to raise men; and the bill now in his hands, granting 60,000*l.* will enable him to pay the expences. We grant the money cheerfully, though the tax to sink it will be a heavy one; and we hope the bill will receive his assent immediately."

Message concerning the Indian trade.

TOGETHER with this message a bill was sent up for supplying the western and northern *Indians*, friends and allies of *Great Britain*, with goods at more easy rates, supporting an agent, or agents among them, and preventing abuses in the *Indian trade*. During all this dispute, the indecision of the gover-

governor still continued; but the danger of the province increasing, the provincials themselves took the alarm. The mayor of *Philadelphia*, and several of the principal inhabitants of the city, to the number of one hundred and thirty-three, presented to the assembly, a representation enforcing the necessity of a militia law. "We hope, said they, we shall always be enabled to preserve that respect to you, which we would willingly pay to those who are the faithful representatives of the freemen of this province. But, on the present occasion, you will forgive us, gentlemen, if we assume characters something higher than that of humble suitors, praying for the defence of our lives and properties, as a matter of grace and favour on your side: you will permit us to make a positive and immediate demand of it, as a matter of perfect and unalienable right on our own parts, both by the laws of God and man." They then proceeded as follows: "Upon the whole, gentlemen, we must be permitted to repeat our demand, that you will immediately frame, and offer, a law for the defence of the province, in such a manner as the present exigency requires. The time does not permit many hands to be put to this representation. But if numbers are necessary, we trust we shall neither want a sufficient number of hands nor hearts to support and second us, till we finally obtain such a reasonable demand."

At the time this very extraordinary representation was presented, an address came from some of the quakers, which seemed to blame the assembly for raising unnecessary disputes with the governor, and both the address and the representation were referred to a committee. The danger of the province became now so apparent, that at last both parties seemed to be sincerely disposed towards an agreement; but they again split upon the mode of granting the necessary supply. The governor was for passing the bill with a suspending clause. The assembly adhered to what they had done, and came to the following vigorous resolution: "That, in case the governor should persist in refusing his assent to their bill, which was so just and equitable in its nature, and so absolutely necessary at that time for the welfare of the *British* interest in *America*, after he should receive the answer of the house to his message then under consideration, they would make their appeal to the throne by remonstrance, humbly beseeching his majesty to cause their present governor to be removed, or take such other measures as might prevent the fatal consequences likely to ensue from his conduct." The above resolution passed unanimously, and the assembly hinted at some breach of faith that had been committed by the proprietary interest

An accommodation proposed.

in an *Indian* treaty held with the *Shawanese* in the year 1753. The governor made no other answer than by plying the assembly with messages, and magnifying the massacres committed by the *Indians*, and demanding an immediate supply; but the assembly justified the bill they had sent him, both in matter and manner.

THE militia-bill claimed, if possible, even a more speedy dispatch than the money bill. Petitions from the quakers themselves came up, that they were willing to defend themselves and country, and desirous of being formed into regular bodies for that purpose, under proper officers, with legal authority. Upon this, the assembly passed a bill for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous of being united for military purposes. This bill was worded so as not to compel any who could not conscientiously bear arms. The governor, when he received this bill, lost himself in invectives; he upbraided the assembly with their past conduct, and even reproached them for their delays, which he represented as being the occasion of *Braddock's* defeat. Notwithstanding this, he passed the militia bill under a precise declaration of its absurdity and impropriety. After this he laid before the assembly a discussion of *Indian* affairs, which had been prepared by his council. He then called the assembly to provide for a number of *French* inhabitants, who had been banished out of *Nova Scotia* by governor *Lawrence*. He next informed them on the part of the proprietaries, that such was their care and regard for the people, that they had no sooner received the account he had sent them of general *Braddock's* defeat, than they sent him an order upon their receiver-general for 5000*l.* as a free gift to the public, to be applied to such uses as that event might make necessary for the common security of the province: that he had directed the said receiver-general to have the money ready as soon as possible; and that it should be paid by such persons as should be appointed by act of assembly for the disposition of any sum they might think necessary to raise for the defence of the province in that time of danger.

THIS seasonable act of munificence in the proprietaries rendered their interest so popular, that the mayor of *Philadelphia* and his corporation presented to the assembly another remonstrance, "Reproaching them with losing their time in deliberations, while their fellow-subjects were exposed to slaughter, and in debates about privileges, while they were deprived of the great first privilege of self-preservation, and requiring them to postpone all disputes, grant necessary supplies, and pass a reasonable law for establishing a militia; and,

As is a militia bill.

Present of 5000*l.* by the proprietaries.

and, in the close of it, recommending dispatch, as the people seemed already in a deplorable and desperate state, and they feared it would not be possible to preserve the peace and quiet of the city, or of the province itself, much longer." The house drew up a very sharp answer to the governor, which, however, they did not think proper to send him, and contented themselves with one more short and mild. While they were deliberating upon this point, a number of the inhabitants of the county of *Chester* joined those of *Philadelphia*, in representing to the assembly the necessity of a good understanding between them and the governor. Upon this the house came to the resolution, "That in consideration of the governor's message of yesterday, by which it appears, that the proprietaries have sent him an order on the receiver-general for 5000*l.* to be paid into the hands of such persons as shall be appointed by act of assembly, and applied with such sums as the assembly should grant, to such uses as may be necessary for the common security of the province; and as it would not be reasonable or just, at this time, to tax the proprietary estate, in order to raise money therefrom, over and above the said grant from the proprietaries, the house will immediately proceed to form a new bill for granting a sum of money to the use of the crown, and therein omit the taxation of the said estate."

*Petition of
the Philadel-
phians
and other
inhabi-
tants.*

In consequence of this resolution, such a bill was ordered in the same day, and received the governor's assent. After that the assembly sent another message to explain the nature of the *Indian* trade-bill, and pressing its being passed. The governor evaded a compliance with this message, but soon after informed them that general *Shirley* had, in pursuance of his majesty's orders, appointed to meet him at *New York* upon matters of great importance, but especially to concert a general treaty with the *Indians*, both to the southward and the northward. He therefore requested their advice, whether he should go or not. The assembly offered to pay commissioners to go in his stead, and urged his passing the *Indian*-trade-bill: About the same time, in resentment of the remonstrances that had been made to the assembly, they resolved, "That though it was the undoubted right of the freemen of the province, not only to petition, but even to advise their representatives on suitable occasions, yet all applications whatever to the house ought to be respectful, decent, pertinent, and founded in truth." After this preface they proceeded to censure the remonstrators, but in mild terms, for their applications to the house, and rejected the last representation that had been made to them.

*Meeting of
the Ame-
rican go-
vernors at
New York*

Proceed-
ings there.

ON the 3d of *December* this session ended, and the governor thought proper to attend the assembly at *New York*, from whence returning, he laid before the assembly, under the seal of secrecy, the result of that meeting. He was very sanguine as to the success of it, provided the assembly furnished him with supplies, and told them that every thing possible had been done for the security of the province: that a chain of forts and block-houses, extending from the river *Delaware* along the *Kittatanny*-hills (where he had formerly said the 1500 *French* and *Indians* had taken post in their way to *Philadelphia*) to the *Maryland*-line, was then almost complete. He added many other particulars in praise of the measures that had been entered into by the congress for the benefit of the province; but according to the assembly's representation of matters, the whole of his message terminated in a call on them for a supply towards an offensive war. The plan that had been agreed on at the congress was that 10,250 men should be raised among all the *British* provinces, of which 1500 were to be the contingency of *Pensylvania*. Though this, notwithstanding all the suggestions of the government's enemies, was far from being an unequal taxation of men, in a province so populous as *Pensylvania*, yet an accident happened that brought the service into great difficulties, occasioned indeed by the attachment of the *Pensylvanians* to their own interest. General *Shirley* had planted recruiting parties through all *Pensylvania*, and they had enlisted many purchased servants, whose masters complained to the assembly, as if such enlisting was robbing them of their property (H). The *Pensylvanians*, on this occasion, presented to the assembly a very strong remonstrance, setting forth, that their province had furnished as many recruits to the army as any in *America*; and that they were apprehensive, if the practice of enlisting purchased servants went on, it would injure the population of white men in the colony, and that they must have recourse to purchasing negroes, which must lay them under infinite disadvantages. The assembly entered keenly into the interests of the remonstrants, and gave them a favourable hearing. The governor himself acknowledged the equity of their complaints, which were the more just, as the freemen of the province had but a little before made the troops a voluntary present of warm waist-

Complaints
of the Pen-
sylvanians

(H) The *Pensylvanians* undoubtedly had a right to complain of this practice; but when we consider the circumstances of the province at this time the complaint was very ridiculous. Even in *Great Britain*, necessity in that very war justified the practice of impressing, the greatest violation that possibly can be offered to personal liberty.

coats, stockings, and mittens. Necessity, however, super-
 seded all other considerations; and *Shirley*, in flat contradic-
 tion to a former opinion he had given, cited in favour of the
 practice, that of his own government, "Where it was com-
 mon, he said, to impress both indented servants and others for
 garrisoning the frontier towns, where they often remained sever-
 al years."

ABOUT this time the king had ordered a present to be *A present*
 made to the *Six Nations*, and it was to be distributed by Sir *to the In-*
Charles Hardy, governor of *New-York*; which province hav-
 ing made a considerable addition to the royal munificence,
 governor *Morris* put the assembly of *Pensylvania* in mind that
 they ought to do the like. The *Pensylvanians*, at this very
 time, had agents with Sir *William Johnson* to give them in-
 telligence of the dispositions of the *Six Nations* towards them;
 and though they seemed not at all averse to the governor's
 request, yet they did not think proper to give a determined
 answer to it till their agents returned; especially, as the dis-
 tribution could not take place sooner than six weeks. In
 the mean while, they put their governor in mind of the bill
 that lay before them for regulating the *Indian* trade; and he,
 on the other hand, press'd them to take some measures for
 preventing the exportation of provisions out of the province.
 At this time, they sent up two bills, one for regulating the
Indian trade, and another for continuing the excise; and
 both of them were returned by the governor with amend-
 ments, which were unanimously rejected by the house. The
 governor took no notice of this rejection, but set out for
Newcastle, where he said his majesty's service demanded his
 presence; while the assembly passed a bill for regulating the
 officers and soldiers in the service and pay of the province,
 and made a short adjournment until the 5th of *April*.

UPON their re-assembly, the governor press'd them to de- *The gover-*
 clare war against the *Delaware* and *Shawanese Indians*, which *nor presses*
 they declined doing, not more from principles of conscience *for a war.*
 than of prudence: when the affair came to be debated, a
 great variety of opinions appeared in the assembly; but the
 majority being for healing measures, no question was put
 upon the subject. This produced great perplexities both
 without and within doors: a large body of *Philadelphian*
 quakers petitioned the assembly in favour of pacific measures;
 and, indeed, it was generally thought that an accommoda-
 tion was not even then impracticable. On the other hand,
 the governor informed the assembly, that great numbers of
 the back settlers were resolved to proceed in a body, to make
 certain demands upon the legislature of the province; but,
 he

he added, "That by the advice of the council, he should give immediate orders to the provincial, and other magistrates, to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the mischiefs which might attend so extraordinary a procedure." The assembly, alarming as this intelligence appeared, instead of taking much notice of it, addressed the governor to lay before them the informations he had received, concerning the views and designs of the insurgents, or wherein they apprehended themselves to be neglected or aggrieved. The governor, without paying any regard to this address, declared war, as by his office he was impowered to do, against the *Delaware* and *Shawanese Indians*. At the same time, he published rewards for scalps and prisoners, and demanded fresh supplies, as great part of the 60,000 *l.* that had been raised was then expended.

*His reasons
for the
same.*

It is evident that the assembly, at this time, paid, perhaps, too little attention to the governor's representations of their danger. He informed them, that the *Indians* upon the frontiers of the province were ready, upon some discontent, as he supposed, to remove to the country of the *Six Nations*; and he advised them to give their two leaders, *Scarroyady* and *Montour*, a present; and to let the others depart in as good humour as possible. The house declined entering upon any fresh money matters, and prest the passing of the *Indian trade-bill*, as the best means of conciliating the affections of the savages to the province. At the same time, they refused to comply with the governor's request for stopping the exportation of provisions. The governor expressed no objection to those resolutions, but put the assembly in mind that they had contributed nothing towards the operations that had been agreed upon for the next campaign; and complained heavily of the small appointments he himself had received from them, though he had done more duty than any of their former governors. The assembly were in no humour for gratifying the governor, and came to a resolution, that, having received no assistance from their mother-country, having expended vast sums in their own defence, and lying under immense grievances in having their indented servants pressed, and their freemen employed in the war, they could contribute no farther to it. As to his representation of his own situation, they took no notice of it. He reconvened them on the 10th of *May*, and sent them a message, representing the growing calamities of the province, and the inutility of the militia-bill, which he had passed for its defence; recommending, at the same time, to pass another. He added, that, as by the latest accounts from *Europe*, a considerable arma-
ment

ment from *France* was to be expected in *America*, now to become the seat of war; and, as the enemy would, in such case, depend upon being supplied with provisions from the king's colonies, by the intervention of the *Dutch*, he conceived a general embargo would be necessary. He likewise recommended the building a fort at a place called *Shamokin*. A petition was presented to the house from the officers of the provincial troops, complaining of the insufficiency of the militia-law, as it then stood, and praying that a new one might be passed. The assembly considered this petition, and all the governor's representations of their danger, as so many inveigling arts to encrease his own power and importance in the province. He was then at a place called *Harris's Ferry*, at a considerable distance from *Philadelphia*; a circumstance, which the assembly took amiss, and they treated all his alarms of danger with the greatest contempt; nor would they even enter into a consideration of the militia-act. They, however, sent him a bill for prohibiting the exportation of provisions or warlike stores from the province, which he passed; but at the same time informed them, that it would be ineffectual, unless the territory was put under the same restriction as the province. An end was then put to the session, which lasted no more than four days.

WHEN the assembly met again, the governor renewed his alarms of the danger of the province, grounded on the accounts he had received from the governors *Dimwiddie* and *Sharpe*. He, likewise, laid before them the great things which the other *British* governments had done for his majesty's service; and pressed them to follow their example in pushing vigorous measures. At the same time, commodore *Spry* complained of want of seamen, and desired, "That he might be enabled by bounty, or otherwise, to raise and send him as many men as the province could spare, which would be a very seasonable and acceptable service." A money-bill was ordered in; but, in the mean while, Sir *Charles Hardy* and Sir *William Johnson*, sent intelligence that the *Delaware* and the *Shawanese* Indians were disposed towards a reconciliation with the province. The governor, upon this, ordered a suspension of arms to be proclaimed; and the assembly recommended to the managers of the 60,000*l.* supply, that they should furnish him such supplies of money as might be necessary for establishing peace. The assembly then, after dispatching some other business, adjourned themselves, without taking any notice of the governor's repeated request, of having his allowance taken into thier consideration. Before this adjournment took place, six members of

Disregarded by the assembly.

the assembly desired leave to resign their places; not, as they say in the paper that they gave in on that occasion, "From any design of involving the house in unnecessary trouble; but as many of our constituents seem of opinion, that the present situation of public affairs call upon us for services in a military way, which, from a conviction of judgment, after mature deliberation, we cannot comply with; we conclude it most conducive to the peace of our own minds, and the reputation of our religious profession, to persist in our resolutions of resigning our seats, which we accordingly now do; and request these our reasons may be entered on the minutes of the house."

Case of its resignees.

IT must be acknowledged that the assembly, on this occasion, acted very inconsistently with themselves. They had always been fond of comparing their own constitution with that of a *British* house of commons; and yet they supported the validity of those resignations, which never could take place in the *English* parliament (1). The governor's secretary, very properly, refused to issue any writs for filling up the vacancies; upon which, the speaker issued his own writs, which being obeyed by the sheriffs, the returns were made in the usual form; and the house unanimously resolved, that the members, so returned, had been duly elected: we are not apprised as to any farther opposition made by the governor on this point. When the house met again, the governor intimated to them the appointment of the earl of *Loudoun* to be commander in chief of all the king's forces in *America*; and acquainted them, that he was commanded to give his lordship, and his troops, all the assistance in his power; and he particularly recommended to them, to appropriate such part of the funds already raised, or to be raised, for the public service, so as to be issued as his lordship should direct. The governor was likewise charged to inform the assembly of the raising the *American* regiment, which, by act of parliament, was to consist of 4000 men, without any exception to foreigners, either soldiers or officers. He likewise recommended to them, to indemnify, out of the funds raised for the publick service, the masters of such indented servants as should enlist themselves in the army. He then pressed their passing a bill for the more effectual prohibiting all trade and commerce with the *French*, and desired them to grant farther supplies.

(1) A seat may be vacated in the *English* parliament by a member's accepting a place under the crown, but it cannot be resigned.

THE assembly treated this message with great coldness, and recriminated upon the governor his having enacted a law in the territory, invalidating the acts of the other colonies, by limiting the continuance of their act against the exportation of provisions to one month only. They, likewise, observed, that the ports of *Maryland*, where greater quantities of provisions were raised, continued still open. As to the governor's demand of a supply, they demanded of him to know whether he had come to any resolution on the excise and *Indian* trade bills. His answer was, that he could not recede from his amendments to the latter; and, to excuse himself from passing the former, he produced the following proprietary instruction: "You shall not give your assent to any law for prolonging the present excise, or laying any other excise, or raising any money on the inhabitants of the said province of *Pensylvania*; unless there be an enacting clause, that all money arising from the said excise, or other duties, shall be disposed of only as we, or either of us, exercising the office of governor, or the lieutenant-governor, or, in case of his death or absence, the president of the council, and the house of representatives, for the time being, shall direct; and not otherwise." The assembly triumphed greatly on the discovery of this instruction, and the proprietaries were accused in no obscure terms of selfishness and tyranny, and of sacrificing the safety of the province to their own interests. They, accordingly, came to some very severe resolutions on that head, and adhered to the excise-bill they had sent up, rejecting the governor's amendments. Even some difficulties, which were removed by a new act, occurred in getting in the 5000 *l.* presented to the province by the proprietaries; and which was to be raised out of the arrears of their quit-rents.

ON the same day that the bill was sent up, the house sent up a money bill for granting the sum of 40,000 *l.* for the king's use; and for striking the said sum in bills of credit, and to provide a fund for sinking the same. The governor, without rejecting this bill, informed the messengers that he was, at that time obliged to repair to *Newcastle*, to meet the assembly of the three lower counties; but that he would give it all the dispatch in his power. A few hours after, he alarmed the assembly with fresh intelligence, that the western *Indians* were assembling to fall upon the province about harvest-time; and they recriminated upon him, that if he pleased to pass their act he would have, in his hands, money enough to provide for the security of the province. About the same time; great difficulties were made under the pre-

*Difference
between it
and the go-
vornor
continue.*

*Proprietaries
instruc-
tions.*

*Money-bill
rejected.*

text of the bill against exporting provisions out of the province; about clearing out two ships, one freighted with provisions for *Newfoundland*, and the other for *Jamaica*. Upon this, the assembly passed a bill to permit the exportation of provisions for the king's service, notwithstanding the prohibition-act. The governor, on this occasion, trifled most egregiously with the assembly, for he evaded passing either of the bills he had sent up; and they entered upon their journals a kind of a protest that they should bear no part of the blame, whatever might happen, in consequence of the delay. They then adjourned to the 23d of *August*; but the governor called them together on the 10th of *July*, being the heat of their harvest-time, desiring them to continue the prohibition-act. Next day the merchants, owners, and masters of vessels, then lying in the port, presented a petition to the house; "Setting forth, the damages and losses they had already sustained for want of being allowed proper clearances; as also the disadvantages, discouragements, and losses, which the whole province would specially and unavoidably be liable to, in case the embargo was to be continued for a longer time than by the late law was provided: recommending bonds, with sufficient penalties, to be discharged only by the certificates of the *British* consuls residing at such foreign ports; as the several vessels and cargoes were entered for, and consigned to, as the only proper expedient to answer the ends proposed by such laws, without destroying their trade, on which the well being of their province depended; and requesting such relief and assistance, in the premises, as they in their wisdom, shall judge most expedient; as no wise doubting their ready and hearty disposition towards the general good and service of their country."

Case of the embargo upon provisions.

Hardships upon Pennsylvania.

THE reader is to observe, that the peculiarity of the case of *Pennsylvania* consisted in that province being the only *British* government that could suffer by the continuance of the embargo. Fish, which was the only commodity that *Boston* could furnish, was excepted out of the act. The troops consumed all the provisions that *New York* could spare, and the ports of *Virginia* and *Maryland* had never been shut up. The assembly were provoked beyond measure at the governor's behaviour, and sent him up a warm remonstrance, which turned entirely upon facts, concerning the embargo, and setting forth the vast detriment accruing to the province by its continuance. Some other differences passed between him and the assembly, concerning the preamble of the bill for supplying 4000 *l.* of the proprietaries present, in which the house had artfully inserted, that it was granted in consideration

tion of the proprietary interest not being taxed. They likewise demanded to know, whether he had come to any resolution concerning the excise-bill, and the 40,000 *l.* bill for the king's use. As to the former, the governor informed them, he neither could, nor would pass it; and he sent down the letter with amendments, exempting the proprietary estate from taxation, which the house rejected.

It must be acknowledged, that the behaviour of both par-Indian *af-*
ties was somewhat captious, and that the assembly was too *fairs.*
assiduous in catching at every slip of the governor, and in exposing him on all occasions. He had given them an alarm, for which, perhaps, he was not to blame, concerning the hostile intentions of the western savages against the province, during harvest; but it now appeared, that the same savages, at a conference they had with Sir *William Johnson*, had agreed, not only to lay down the hatchet against the *English*, but to take it up against the *French*. At the same time, *Teedyuscung*, king of the *Delawares*, and a number of the *Susquehanna Indians*, agreed, upon proper provisions being made for them, to give the governor a meeting, and to renew all their connections with the province. The governor demanded 4 or 500 *l.* the commissioners for the 60,000 *l.* act complained of their inability, and of the governor's refusing to pass the money-bills, and endeavoured to throw the expence upon the proprietaries, who, they said, would be chiefly benefited by the proposed meeting; but the house offered him 300 *l.* towards his expences, and that they inclined to adjourn till the 16th of *August*. The governor, by his answer, accepted of the 300 *l.* but informed them, that before his return, he was to meet with lord *Loudon* at *New York*. About this time, the assembly received from general *Shirley*, who had been recalled from his government, a farewell compliment, and a very honourable acknowledgment of the "repeated instances of their contributing towards the defence of his majesty's just rights and dominions, and to assure them of his hearty wishes for their welfare."

THE assembly met according to their adjournment, and the governor informed them of the taking and burning fort *Gran-*
ville upon the *Juniata*. He likewise mentioned barracks for *New a-*
1000 men; which were wanted by major *Rutherford*, the *larms.*
commanding officer in that province, for the new *American* regiment then raising; "and that his recruits being chiefly indentured servants, it would be necessary for the house to make provision for the payment of their masters, for the residue of the time each had to serve, in conformity to his majesty's instructions." He likewise informed them, that

their treasury was exhausted, their troops wanted pay, and that a supply was necessary. This drew fresh recriminations upon the governor from the assembly, which was the last scene of altercation between him and them; he being superceded by captain *William Denny*, who succeeded him in his government.

Governor
Denny
succeeds
Morris.

THE new governor was received as the guardian angel of the province, and even the assembly assisted at an entertainment given him by the mayor of *Philadelphia*. They not only complimented him very highly on his arrival and accession (for that was the term) to his government, but made him a present of 600 *l.* notwithstanding their distress for money. His first speech undeceived them in all their prepossessions in his favour. He mentioned the *French* encroachments upon the *Ohio*, as lying within their province, (an acknowledgment that had been always carefully avoided by the assembly) and that, therefore, they were peculiarly interested in expelling them (K). The governor, at the same time, after painting, in the most hideous colours, the ravages of the *French* and their *Indians*, recommended unanimity and dispatch in their proceedings, and promised to deny them nothing that he could grant, consistent with his duty to his majesty, and the rights of the proprietaries. This speech gave them to understand, that in fact, the name, but not the government, was changed. Instead of the 40,000 *l.* bill, which they had voted under governor *Morris*, they ordered in another, with a blank for the sum. In the mean while, the governor, to quicken them, sent them down dispatches, which he had received from lord *Loudon* and colonel *Armstrong*. They seemed in no great hurry to take notice of all those alarming messages. In their address they observed, that their frontier was so much extended, and the settlers upon it so much dispersed, that the horrors he had mentioned in his speech could not be prevented; that they had conceived their province to be in as good a state of defence as any of the neighbouring colonies; and that they would do all in their power, consistent with their just rights, to enable the government to protect the people. In answer to his request for a supply, they insisted, in order to prevent delays, on a sight of his proprietary instructions, relating to money-bills of any kind.

His proprietary
instructions.

THE governor immediately complied with this demand, and laid before them the 11th, 12th, and 21st articles of his pro-

(K) The assembly thought it a matter of indifference to them upon what province those encroachments were made, as the ground belonged to the proprietaries, who were therefore, most concerned in recovering it.

propriary

proprietary instructions. By those articles, it appeared, that the proprietaries conceived they had a joint right with the assembly in disposing of the interest-money arising from the provincial bills of credit and from the excise; and the governor was prohibited from giving his assent to any bill or act of assembly, for emitting, or re-emitting, or continuing, any paper-currency, unless the whole of the interest-money arising therefrom should be disposed of only to the very purposes to be specified in such act; or where that could not be conveniently done, by the joint concurrence of governor and assembly for the time being: and the same prohibition is also extended to all excise-laws; unless the disposition of the money, to be raised by them, is also appropriated in the same manner. The governor, by the 12th article, was entrusted with a prudential power of adding 40,000 *l.* to the then currency; but still with strict regard to the proprietary interest. The last instruction regarded the proprietary estate, which its owners insisted upon ought to be exempted from all taxes; and here was introduced a long recapitulation of facts and circumstances in defence of the proprietaries conduct, which would be tedious to insert here, but concluding as follows; “and whereas the said assembly appear to us to have been inclined, not only to load and burden our estates with taxes by their authority, directly contrary to former usage, but even to charge the same disproportionably, and in an unequal manner, in order to ease the estates of others, which is a measure we are by no means willing to consent to: and as the present invasion of his majesty’s *American* dominions may make it necessary to raise farther supplies for his service in our said province, the assembly may hereafter propose and offer bills or acts of assembly, to lay additional taxes on real estates there. You are, therefore, hereby required and directed, not to give your assent to any bill or act of assembly of that sort, unless the act be made to continue for one single year only, and no longer.” After this paragraph, the governor receives a power to agree to bills, taxing the proprietary manors or lands, which were actually let out on leases, either for lives or years; but the same to be paid by the tenants or occupiers, who were to charge them upon the proprietaries.

THE house demanded to know of the governor, whether, notwithstanding the above proprietary instructions, he apprehended himself to be at liberty to pass bills that were consistent with his own judgment, and agreeable to the laws enacted by his predecessors, and which had received the royal assent. The governor, in answer, told them, that he could not recede from his instructions; and the house prepared a

The History of America.

bill for striking the sum of 60,000 *l.* to be sunk by an excise. Ten thousand pounds of this money was to be rendered subject to the orders of the earl of *Loudoun*, and was to go to the general fund that had been raised for the defence of the colonies. Ten thousand pounds were allotted for discharging the debt contracted by the province, for the provisions that had been furnished towards the expedition against *Crown-Point*; (*Pensylvania* having received no part of the 115,000 *l.* that had been granted by parliament for the colonies) and the residue was for the current service of the year. The governor, before he would pass this bill, demanded a conference with a committee of the house, which was accordingly agreed to. There he objected to the term of twenty years, which was fixed for sinking the sum, and to the inconsistency of the bill with his proprietary instructions, by leaving the surplus-money to the disposal of the assembly alone. He excepted to the subjecting the 10,000 *l.* for the general fund to the order of lord *Loudoun*, instead of the commander in chief for the time being; and to the applying any part of the money for discharging their debt incurred by the *Crown-Point* expedition; because the sum was issued on a fund already established: for these, and some other reasons, he rejected the bill. The house justified their proceedings, and complained of the dearth of their land, which had thinned the province of inhabitants; and consequently reduced the excise-duty. They inveighed against the proprietary instructions, justified the trust they had put in lord *Loudoun*, which they refused to repose in any other commander, and pleaded that their funds for the *Crown-Point* debt had failed. All this, with a variety of other reasoning justifying the bill, made no impression upon the governor, who again peremptorily rejected it, and told the assembly that he was ready to give his reasons for so doing to his majesty: upon which the house broke up without coming to any conclusion. Three days after, the house came to very severe, and indeed unprecedented, resolutions against the proprietary instructions, as being arbitrary and unjust, an infraction of their charter, a total subversion of their constitution, and a manifest violation of their rights, as free-born subjects of *England*. They then vindicated all their proceedings, and threw the blame of all the disagreeable consequences upon the governor and the proprietaries. They next entered a kind of a salvo of their own rights, reserving them, “in their full extent on all future occasions, and, protesting against the proprietary instructions and prohibitions, do, nevertheless, in duty to the king, and compassion for the suffering inhabitants of their distressed country, and in humble, but full, confi-

confidence of the justice of his majesty and a *British* parliament, wave their rights on this present occasion only; and do farther resolve, that a new bill be brought in for granting a sum of money to the king's use, and that the same be made conformable to the said instructions."

THIS new bill was only for 30,000 *l.* which was to be sunk by the excise in ten years; and, after receiving some corrections from the governor, he passed it. This was considered as a complete victory on the part of the proprietaries, while the assembly represented their proceedings as having been extorted from them by the imminent danger of the province. The proprietaries, however, had no great occasion to triumph: the assembly entered in their books a full vindication of themselves, and loaded the proprietaries with all the odium of dictatorial power. Along with this vindication, they published a most curious estimate of the proprietary estate in *Pensylvania*, which they calculate (and indeed their reckoning does not seem to be overstrained) to be worth above a million sterling; and that the whole property of the people there does not exceed six millions. Together with this estimate, is an account of seven millions of acres of *Indian* land bought by the proprietaries, who alone can make such purchases from the natives, for no more than seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling; which the proprietaries afterwards sold at the rate of fifteen pound for every hundred acres. The *Indian* council at *Onondago*, however, disapproved of their deputies parting with so much land, and in the year 1755, obliged the proprietaries to re-convey great part of the same to the *Indians*.

HAVING thus finished what we may call the civil history of *Pensylvania*, though we cannot help thinking that too much heat prevailed among the assembly-men, in the dispute with the proprietary; yet no palliative can be brought for the invincible obstinacy of the governors, who not only risked the very existence of the province, but, had it not been for the lenity of the administration at home, would have endangered the proprietary charter. It is true, some quakers were against resistance; but they liberally voted money for raising troops towards their defence, and they were so convinced at last of the inconveniency of their principles, that of thirty-six members who compose the assembly, no more than twelve were quakers; and, indeed, the governor's conduct was universally blamed by those who had the best access to know the state of the province. That the people of *Pensylvania* were not dilatory in defending themselves, appears from their having erected, to cover their frontier, *Henshaw's* fort, on the *Delaw.*

The History of America.

Delaware, fort *Hamilton*, fort *Norris*, fort *Allen*, fort *Franklin*, fort *Lebanon*, fort *William Henry*, fort *Augusta*, fort *Halifax*, fort *Granville*, fort *Shirley*, fort *Littleton*, and *Shippensburg* fort, besides many smaller stockades, and places of defence, and all of them garrisoned at the expence of the province. This protection was so powerful, that it encouraged almost all their frontier settlers, who had abandoned their habitations, to return to them, and to continue to cultivate their lands. Their troops, under colonel *Armstrong*, performed great services upon the *Ohio* against the *French* and their *Indians*, by destroying the *Indian* town of *Kittanning*, and killing their great captain *Jacobs*, recovering also a great number of *English* captives. Besides their frontier garrisons, they armed, clothed, and paid, 1100 provincial rangers. The batteries of *Philadelphia* were mounted with no fewer than seventy-five heavy cannon, and the province had besides a train of artillery, all new brass field-pieces, a magazine stored with ammunition, a quantity of large bomb-shells, and a magazine, containing a reserve of above 2000 small arms, the whole being in excellent order. They likewise fitted out a twenty gun ship of war to scour the coast and protect the trade, not only of that, but the neighbouring provinces; a service which no colony to the south of *New England* had ever performed. By land, *Pensylvania* covers the greatest part of *New Jersey*, the whole of the *Delaware* counties, and great part of *Maryland*; but without receiving any contribution from those colonies. Upon the whole, it appeared by a fair account, that from the year 1754 to 1758, the province of *Pensylvania* furnished towards the expences of the war 218,567 l. 14 s. and in the year 1758, in pursuance of a letter to their governor, by Mr. secretary *Pitt*, they raised 2700 men.

Disputes
about the
disposal of
public
money.

THE great dispute between the governor and the commissioners, for applying the public money, regarded the manner of employing this force. The commissioners insisted upon raising companies of rangers, and falling immediately into the enemy's country, which they thought would be the best method for preventing their incursions. The governor had his reasons for preferring a militia-bill, which the commissioners vigorously opposed, because it increased his power by the nomination of its officers. The march and success of colonel *Armstrong* at *Kittanning* seemed to justify the former; and it is certain, that a militia, trained up to regular field or garrison duty, form too unwieldy a body, and are too slow in their motions, to be of much service against the sudden inroads of those savages. During the reduction of *Guadalupe* and the other military operations in *America*, the *French* had so art-

fully practised upon the six *English Indian* nations, that they brought them even to enter into hostilities, on pretence that the *English* had killed, or otherwise ill-treated, some of their brethren. The *Delawares* and *Minisinks*, at the same time, complained that the *English* had invaded their lands and possessions, and for that reason they too had entered into hostilities; but of all the *Indian* nations the *Twightwees*, who were settled on the banks of the *Ohio*, seemed to be the most averse to the *English* interest, and that, perhaps, with the best reason. Their ground of dissatisfaction arose from an attempt made to establish an *English Ohio* company, and some *British* subjects had been inconsiderate enough to alarm and provoke them by making surveys of their country, in which they trod down their corn. *Teedyuscung*, the *Delaware* chief, was a friend to the *English*, and proposed healing measures, so that by his means, principally, a conference between the *English* governors of *Pensylvania* and *New Jersey*, assisted by Sir *William Johnson*, was agreed upon by all the *Indians*, inhabiting the country between the lakes and the *Apalachian* mountains. This conference was likewise attended by four members of the council of *Pensylvania*, and six of the assembly, together with a vast number of other *Pensylvanians*, chiefly quakers, and two agents for the province of *New Jersey*. The *Indians*, who by their chiefs, or deputies, met there, were the *Mohawks*, *Oneidoes*, *Onondagoes*, *Cayugas*, *Senecas*, *Tuscaroras*, *Nanticoques*, and *Conoys*, the *Tuteloos*, *Chagnuts*, *Delawares*, and *Unamies*, the *Minisinks*, *Mohicons*, and *Wappingers*.

The business of this conference was to settle the limits of the disputed lands, and to make up all differences between the *Delawares* and the *Six Nations*, over whom they claimed a superiority, and affected always to treat them as their nephews, but they thought they now usurped too much independency; to detach all those savages from the *French* interest, and to restore a good correspondence with the *Twightwees*. The meeting was extremely formal, and accommodated to all the punctilios of *American* deliberation and superstition. It was held at *Easton*, about ninety miles distant from *Philadelphia*. The *English* were welcomed by *Teedyuscung*, who was seconded by the chief of the *Cayugas*, and then the *Mohawk* warriors, by the mouth of one of their chiefs, entered their complaints. Considering the rudeness of those barbarians, the accuracy and minuteness they disclosed in this negotiation was wonderful; nor was there a personal affront or injury done to any of their nations, since the time of their last treaties, that they omitted to mention; but, above all, they

A conference
made with
the Indi-
ans.

they complained of the *English* encroachments upon their lands. At last, the *Mohawk* chief addressed himself to the governor of *Pennsylvania* in the following terms: "Brother, we must put you in mind, that four years ago, you bought at *Albany* a large tract of land, for a part of which that was settled; the proprietaries agents then paid 1000 pieces of eight: we acknowledge the receipt of that money, and the validity of so much of the purchase; but for the other part, that was not paid for, that we reclaim. Our warriors, our hunters, when they heard of this vast sale, disapproved our conduct in council; in the deed, our hunting-grounds are included, and without them we must perish."

THE *Delawares* then entered their complaints; but it was observed, that while *Teedyuscung* was speaking, that the chiefs of the *Six Nations* took what he said so much amiss, that they left the assembly; upon which, he was silent. They reassembled, however, next day, when Mr. *Barnard*, governor of *New Jersey*, offered to satisfy the *Ministinks* for all their complaints; but the business between the *Delawares*, the *Six Nations*, and the *English*, was not yet adjusted; and *Teedyuscung* explained what he had to say to Mr. *Denny* at his own house. Next day, by the same governor's desire, *Teedyuscung* complained, that he heard his uncles the *Six Nations* had sold their lands at the *Yomink* and *Shamokin*, to the *English*. Mr. *Denny*, to compromise this affair, gave them an additional thousand dollars for the lands in dispute; but this liberality seems to have induced the savages to rise in their demands. The chiefs of the *Six Nations* and *Teedyuscung* came to a good understanding together, and started new objections about lands and limits; and it is hard to say, what the effect might have been, had not an authentic account arrived of general *Forbes*, who was then upon his march against fort *duquesne*, having repulsed the *French* and *Indians*, who had attacked him at *Loyal-Hanning*. This news seems to have brought the savages to reason, and the conferences ended to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The whole was managed as usual by strings of wampum, which were produced at the finishing every proposition, and in metaphorical hyperboles, which generally were not without their beauty, and were adopted by the *English* as well as the *Indians*. The whole negotiation lasted from the 8th to the 26th of *October*. When it was over, the *Indians*, whose number assisting at it, including their wives and children, amounted to 500, were gratified with a considerable present, consisting of looking-glasses, knives, tobacco-boxes, sleeve-buttons, thimbles, sheers, gun-locks, ivory-combs, shirts, shoes, stockings, hats, caps, hand-

handkerchiefs, thread, cloaths, blankets, gartering, ferges, watch-coats, and a few suits of laced cloaths for their chiefs. After this, large quantities of rum was distributed amongst them, by which they all got drunk, and next day they returned home, all of them well satisfied.

THIS treaty, which was conducted with great address on the part of the *English*, was of infinite service to their affairs in *America* during the remaining part of the war, by leaving them in a state of security within their own colonies; and therefore more at liberty to attend the other great objects of the campaign. Governor *Denny* was succeeded as lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of *Pensylvania* by the former governor *Mr. Hamilton*, who had always been popular in the province. The restoration of peace, which was attended by a vast increase of commerce and riches to *Pensylvania*, introduced likewise into that province luxuries unknown to it before, and inconsistent with their original constitutions. These abuses produced an address to governor *Hamilton*, from the pastors and ministers of all persuasions in the province, setting forth the ill-consequences of encouraging gaming, and all sorts of luxurious and vicious public diversions, particularly, a new subscription, by way of lottery, for opening public gardens, baths, bagnios, and other schemes of dissipation, which they observe, have already increased too much within these few years; all which they petition the governor to use his influence to suppress, as they are willing to preserve the character that province has hitherto borne of a sober, sedate, industrious, frugal and religious people. The governor returned a most obliging answer to this address, and promised, upon his honour, that he would discountenance, to the utmost of his power, every scheme tending to the dissipation of the minds of the people: this being the last transaction of any consequence relating to the affairs of *Pensylvania*, we are now to attend to the present state of that country.

THE province and territory of *Pensylvania*, as we have in part already observed, had a complicated kind of conveyance from the crown: besides the patent, granted by *Charles the 1st*, *March 4*, 1680-1, the duke of *York*, in 1683, sold to *William Penn* the elder, the town of *Newcastle*, alias *Dela-ware*, and a district of twelve miles round the same; and by another deed of the same date, he made over to the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, that tract of land from twelve miles south of *Newcastle*, to the *Whore-Kills*, otherwise called cape *Henlopen*, divided into the two counties of *Kent* and *Suffex*; which with *Newcastle* district, are commonly known

known by the name of the three *Lower Counties* upon *Delaware* river. We have already mentioned the great disputes which the difference of the two constitutions, that of the province, and that of the territory, made between the proprietaries and the province of *Pensylvania*. This was complicated with another proprietary dispute between Mr. *Penn* and the lord *Baltimore*, proprietary of *Maryland*. The grant of the latter was fifty years prior to that of Mr. *Penn*'s of *Pensylvania*: but there was in it an exception of lands then belonging to the *Dutch*, and which now form the three *Lower Counties* upon *Delaware* river; and when Mr. *Penn* took possession of those counties, he there found one *Dutch* and three *Swedish* congregations. The dispute was concerning the construction of the expression forty degree of latitude. *Maryland* grant, 1632, says, to the forty degree of latitude, which the *Maryland* side of the question construe to be to forty degrees compleat; *Pensylvania* grant, 1682, says, to begin at the beginning of the fortieth degree, which the *Pensylvanian* side construe to be just after thirty-nine degree is compleated; thus there was a dispute of the extent of one degree in latitude, or sixty-nine *English* miles. In 1732, in consideration of the improvements made by the *Marylanders* within the fortieth degree complete, an agreement was made between the parties, importing, that a due east and west line be run from cape *Henlopen* to the middle of the peninsula, and the said strait line to run from the westward point thereof, northward, up to the said peninsula (and above the said peninsula; if it required) till it touched, or made a tangent to the western part of the periphery of the said twelve miles circle, and the said due south and north line to run from such tangent, till it meets with the upper or more northern east and west line; and the said upper east and west line to begin from the northern point or end of the said south and north line, and to run due westward, at present, cross *Susquehanna* river, and twenty-five *English* statute miles at least on the western side of the said river, and to be fifteen *English* statute miles south of the latitude of the most southern part of the said city of *Philadelphia*, were, and shall, and should at all times, for ever hereafter, be allowed and esteemed to be the true and exact limits and bounds, between the said province of *Maryland* and the said three lower counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent*, and *Suffex*, and between the said provinces of *Maryland* and *Pensylvania*.

* *Dowolass's* Summary, Vol. 2. p. 309 and 310.

IN consequence of this agreement, mutual releases, according to the terms of it, passed on both sides; that on the part of the *Penns* was signed by *John, Thomas* and *Richard Penn*, the then proprietaries of *Pensylvania*, not only for themselves, but for all their claims under *William Penn*, their grandfather, the founder of the colony, *Springet Penn*, and *William Penn* the son. It was farther agreed, that commissioners should be appointed on both sides, to mark out the aforesaid boundaries, and the penalty on the failing party was fixed, at 6000 *l*. The respective commissioners appeared, but differed in their opinions; those of lord *Baltimore* alledging, that he had been deceived in fixing cape *Henlopen*, twenty miles south westerly of the western cape of *Delaware* bay; whereas, cape *Henlopen* is the western cape itself: but those of the *Penns* affirmed, that according to the *Dutch* maps and descriptions, the western cape is cape *Cornelius*, and cape *Henlopen* is about four hours southerly of it. In 1735, the *Penns* preferred a bill in chancery against the then lord *Baltimore*, for non-performance of the above agreement; and praying, that it should be carried into execution. This suit depended till the 15th of *May*, 1750, when costs of suit were decreed against lord *Baltimore*, and that the agreement of 1732, should be carried into execution; but that commissioners should be appointed for the actual marking of the boundaries. The basis of this commission was to be founded on the lord chancellor's decree: first, that the center of the circle be fixed in the middle of the town of *Newcastle*: secondly, that the said circle ought to be of a radius of twelve *English* miles: thirdly, that cape *Henlopen* ought to be deemed at the place laid in the maps, annexed to the articles of 1732.

When the commissioners met, which they did in *November* the same year, fresh disputes arose. Lord *Baltimore's* commissioners insisted upon their measuring the miles superficially, and those of the *Penns* upon geometrical and astronomical mensurations. Upon this, the commissioners on both sides stopt, and wrote to their respective principals for further instructions; but the affair was afterwards amicably adjusted, though greatly in favour of the *Penns*. Such of our readers as know the value of land in that country will not be surprized at so long and so expensive a dispute concerning it; but we cannot give those who do not, a more clear idea of the flourishing circumstances of this province, than by a description of its capital, *Philadelphia*.

THIS beautiful city, one of the most regular in the world, is situated in 40 degrees 30 minutes of north latitude, and is an

Philadelphia.

an oblong of two miles, extending from the river *Delaware* to the *Schuylkill*, the east end fronting the river *Delaware*, and the west the river *Schuylkill*, each front being a mile in length. The river *Delaware* is navigable from the sea for large vessels above two hundred miles, and that of *Schuylkill*, as far as *Philadelphia*. Every man in possession of one thousand acres, has his house either in one of the fronts facing the rivers, or in the *High street*, running from the middle of one front, to the middle of the other. Every owner of five thousand acres, besides the abovementioned privilege, is entitled to have an acre of ground in the front of his house, and all others may have half an acre for gardens and court-yards. Every quarter of the city forms a square of eight acres, and almost in the center of it is a square of ten acres, surrounded by the town-house, and other public buildings. The *High-street* is one hundred feet wide, and runs the whole length of the town: parallel to it, run eight other streets, which are crossed by twenty more at right-angles, all of them thirty feet wide, and communicating with canals from the two rivers, which add not only to the beauty, but the wholesomeness of the city. Ships of four or five hundred tons may come up to the quay, which is two hundred feet square, and furnished with all the conveniencies for ship-building, as well as for loading and unloading goods. The reader, however, is not to imagine that the whole of this magnificent plan is already carried into execution; but as it is every day compleating, *Philadelphia* may, in time, dispute (if it does not already) with *Boston* and *New-York*, for the precedence of all the *North American* cities. Its town-house is so magnificent, spacious and regular, that it would make a figure in any capital of *Europe*: it was erected in the year 1732, and stands in a square of 396 feet by 255. The other public buildings of *Philadelphia*, are, the court-house, two quakers meeting-houses, two presbyterian meeting-houses, one church of *England*, one baptist-meeting, one *Dutch Lutheran* church, one *Dutch Calvinist* church, one *Moravian* church, one mafs-house, the academy, the quakers school-house, the city alms-house, the quakers alms-house, the hospital, prison, and workhouse.

*Academy
at Phila-
delphia.*

THE noblest institution, however, in the province of *Pennsylvania*, is its academy. This public spirited proposal was set on foot by a set of private gentlemen, who, joining together, without the least regard to religious differences, formed a body of constitutions, with liberty to alter and amend them as they thought proper, for carrying their plan into execution; and it was so well liked, that the subscriptions to it
rose,

tofe, in a fhort time, to 800 *l.* a year for five years. The trustees were not without their difficulties in their proceedings: they could hope for little or no encouragement from the afsembly, where the leading men were quakers, who had formed an intitution for education, at their own expences; and though the proprietary Mr. *Penn.* was no enemy to the propofed academy, yet he inclined to have it built out of the city. On the other hand, the fuccefs of the undertaking depended in a great meafure upon the fuperintendancy of the trustees, whofe bufinefs could not admit them leaving the town fo often as might be neceffary; and therefore they purchafed a convenient building, (L) which ferved all their immediate purpofes, and as much ground and other edifices near it as might be improved with five quadrangles, for the accommodation of the ftudents. The corporation of *Philadelphia*, fenfible of the utility of this fcheme, voted two hundred pounds to be immediately paid to the trustees, and one hundred a year for five years. Fifty pounds of this money is to be allotted for the ereftion and maintenance of a charity-school; out of which, one of the moft promifing boys is to be chofen yearly, and tranfplanted into the academy, where he is to complete his education at the expence of the trust. The plan of education in this academy is rational and practicable; efppecially, in the inftruction of the pupils in Greek, Latin, and Englifh, but with the ftricteft view to their morals; and by the public encouragement, which it has already, or may hereafter receive, it bids fair, in time, to rival the brighteft feminaries of learning in the mother-country, efppecially under a reign fo beneficent, as the prefent is, to literature.

THAT the reader may form fome idea of the numbers of *Various* the various feftaries in *Philadelphia*, we fhall prefent him with *feftaries* the burials of the years 1750, 1751, and 1752, which the *there.* reader will find in the note (M). From the fame note,

(L) It had been a meeting-houfe, erected by fome of the followers of *Whitefield*, or other feftaries.

(M) Chriftenings in 1750.	1751.	1752.
Swedes ———	10	42
Lutherans ———	68	180
Burials in 1750.	1751.	1752.
Swedes ———	13	27
Presbyterians —	26	48
Dutch Lutherans —	28	56
—— Calvinifts		40
Baptifts ———	11	28
Quakers ———	104	107

the reader may form some judgment of the variety of sects with which *Pensylvania* is stored; and it is to the great honour of the governing party in this province, that no persecutions prevail there on account of religion. The persecution of the *Moravians*, and the mildness with which they had been treated in *England*, with the encouragement given to their industry, has been of vast service to *Philadelphia*, where above 1500 of them are now settled. The wildness and extravagance of this sect is well-known to all *Europe*: they have there a chapel with a small organ; but their grand settlement is about fifty or sixty miles from *Philadelphia*. The similarity of practice between them and the quakers, in some points, makes them fond of residing in *Pensylvania*; but, though they decline carrying arms in their own persons, yet they contribute chearfully to the military establishment for the defence of their settlements and country. Their zeal towards the conversion of the *Indians* is incredible. If possible, it exceeds that of the jesuits, and they have already persuaded some of those savages to come to live with and conform to them. They even sent about the year 1748, to *Greenland*, or *Davis's Straits*, at their own expence, a ship with a wooden church, ready framed, for the use of the inhabitants of that country, which produces no timber; and when the ship returned to *Philadelphia*, it brought two young men, and a young woman, natives of *Greenland*, who had been converted there by the *Moravian* missionaries. The same *Moravians* have likewise a mission at *Berbee* and *Surinam*, from whence two converts likewise came to *Pensylvania*, and those proselytes from different parts of the globe, together with some *Delaware Indian* converts, met all together at a place called *Bethlem* in that province. The *Pensylvanian Moravians* have almost the same indulgence shewn them by the legislature of *Great Britain*, excepting in criminal cases, as the quakers have; and their abstemious manner of living enables them to carry on the handicrafts they profess at a cheap rate; nor are they without some men of learning and academical education among them.

Curious
history of
the Dun-
kards.

BUT the *Moravians* and other sects are in common to other parts of the world, while *Pensylvania* engrosses a sect of its

Newbuilding.	— 19	30	30
Roman Catholics	— 15	21	16
	—	—	—
Total	294	579	283

Burials in the strangers burying-ground.

Dutch and other white people.	— 250	319	286
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own product, one perhaps, of the most harmless and extraordinary of any that has appeared since the institution of christianity. They are called by some *Dumplers*, but their true name seems to be *Dunkards*. The town they inhabit is called *Ephrata*, lying on the frontier part of *Lancaster* county, fourteen miles from *Lancaster*, and about fifty from *Philadelphia*, between two small hills, in the most delightful situation that can well be imagined, as if nature had created it for the indulgence of contemplation. All the land possessed by the *Dunkards* does not exceed two hundred and fifty acres, and it is, in a manner, insulated by a river on one side, with a ditch, and a bank planted with trees on the other. The country between *Ephrata* and *Lancaster*, though very thinly inhabited, presents the eye with the like beautiful scenes of retirement. A *German* hermit, who settled on the spot where *Ephrata* is now built, and who supplied all his necessities by his own labour, was the founder of this extraordinary sect. The fame of his solitude inspired some of his countrymen with curiosity; as the simplicity of his life, with the piety of his conversation, excited them to join and to imitate him. A people who leave their native country to enjoy liberty of conscience, can bear all subsequent mortifications. The *Germans*, of both sexes, who joined this hermit, soon assimilated themselves to his way of thinking; and consequently, to his manner of living. Industry became part of their duty, and divided their time with devotion. Their gains are thrown into one common stock, which supplies all their exigencies, private as well as publick. Their females are cloistered up by themselves in a separate part of the town, the situation of which is delightful, and screens them from the north-wind. It is triangular, and fenced round with thick rows of apple, beech, and cherry-trees, besides, having an orchard in the middle. The houses, which are of wood, are most of them three stories high, and every person has a separate apartment, that he may not be disturbed in his devotions.

THE women never see the men but at public worship, or when it is necessary to consult upon matters of public œconomy, and the number of both may be about 300. Their garb is the most simple that can be well imagined, being a long white woollen gown in winter, and linnen in the summer, with a cape, which serves them for a hat, like that of a capuchin, behind, and fastened round the waist with a belt. Under the gown they wear a waistcoat of the same materials, a coarse shirt, trowser, and shoes. The dress of the women

† DOUGLAS'S Summary, Vol. II. p. 150.

is the same, only instead of trowsers they wear petticoats, and when they leave their nunnery, (for such it is) they muffle up their faces in their capuchins. The diet of the *Dunkards* consists of vegetables; but it is no principle with them to abstain from animal food; only they think that such abstinence is most agreeable to a christian life. This temperance emaciates their bodies, and as the men indulge their beards to its full length, gives them a hollow ghastly appearance. Their beds are no other than benches; a little wooden block serves them for a pillow, and they celebrate public worship twice every day, and as often every night. But though such modes of life appear absurd and impracticable, the *Dunkards* are far from being extravagant. Their chapel is very decent, and they have, upon a fine stream, a grist-mill, a paper-mill, an oil-mill, and a mill for pearl barley, all of them most ingeniously constructed by themselves: they have even a printing-press, and they are, especially the nuns, extremely ingenious in writing, and in embellishments, which they perform with a variety of beautiful colours, with gilding, in imitation of the initials in ancient manuscripts, and they stick them up by way of ornament in their churches and cells. By those different manufactures, the publick stock of this ascetic people is well supplied, as no denomination of christians can be their enemies, their religious tenets being mingled with the absurdities of all.

NOTWITHSTANDING the two sexes living separately from one another in their town, yet the *Dunkards* are far from being enemies to marriage. In that case, the parties must indeed leave the town, but they are supplied out of the public fund with whatever is necessary for their settling elsewhere. This they generally do as near as they can to *Ephrata*, to which they send their children for education. They have in their society a president, one *Philip Miller*, who was regularly educated at the university of *Hall* in *Germany*. He is said to be a man not only of learning, but of good sense. He went over on some scruples of conscience from the *Calvinists*, among whom he had taken orders, to the *Dunkards*. Though rigidly adhering to their doctrine and manners, yet he is open, affable, and communicative, and makes no secret of the religious principles of the *Dunkards* to strangers. Baptism they administer by dipping, or plunging, but to adult persons only. They hold free-will, and think that the doctrine of original sin, as to its effect upon *Adam's* posterity, is absurd and impious. They disclaim violence, even in cases of self-defence, and suffer themselves to be defrauded, or wronged,

The History of America.

wronged, rather than go to law. They are superstitious to the last degree in observing the sabbath ; and, all their prayers and preachings, during their worship, are extempore. Humility, chastity, temperance, and other christian virtues, are commonly the subjects of their discourses ; and they imagine, that the souls of dead christians are employed in converting those of the dead, who had no opportunity of knowing the gospel. They deny the eternity of hell-torments, but believe in certain temporary ones that will be inflicted on infidels, and obstinate persons, who deny Christ to be their only Saviour ; but they think, that at a certain period, all will be admitted to the endless fruition of the deity. A people, whose principles are so harmless, and whose practice is so simple and virtuous, cannot be otherwise than happy upon earth. Among themselves, they know nothing but harmony and mutual affection ; every one cheerfully performs the task of industry assigned to him, and their hospitality and courtesy to strangers is unbounded ; but their principles lead them to take nothing in recompence.

H U D S O N ' S - B A Y .

THE trade of the country is become so considerable to *Original* *of the* *Hudson's Bay com-* *pany.* *Great Britain*, that, though it affords but few settlements, and no cities, the history of it is as interesting as that of any other *American* colony. It is of very little importance to the *English* right to this trade, that about the year 1605, the *Danes* discovered countries to the northward of *Hudson's-Bay* ; from whence they brought some of the natives, who were of a diminutive size, and sailed in little canoes, or rather boats, made of skins, containing but one person, but so secure, as to be proof, even upon the open ocean, against the most violent storms and tempests. Late discoveries have proved the truth of the last mentioned fact, and that those inhospitable countries are inhabited by people of a small size, resembling the *Laplanders*, and the *Samoids*, or the wandering *Tartars* (N). The first discovery of those northern lands, were made by the adventurers from different parts of *Europe*, who endeavoured to find out the north-west passage to *China*

(N) See an account of that part of *America*, which is the nearest to the land of *Kamschatka*, extracted from the description of *Kamschatka*, by profes- for *Krasbennicoff*, printed at *Petersburg*, in two volumes 4to. in 1759, and translated by Dr. *Dumaresque*, chaplain to the *English* factory at *Petersburg*.

and the *East-Indies*; and there is no great dependence to be laid upon the grant given by *Henry* the VIIth of *England*, in 1496, to the *Cabots* of all the lands they could discover and settle to the westward of *Europe*; for it is certain, that though they might take a general possession, yet they made no settlement. In the years 1576, 1577, and 1578, Sir *Martin Forbisher* made three different voyages to discover the said passage; but all we know that he discovered, was the strait which still retains his name: nor could he bring the natives of *Terra de Labrador* to trade, or enter into the least communication with the *English*; on the contrary, they took every opportunity of cutting them off.

Discovery
of the bay.

IN 1585, *John Davis*, who sailed from *Dartmouth*, came to the latitude of 64 degrees, 15 minutes, and proceeded to 66 degrees, 40 minutes. Next year, he ran to 66 degrees, 20 minutes, and from thence he coasted southward to 56 degrees; but though at last in 54 degrees he found an open sea, which he flattered himself might be the so much wished for passage, yet the weather there was so tempestuous, that he was obliged to return to *England*; nor did he in the three voyages he made to those parts, gain any farther discovery or settlement. About 1583, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* took possession of *Newfoundland* for the crown of *England*; but no farther attempts were made, till *Henry Hudson*, in 1607, is said to have discovered as far as 80 degrees, 23 minutes; and prosecuted his discoveries, though very unsuccessfully, and with little appearance of profit. In the year 1610, he proceeded many leagues farther than any man had done before him, and was stopt only by the ice and the shoal water; and finding himself imbayed, he was there obliged to winter; and the following spring, endeavouring to proceed farther, he perished. In the year of his death, prince *Henry*, who, for his public spirit, was so justly beloved by the people of *England*, encouraged Sir *Thomas Button* to pass *Hudson's* freights, which he did, and sailing westward, discovered a continent, and gave it the name of *New Wales*. Being unable to pass farther than the 56th degree of north latitude, called by him the *Ne Ultra*, he wintered at port *Nelson*, in the 57th degree, and from him the bay was called *Button's* bay. In 1616, one *Baffin* attempted to prosecute *Button's* discoveries, and proceeded as far as the 78th degree; but perceiving his attempt to be impracticable, he returned, though he sailed to the 80th degree. In 1632, captain *Fox* sailed into *Hudson's-Bay*, where he saw many whales towards the end of *July*; but he proceeded no farther than port *Nelson*, in 56 degrees, and there he wintered. The

civil wars of *England* soon after coming on, prevented our countrymen from pushing their discoveries farther; but prince *Rupert*, and some public-spirited gentlemen, in 1667, fitted out *Guilam*, who landed at *Rupert river*, on the east continent of *Hudson's-Bay*, where he built *Charles fort*, and laid the foundation of a fur-trade with the natives.

THIS trade bore so good an aspect, that in 1669, a royal charter was granted to the adventurers, in the following terms: "To prince *Rupert*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, to *George duke of Albemarle*, to *William earl of Craven*, and to fifteen others; and to others whom they shall admit into the said body corporate, power to make a common seal, and to alter it; to chuse annually, some time in *November*, a governor, a deputy-governor, and a committee of seven, any three of the committee, with the governor and deputy-governor, to be a court of directors: freemen to be admitted (their factors and servants may be admitted freemen) at a general court; a power to dismiss the governor, deputy-governor, or any of the committee, before the year expires; and upon their dismissal or death, to elect others in their room for the remainder of the year: to have the sole property of lands, trade, royal fishery, and mines, within *Hudson's* straits, not actually possessed by any christian prince, to be reputed as one of our colonies in *America*, to be called *Rupert's land*, to hold the same in free and common soccage, to pay the skins of two elks, and two black beavers, as often as the king and queen shall come into those lands: power to assemble the company, and to make laws for their government and other affairs, not repugnant to the laws of *England*; an exclusive trade, without leave obtained of the company, penalty, forfeiture of goods and shipping, one half to the king, one half to the company. In their general meetings, for every 100*l.* original stock, to have one vote, may appoint governors, factors, and other officers, in any of their ports; the governor and his council to judge in all matters, civil and criminal, and execute justice accordingly: where there is no governor and council, may send them to any place where there is a governor and council, or to *England* for justice: liberty to send ships of war, men, and ammunition; for their protection, and erect forts: to make peace or war with any people who are not christians, may appeal to the king in council."

NOTWITHSTANDING this charter, the *French* pretended to the right of pre-occupancy, founded upon the discoveries of their countrymen, long before the date of this charter. They alledged, that the sieur *Bourdon*, and another *Frenchman*, repeatedly took possession of *Hudson's-Bay* and its neighbourhood,

hood, between the date of this charter and the year 1656. It is certain, that in 1663, three *Frenchmen* *Medard, Chouard des Grosilliers*, and *Pierre-Esprit de Radisson*, out of some pique they had conceived against their own country, conducted *Guilam* to the river *Nemiscau*, which discharges itself into the bottom of the bay, and there first built fort *Rupert*, and afterwards fort *Monsonis*. The *French* considered this possession as an usurpation, and their intendant endeavoured to prevent a prescriptive right in favour of the *English*; but *Colbert's* pacific measures prevented any rupture between the *French* and *Charles the II*d on that account. The *French*, however, endeavoured to gain by degrees, what they did not attempt by force. *Grosfeilliers* and *Radisson*, before they were employed by the *English*, had presented memorials, both at *Quebec* and at *Paris*, upon the practicability of carrying ships from *Canada* to *Hudson's-Bay*; and this they did upon the information of certain savages, whom they met with near the lake of the *Assimponals*, who conducted them by land to the bottom of the bay, where, according to the *French* accounts, the *English* had not yet made a settlement. Their memorials were treated by the *French* ministry as mere fictions, but the *English* ambassador at *Paris* recommended them both to the service of the *English* nation, from whom they soon found both patronage and protection. The *French* at *Quebec*, when it was too late, discovered their oversight. A deputation of savages, who had repaired to *Quebec*, to solicit for missionaries, offered to conduct the *French* by an easy way from the river *Saguenay* to *Hudson's-Bay*; and *Talon*, the intendant-general of *Canada*, sent along with them, upon the discovery, father *Albanel*, and two other *Frenchmen*. They left *Quebec* on the 22d of *August*, 1671, but by this time, one

Mr. Bailly,
governor.

Mr. Bailly, an *Englishman*, had been sent over by the company as governor, and he was attended by the abovementioned *Radisson*; so that when the three *Frenchmen*, conducted by the savages, arrived at the bay, which they did on the 17th of *September* that same year, they found the *English* there in full trade with the savages. This obliged the *Frenchmen* to send to *Quebec* for passports (we suppose, to prove that they were no pirates;) but before these could arrive, they lost the season for navigating the bay, and they were obliged to winter on the banks of lake *St. John*. On the 1st of *June*, 1672, they set out on their return for *Quebec*; but on the 13th, they were intercepted by eighteen canoes, filled with *Mistassin* savages. Father *Albanel* immediately accosted them, informing

them, that the *French* were their friends ; and that they had lately defeated their enemies the *Iroquois*, who were in no condition to molest them farther. The chief of the *Mistassins*, whose nation in general, it seems, had a hankering towards popery, or, what *Charlevoix* calls, christianity, returned the father thanks for his information, and he prevailed upon them to promise to trade upon the lake of *St. John*, where they were always sure to meet with merchandizes to barter, and a missionary to instruct them. The savages pressed *Albanel* to remain with them ; but he excused himself, and promised to return to lake *St. John*. After this, the *French* adventurers entered upon the lake of the *Mistassins*, and then reached the banks of the lake *Nemiscau*, and on the 1st of *July*, a place called *Miscoutenagebit*, where they were received by the natives with vast demonstrations of joy. Notwithstanding this, *Albanel* perceived that the natives carried on a beneficial trade with the *English*, which they were so determined not to forego, that *Albanel* was obliged again to assure them, that he and his companions had no farther view in the visit they paid them than the safety of their souls, and to inform them, that they had nothing to fear from their enemies the *Iroquois*. Some days after, the *French* adventurers left that village, visited the neighbourhood of lake *Nemiscau*, and embarking upon the river of the same name, they fell into the bay, where they took a sham possession ; but it had not the least influence upon the *English* commerce there.

WHILE the *French* were thus employed, the *English* ad-
 venturers had formed themselves into a regular company, at
 the head of which was prince *Rupert* : the other members
 were, Sir *James Hayes*, Mr. *William Young*, Mr. *Gerard*
Weymans, Mr. *Richard Cradock*, Mr. *John Letton*, *Christopher*
Wrenn, Esq; Mr. *Nicholas Hayward*. Mr. *Baily*, who was then
 governor, resided chiefly at the small fort, which had been
 built upon *Rupert's* river, but all the *English* inhabitants there
 did not exceed twenty : His neighbours were the *Indians*,
 whose princes and headmen, with their families, often came
 begging for mere subsistence, to the *English* ; for, as their
 means of living depended entirely on the success of their
 hunting, they were reduced to starve as often as that resource
 failed them. It may, however, be proper here to observe, that
 perhaps the neighbourhood of the *English*, and their hospita-
 lity, encouraged those barbarians, who are naturally the most
 indolent beings in the universe, to this practice of begging.
 The *English* themselves had but a precarious dependence for
 their subsistence, and waited for returns from *England* for all
 their food and necessaries, so barren and inhospitable was the
 neigh-

*Names of
 the direc-
 tors of the
 company.*

neighbouring country. Mr. *Baily* having relieved the prince, his cocamish or wife, and his great officers of state, by giving them victuals, attended them in a fishing expedition, in which they had but very indifferent success. In 1673, *Grosveilliers* arrived at port *Nelson*, where a kind of factory had been established, but under very discouraging circumstances, because the neighbouring *Indians* had been prevailed upon by the *French* to abandon the country. The governor himself, tho' he and the few *English* with him, carried on a gainful traffic with the distant *Indians*, was in a most miserable situation, being in danger of perishing in the crazy cabins they had erected, and they subsisted chiefly on fishing, and killing such wild fowl as came in their way. Towards the beginning of the year some *Indians* visited them, and brought along with them a little fresh meat. This afforded them a temporary relief from the scurvy, which the eating their salt provisions had introduced amongst them.

which is
opposed by
the French.

THE *French* knew the hardships, but, at the same time, the benefits of the trade. *Radisson* had married a daughter of Sir *David Kirk*, the same who had conquered *Quebec*, and not thinking himself sufficiently rewarded by the *English*, he had made his peace with the court of *France*, from which he had received several distinguishing favours, and settled in *Canada*. Here he formed what he called a company of the north, which was founded on a plan for dispossessing the *English* of *Hudson's-Bay*. At the head of this company *Radisson* and his companions were placed, as being best acquainted with the country and its trade. Nothing but the most insatiate desire of gain could have induced them to any attempt to disturb the miserable settlement of the *English* in *Hudson's-Bay*. Profit, or the prospect of it, recompensed governor *Baily* and his companions for all their hardships. By this time, some of the *Indians* were so well reconciled to the settlement, that they had built wigwams at the east end of the *English* fort, for the benefit of their trade. Those *Indians* went by the name of *Cuscudidabs*, and their king promised to wait upon the *English* governor, who, with his company, were now reduced to almost as melancholy a situation, as the savages themselves. The message of the *Indian* prince coming to the ears of the *French* jesuits, the latter animated the savages against the *English*, and the habitation of the *Cuscudidabs*, at the east end of the fort, was threatened with an invasion from the *French* *Indians*. This was attended with very serious consequences: the *French* leaving nothing unattempted to ruin the *English* trade, and to make a settlement, about eight days journey from that of the *English*. This introduced a debate amongst the *English*,
whether

whether they ought not to remove to *Moose* river from fort *Rupert*, in order to prevent their trade with the natives being intercepted by the *French*. This happened in the year 1674, and it seems the result of the debate was, that the *English* should continue where they were, but to take all opportunities to cut the *French* out of the trade. By this time, the king *Cuscudidab* had enlarged his wigwam to the very walls of fort *Rupert*, to which they proved so troublesome and so dangerous neighbours, that Mr. *Baily* was obliged to order, that no *Indian* should enter the fort, except the king and his chief courtiers. On the 20th of *May*, twelve of the king *Cuscudidab*'s subjects came to the fort, and informed him, that few of the upland *Indians* would trade that year with the *English* in *Hudson's-Bay*; they having been persuaded by the *French* to traffic with their *Canadians*: upon this, Mr. *Baily* ordered his sloop to proceed up the river, that he might re-establish his interest among the upland *Indians*. Upon his landing, a feast of beaver and moose flesh, and other eatables, dressed in the *Indian* fashion, was served up in vast plenty; but we know of very little advantage which this visit produced to the *English*. They had better fortune in a voyage they afterwards made to the *Moose* river, where they discovered several whales, and were in danger of being attacked by the *Nodway* *Indians*; but this expedition proved profitable; for Mr. *Baily* returned with 1500 skins, and established a trade with the *Shechittawams*, from whose country he coasted along to port *Nelson*.

ALL the profits of the trade, however, could not ward off *Misery of* the danger of starving, which every day stared the *English* the Eng-
 full in the face. They had almost spent all their provisions, lish in
 as well as their powder and shot, upon which their very be-
 ing depended, having no means of subsistence but by killing Hud-
 game. This danger being over, the governor of *Quebec*, son's
 on account of the great friendship then subsisting between the Bay.
 courts of *France* and *England*, as he pretended, sent a jesuit
 to *Rupert* fort, but in reality, to be a spy upon the strength
 and situation of the *English*. This jesuit brought letters for
Groselliers, which, with some preceding circumstances of
 suspicion, confirmed the *English* in their opinion of his pri-
 vately keeping a correspondence with his countrymen the
French. Notwithstanding this, Mr. *Baily* the governor, be-
 haved himself towards this jesuit with the greatest humanity,
 by giving him cloaths, he having been stript by some of the
 savage nations. It appears, as if *Baily* had been so artful as
 to prevail with the jesuit to discover his real business; for he
 learned from him that the *Tabitte* *Indians*, whose country
 lay

The History of America.

lay within the bounds of the patent granted to the *Hudson's-Bay* company, traded with the *French*, who intended to pay the *English* at *Hudson's-Bay* a very disagreeable visit. They had practised upon the *Nodways*, and *Moose-River Indians* to keep up their commodities at an extravagant rate; and this, together with the difficulty of subsisting in that miserable climate, at last determined the governor to march for *Point Comfort*, and from thence to sail for *England*. All their flour and bread at this time did not exceed two hundred pound weight; and they had only two barrels of peas, and thirty geese in pickle, to support them during their voyage. Their sloop accordingly fell down to *Point Comfort*; but some firing being heard, they concluded it was from *English* ships, and delayed sailing. This delay served only to consume their provisions, and no *English* for some days appearing, they were overwhelmed with horror; but at last they understood that the ship prince *Rupert*, commanded by captain *Gillum*, with *William Lyddal*, Esq; a new governor, was arrived upon the coast. At the same time, captain *Shepherd*, in the *Shaftsbury*, arrived from *England*; where the profits of the trade became to be better understood. It was now the 18th of *September*, (in that country a late season) when Mr. *Bailey* delivered up all his authority to governor *Lyddal*, who finding the year too far advanced for the ships to return to *England*, employed their crews in felling timber for building houses and conveniencies for dwelling. It soon appeared, that the newly arrived ships had not brought with them a sufficiency of provisions for the subsistence of the settlers, so that they were reduced to vast straits. Mr. *Bailey* was happy enough to return to *England*, where he gave the company very great lights, as to their interest; and they encreased the settlement by an additional number of factories upon the rivers, which discharge themselves into the bay.

*They are
invaded by
the French.*

In the year 1682, the *French*, at *Quebec*, fitted out two miserably equipped ships for two purposes. The first was to drive the *English* from *Hudson's-Bay*, and the other to establish a peltry trade there among the natives. Proceeding to fort *Rupert*, they found it so well guarded, that they did not venture to attack it. They then cruised along the west coast of the bay, in search of a commodious situation for the fur-trade, and at last they arrived at port *Nelson*, where the two rivers of *Bourbon* and *St. Therese* join. *Radiisson* was one of the adventurers in the expedition; and, when the *French* were wintering in the river of *St. Therese*, the *English* were encamped upon that of *Bourbon*; and that the *French* discovering the *English* so near them, though they were no more
than

than twelve men, attacked the *English*, who were eighty in number, but all of them drunk, and made them prisoners, as they did six other sailors who were in a separate body. Father *Charlevoix*, however, ^h gives a very different account of this adventure. According to his information, upon the arrival of *Radisson* in the river *St. Therese*, a *Boston* vessel appeared at the mouth of the same river, not far from the place where the *French* were encamped. A few days after, a large ship from *London*, cast anchor at the same place, to the great dread of the *Boston* men, who, it seems, were little better than pirates, and of the *French* who were unprovided with the means of defence. The *English* large ship, however, was, by currents, driven from her anchors, and wrecked among the shoals of ice, without any possibility of being saved. Some of the crew got upon those shoals, which were driven towards the mouth of *St. Therese* river, where *Redisson* and *Grofeilliers* then commanded. The *French* seem to have made the utmost advantage of their misfortunes; for though they relieved the *English* with victuals, and suffered them to erect some booths on the banks of the river, to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, yet they obliged the *English* commander to promise them in writing, to erect no fortifications there, and to do nothing prejudicial to the rights of his most christian majesty. The *English* are accused of having violated their promise, and of endeavouring to surprize the *French*, who secured them to prevent other consequences. Such is the lame and improbable narrative given by *Charlevoix* of this affair; but, like other *French* narratives of the same kind, it is full of absurdities, and rests upon no evidence. The truth is, one *John Bridger*, Esq; was appointed governor of the *Hudson's-Bay* company of the west main, frome cape *Henrietta Maria*, which had been in Mr. *Lyddal's*, or the east main's patent. Mr. *Bridger* went to port *Nelson*, where captain *Gillam* had been settled, but was not strong enough to prevent the *French* from landing. Upon *Bridger's* ship appearing, the *French* commanded him to be gone; but, he landed his goods, and began a settlement, without any interruption from the *French*, with whom he lived in very good correspondence till *February* following; when the *French* treacherously surprized the *English*, and all their effects, and kept them in confinement till *August*, when they put the common men on board a rotten bark, which was taken up at sea by an *English* ship; but they carried *Bridger* and *Gillam* prisoners to *Quebec*, with all the *English*

The *English* recover their settlement.

^h CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 300.

plunder.

plunder. Here *Radisson* and *Grosveillers* quarrelled with the *French* northern company, who wanted to seize their cargoes, in right of their charter; upon which they went to *France*, where they found the ministry so much prepossessed against them, that they applied to lord *Preston*, the *English* ambassador at *Paris*. By his intervention they again compromised matters with the *English Hudson's-Bay* company, and *Radisson* received a pension from the court of *England*, which he held the remaining part of his life. In 1685, he sailed with two ships to secure the fort which he himself had built at the mouth of *St. Therese* river, and which was held by his nephew *Chouart*, son of *Grosveillers*, with a garrison of no more than eight men; and upon *Radisson's* appearing before it, it was immediately surrendered with all the effects in it, which, according to the *French* accounts, amounted to a very considerable sum.

The
French
settle on St.
Therese
river.

Vol. XL.
p. 33, 34.

NOTWITHSTANDING this blow, the *French* still continued to have a settlement on the river *St. Therese*; and it was agreed between the two courts, that the trade should be common to both nations. We have, in the history of *Canada*, given an account of the subsequent operations of the *French* from *Canada*, against the *English Hudson's-Bay* company; to such we refer our reader. Captain *John Abraham* was then the *English* governor of port *Nelson*, and *Henry Serjeant*, Esq; succeeded Mr. *Nixon*, as governor of *Rupert* river. By this time, the chief factory was removed from fort *Rupert* to *Chickewan*, now called *Albany* river, which the governor made the place of his residence. His instructions from the company were, that he should repair every spring to *Charleton* island, with all the goods he possibly could collect together, to be put on board the company's ships, who were to rendezvous there; and that he should be particularly watchful against any surprize from the *French*. The company, at the same time, ordered *Serjeant* to settle a factory at a place called *Hayes* island, at the bottom of the bay, and another on *Charleton* island, where he built a fort, and kept some men in it, with warehouses and other conveniencies for trade. The great gains which the company made, had, about this time, tempted many of its servants to be unfaithful to them; and they were removed. The expence of supplying their settlements with provisions, made them recommend it strongly to the factory, to endeavour to raise corn and vegetables; but, though repeated attempts were made for that purpose, yet they came to nothing. In 1686, we find, the *Hudson's-Bay* company in possession of five settlements; namely, *Albany* river, *Hayes* island, *Rupert's* river, fort *Nelson*, (or *York*) and
New

New Severn. Their trade at all those settlements was very gainful, and from *Albany* river alone, they generally brought home 3500 beavers a year. The manner in which this trade was destroyed by the *French* has been already related. It happened fortunately for the *English* settlements, that very little regard was paid to their court by the *American* chiefs, and both nations were equally disgusted with the arrangement that had been made of port *Nelson*, being in common to both. *Denonville*, the governor of *Canada*, gave it as his opinion to the court of *France*, that all the three forts which they had taken from the *English* should be restored to them, rather than suffer them to have any communication with fort *Nelson*. In 1687, the *English* attacked fort *Quitichibouen*, then called fort *St. Anne*; but they were repulsed by *Iberville*, who burnt one of their vessels, and a storehouse they had erected on the banks of the river. Those hostilities gave great uneasiness to the two courts, and several conferences were held upon them; but nothing effectual was done, when the revolution, which happened in *England* in 1688, embroiled affairs more than ever. The *French* were the first who profited by the breach; for, apprehending that the agents of the *Hudson's-Bay* company would not be upon their guard, *Frontenac*, who was now governor of *Canada*, had orders to drive the *English* from all their posts there. The reader has been already informed as to the success of this plan, to which we shall confine ourselves, and which extended much farther than the conquest of *Hudson's-Bay*.

DURING the campaign of the year 1689, the *French* were unfortunate in all their enterprizes in *North America*, excepting at *Hudson's-Bay* alone, where *Iberville* commanded at fort *St. Lewis*, which lay at the bottom of the bay, and his lieutenant *la Ferte*, having taken prisoner one of the company's agents, found among his papers an order from the directors of his company, for proclaiming king *William* and queen *Mary*, and to maintain the company's right to the whole of the bay. According to the *French* account, this claim was supported by the appearance of two *English* ships, one of them of 18 guns, the other of 10, besides swivels, both of them loaded with a great number of small arms, and provisions of all kinds; the crews in the whole amounting to 83 men. Though the *French* had most infamously broken the capitulation which had been settled between the chevalier *de Troyes* and governor *Serjeant*, when they took fort *Albany*, and the company's other settlements, yet they exclaimed against the attempt of the *English* to retake them, as a scandalous breach of good faith. *Iberville's* garrison in fort *St. Anne*, other

Successes of
the French
in Hud-
son's-Bay.

otherwise called fort *Albany*, was but inconsiderable when the *English* summoned it to surrender: *Iberville* gave no determinate answer, and acted with so much cunning, that he deceived the *English* into an opinion of his compliance. This rendered them so secure, that he found means to carry off twenty-one of their best men, their surgeon, and one of their principal officers, he then summoned them to surrender prisoners of war. The *English*, who were still forty able-bodied men, rejected the summons, tho' they were at that time in a miserable situation, being encamped on a small island, while their ships were jammed in by shoals of ice. *Iberville* ordered his brother *Maricourt* to harass them with a small party, both by land and on board their ships; and he himself in two days after supported them, and a cannonade ensued on both sides, without much loss to either. At last, *Iberville* renewed his summons for a surrender, and threatened, if it was not complied with, to give them no quarter. The *English*, in answer, pretended, that the fort belonged to them, and that the *French* had begun hostilities. *Iberville* paid no regard to those allegations, and demanded that not only the *English* should surrender prisoners of war, but that they should deliver up to him both their ships with their cargoes. After some consultation, this was agreed to, upon *Iberville* paying the officers their wages, which amounted to about 600 *l.* and upon his giving them a vessel, properly equipped, in which they might transport themselves elsewhere. *Iberville* took care that those officers should be attended by very few of their common men, and by none of their pilots, of whom they had eleven on board, carrying them all prisoners to *Quebec*, to which, with his two prizes, he repaired by an order from the governor of *Canada*. He arrived at *Quebec* on the 25th of *October*, 1689, having left his brother *Maricourt*, with no more than thirty-six men, to guard the posts at the bottom of the bay.

As we have little or no account of this expedition on the part of the *English*, we have been obliged to adopt the *French* account of it, though it is far from being satisfactory. There is, however, the greatest reason for believing that the company, perhaps, by their own fault and niggardly disposition, was very ill-served by their officers, which might be the true cause of *Iberville's* success. Fort *Nelson* was at this time in the hands of the *English*; and *Iberville* designed to attack it with two *French* ships of war, but it was too late in the year 1692, and the *English*, by this time, had even recovered fort *St. Anne*. According to *Charlevoix*, *Iberville* had acquired so much credit by his conduct in *Hudson's-Bay*, that he gave some

ome umbrage to *du Taft*, the *French* commandant, who had been sent with a strong squadron, fitted out at the expence of the *French* northern company, to drive the *English* entirely from all their posts on that bay; and who, out of jealousy to *Iberville*, declined the service, on pretence that it was too late in the season to attempt it. The court of *England* highly resented the proceedings of the *French*, whom they accused of having surprized the company's possessions on *Hudson's-Bay* in an infamous manner; and they were mentioned as such by king *William* in his declaration of war against the *French* king. *Thomas Phipps*, Esq; was then governor of port *Nelson*, and upon the breaking out of the war with *France*, some troops had been granted to the *Hudson's-Bay* company for the defence of their remaining settlements. According to *Charlevoix*¹, fort *St. Anne*, which was then in the hands of the *French*, had no more than three men to defend it; and they made their escape to *Quebec*, leaving a great booty of skins in the fort. This, together with many other advantages gained by the *English* in the bay, determined *Iberville* to run all risks in dispossessing them of fort *Nelson*. This service had been often projected, and as often miscarried, as the *French* governors and officers in *Canada* were by no means fond of so painful an expedition, and which, though successful, was to be attended with no profit, but to the *French* northern company. *Iberville*, however, had received such encouragement from them, that he and *Serigny*, notwithstanding all their discouragements from the ice, arrived with two ships of war at the mouth of the river *St. Therese*, and landing the same night, they made themselves masters of fort *Nelson*, the name of which they changed to that of *Bourbon*; but they found there only a very inconsiderable booty; and they lost so many of their men by the scurvy, and other diseases, that the conquest was not worth the expence.

Ibid. p. 96.

In the year 1696, the government of *England* granted a new recruit of force to the *Hudson's-Bay* company; and the *Bonaventure* and *Seaborse*, two men of war, were assigned to that service: *La Foret*, with a garrison of 68 *Canadians*, commanded in fort *Bourbon*, and on the 2d of *September*, four *English* ships and a bomb-ketch appeared in view of the fort. They were followed by *Serigny* and *de la Motte Egron*, the former in a *French* man of war, and the latter in one of the *French* northern company's ships; but, perceiving the strength of the *English*, they made the best of their way back, *Serigny* for *France*, and *de la Motte Egron* for *Quebec*; but he was

1696.
Progress of
the war.¹ CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 196.

Ibid. page
110 and
111.

wrecked in his voyage thither and drowned. The fort was summoned, but refusing to surrender, a brisk cannonade began, which lasted for a whole day, and the *English*, in attempting to land, were at first repulsed by *Jeremy*, the ensign of the fort, and the same who has written a description of *Hudson's-Bay*, where he afterwards commanded himself for six years. The fort was then plied with bombs from the ketch, of which twenty-two fell into it, and *la Foret* was at last obliged to capitulate. If we are to believe *Charlevoix*, the *English* granted the capitulation required by the *French*, but afterwards violated it. The sequel of *Iberville's* expedition against *Hudson's-Bay*, with the bad success attending them, is to be found in a former part of this work. We are to inform the reader, that captain *Allen* was the commodore of the *English* squadron, and that upon his return, he fought a *French* privateer of 50 guns, but was killed in the engagement. The loss of fort *Bourbon*, and the other *French* settlements, roused their government, and *Iberville* was at last furnished with a sufficient force, with which he recovered them in his turn from the *English*. The *French* were far from making all the advantages that this conquest might have been attended with. The *English*, though dispossessed of their forts, still preserved a considerable footing in the bay, where they carried on almost the whole trade, but not for the benefit of the company, the most of it going through private hands. This is the chief reason why the accounts we have of this valuable trade are so barren; for the *French* private merchants in like manner never suffered their northern company and their government, at whose expences all their conquests there had been made, to enjoy its profits. The *English* found means still to keep possession of fort *Albany*, which indeed remained unmolested through the weak condition of the *French* in *Hudson's-Bay*, where they had no more than sixteen men, under the sieur *Jeremy*, to garrison all their posts. Matters remained in this situation during all the war with *France*, under queen *Anna*. *Jeremy* lived there in a kind of exile, without receiving the smallest assistance from the *French* northern company. Finding himself unable to garrison fort *Bourbon*, he built a smaller fort towards the north, to which he transported all his powder, stores, and ammunition, with a view of retreating to it, if he should be attacked, the *English*, notwithstanding the war, carrying on the most profitable branches of the trade. At last, *Jeremy* and his small garrison came to be in want of every thing, and he was forced to send his lieutenant and seven other of his men to hunt during the months of *July* and *August*. They pitched their camp near

a company of savages, who were reduced to the greatest misery for want of powder, by which they were deprived of all means of subsistence. They had, ever since the Europeans came among them, hunted a kind of a wild ass, called by the French, caribore. This creature is as swift as a deer, and is said to differ only in colour, from the famous rein deer of Lapland; but it is of the amphibious kind, and, according to *Jeremy's* account, between *Danish* river and fort *Nelson*, they are to be found for forty or fifty leagues, in herds of 10,000 at least. The savages of those parts depend upon this creature for their subsistence during a great part of the year; but having long lost the practice of bows and arrows, when they were destitute of powder, they could kill no game. They saw the French, on the other hand, hunting with great success, and destroying abundance, but without being so hospitable as to invite them to partake; and therefore, it was no wonder, if those wretches, over-loaded as they were with misery, laid a scheme for mastering them, and acquiring the spoils of those successful huntsmen. They invited two of them to a feast in their cabins, where they immediately murdered them: they then butchered five others, who were asleep in their tent; but a sixth, who was only wounded, escaped, though with the utmost difficulty, towards fort *Bourbon*, where he related to *Jeremy* the massacre of his companions. He found it in vain to think of guarding his two posts with no more than nine men; and therefore he shut himself up in fort *Bourbon*, while the savages, with great ease, made themselves masters of the other fort, and all the ammunition that was in it. In this uncomfortable situation, he maintained himself till the treaty of *Utrecht* took place, which provided for the restitution of *Hudson's-Bay*, in the following terms.

“ARTICLE X. The said Most Christian king shall restore to the kingdom and queen of *Great Britain*, to be possessed in full right for ever, the bay and streights of *Hudson*, together with all lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers, and places, situate in the said bay and streights, and which belong thereto, no tracts of land or sea being excepted, which are at present possessed by the subjects of *France*. All which, as well as any buildings there made, in the condition they now are, and likewise all fortresses there erected, either before or since the French seized the same, shall, within six months, from the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if possible, be well and truly delivered to the *British* subjects, having commission from the queen of *Great Britain*, to demand and receive the same, intire and undemolished, together with all the cannon, and cannon-ball, and with the other provisions

Hudson's-Bay restored to England by the treaty of Utrecht.

The History of America.

sion of war usually belonging to cannon. It is, however, provided, that it may be entirely free for the company of *Quebec*, and all the other subjects of the Most Christian king whatsoever, to go by land or by sea, whithersoever they please, out of the lands of the said bay; together with all their goods, merchandize, arms, and effects, of what nature or condition soever, except such things as above reserved in this article.

“ARTICLE XI. The abovementioned Most Christian king shall take care that satisfaction be given, according to the rule of justice and equity, to the *English* company, traders to the bay of *Hudson*, for all damage and spoil done to their colonies, ships, persons, and goods, by the hostile incursions and depredations of the *French* in time of peace, an estimate to be made thereof by commissaries to be named at the reduction of each party.”

SINCE that time the company has remained in full possession of this important trade, which has prospered in their hands more, perhaps, than any in the *British* dominions. Before the time of the peace of *Utrecht*, the value of it was but little known, on account of the losses and interruptions it met with; but it has since improved so greatly, that several attempts have been made to abridge their privileges, though hitherto without effect, and the trade encreased every day, as well as the profits of the company, till the last peace of *Aix la Chapelle*. This bay is famous for the attempts it has given rise to towards finding out the northwest passage to the *East-Indies* and *China*; and as we have observed, its discovery was owing to such attempts. It is therefore proper, in this place, to lay before our readers an historical account of that made by the *English*; but in doing this, we shall avoid, as much as possible, all philosophical and geographical disquisitions.

*History of
attempts
for a north
east pas-
sage.*

THE irregularity of tides in *Hudson's-Bay* is one great argument, that it receives more water than comes from the streights, or any inlet into it hitherto discovered; and it is likewise probable, that those tides come by the west, but whether by an open practicable passage, or by a frozen impracticable one is the great doubt. We shall not trouble our readers with many conjectures, though some of them bear a great face of probability, that have been published in almost all languages concerning the reality of this passage, in the early times of improved *European* navigation. Sir *Martin Forbisher* is the first *Englishman* upon whose attempts to find out this passage we can rely with any solidity. In the year 1576, he arrived at the height of sixty-two degrees of north

north latitude, where he discovered the streights which since bear his name, and he sailed up them for sixty leagues with land on each side. This land was inhabited, and the natives sailed in those seal-skin canoes that are safe in the most tempestuous seas. They traded with the *English* crew, whom they furnished with fish in exchange for toys, and the *English* brought off from them some ore, which, upon trial, was found to contain only black-lead. Upon *Forbisher's* return, by Forbisher, he reported, that he had discovered a silver mine, but that it lay too deep to be wrought. In 1577, he undertook a second voyage, and gave *English* names to the places he touched at, or saw; and next year a third, in five vessels. On the 10th of *May*, he discovered what he called *Western England*, being the same with *West Friezeland*, which had been before discovered by the *Venetians*; and he took possession of it in queen *Elizabeth's* name. In 1579, Sir *Francis Drake* assured Sir Francis Drake, queen *Elizabeth*, that he had sailed some leagues up the streights of *Anian*, and discovered *New Albion* to the north of *California*; but of this country we have very inadequate ideas; nor were *Drake's* discoveries afterwards improved. In 1580, *Arthur Pratt* and *Charles Jackman*, by queen *Elizabeth's* orders, pursued a discovery, which was said to have been made before one *Stephen Burroughs*: an *Englishman*, towards finding out the northwest passage; but their voyage proved unsuccessful by the vast shoals of ice, and other difficulties they encountered.

WE have already more than once mentioned the voyage Gilbert, that Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, by the direction of Sir *Francis* and others: *Walsingham*, made to *Newfoundland*; which he took possession of in queen *Elizabeth's* name. He undertook it upon the information of a *Greek* mariner, who had affirmed, that he had passed through a great strait into the north of *Virginia*. But he died before he came to *England*; and we hear nothing farther of the attempt; *Gilbert*, in settling the *Newfoundland* trade, having performed a great and a beneficial service to his country. In 1585, Mr. *John Davis*, in two barks, discovered cape *Desolation*; which is supposed to be a part of *Greenland*, and after trading with the natives for peltry-ware and fish, he proceeded as far as the latitude of 64 deg. 40 min. where he discovered mount *Raleigh*, *Tome's* found; and other places to which he gave names. Next year, he sailed towards the west; and the year after, he advanced as far as latitude 72 deg. 12 min. the compass varying 82 deg. to the westward. He here discovered a coast, to which he gave the name of *London*, and the strait which is still called after himself. *Hudson*, the discoverer of the streights we

The History of America.

are now to describe, did not apply to find out a north-west passage, till he had failed in discovering a south-east one. He is said to have proceeded an hundred leagues farther than any had done before. He gave the names of the then royal family to several capes he discovered, and fanciful names to others; such as, *Desire-Provokes*, *God's-Mercy*, and the like: but he could do nothing effectual, being prevented by the ice, and the discontents of his crew. In 1611, Sir *Thomas Button*, at the desire, and command, of *Henry* prince of *Wales*, sailed through *Hudson's-Strights*, and wintered at port *Nelson*, in search of the north-west passage; but all he could do was to discover the bay which goes by his own name, and a tract of land which he called *Cary's-Swan's-nest*.

THOSE discoveries seemed but to excite a farther spirit in the *English* for finding out the so much desired passage. In this the merchants had a secondary view; for the expence of the attempt was amply repaid by the vast profits attending the voyage, from their commerce with the savages. In 1612, 1615, and 1616, *James Hall* and *William Baffin* proceeded farther towards the north-west than any navigator had ever done before, and gave *English* names to the places they discovered. At this time, the *English* had thirteen or fourteen ships employed in those seas; but it does not appear that they made any settlements, or, indeed, that they could have made any in those inhospitable and almost uninhabitable tracts. *Baffin's-Bay* was discovered by Sir *William Baffin*, in 1622, though some say sooner; and lies to the north of *Davis's-Strights*. In 1630, king *Charles I.* sent captain *Luke Fox* out in one of his pinnaces, named the *Charles*, victualled for eighteen months: he followed the traces of former navigators, and had their difficulties to struggle with. In port *Nelson*, he found some remains of former *English* navigators, and he there built a pinnace. Next year, captain *James* was fitted out by the merchants of *Bristol* for the same purpose; and, running over a large bay to the westward of port *Nelson*, he named the land about it *New South-Wales*. Hereabouts he met with captain *Fox*, but they were soon separated by bad weather. *James*, before his return, discovered cape *Henrietta Maria*, with various other islands, to which he gave the name of *English* favourites about court; and wintering in lat. 52, he there built a pinnace out of his ship, in which he returned home in 1632. This *James* was one of the most able and judicious navigators that ever sailed from *England*, or any other country; and his voyages to the north were printed in 1633. As they are still held in vast esteem, having been since

*Voyage of
captain
James, and
his opinion
against the
passage;*

since reprinted, we shall in the notes (O) give our reader his very weighty reasons for believing that no such passage exists;

(O) What has been long ago fabled by some *Portuguese*, says he, that should have come this way out of the *South Sea*, the mere shadows of whose mistaken relations have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own vanity. These hopes have stirred up, from time to time, the more active spirits of this kingdom to research this merely imagined passage. For my own part, I give no credit to them at all; and, as little to the vicious and abusive wits of later *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, who never speak of any difficulties, as shoal-water, ice, nor sight of land; but, as if they had been brought home in a dream, or engine. And, indeed, their discourses are found absurd; and the maps, by which some of them have practised to deceive the world, mere falsties; making sea where there is known to be main land, and land where there is nothing but sea.

“ Most certain it is, that, by the industry of our own nation, those northern parts of *America* have been discovered to the latitude of 30 degrees and upwards. And it has been so curiously done, the labours of several men being joined together, that the main land has been both seen and searched, and they have brought this supposed passage to this pass, that it must be to the north of 66 degrees of latitude: a cold climate, pestered with ice, and other inconveniencies; and where the *Spaniards* dispositions, and their weak ships, can hardly endure it: and withal, it is

known, that the entrance of *Hudson's Streights* is but fifteen leagues broad, in the middle not so much; and between *Szilibury* island and the main land is but eight leagues. Then proceeding to the northward, towards the forementioned latitude, it is but fifteen leagues from main to main: this is a length is about 140 leagues, and infinitely pestered with ice, until *August*, and some years not passable then; and I believe the streight is never entirely clear of ice. Now it is most probable there is no passage, for the following reasons:

“ First, There is a constant tide, flood and ebb, setting into *Hudson's Streights*, the flood still coming from the eastward; which, as it proceeds correspondent to the distance, it alters its time at full sea. This also, entering into bays, and broken grounds, becomes distracted, and reverses with half tides.

“ Secondly, here are no small fish, as cod, and very few great ones, which are rarely to be seen: nor are there any bones of whales, sea-horses, or other great fish, to be found on the shore; nor any drift-wood.

“ Thirdly, we found the ice, in latitude 55. 30. to be lying all over the sea, in rands; and I am most certain, that the shoals and shoals-bays are the mother of it. Had there been any ocean beyond, it would have been broke all to pieces; for so we found it coming from the streight into the sea to the eastward.

“ Fourthly, the ice seeks its way

or, if it does, that the discovery of it would not be attended with those advantages that are commonly believed. Those reasons, however, have been attempted to be answered. There

way to the eastward, and so drives out at *Hudson's-straight*; which I have often observed upon the island of *Desolation*, and driving among the ice in the straight.

“ Admit there were a passage, yet it is known that it is narrow, for 140 leagues, and infinitely pestered with ice, as every one has found, who has gone that way. Comparing, therefore some observations taken at *Bantam*, *Gilolo*, and *Firando* in *Japan*, and the distance between *Japan* and the western part of *California*, with the observations taken at *Charleton* island, referring all to the meridian of *London*, and then the distance between the meridian of cape *Charles*, and the western part of *California* will be found to be about 500 leagues, in latitude 66. where yet the meridians incline very much together.

“ To this may be added, that about cape *Charles* the variation is 29 deg. to the west; which is a probable argument, that there is much land to the westward; and that this straight must be very long; and you have no time to pass it, but in *August* and *September*, when the nights are so long, and the weather so cold, that it will not be durable.

“ Add to this, that no great ships, which are fit for carrying of merchandize, can endure the ice, and other inconveniencies, without extraordinary danger.

“ Moreover, 1000 leagues are sooner failed to the south-

ward, and about the cape *de Bona Speranza* (of *Good-Hope*) where the winds are constant, and that with safety, than 100 leagues in these seas, where you must daily run the hazard of losing ship and lives. Put hereto, that no comfort for the sick, nor refreshment for your men, is to be had in these quarters. Towards the latter end of *August*, and in *September*, the weather grows tempestuous, and the winds incline to be westerly; so that there will be but small hope of performing your voyage this way.

“ But let us, by way of imagination only, enlarge this straight in this latitude, and free it of ice; yet what advantage in speedy performance, will be got by this passage, if the winds be withal considered? To *Japan*, *China*, and the northern parts of *Asia*, it may be the nearer cut. But in navigation, the farthest way about is well known in fewer days to be performed, yea, with lesser pains, and more safety of ships and goods.

“ Again; to the *East-Indies*, and other parts, where we have the greatest commerce, and employment of shipping, the other way is as near. What benefit of trade might have been obtained in those northern parts of *Asia*, I will not presume to speak of; holding, that there is a great difference betwixt those parts and the northern parts of *America*; whereas I am sure there is none in any place, where I have been all this voyage.”

being

being no north-west passage, is still a matter of doubt, and cannot well be cleared up, unless colonies were fixed upon the lands adjoining to *Hudson's-Bay*, with a reward for making discoveries both by land and water; and the reasoning built upon the tides, is said not only to be conclusive, but to afford strong arguments for the passage. As to his second argument, that no fish, especially whales, are to be met with in those seas; the reasoning holds good only about *Charleton* island. Latter voyagers have indisputably proved, that many whales are to be seen in those parts, especially at the opening of *Wager* river, which affords a presumption, that such a passage may open on the north-west part of *Hudson's-Bay*. As to his reasoning against the passage; because the ice in latitude 65°. 30'. lying along the shore as sands, and drives eastward, as he calls them, the same thing is said to happen in *Magellan* streights, which open a passage to the *South Seas*; and their existence was formerly as much doubted of by the famous *Americus Vespucius*; as that of the north was by captain *James*. Granting all the captain says to be true, about the commodiousness of the passage by the way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, yet, according to his own confession, it would be nearer to the *South Seas* and the northern part of *China*. Add to this, that the hardships of the voyage towards the north-west are now but inconsiderable in comparison of what captain *James* represents them.

which is
answered,

WITH regard to other circumstances in this much disputed point, it is certain, that a factory has subsisted for some years at fort *Churchill*, which is in a higher latitude than *Charleton* island, beyond which captain *James* thought no settlement could be made. It appears now, that the continent, west and north-west from *Charleton* island, is inhabited, and that in many places the *Indians* there are better clothed, and more civilized than they were in any part of *North America*, before the arrival of the *French* and *English*. One of those nations, called *Mosemlecks*, deserve particular notice, as they lie upon the remote parts of *Hudson's-Bay*. They are, in consequence of their being civilized, rational and conversable; and they have always stuck to their assertion, that to the north-west of them lie a people, who live in towns, who trade with one another upon a large lake, in vessels, each of them twenty times as big as their canoes. Beyond those people, they pretend to give no account of any inhabitants. Could those accounts be relied on, they would go far towards justifying even farther attempts towards a north-west passage; but as there is some likelihood that the *French Canadian* jesuits have

have had an intercourse with those *Mosemlecks*, we have the less dependence upon their reports.

History of
Mr. Dobb's
and cap-
tain Mid-
dleton's
attempt.

FROM the time of captain *James* to about the year 1730, the probability of a north-west passage was always mentioned as a speculation, with few attempts to carry it into practice. At the above time, Mr. *Dobbs*, an *Irish* gentleman, collected together all the voyages that had been made for this discovery, and laid an abstract of them, by way of letter, before colonel *Bladen*, then one of the commissioners of trade and plantations, with an intention to prevail with the *South-Sea* company to try the whale-fishery at the *Welcome*, that they might there have an opportunity of discovering a north-west passage. The extent of the privileges granted to the *Hudson's Bay* company proved an invincible obstacle to this proposal; and soon after, the *South-Sea* company quitted all thoughts of the whale fishing, which till then they had carried on in *Davis's* freights, and by which they lost money. In 1733, Mr. *Dobbs* laid before Sir *Charles Wager*, who was then first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, his reasons for a probability of finding out the passage, which Sir *Charles*, who was himself a very able navigator, thought so feasible, that he mentioned them to Mr. *Jones*, then deputy-governor of the *Hudson's-Bay* company. The latter endeavoured all he could to dissuade him from prosecuting the project, and, among other reasons, informed Sir *Charles*, that in 1719, the company had fitted out two ships, under one *Barlow*, for the discovery of the passage, but that they had never after been heard of; that their wrecks were afterwards seen in latitude 62, by the crew of a sloop they sent to enquire after them.

MR. *Dobbs* receiving this intelligence from *Wager*, was, by his recommendation, introduced to Mr. *Jones*; but easily found from him, that either no such attempt had been made, or that the gentlemen of the *Hudson's-Bay* company were very glad it had miscarried; as such a discovery would have been, by no means, for their interest. Upon Mr. *Dobbs's* perusing the *Hudson's-Bay* company's charter in 1735, (an extract of which we have already given) he was surprized to find it so extensive; but at the same time considering that the benefit of all discoveries was to result to the company, he applied to Sir *Bibye Lake*, who was perpetual governor of the same, and laid before him the same manuscript which he had communicated to colonel *Bladen*. Sir *Bibye*, without entering much into the merits of the question, informed *Dobbs*, that the company having already lost 7 or 8000 *l.* upon the discovery, were resolved to be at no farther expence about it. At last, upon *Dobbs's* remonstrances, he agreed, that one or two small

small ships, as the voyage would cost nothing, should go from *Churchill* to *Ne Ultra*, or the *Welcome*, and there try the height and directions of the tides; and if they there found a passage free from the ice, with a westerly direction, they might proceed fifty or sixty leagues farther; and if they there met with a tide of flood, they might return, and by sending home duplicates of their journal, the matter might be determined. As the company was then about erecting a stone fort at *Churchill*, being apprehensive of a *French* war, they delayed the execution of the project at that time, but promised to take the first opportunity of putting it in practice.

MR. *Dobbs* made use of this interval to get acquainted with one captain *Middleton*, who had been very conversant in those seas, and in all the measures that had been taken towards discovering a north-west passage. From him he learned, that one *Scroggs* had commanded the sloop that was sent to enquire after *Barlow's* ships: and Mr. *Dobbs*, in the year 1739, obtained a sight of the journal kept by *Scroggs*, who, according to *Middleton*, was a man very unfit for such an undertaking; and the reader will in the notes meet with an extract of the journal (P), which is very curious, and published

(P) " June 22d, 1722, he sailed from *Churchill*, in 59 north, and longitude from the meridian of *London* 95 west. In the latitude 62. he traded with the *Indians* for whalebone and sea-horse teeth. Monday, July the 9th, in the evening, he anchored in twelve fathoms. The weather for several days before had been hazy and thick, and he drove into this depth. When it cleared up, he found himself about nine or ten miles from the north side of the *Welcome*, in latitude, by account, 64. 33. north. He saw several islands bearing from the south-west by west, to the south-west by south, and a head-land at the same time, which bore east-north-east about three leagues distant. This he named *Whalebone-Point*, after the name of his sloop. July the 10th, at seven in the morning, he sent

his six oared boat on shore, with seven hands, and two northern *Indians*. Mr. *Norton*, who is now governor at *Churchill*, was then pateroon of the boat, and spoke the northern *Indian* tongue: the two *Indians* had been entertained at the factory all the foregoing winter, upon the account of this discovery. They gave us intimation of a rich copper mine, that lay near the surface of the earth, and said, they could direct the sloop or ship to lie by it, where she might load very soon. We had several pieces of copper brought down to *Churchill*, which made it evident there is a mine somewhere in that country. These *Indians* sketched out the land with charcoal, upon a skin of parchment, before they left the factory; and as far as the sloop went, they found it agree very well.

" *Scroggs*

Hudson's Bay here, because companies in general are far from being communicative of papers of that kind which may affect them-
pany a-
verse to it.

“ *Scroggs* says, he saw both sides of the *Welcome*, from the south back to the west, being up in the very cod of the *Welcome*, as he terms it. The land is as high as in *Hudson's straits*, as he and his men all agreed, and that land we can see very well, in clear weather, fifteen or twenty leagues off. Where he continued at anchor, he mentions it was very good ground. He always continued the variation the same as at *Churchill*, for he knew not how to observe it. It was then 26 deg. west, and is now but 20 deg. west at *Churchill*; though we find in the same latitude, 50 or 60 leagues to the eastward, almost 50 degrees variation westerly, which makes the *Welcome* above two points nearer the meridian.

“ *Tuesday, July* the 10th, he continued at anchor in the same place; and the boat returned on board at six o'clock in the afternoon. He says, they saw several black and white whales here. At four the next morning, they went on shore again, with the aforefaid *Indians*, and came back about five in the evening. They found none of the natives, but plenty of deer, wild geese, and ducks: some of the deer they killed. He says, it ebbs five fathoms where he lay at anchor; for they anchored in twelve fathoms of high-water, as *Mr. Norton* this year also confirmed to me; and they found but seven fathoms at low-water. At noon, he and his mate observed the latitude to be 64. 56.

north. Here he named the southermost island, that bore south-west by south, cape *Fulleton*, after one of our directors.

“ *Wednesday, July* the 10th, continued in the same place at anchor. He observed the latitude again, and found it as before, 64. 56. north, by a good observation. His mate, he tells us, agreed with him. He sent the boat up to the cod of the bay, as he terms it, to found, and the two northern *Indians* went in her. One of them, he says, had a desire to go home, which he told them was but three or four days journey from them, but they detained him by fair words and promises.

“ *Tuesday, the 12th of July*, at four in the afternoon, the boat returned from the shore. He gives us no account of the foundings, though they were sent for that purpose; but he asserts, there was a bar cross the *Welcome*, and that they could go no farther. All the men agreed, when they returned, that they were at least ten leagues from what he would have to be a bar. At five in the afternoon, he weighed from that place, where he laid at anchor ever since the 9th instant, and steered out south-east by compass for two miles, and then south-west by ditto, about four or five miles more. Here he sounded in 45 fathoms, and continued sailing to the south-west quarter.

“ *July* the 13th, observed the latitude at noon to be 64.

elves. From the perusal of this journal, Mr. *Dobbs* was confirmed in his opinion, that a north-west passage might be found out about the *Welcome*, on the north-west part of *Hudson's-Bay*, about the latitude of 64 degrees, and for the following reasons: first, because the coast in those parts consisted of broken lands and islands, with large openings between them; secondly, because the tides set strongly from the west and north-west; and, thirdly, because the black whales, which were often seen there, must come from the western ocean, as none such had ever been discovered in any part of the bay. In *January*, 1735-6, the *Hudson's-Bay* company seeming inclined to encourage the prosecution of the discovery, Mr. *Dobbs*, in the *April* following, laid before Sir *Bibye Lake* his sentiments of the manner in which it ought to be prosecuted. He was of opinion, that two small floops, neither of them drawing above four feet water, were necessary, and that they ought to keep particular journals of their course till they came to the latitude of 64. They were there to be extremely curious and exact in their observations upon the nature of the tides, the appearances of the land, the quantities of ice they discovered, and the fish and whales they met with. "And if, said he, they find an open sea to the westward, after they pass 63 degrees, and the land should fall away to the westward, and the tide of flood meets them, and an earlier moon makes full sea, then the passage is gained; and they may not

39. and had forty to fifty fathoms water. The next day, the 14th, returning home, he found the latitude, by observation, to be 64. 20. and the soundings sixty to seventy fathoms. These soundings he called the mid-channel. In latitude 64. 13. by observation at noon, on the south, or rather east side of the *Welcome*, the flood came on so strong, and hove them so near the said south, or east, shore, that he was obliged to come to an anchor in ten fathoms. He does not say from whence the flood came, nor does he ever give his opinion of it, during his whole voyage in his journal; but being set on to the east-side, it must come from the northward,

according to the course of the *Welcome*.

"*July* the 15th, he crossed the *Welcome* in seventy fathoms, and observed the latitude to be 64. 15. He makes the *Welcome* to be fifteen or twenty leagues broad in this latitude, from side to side, by computing the distance from his log-book. He saw many whales in latitude 64. 8.

"Governor *Kelsey*, in his journal 1720, takes notice, that in latitude 63. on the west-side of the *Welcome*, the tide comes strong from the north-east, which is near the course of the *Welcome*. He calls it a soaking tide, and says it flows neap and spring-tides from twelve to seventeen feet.

only

only sail 50 or 100 leagues farther westward, and look out for a harbour for ships, which may go next season, and then return to *Churchill*, for fear of any disaster; and send over a journal to the company of their observations. By proceeding after this manner, a discovery may be made for a trifling expence; as one summer may ascertain, whether there is a passage or not."

THIS discovery became a matter of so much importance, that in 1737, the company sent out two sloops upon it: but besides their being very improperly manned, they only proceeded to the 32d, one 4th degree north; and though they returned without making any great discoveries, yet the abundance of black whales they saw, and the tides they met with, flowing from the northward, raised the expectation of all concerned, that the discovery might be completed. The truth is, the expedition undertaken by those two sloops, seems to have been no other than a sham contrived by the company, in compliance with the impatience of the public, which became now very inquisitive about the discovery. Mr. *Dobbs* more than suspected this, and thought he had a right to demand, which he did, a sight of the journal of the two sloops, from Sir *Bibye Lake*. All the satisfaction he could obtain was, that the two sloops, well manned, and well victualled, had set sail early in the spring from *Churchill*; but that, though they remained out till the 22d of *August*, they could find no inlets on the western coast to the north of that fort. He, at the same time, excused himself to Mr. *Dobbs*, from intermeddling any farther in an affair, for which he had already incurred some blame from the company, as it had cost them so much money. This convinced Mr. *Dobbs* and his friends, that the company were averse to any such discovery, though it is certain, that the intention of granting them their charter, with such ample powers and privileges as it contained, was chiefly with a view of making that discovery. Mr. *Dobbs* very justly remarked, that the commanders of the sloops either had received no serious orders for the purposes they pretended to set about, or that they trifled away their time; as it appeared, that from the beginning of the spring to the 22d of *August*, they had not sailed 200 leagues, which is no more than the distance between *Churchill* and *Ne Ultra*, and that it was ridiculous for them to pretend to be afraid of entering latitude 66, as the whale-fishers at *Spitzbergen* and *Baffin's-Bay*, sail every year to 78 and 80 degrees.

Mr. Dobbs applies to the government.

MR. *Dobbs* now resolved to apply elsewhere for encouragement to his favourite scheme. He received a letter from Mr. *Middleton*, informing him confidentially, that he did not apprehend

prehend that the company were friends to the discovery, and that therefore it must be undertaken under the protection and encouragement of the government, by an able man; but that, for his own part, having an allowance from the company, he could not engage in such an undertaking, but upon a certainty. Upon the whole, however, Mr. *Middleton* was of opinion, that the discovery was practicable, if properly attended to. Mr. *Dobbs* now applied to the fountain-head. He informed Sir *Charles Wager*, the first lord of the admiralty, Mr. *Horace Walpole*, who was auditor-general of *America*, and colonel *Bladen*, of the usage he had received from the company; and acquainted Sir *Charles*, that he despaired of success, unless the admiralty sent out two sloops. The reader will find in the notes a very sensible answer (Q),

(Q) " Sir,

I received the favour of your letter of the 20th past. I believe you judge very right, that all the *Hudson's-Bay* company do not desire to have any body interfere with them in the fur-trade in those parts: they seem to be content with what they have, and make (I believe) a more considerable profit by it than if it should be farther extended, which might be the case, if a farther discovery was made: for though they should not find a navigable passage through into the *South-Sea*, they might, probably, find *Indian* nations, from whom furs might be bought cheaper than they are bought in *Hudson's Bay*; and that would be a disadvantage to their trade.

" The probabilities of finding a passage as you propose, seem to be very strong; the flood coming that way is almost a demonstration: what difficulties may be in the execution cannot be foreseen. If a passage could be found into the *South-Sea*, it would open a very large field; and, very probably, of a very profitable commerce: but the first projectors, let the affair suc-

ceed never so well, have seldom, if ever, found their account in it. However, that should not hinder others from exerting themselves in the discovering any thing that may be advantageous to the publick; but a spirit of that kind seems to have been asleep for many years. War may have, perhaps, prevented, in some measure, and diverted men's thoughts from any enterprize of that nature. I confess, I have myself had thoughts of that kind, and especially, since I read your manuscript of a probability of a north-west passage to the *South-Sea*; but I have found but very few that were willing to bestow any thoughts about it. I remember lord *Granard* and I have talked about it sometimes, but it was but talk; other things, and business nearer home, have employed our time and thoughts too. I think the best way to undertake such a discovery, is to have, as you propose, two proper vessels, to go at a proper time of the year, and to winter there, if it was found necessary; and to carry with them a cargo, not a great one, of goods

which Sir *Charles*, according to his usual affability and public spirit, returned to Mr. *Dobbs's* application; but as *Great Britain* was then in the eve of a war with *Spain*, the government had neither men, money, nor ships, to spare for the discovery. In the mean while, Mr. *Dobbs* received another letter from Mr. *Middleton*, acquainting him, that he had that year been at *Churchill* factory, where the governor, Mr. *Norton*, who had sailed with *Scroggs*, was of opinion, that the discovery was practicable, and that very year some of the natives, who had come down to trade at *Churchill*, and had never before been at any *English* settlement, informed them, that they frequently traded with *Europeans* on the west parts of *America*, in the latitude of *Churchill*, which Mr. *Middleton* thought confirmed the opinion that the two seas must unite. Mr. *Dobbs*, upon this, procured a commission for captain *Middleton* to command the *Furnace* sloop, which was fitted out by the government for the discovery of the north-west passage, and which was to be attended by the *Discovery* pink, *William Moor*, master. *Middleton's* instructions were to proceed from the *Orkney* islands directly to *Hudson's-Streights*, from thence to *Cary's Swan's-Nest*, and then to the *Welcome*. Being come up with the *Whalebone-Point*, in

Middle-
ton's in-
structions,

goods proper to trade with the *Indians* they meet with; and capable and honest people to be employed, if such are to be found in the world, which I doubt; and ten or a dozen persons, or more, if thought proper, engaged in it, who would advance money sufficient to carry it on; who may, in time, if it should succeed, be better intitled to the name of the North-west or *South-sea* company, than the present *South-sea* company is to that name, who are not permitted to trade in any one place within the limits of their charter, which made such an éclat at the first establishing it. If this should be once agreed on, and proper persons be found to join in it, it may then be considered what authority may be proper to ob-

tain from the crown, that the first who go and succeed, may not only beat the bush, and others come afterwards to catch the hare: for though I do not much like exclusive companies, where it is not absolutely necessary; yet I would not have the advantages that may be found by some, be given away to others. As to vessels being sent at the publick expence, though it would not be great, yet the parliament may think, especially at this time, that we ought not to play with the money they give us, for other and particular services. However, if Sir Robert Walpole, or some other proper persons, should think that the government should attempt it at the publick expence, I shall not be against it. I am, &c."

65, he was to try the best passage in doubling that land, whether to the eastward or westward, in case it were an island; and on which side soever he should meet the tide of flood, to direct his course north, so as to meet the tide, whether westerly or southerly. If after doubling that cape, he found either a strait, or an open sea, he was to keep on his course, still meeting the tide of flood; and if it were so wide as to lose sight of land, then to keep the larboard, or *American* shore, steering south-westerly, so as to take the bearings of the land, and soundings; and observe whether there were any inlets, bays, or rivers, to shelter the ships, in case bad weather, or contrary winds, obliged him to take harbour: and there he was to make the best plans he could of such harbours and charts of the coast^k. When he came to the southward of 60 degrees north, if he continued to find an open sea, he was to make more observations of the same kind, till he made the latitude of 50 degrees, or any more southerly, in case he found it convenient to winter on the western side of *America*: but if he should find it more convenient to return into the bay to winter, or could secure a passage home in time, after making a discovery of a passage to the western ocean of *America*, in order to prosecute the discovery to advantage next summer, then he was to proceed no farther southerly than 50 or 60 degrees north latitude, and to make all proper observations. If he found any inhabitants, he was to cultivate a friendship with them, but cautiously. If he wintered on the other side of the passage, it was not to be more northerly than latitude 42. He was to take with him seeds of fruit-trees, plants, grain, and pulse, for sowing. If he met with inhabitants, he was to make purchases for the crown of *Great Britain*; but in places where no inhabitants were found, he was to take possession by setting up proper inscriptions. If, in his passage, he met with any ships from which he apprehended danger, he was to proceed no farther, but return, till a sufficient force could be sent out to begin a trade, and make a settlement; and in all cases not provided for by his instructions, he was to consult with his officers.

WE know of no accidents Mr. *Middleton* met with till *his voyage*, his arrival at *Churchill*, from whence he sailed the 1st of *July*, 1742, and from thence he proceeded to the north side of the *Welcome*, where he saw a great deal of ice on shore, and continued to make his observations according to his instructions. Soon after he found himself and his companion pink jammed

^k System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 795.

in with the ice, which reached for ten leagues to the windward. In this condition they lay two or three days in great danger of being forced ashore; but at last the ice separated, and left him room for a kind of traverse-sailing, till they discovered a head-land to the northward of *Whalebone-Point*, in the latitude of 65 degrees, 10 minutes north, which he named *Cape Dobbs*. Seeing there a fair opening, bearing north-west, he stood in for it, in the terms of his instructions, being furrounded all the time with what he calls sailing ice, or ice parted into shoals, with openings between them. Proceeding a little way, he was in great danger of those shoals; and finding it impossible to keep afloat among them, he sent off his lieutenant in the boat to look out for a securer place for the ship. In the mean while, some *Esquimaux Indians* came on board of him, as he was then very near the shore; and they having nothing to trade in, were civilly dismissed, with some presents, by the captain. His ship was at last secured, but with great difficulty; but while he lay there, he found, for three weeks successively, the flood constantly to come from the eastward, and that he had got into a large river, so full of ice as to render the navigation impracticable as well as dangerous. From thence he sent his lieutenant and master to look out for a harbour towards the mouth of the river; but they found none: and it was next to a miracle that they ever again got on board.

*He sends
Indians on
shore.*

MIDDLETON having some *Indians* on board, sent them on shore to try if they knew any thing of the land; but appearing totally ignorant of it, he was obliged to continue there for three weeks, and employed that time in taking draughts of the river, to which he gave the name of *Wager*. The river being a little cleared of ice, he got into the latitude of 66 degrees, 14 minutes, where he saw a head-land, which he named *Cape Hope*, thinking it to be the northernmost part of all *America*. They then proceeded with great spirits till they got into the latitude of 66 degrees and 40 minutes; and here the captain, according to his own account, found himself imbayed, and neither ebb nor flood, but deep water. From this he concluded, that he had overshot the streights on the north-east shore, from whence the flood came, and where he resolved to search for a strait or opening. After this, the captain, according to his own account, went on shore, and making the most accurate searches both by sea and land that he could, he found the whole extent of the strait, which was 16 or 18 leagues, and 6 or 7 broad, with very high lands on both sides, and small islands both in the middle and towards the shores. But all was froze

from side to side, with no appearance of its being cleared of the ice that year; and the water close to the shore being so deep as to afford no anchoring to the ships, and at the same time vast shoals of ice driving with the ebb and flood, while they were every minute expecting thick weather. From all those considerations it was resolved in council, to make the best of their way out of that dangerous narrow streight, and to take observations between the 64th and 62d degree of latitude. He accordingly bore away, and tried the tides on the other side of the *Welcome*, but met with little encouragement, ^{sails in his discovery;} though he saw some small islands and deep bays, and some black whales, of the right whalebone kind. While he was thus working off and on *Brook Cobham*, an island so called, finding the floods still came from the eastward, he sent the northern *Indians* on shore upon it; and they reported, that it did not lie far from their own country, to which they had a great desire to return, they being tired of a sea-life. The captain accordingly furnished them with a small boat, well fitted with sails and oars, which they knew how to handle, it being laden with fire-arms, powder, shot, hatchets, and whatever could be desirable to them. That same evening, being the 15th of *August*, he bore away for *England*, where he arrived with his company, greatly afflicted with the scurvy and other disorders.

SUCH was the event of this celebrated voyage; and Mr. *Middleton's* report seemed at first satisfactory to the public, and to Mr. *Dobbs* himself; till, upon farther enquiry, some doubts arose, that *Middleton* was too much in the interest of the *Hudson's-Bay* company for him to be hearty in the discovery. When *Dobbs* examined his journal, and compared it with other informations, he concluded, that *Middleton* actually had been in the passage, and that what he called *Wager's* river, was not a fresh water river, but a streight, and the mouth of the passage itself. This opinion received great countenance from lieutenant *Rankin*, and the petty officers of the *Furnace*, whose papers proved that many material circumstances, particularly with regard to the ice and the fresh water, had been altered or misrepresented. *Rankin's* report was as follows; "July the 29th, 1742, I was ordered with the master to take the six-oared boat, and go up *Savage-Sound*, as high as *Deer-Sound*, and try the tides. I find that the flood there comes from the river *Wager*; it flowed there ten feet water. We then sailed from *Deer-Sound* for the high bluff land, on the north-west side of the river *Wager*. The course from the islands off the north side of *Deer-Sound*, is north-west, and north-west by north, by compass. We founded all the way

over, and had no ground with a line of 68 fathoms, to the high bluff land. We then run up a branch of the main river, and sounded, and found 50 fathoms one third over the branch. There were several islands in it. Sounded about a league off the north side, and found 30 fathoms water. In running between the islands and the supposed main, which was on the west side of that branch, the tide or freshes suddenly turned against us, the boat altering the land very much before. Sounded near some of the islands, and had no ground at 68 fathoms. As we run up, we sounded near a small island, and had 29 fathoms. We steered west-north-west between the islands and the west land by compass, there being several islands in the fair way, and no ground in the middle of the channel at 68 fathoms. We went about 15 leagues above *Deer-Sound*, and saw a fresh or run of water coming against us; and the wind being fair, I was afraid to stay any longer for fear of hindering the ships from going to sea. There is a great probability of an opening to the west side, by the coming in of the whales; but I could not go higher up, for the above-mentioned reason. We went to the top of a high mountainous land, from whence we saw a great run or fall of water between the west land and the islands. It was very dangerous, seemingly not a mile broad; and at the same time saw a fair channel or streight to the northward of the islands, with land on both sides, as high as the *Cape of Good Hope*, running away to the westward, with many bluff points and broken lands. In coming down we saw several very large black whales playing about the boat and in shore."

reasons
why-

THIS information was greatly strengthened by the declaration which *Robert Wilson*, master of the *Furnace*, made to *Mr. Dobbs* himself, in which he owned, "That he was drove out in the boat with the lieutenant by the tide of ebb, quite round *Cape Dobbs*, to the southward: that, upon his return, when he went up to *Deer-Sound*, and from thence to the bluff on the west side, he had an open sea, free from ice, and no soundings all the way over at sixty eight fathoms; but near an island they had thirty fathoms: that he saw a great many large true black whales, as great as any he had seen in *Greenland*; and that they never came in at the east entrance of *Wager* river, otherwise they must have been seen by them somewhere below; but he never saw any in other parts of the bay or streights, but near *Brook Cobham*; where he apprehends, from the great tides there, that there is an opening or streight from the westward: that when he came to the west bluff, thirty leagues up *Wager* river, the mid-channel lay then west-south-west, the true course; that he

tasted

tasted the water there, which was as salt as any he had tasted in those seas : that the fall about a league from them, or rapid current, he would fain have gone to, but does not know whether it was fresh-water or not ; but it was not in the main channel : that he and another man went much higher up the mountains than the lieutenant, and killed two deer : that from thence he overlooked the islands which were betwixt them and the main channel, and saw a large streight four or five leagues wide, free from ice, which ran directly south-west, with high mountainous land on both sides, which he had a great inclination to have gone to, and moved it to the lieutenant ; but their provisions being spent, and having already gone fifteen leagues beyond their warrant, which limited them, the lieutenant was unwilling to disobey his orders, by going further. Upon which the master said, To what purpose did they go there, if it was not to make the discovery ? Upon their return, at *Brook Cobham*, the captain sent the master ashore to get water, and said he would send him again : that he then observed that there had been very high tides, of which he acquainted the captain upon his return, and desired to go ashore again, to make observations ; but the captain, upon pretence that he had staid too long on shore before, told him, he should not go on shore again, whilst he was in the bay ; and ordered others to go : so he could make no farther observations there. From thence they bore away for *England* the 15th of *August*."

THE reader will in the notes find fresh reasons from authentic informations for suspecting Mr. *Middleton's* sincerity in the pursuit of this discovery (R). One particular circumstance

*Other facts
alleged.*

(R) Here follows a copy of some other papers published by Mr. *Dobbs*, as they were delivered to lieutenant *Rankin* by *Alex. Morrison*, *John Armount*, and *Abraham Humble*, petty officers on board the *Furnace*, signed and attested by themselves and others, which relate to part of the voyage. "When I, *Alexander Morrison*, (whose name is undermentioned) was up the *Wager's-streights* with the lieutenant, I could not see any ice nigh the opening opposite to *Deer-Sound*. We saw a great many black whales,

of the whalebone-kind, come into *Deer-Sound* every tide. I cannot believe that those whales come in at the mouth of *Wager's-streights*, as the captain and some other creatures would willingly make people believe, in order to answer his own end ; for the strong rapid tide we saw near *Brook Cobham*, (and a great many whales of the right whalebone kind) where I very well remember, that in bringing up the ice-boat to try the tide, (Mr. *Wispart* the mate was in the boat) the tide broke the deep sea lead-line, and lost a

lead

ought not to be omitted, which is, that when three bottles of water, filled in three different places, were tasted by cap¹

lead of fifty pound weight. The captain went into the boat himself, in a very great passion, to try the tide, when he saw every body staring so very eagerly at the rapidness of it; and, at his return on board, said, it ran but two miles six fathoms. I was at the cond the same time, and I am very certain the tide ran above six miles an hour; and have heard the officers say so many times. The number of whales we saw there, and off *Deer-Sound*, all of the right whalebone kind, gives me reason to believe that there is a passage thereabouts from some western ocean, and one that comes into *Wager's-Streights*, opposite to *Deer-Sound*; for the ice was gone at that opening opposite to *Deer-Sound*, long before it was in the middle of the *Streights*. The 27th of *July*, when I was up the *Streights* with the lieutenant, there was no ice to be seen in that opening opposite to *Deer-Sound*, nor so much as one piece of ice to be seen above the high bluff point, to the highest we went up. The *Straight* is eleven or twelve leagues broad, the water was very salt all the way up, and actually so within three miles of the fall or rippling we saw. As to the captain's affidavit of men's drinking fresh water three leagues above *Deer-Sound*, it will scarce prove it a fresh-water river; for ham and veal, with strong beer, flip and punch, they eat and drank, might hurt and enfeeble their memories; though, indeed, several of them

were never up the *Streights* at all, and swear by hear-say. I have many times drank the water where our ships lay in winter within two miles of the sea, and many of our men I have seen do the same; which plainly shews that their affidavits are no reason to prove *Wager's-streights* a fresh water river, as captain *Middleton* would make the world believe.

“ *August* the 6th, I steered the boat with the lieutenant to the low beach point, and the tide, I very well remember, was falling, and had ebbed about two feet by the beach point; and set so very strong about the point to the south-west, that we were like to be drove round the point, which the lieutenant was very much vexed with, and struck me, because I could not keep right against the tide, it run so very strong. He, as he said, had no victuals for himself nor us; if we had been forced round the point, as we had like to have been. When we got on board, I heard him tell the captain, that the tide had ebbed two feet on the point at three of the clock, when they made signal for the boat; but the captain, to answer his own end, set it in the log-book, *he found it to be the flood-tide, and it came from the eastward*; which is very false. I very well remember, that we passed by what he called the *Frozen Straights*, within two or three miles of the islands in the mouth of it. Neither the lieutenant, nor any of the boat's crew, could see any appearance

tain *Middleton* himself, he pronounced that to be the shallowest which had been filled the highest up the river or freight.

of any opening; yet the captain has named that a *Frozen Strait*; and *Wager's Strait*, that is above three times broader, must pass with him for a river; which shews his design to impose upon the publick, and answer his own ends. I never saw any whales in the freight or bay, nor ever heard of any, but since we came home, but near *Brook Cobham*, and *Deer-Sound*; and all of them of the right whalebone kind, as I very well understand them, having been a whale-fishing in *Greenland* before in the merchants' service. All this I can make affidavit to, to be real fact, as well as several more can do, beside us undermentioned: signed *Alexander Morrison*, *John Armount*, *Abraham Humble*. Witnesses, *Robert Fiske*, *John Seward*, midshipmen on board the *Princess Royal*."

"Another paper, signed by the lieutenant, and attested by others. "The soundings up the east channel, between the island and the east side or island, is 45, 40, 39, and 25 fathoms, soft ground in the middle of the channel, and from sixteen to six fathoms within a quarter of a cable's length to some of the islands, and good soundings through in many channels between those islands. The depth of water is eighteen fathoms where I founded, and seven or eight fathoms within half a cable's length of the islands. The channel between the islands and the east side is three or four miles broad. We went into a

bay or cove on the east-side, good clear ground. Soundings from thirty to five fathoms. The tide came from the south-westward of the islands, and flowed thirteen feet; the northernmost island bearing north by west, distance four or five miles. The soundings from the bay or cove, to the northernmost point on this side the bluff, is 45, 40, 30, 20 fathoms, according to the distance we were off the shore. Above the islands, from the east-side to the south-west side, is six or seven leagues broad. The land runs north-west by west, the tide flowed nearest north-west by west, along the shore. We ran into a bay or cove at the north end of the point, on this side the high bluff; the soundings from 20 to 15, 12, 10, 8, 6 fathoms, good clear ground, and clear of ice. The tide of flood came from the southward, and flowed thirteen feet and a half. The freight above the islands is six or seven leagues broad. I went up the highest land on the east-side, and set the land by compass. There is a bluff point on the south-side, with three low islands off it; and a low point at the back of it, that bore south by west, with that opening to us. The land ran from the south by west to the north-west, a high mountainous land, and round again to the high bluff point, this appearing to me from the high land I was upon. It being about one quarter flood, or more, by the tide that came through the freights, I saw the ice

This experiment seems to silence all that can be said on the probability of the place where *Middleton* was being a fresh water river. The examinations which passed on this head before the lords of the admiralty, afforded farther reasons for believing, that what is called *Wager* river is in reality a freight, that in the opening it is six or seven miles wide, and the water from fourteen to sixteen fathoms deep; that in sailing up the same, the width, the depth, and the saltness of the water encreased; that the freight, most probably, leads into the western or north-western ocean, from the number of whales seen there, which could not come in at the mouth of the freight, as no whales were ever seen in the bay, but on the broken coast of the south-westward of the *Welcome*, which, very probably, led to a passage still more easy. The height and rapidity of the tides is another argument for proving *Wager* river a freight to lead to the ocean, as they could not come from *Hudson's* freights; and lieutenant *Rankin* declared, that the tide of flood came from the southward. There is, likewise, the highest probability, from the nature of the tides, that the freight cannot be above an hundred leagues long, and that if it was navigated through, the adventurers would find themselves in a more moderate climate than that of *Deer-Sound*; for the freight was seen from eminences to bend away to the southward of the west. From all this it follows, that there is a possibility of a passage to the southward from *Brook Cobham*, on account of the number of

ice break up, and set round the point I stood upon with some force; so that all the ice was presently in motion in the middle of the channel against the flood, and was almost clear in the middle this morning. It is nine or ten leagues broad. July the 16th, 1742. *John Rankin.*"

The following paper, which is a confirmation of this, is signed by the same persons who signed *Morrison's* account, and runs thus: "All this is matter of fact; for I was with the lieutenant upon the high land, and with a perspective-glass set that opening opposite to *Deer-Point* by compass, and

and found it bear as is here set down. The next time I was upon the said high land with the lieutenant, we saw the ice clear of the opening, although there was much ice driving in the middle of the channel, but none to interrupt the boat in her passage up the freights: and I am very sure the water was as salt as it could be among so much ice as was in the freight at that time, and such quantities of snow as were melting upon the high land. All this is true, as we are ready to make affidavit of, if required; as witness my hand, as well as those underwritten, this 22d day of *November*, 1743."

whales

whales seen there, and no where else, except about *Deer-Sound*, and from the rapidity of the tide at that place, which appears to flow into *Wager* river, and to come from a sea different from that which fills *Hudson's-Bay*. The broken appearance of the coast, from latitude 62 to latitude 65, is an additional argument of a passage thereabouts into the western ocean, or the *South-Sea*. It was likewise urged against Mr. *Middleton*, that his own great log-book disproved his searching exactly all the western shore from cape *Frigid* to *Brook Cobham*; and it came out, upon examination of the officers, that after standing in with the headland of *Brook Cobham*, being informed of a fair opening there, and a strong tide of flood from the westward, he would not let it be tried.

UPON the whole, the arguments for a north-west passage were so convincing, that the legislature, in 1744, passed an act of parliament to encourage the discovery of the same. The preamble of the act takes notice, that, "As the discovering a north-west passage through *Hudson's-Strait* to the western *American* ocean, would be of great benefit and advantage to this kingdom; and that it would be a great encouragement to adventurers to attempt the same, if a publick reward was given to such persons as should make a perfect discovery of the said passage: It is therefore enacted, That if any ships or vessels, belonging to his majesty's subjects, shall find out and sail through any passage by sea between *Hudson's-Bay* and the western ocean of *America*, the owners of such ships or vessels shall be intitled to receive, as a reward for such discovery, the sum of twenty thousand pounds." Commissioners are appointed by the same act for examining the claim that may be made under it; and a proviso is added, "That nothing in this act shall extend to prejudice the estate, rights, or privileges, of the governor and company of the adventurers of *England* trading into *Hudson's-Bay*." In consequence of this act, two ships, the *California* and the *Dobbs*, were fitted out, and sailed in quest of the so much desired passage, in the beginning of *May*, 1746; but we do not hear that it is yet discovered.

According to Mr. *Dobbs*, who has given us the best account of *Hudson's-Bay*, it may be esteemed from 51 deg. to 65 deg. north lat. and from 78 deg. to 95 deg. west long. from *London*. The whole of its extent in length may be about six hundred miles, and its northern boundary may be reckoned at *Davis's* streights; the country lying to the north of that being claimed by the *Danes*. The entrance of the streights is variously represented. At *Resolution-Island*, it is said

An act of parliament encouraging the discovery of a north-west passage.

Account of Hudson's-Bay.

said to be twelve or thirteen leagues wide, but others make it not half so much. As to the streights themselves, they are said to be an hundred and twenty leagues in length; the shores, on both sides, being inhabited by a most savage race. At the mouth of the streights lies *Resolution-Island*; and in the streights themselves lie the islands *Charles*, *Salisbury*, and *Nottingham*; and *Mansfield-Island* is situated in the mouth of the bay. The truth is, the whole of this vast country is so inhospitable, and great part of it so uninhabitable, that the geography of it is very uncertain. We shall, however, present our reader with the general description of it from the best authorities.

See Vol.
XXXIX.
p. 395.

The south coast of *Hudson's-streights* is known by the name of *Terra de Labrador*, and is by some called *New Britain*. It extends from the 50th to the 63d degree of latitude, and from the 51st to the 79th degree of longitude, west from *London*; its form being triangular. The inland parts of this country are but little known, and are inhabited by the *Esquimaux Indians*, the most untamed and intractable people in *America*. They were first discovered by the *Danes*, but no settlement has ever yet been made in their country. They have no settled habitation, nor do we know of any villages or towns among them. To what we have already said of those savages, we are to add, that they are thought to be so numerous, that they can bring 30,000 fighting men to the field; but though mischievous, untameable, and treacherous, they are excessively cowardly; and sometimes, in the night-time, they cut the cables of ships that they may enjoy their wrecks in the morning. The *French* have several times built forts and little towns upon their frontiers, in hopes of enticing them to traffic with them, but all hitherto has been to no purpose; for even the zeal of the missionaries could make no impression upon their barbarous manners. The only commodities they trade in are furs, which they exchange for knives, scissars, pots, kettles, and the like hardware; but if an *European* ship should suffer them to come near it in too great numbers, they will, if they can, master the crew and plunder the vessel. As to the other savages in the neighbourhood, we have already mentioned them. Mr. *Moll*, however, has given a very different account of this country. He tells us, that the inhabitants of the inland parts of it are industrious, and that the country itself produces gold. Something of that kind is not at all improbable, as we cannot account how so great a number of people can be maintained in a country so rude and savage, and so unproductive of every necessary of life as this is represented to be,

with-

Ibid.

without some kind of industry in the inhabitants. Add to this, that we are informed that the *Hudson's-Bay* company intend to settle a factory on the *Labrador* coast for trading with the *Indians* and the *Esquimaux*, near the opening from their bay and the *Atlantic* ocean, which we can scarcely suppose the company would attempt without some probability of success.

ON the other side of *Hudson's-Streights*, to the north of *Labrador*, lies what is called the *North Main*, which is bounded The North
Main. on the east by *Davis's-Streights*, and on the north by *Baffin's-Bay*, and on the west by a nameless streight. Some geographers have imagined the whole of this country to be an island, stretching from the 62d to the 75th degree of latitude. Some call it *James Island*; others suppose it to consist of three small islands, that on the north-west being cut through by *Cumberland-Bay*, the mouth of which lies under the arctic circle, and runs to the north-west. *White-Bear-Bay* separates the isle on the south-east from that on the south-west. *Cape Mary*, by some called *Charles Cape*, lies on the south-west shore of the last mentioned island, and *Smith's-Bay* and *Cape Baffin* on the western coast; but all writers seem to agree in acknowledging their ignorance of the inland parts. *North-Bay* lies to the south of the isle lying to the east of *White-Bear-Bay*. On the south-east point of it are the isles of *Resolution*, and *Lumley's-Inlet* lies on the eastern coast. The isle that lies to the north-east of *Cumberland-Bay* has *Cape Walsingham* on the south, to the east of which stands *Mount Raleigh*, and *Cape Bedford* is higher up. The *Cumberland Islands* lie in the bay of that name.

WE have already mentioned the discovery of the *Streights* of *Davis*, who, in 1585, came to the south-west cape of *Greenland*, in the latitude of 62 degrees, which he called *Cape Desolation*. Here he traded with the natives for peltry ware, small cod and muscles. He afterwards sailed to the latitude of 64 degrees, 15 minutes, and from thence to that of 66 degrees, 40 minutes. In 1586, in a second voyage which he made to the same coast, he discovered many places to the west; and the following year he proceeded as far as 72 degrees, 12 minutes. But what goes by the name of his streights, extends to the 75th degree of longitude; and there it communicates with *Baffin's-Bay*, or rather what is called *Christian-Sea*. To the north of this *Christian-Sea* lies *Sir Thomas Smith's Bay*, in the 78th degree of north latitude. But though it appears to run northward, we have no particular description of it. On the western coast of *Baffin's-Bay* are two sounds or inlets; the northernmost in latitude 76,

The History of America.

is called *Alderman Jones's Sound*; and the other, which is in latitude 74 degrees and 20 minutes, is termed *Sir James Lancaster's Sound*; the country lying round *Baffin's-Bay* goes by the name of *Prince William's Land*; but we know nothing more of it.

New
North
Wales.

To the south of *Prince William's Land* lies *New North Wales*, which has on its south *New Denmark*, and on its west another land, but both of them unknown. *Wager's-Streights* being already described, and the *Welcome*, or *Ne Ultra*, is a narrow freight between the 62d and 63d degree of north latitude. Captain *Middleton* meeting with land there, which trenched away from east by north to north by west, was in hopes that it was the extreme part of *America*, and he therefore called it *Cape Hope*; but, to his disappointment, he met with a deep bay, which he called *Repulse Bay*, and which, though in the month of *August*, was full of broken ice. In that bay, about latitude 66 degrees, 45 minutes, lies *Cape Frigid*, so called from lying on a frozen freight; but it is not clear whether this was an island, or the main land. As to the freight itself, it seems to be no more than an arm of the sea, three leagues wide, and full of islands. From the tides of flood observed here, it is probable there is a north-west passage into the western ocean. We know very little or nothing of the land between the *Welcome* and part of *Baffin's-Bay*, only that it is barren and inhospitable; and by some it is laid down as an island. From *Cape Hope* to the mouth of *Wager's-Streights*, or *River*, the country is unknown. The mouth of *Wager's-Streights*, lying in latitude 65 degrees, 23 minutes, is not above two or three miles wide; but five or six miles within its entrance, it extends to six or eight miles. It is full of islands and rocks, but the lands on both sides are high, as has been already observed. In latitude 65 degrees, 50 minutes, is the entrance of a small river; but how far it runs inland, is not known. The great plenty of deer that appeared on its banks, gave it the name of *Deer-Sound*, and in the vallies there are said to be large fresh lakes, with plenty of grass, deer, and water-fowl; but the highlands contain only a kind of a rocky marble. In this sound some whales were likewise seen. The southermost cape at the entrance of *Wager's-Streight*, is called *Cape Dobbs*. South-westward, in latitude 65, lie *Whalebone-Point* and *Cape Fullerton*. *Brook-Cobham*, or *Marble-Island*, which lies in latitude 63, has to the west of it an opening within land, called *Rankin's-Inlet*. To the south are two other openings, called *Whale-Cove*, and *Love-Grove*. It is thought by many, that those openings, though yet but very imperfectly known,

Lead

lead to the *South-Sea*, which, if true, would be a discovery of the highest importance. The country, from *Wager's-Streights* to *Seal-River*, the mouth of which lies in latitude 60 degrees, 30 minutes, is called *New Denmark*, so termed, from its being taken possession of by the *Danes* by captain *Monck*.

THIS captain *Monck* was employed by *Christiern* the IVth, *Discoverer* of *Denmark*, to find out a passage between *Greenland* *ries of cap-* and *America*, so as to facilitate the voyage to the *East-Indies*, *tain* soon after Mr. *Hudson* had miscarried in the same attempt. *Monck* ; He sailed from the *Sound* on the 16th of *May*, 1619, with two ships, one carrying 48, and the other 16 men. On the 20th of *June* following, he reached *Cape Farewell*, which he found situated in 62 degrees, 30 minutes latitude, but covered with ice and snow. According to *Monck's* account, he steered from thence towards *Hudson's-Streights* ; and on the 18th of *June* at night, his sails were rendered useless by ¹ the ice adhering to them ; but next day, the afternoon proved so hot, that his sailors were obliged to strip themselves to their shirts. On the 17th of *July*, he arrived in *Hudson's-Streights*, to which he attempted to give the name of *Christiern's-Streight*, and landed on an island, (as he supposes) opposite to *Greenland*. Here with some difficulty he met with savages, who seemed shy, and the *Danes* seized their arms, but returned them, upon the savages informing them by signs, that they had no other means of subsistence but the game which they killed with their arrows. They seemed in other respects to be a harmless, simple people ; and *Monck* was detained here for some time by the ice. The savages, however, had disappeared ; nor could all the stratagems of the *Danes* bring them back. It was with the utmost difficulty, while *Monck* remained at *Keen-Sund*, (for so he called the island where he was) he defended his ship from the vast shoals of ice which every where surrounded him. He found several other islands in *Hudson's-Streights* and wherever he landed, he set up the arms of *Denmark*, and took possession in that king's name. He afterwards visited several coasts and seas, to all which he assigned new names, in honour of his royal master, though they had before received names from *Hudson* and other *Englishmen*. Continuing his course west-north-west, he came to 63 degrees, 20 minutes ; where, being surrounded by the ice, he was obliged to winter in a place which he called *Monck's Winter-Harbour*, and the country round it he called *New Denmark*. On the 7th of *October*, having secu-

¹ CHURCHILL'S Voyages, Vol. I, p. 56a.

red his ships in a creek, he discovered a river, and attempted to sail up it; but could make no progress, because of the vast shoals of ice which he encountered. He then attempted a passage by land, but meeting with no inhabitants, he returned another way. In his progress, he perceived many druidical kind of altars, with bones near them, and other indications that the country was not destitute of inhabitants, tho' he could bring none of them to traffick with him; and he concluded that they led a wandering life, like the *Tartars* and the *Laplanders*.

THE miseries from the cold and frost which those *Danes* suffered during the winter, were inexpressible; and so many of them died, that captain *Monck* was obliged to do the duty of a common man. At last, their provision of bread failed them. Towards the end of *May* they saw abundance of wild fowl of all kinds; but they were too weak to catch them. The captain himself by this time fell ill, and of sixty-four men he sailed out with, only two were alive. These three had the courage to go on board the smaller ship; but on the 8th of *September* they were overtaken by a tempest, which drove them upon the coast of *Norway*, and from thence, with great difficulty, they reached *Denmark*. *Monck*, after returning to his own country, was so fully convinced that there was a passage between *Greenland* and *America* to the *East-Indies*, that he persuaded some persons of great distinction to fit out two other ships, in which he proposed to try another voyage. *Chrißliern* the IVth, king of *Denmark*, a prince of a brutish nature, hearing of this, sent for *Monck*, and reproached him with the ill success of his last voyage, and the loss of his two ships; and upon *Monck's* returning a hasty answer, he received a blow of his majesty's cane, which he took so much amiss, that he went home, and starved himself to death.

his death.

SEVERAL islands lie on the coast of *Labrador*; and the country from *Buiton's-Bay*, southward and eastward, as far as *Labrador* is called *New South-Wales*. This vast country from north-west to south-east, extends three hundred miles. It is bounded on the east and south by *Canada*, and on the west by vast tracts of countries, whose inhabitants trade with the *English*, who are the only *Europeans* who have plantations or settlements within land. How far those countries extend, or where they terminate, is unknown. The *English* settlements consist of forts or houses lying on the coasts, chiefly calculated to protect them against the inclemencies of the weather. They are directed as to the situation of those forts by the mouths of the rivers which are most proper for trading with the *Indians*: the chief on the western continent

are

are *Churchill-River*, *Nelson's-River*, *Severn-River*, *Albany-River*, and *Moose-River*. *Churchill-River*, at the mouth of which is built the *Prince of Wales's* fort, is most northerly, and situated on the west part of *Hudson's-Bay*. The company here keeps about twenty-eight men. The river is navigable for 150 leagues, and about 20,000 beaver-skins every year are returned at this fort. Fort *York*, or Fort *Nelson*, but *Farther* by the *French* called Fort *Bourbon*, is situated upon *Nelson's-River*, in the 57th degree of north latitude. Here about *description* of *Hudson's-Bay*. twenty-five of the company's men reside; and the river itself is the largest and finest in the bay, by means of its communications with the great lakes and the trading rivers. *New Severn River* lies in the 55th degree of north latitude; but is at present neglected. *Albany-River* lies in the 52d degree, and the company there keep twenty-five in the fort. From the middle of *May* to the middle of *September*, the weather here is mild and warm; and in the year 1731, no fewer than one hundred and eighteen canoes traded with the fort. *Moose-River*, which is larger than that of *Albany*, lies in the 51st degree of north latitude, and the company has at their fort here twenty-five men. *Prince Rupert-River* lies in the same latitude, but on the east-side of the bay; and the fort there is at present gone to ruin. At the fort upon *Shude-River*, which lies on the east-side of the bay, the company keep no more than eight or nine men.

ABOUT five or six leagues from the *West-main*, lies the little rocky isle, which, tho' no more than a heap of rocks and stones, shelters great numbers of gulls and water-fowl. The soil of *Charleton-island* is a light white sand, producing juniper and other shrub-trees. In the spring, this island is noted for the beautiful appearance it makes to voyagers, who for months before have been accustomed to the most savage inhospitable scenes in nature; though at the bottom of the bay, the latitude is nearer the sun than *London* itself; yet the climate is excessively cold for nine months in the year; but, excepting, when a north-wind blows, the other three months are very hot. As to the soil in general of the counties bordering on *Hudson's-Bay*, it is very barren, scarce any grain growing upon it; but upon *Prince Rupert-River* there grows some gooseberries, strawberries, and the like dwarf-fruits.

NOTWITHSTANDING all those discouragements, it is certain that the advantages of the trade to *Hudson's-Bay* are immense. The commodities most proper for trade here are guns, powder, shot, cloth, hatchets, kettles, and tobacco. These are exchanged with the natives for furs, beavers, martens, fox, moose, and other peltry ware; and the prodigious profits.

profits of the company may be estimated by the following standard of commerce, which formerly was fixed by them for their goods bartered on the southern part of the bay.

GUNS, one with the other, ten good skins, that is, winter-beaver; twelve skins for the biggest sort, ten for the mean, and eight for the smallest. Powder, a beaver for half a pound. Shot, a beaver for four pounds. Hatchets, a beaver for a great and little hatchet. Knives, a beaver for six great knives, or eight jackknives. Beads, a beaver for half a pound of beads. Laced coats, six beavers for one good laced coat. Plain coats, five beaver-skins for one red plain coat. Coats for women, laced, two yards, six beavers. Coats for women plain, five beavers. Tobacco, a beaver for one pound. Powder-horns, a beaver for a large powder-horn, and two small ones. Kettles, a beaver for one pound of kettle. Looking-glasses and combs, two skins.

THE reader who understands trade, must readily be sensible of the vast gains of such a commerce as the above, especially as it is but in a few hands, and carried on with very little expence. It is true, the trade for several years before the treaty of *Utrecht*, and for some years after, was but inconsiderable; but it is well known, that during the late war their profits were greater than that of any commerce carried on by *British* subjects. It is said, ^m that the annual exports were about 3000 l. value, and their half-yearly sales about 25,000 l. and that nine-tenths of the stock have been engrossed by eight or nine merchants. They are supposed to be at the charge of one hundred and twenty servants a year, and about an hundred and twenty men on board the two or three annual ships which they employ in time of war. Their imports are deer-skins, castorum or beaver-stone, feathers, whalebone and blubber; but beaver-skin is two-thirds of the whole. Some writers, Mr. *Dobbs* in particular, who is well acquainted with the country, and the state of its trade, have been of opinion, that the privileges of this company are so extensive, that its charter ought to be vacated, and the trade laid open. It has likewise been said, with what justice we cannot determine, that this company has always been averse to the discovery of the north-west passage, though their endeavouring to make such a discovery is one of the conditions on which their charter was granted.

PERHAPS none of the natives of *North America* are so rude and savage as the *Indians* inhabiting the neighbourhood of *Rupert-River*, and other places in the bay. This may

^m DOUGLAS'S Summary, Vol. I. p. 218:

easily be accounted for, as they have no opportunities like the *Canadian savages*, or those in the neighbourhood of the *English plantations*, of seeing any places of great resort. Their intercourse is confined to little forts and booths, where they deal with *Europeans* who have no other conversation, or ideas, but to make the best bargains they can. In general, however, they are peaceable, only the *Nodways* are a tribe more savage than the rest; upon whom they sometimes make incursions, and after killing eight or ten people, retire in triumph. The rivers, which in that country are very plentiful, are commonly the boundaries of those savage tribes. Though it does not appear, that they have any notions of subordination in government, yet each tribe has its okimah, or orator, who presides in their public meetings every spring and fall, where they adjust their boundaries for hunting, fowling, and fishing, and mark out the space which each family is to occupy during the season. This okimah makes their harangues to the *English*, and nothing but the danger of starving can prevail with the several families to quit the bounds allotted to them. They have some notion of two manitous (as the *Canadians* call them) or spirits, one the author of good, the other of bad; and they express some rude signs of worship or devotion at their feasts and dances.

S E C T. XIII.

Containing the History of the BRITISH and other
ISLANDS in the American West Indies.

C H A P. I.

The History of BARBADOS.

First discovery of
Barbados.

IT is surprising that the *English* in general are so much in the dark as they are with regard to their original possession of this valuable island; nor can it be otherwise accounted for, than by the first colonists being so much immersed in commercial pursuits, that they gave very little attention to matters of mere curiosity. As to the history of the natives of this island there can be none, because, by the best accounts we have, it was entirely uninhabited when the *Portuguese*, who certainly were its original discoverers, first landed upon it. It is probable, however, that it was visited at certain times by the neighbouring *Caribbees*, or savages, in their canoes. Even the origin of the name is uncertain, some attributing it to a tree, the leaves and fruit of which at a distance somewhat resemble a human beard; others with more probability think, that it was called *Barbados* by the *Portuguese*, on account of the barbarous, uncultivated prospect it presented. As the *Portuguese*, long before the *English* took possession of *Barbados*, had used to sail to the *Brazils*, there can be little or no doubt of their being acquainted with this island; and we learn from some good authorities, that they left hogs there to serve them for a stock of fresh provisions, and that when the *English* took possession of the island, those hogs had multiplied extremely. As the *Portuguese* had discovered *Brazil* in 1501, *Barbados* was probably known to them many years before the *English* took possession of it, which undoubtedly must have been before the death of *James* the First, which happened in the year 1625. The author of the Complete System of Geographyⁿ informs us, that where the great fire happened at *Bridge-Town*, in 1666, some papers were saved, which were afterwards printed on the island, and by them it appeared, that an *English* ship, called the *Olive*, homeward-bound from *Guiney*, touched here; and, landing some men, they set up a cross in or about *St. James's*

ⁿ Vol. II. p. 747.

town, now called the *Hole*, and marked on a tree, “*James king of England, and this island:*” that proceeding along shore, they left other marks of such their possession at the *Indian* river. It seems to have been about this time that the earl of *Marlborough*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, obtained his patent of the *Caribbees*: after this *Sir William Courteen*, (S) one of the greatest merchants *England* ever had, about the year 1624, fitted out a ship for the *Brazil* trade. This trade was prohibited to all the nations of *Europe* by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, who made it death for any adventurer to sail westward beyond such a latitude; but about the years 1623 and 1624, the system of power in *Europe* having taken a different turn from what it ever had known before, the *Spanish* court permitted the states-general to trade to the *Brazils*; and it must have been under their sanction that one of *Sir William Courteen’s* ships sailed, as we are told it did, to *Fernambucca*, in *Brazil*. Returning from this, this ship was forced, by stress of weather, upon the coast of *Barbados*. Some of the crew had the curiosity to go a-shore, but found this island over-grown with weeds, and no living creatures, but the *Portuguese* hogs already mentioned, upon it.

BUT though this is the story that generally has been told concerning the first discovery of this valuable island, it is more than probable, that it had never been destitute of *English* inhabitants from 1615 to 1624. Had it been entirely uninhabited, uncultivated, and almost unknown, a man like *Sir William Courteen* would not have risked his property as he did in peopling and improving it; for it is agreed upon by all, that the sailors who then went ashore, upon their return to *England*, made so good a report of the state and fertility of the island, that *Courteen* and his friends, (among whom were people of the highest distinction in *England*) resolved to make a settlement there, but under the earl of *Marlborough’s* patent. Every one who has read the *History of England*, knows with what indiscriminate profusion *James* the 1st and *Charles* the 1st made grants to their favourites of the islands, as well as the continent, of *America*; and though *Courteen* and his friends had been at a considerable expence in fitting out two ships, with all kind of necessaries, for planting and fortifying *Barbados*, his design was no sooner known, than

(S) We apprehend that this gentleman’s son, or one of his descendants, was the same who was originally concerned with *Sir Hans Sloane* in his amazing collection of natural and other curiosities, now repositd in the *British Museum*; where an original picture of *Mr. Courteen* is still shewn.

The History of America.

Hay earl of *Carlisle*, who was a favourite with king *James* and his son, applied for, and obtained, a gift from the crown of all the *Caribbee Islands*, of which *Barbados* was one, upon agreeing to pay 300*l.* a year to the earl of *Marlborough*. By this time, *Courteen's* two ships, one of which was called the *William* and *John*, captain *John Powel* commander, had put thirty men on shore at *Barbados*, near the *Hole Town*, to the leeward part of the island, then called *James Town*, a strong presumption that some *English* were then living there; and began to fortify themselves under one captain *William Dean*, who acted as their governor, and placed the *English* colours on the infant fortification. The earl of *Carlisle* happened to be abroad on an embassy when *Courteen's* ships sailed, and the then earl of *Pembroke*, who was that gentleman's friend, hearing a very promising account of the new undertaking, obtained of *Charles* the 1st a grant of the island, in trust for Sir *William Courteen*. Upon the earl of *Carlisle's* return from his embassy, he was surpris'd to hear of the settlement that had been made upon an island which was within his prior grant, and resolv'd to defeat it; and, indeed, the ignorance and neglect which appeared on the part of the crown on this occasion, strongly indicate the genius of the then government.

granted to
the earl of
Carlisle,
who settles
it.

THE earl of *Carlisle*, to counteract *Courteen's* settlement, made an agreement with *Marmaduke Brandon*, *Robert Wheatley*, *Edmund Forster*, *Henry Wheatley*, *John Farrington*, and others, of *London*, merchants, for 10,000 acres, under a governor of their own chusing. The choice fell upon one *Charles Wolferstone*. When this new colonist arriv'd upon the island, *Courteen's* settlement was in a very promising condition. They had cleared a considerable quantity of lands, which were let at an easy rate; and so great was the fertility of the soil, that *Barbados* bade fair, in a short time, to be the most flourishing of all the *Caribbee Islands*; but two interests so incompatible as that of *Courteen*, or rather the earl of *Pembroke*, and that of the earl of *Carlisle* were, could not long subsist upon the same spot. The *Carlislemen* settled near a place called the *Bridge*, near *Bridge Town*, under the denomination of *Windward-men*, to distinguish themselves from the earl of *Pembroke's* men, who called themselves the *Leeward-men*. Soon after *Wolferstone's* arrival upon the island, he emitted a kind of proclamation, in which he treated the *Pembroke* settlement as being little better than an usurpation. He therefore summon'd them to appear at the *Bridge*, which they did; and governor *Dean*, who, it seems, was a *Bermudian*, not only submitted to the earl of *Carlisle's* authority, but marched

marched with a party of armed men to reduce the settlement at the *Hole*, who still held out for the earl of *Pembroke*; under the command of *Mr. Powel*, son to the shipmaster who had carried them over. This dispute might have terminated in bloodshed, had it not been for the interposition of a clergyman, who reconciled the two parties, and the Leeward-men submitted to the earl of *Carlisle's* authority.

THE planters had now made a great progress in cultivating *Tobacco* the island; an amazing proof of *English* industry, considering the unpromising appearances it bore, when they first landed on it. But though these are represented as very discouraging, yet *Ligon*, who lived upon the place, and near the time, allows, that besides the hogs already mentioned, the planters used to find some vegetable subsistence in the woods, it being common for all nations, especially the *Portuguese*, when they landed upon a desert island which they expected again to visit, to sow some seeds for vegetables. Be this as it will, notwithstanding the grand disputes in *England* between the earls of *Pembroke* and *Carlisle*, concerning the property of the island, and which occasioned its supplies to be slow and precarious, the potatoes, plantains, *Indian* corn, and other fruits, which the *English* planted, came up surprisngly. We are told, that those planters, in different parts of the island, found several pots and pans of clay finely tempered, and so elegantly turned, that they did not seem to be the work of barbarians. They must, however, have belonged to the *Caribbeans* in the neighbouring islands, and made use of by them in their visits to *Barbados*, in dressing the hogs-flesh and vegetables which they found in that island. The planters, after clearing the land so far as that it afforded them a stock for their own subsistence, began to consider how to make it useful in point of commerce, and applied themselves to the cultivation of tobacco, at that time the most profitable commodity of any that was raised in *America*. It is said of *Ligon* and others, that their success in this undertaking was so indifferent, and the tobacco they raised was so poor, that it came to no account in *England*. Their cultivation of sugar, in which the inhabitants of *Barbados* have been since so eminent and successful, is differently accounted for. If we are to believe *Mr. Ligon*, they began to cultivate sugar with the plants which they brought from *Fernambucca*, in *Brazil*, where the making of sugar was perfectly well understood, and that, soon after the *English* began to inhabit *Barbados*. They raised the plants with wonderful facility, and they thrived prodigiously; but they were entirely at a loss as to the manufacturing of the product; so that, for a long time, they

*Original
of its
sugar-
trade.*

put their sugars to no other use than sweetening the cooling drinks which the heat of the climate required. The intercourse which still continued to be kept up between the *Brazils* and *Barbados*, seems to have given rise to the proper manufacture of sugar in that island. This was not a little assisted by the *Hollanders*, (who had been indulged in trading to *Brazil*,) especially after they had quarrelled with the *Portuguese*. They not only furnished the *Barbadians* with the sugar-plants, but some of them settling in the island, put them upon erecting works for manufacturing the commodity. Those works were at first but imperfectly carried on; the *Hollanders* themselves, as well as the *English*, being unskilled in the chief mysteries of the art. Their perseverance, however, in the end, got the better of their difficulties, being convinced that a little insight into the manufacture would make it practicable. They even ventured upon clandestine visits to *Brazil*, and were so successful, that they seldom returned without obtaining new lights as to what they wanted, which consisted in the manner of planting, the time of gathering, the right placing the coppers and furnaces, and the way of covering the rollers with plates or bars of iron; yet, after all, the manufacture in general reached no higher than to produce a moist, ill-cured kind of what is called muscovade sugar, which did not answer for the *English* market.

THOSE imperfections seem not to have been universal; for, according to the best accounts of this infant-settlement, one Mr. *Drax*, and, perhaps, one or two more, had engaged a *Hollander* from the *Brazils*, who carried on, but for his or their private advantage, a more complete manufacture of sugar; but his method remained for seven or eight years a secret to the inhabitants of the island in general, though it enriched the particular planters who had acquired it. It was not till about the year 1650, that the bulk of the planters got into the true secret of making sugars, by suffering the canes to ripen fifteen months instead of twelve, and by boiling and curing them to a white consistence; and after this secret was found out, the value of lands on the island increased to an incredible degree: but we are now to attend the civil history of the island.

AFTER the compromise between *Powel* and *Wolferstone*, captain *Robert Wheatley*, one of the original and chief settlers, succeeded the latter in the government of the island, or rather in the care of the plantations that were upon it. But a strong party of the Leeward-men still continued to hold out for the earl of *Pembroke* and *Courteen*, and even attempted to drive the Windward men from their settlements; but they met

met with so warm a reception, that they were beaten off, and heere rewarded by the earl of *Carlisle* with a grant of having their goods toll-free for seven years. The dispute still continuing, the earl of *Carlisle*'s patent was called for by the king; and a flaw being found in it, which had given occasion for the earl of *Pembroke*'s attempt, the same was rectified by a new patent, which was granted to the earl of *Carlisle* in 1629. The truth is, that though the earl of *Pembroke* was then lord-chamberlain of the king's household, yet his competitor was the better courtier; and the whole of this transaction is of a very dark complexion. The earl of *Carlisle* had obtained his patent upon a suggestion, according to the earl of *Clarendon*, that the island had been first discovered, possessed, and planted, at the charge of the said earl; whereas, from what we have said, it appears, that the first *English* settlers there were Sir *William Courteen* and his company, which was the true reason why the earl of *Pembroke* was so zealous in their interest. But that the reader may have a more comprehensive view of this affair, it may be proper to inform him, that we learn from the earl of *Clarendon*, that the planters who had settled in *Barbados*, (we suppose, under the original patent granted to the earl of *Marlborough*;) hearing of that granted to the earl of *Carlisle*, desired leave to prosecute a suit in his majesty's name, at their own charge, in the court of exchequer, to repeal the grant to the earl of *Carlisle*, and that the king would take the colony under his protection; or else, if his majesty would not consent to the repeal of the charter, that he would refer those who claimed under the earl of *Carlisle*'s patent, to their remedy at law, and leave the planters to their own defence; who insisted, that they alone had been at the charge of settling the plantation. But, as we shall see in the course of this history, this plea, though sufficient to have set aside the equity of the earl of *Carlisle*'s patent, and though it was founded in material justice, was disregarded.

THE first governor sent over by the earl of *Carlisle*, after Sir *William* his patent was amended, was Sir *William Tuston*; but his government proving disagreeable to his lordship, he was superseded in it by captain *Henry Hawley*. *Tuston* resented this, and procured the hands of some planters to a petition, complaining of *Hawley*, as if he had with-held some stores from the colony, which the earl of *Carlisle* had appointed for them. *Hawley* most arbitrarily construed this petition into an act of mutiny, and sentenced Sir *William Tuston* to be shot to death

° System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 748.

He is shot
by his suc-
cessor,
Hawley.

for the same, which was accordingly executed off the bay in 1631. We do not find that *Hawley* was ever tried for this unexampled barbarity, in which he is said to have had the concurrence of the council; but by those counsellors can only be meant a few planters, or merchants, who were devoted to the interest of the proprietary. Upon *Hawley's* being recalled by the earl of *Carlisle*, whose credit with the court of *England* undoubtedly screened him from punishment for Sir *William Tufson's* murder, he left his brother-in-law, *Richard Peers*, Esq; his deputy-governor in 1633. Next year, he returned to his government; and in 1635, he left *Peers* his deputy-governor, as before, and again went over to *England*. Next year he returned to *Barbados*, and acted as governor till 1638, when he again returned to *England*, and left his brother *William Hawley* to be his deputy-governor.

It is probable; by this time, the proprietary began to be sensible of the worth of *Barbados*, and did not think that his returns from it were answerable to its improvements and importance; and very possibly he might attribute this to the practices of the governor among the planters; for we find *Hawley*, in 1639, returning clandestinely from *England* to *Barbados*, and without proper authority, pretending that he was furnished with secret instructions from the king and the proprietary, and endeavouring to resume the government. He was soon followed by Sir *Henry Hunkes*, who, producing a commission to be governor, was opposed by *Hawley*, who was not treated with that barbarity he had inflicted upon *Tufson* for a far less crime; for *Hunkes* contented himself with sending him prisoner to *England*, and seizing his estate. By this time, the face of *Barbados* was entirely changed. Though the woods were thick, and the trees enormously large, and though the progress of the planters in cultivating tobacco was still inconsiderable, yet great quantities of land were cleared; indigo and cotton-wool came up plentifully, as did fustic; all which went well off at the *English* market, and brought back, in return, the goods that were wanted at *Barbados*; such as working-tools, iron, steel, clothes, shirts and drawers, stockings, shoes, and hats. The calamities of *England* served to people *Barbados*, from whence the returns of profit were much more quick than from any of the other *English* colonies in *America*. During the arbitrary exertion of power under *Charles* the First, and before it was checked by his parliament, many gentlemen and traders in *Devonshire*, *Cornwall*, and the other western counties, being under many melancholy apprehensions concerning the fate of their country and the constitution, had retired to *Barbados*; and their

their examples were followed by the inferior orders of people, who flocked thither with incredible ardour; but, so far as we can find, without making any previous agreement with the proprietary, or the governor. The reason of this might be, that when the civil war broke out in *England*, there was, in fact, no regular government in *Barbados*, as the earl of *Carlisle* scarcely thought it worth his while to take any concern in it. Sir *Henry Hunkes* returning to *England* in 1641, was succeeded by captain *Philip Bell* as lieutenant-governor; and in 1645, he was appointed governor in chief. The reader may easily conceive that, at that time, when the regal power was so low, the proprietary's authority had very little influence in that island. This was, perhaps, the main reason of the astonishing progress in riches and population which it made, while *England* was desolated by civil war. The names of the chief planters at this time were, Mr. *Hilliard*, *Holduppe*, *Silvester*, *Walrond*, *Raines*, *Kendall*, *Middleton*, *Standfast*, and *Drax*. When those gentlemen came over, they found the affairs of the island so much neglected by the proprietary, that his name was scarcely ever mentioned among them. Governor *Bell* being thus almost independent, began to think of making proper regulations for the government of an island, now become so populous and important. The leeward part of it was now very well settled, and some of the planters had acquired considerable estates. The historian of the *British* empire in *America* †, has been so minute, as to descend to the particulars of their names, and the situations of their estates, to which we refer the reader; who, perhaps, will be surprised to be informed, that under *Bell*'s government, the island could muster 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse; and *Ligon* says, that the number of white inhabitants upon it were 50,000. The value of the lands encreased in proportion to the population of the country; for after the making of sugar came to be understood, the same land which could have been purchased for 200 l. cost 7000 l. and it has continued to rise in value ever since.

HITHERTO *Barbados* being a proprietary government, no great attention had been paid to the police of the island; but *Bell*, by the advice of a kind of council he had, consisting of ten gentlemen, formed an assembly, which was to represent the inhabitants in nature of a parliament. For this purpose, the island was divided into four circuits, and into eleven parishes, each parish to send two representatives to the assembly. About the same time, churches, though mean,

† Vide *British Empire in America*, Vol. II. p. 19.

were built, and ministers appointed to their cures. The vast encrease of whites upon the island, occasioned a proportionable encrease of blacks; and even these not being sufficient for the labour which the cultivation required, the planters were sometimes wicked enough to force the neighbouring *Caribbees*, a people ever impatient of subjection, to be their slaves. But this cruel practice was far from answering their intentions: those barbarians, having no ideas of labour, either pined themselves to death, or obstinately resisted the most cruel treatment to force them to work; and at last, they became so shy in their own islands and countries, that they were not to be procured; and as to the white servants, they were too expensive to be maintained and paid.

Importation of negroes.

THE colony of *Barbados*, therefore, was obliged, like the *French* and *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, to import from *Africa* vast numbers of negroes to be their slaves. This was, at that time, a dangerous, because a new expedient. Those negroes, in a short time, beheld themselves more numerous upon the island, and therefore they thought themselves more powerful than their masters. Not being, as they were afterwards, and are now, habituated to the intercourse of *Europeans*, they soon entered into conspiracies; and their discontents were increased by the severe, if not cruel, treatment of their masters. Their general spirit of discontent went so far, that they even fixed upon a day for an universal rising, in which they were to massacre all the whites, and then to make themselves masters of the island. This design was carried on with such impenetrable secrecy, that it is hard to say what the consequences might have been, had not, the very day before the massacre was to have taken effect, one of the conspirators discovered the design to his master, who was called *Hotherfall*, and by sending timely advertisements to all his friends, and the other planters, prevented the conspiracy from being executed. Numbers of the conspirators were secured; but so resolute did the ringleaders appear, and so determined, had they been suffered to live to execute what they had projected, that their masters were obliged, though otherwise against their own interest, to put many of them to death.

Their conspiracies.

THIS happened about the time when *Charles I.* was murdered, and his friends sequestered or exiled; and for some time the complexion of the colony, in matters of principle, had been altered. Some of the puritans, for so the anti-courtier party, or dissenters, were called, finding, that the king's interest in *England* was ruined, and that they had little to expect under a proprietary interest established by his authority, had most of them returned to *England*, and their places

were

were occupied by royalists, or, as they were termed cavaliers, who found more encouragement at *Barbados*, and, at this time, formed the bulk of the planters upon the island; tho' great numbers of the anti-royalists still continued there, and affected the name of parliamentarians. It is probable, that the multiplicity of business of the *English* government after the murder of *Charles I.* did not suffer it to give much attention to the affairs of *Barbados*; and Mr. *Bell* still continuing to act under the proprietary commission, lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* not only obtained from *Charles II.* in his exile, a commission to be governor of *Barbados*, but covenanted with the earl of *Carlisle* for twenty-one years, upon a certain consideration, in the nature of a fee-farm rent, to be the proprietary governor likewise. Those two commissions can hardly be reconciled, without supposing lord *Willoughby* to act in a military capacity under that of *Charles*, and in a civil one under that of the proprietary. Lord *Willoughby* was a brave active officer; in his principles he had been a presbyterian, but detesting the king's murder, he had declared himself for the royal family, and followed *Charles* into *Holland*, where he received his commission, which extended not only to *Barbados*, but to all the *Leeward Islands*. To so low a pass were the affairs of *Charles* now reduced, that it was thought, if by the lord *Willoughby's* means those islands could be secured to the royal interest, and if *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and the other colonies on the continent of *America*, who had not yet owned the power of the parliament, should hold out, his majesty would have gone thither in person.

UPON lord *Willoughby's* arrival on the island, he found it Lord Wil-rich, flourishing, and populous, and most of the principal loughby, planters extremely well-affected to the royal cause; so that governor. they embraced it with incredible ardor. One of the first steps of his administration was to summon an assembly, which passed an act, entitled, "An acknowledgement and declaration of the inhabitants of the island of *Barbados*, of his majesty's right to the dominion of this island; and the right of the right honourable the earl of *Carlisle*, derived from his said majesty; and by the earl of *Carlisle*, to the right honourable the lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*; and also for the unanimous profession of the true religion in this island; and imposing condign punishment upon the opposers thereof." Before this time, the inhabitants of the island had entered into a compromise, that however divided they might be in their civil principles, they would live in good correspondence with each other, and little or nothing of party-heat had been known among them. The arrival of lord *Willoughby* necessarily put

put an end to this tranquillity; for he ordered king *Charles* to be proclaimed all over the island. This obliged one colonel *Allen*, a considerable planter, and some others, who were apprehensive of the parliament's resentment, and knew how insignificant such an opposition must be against the power of the commonwealth of *England*, to remove from the island to *England*, where they instructed the government as to the state of affairs in *Barbados*. In the mean while, lord *Willoughby*, at the head of the loyal *Barbadians*, acted with great spirit and success in raising men, fitting out ships, and reducing all the islands under his government to acknowledge the royal authority.

THOSE proceedings founded very high in *Europe*, where prince *Rupert* commanded a very considerable squadron of the *English* fleet, and intended actually to sail for *Barbados*, and to secure all the *English* American possessions for the king. Had this design been put into execution, it might have shaken the foundations of the *English* commonwealth; but the great men who composed it knew well how to crush it. They had, in less than three years, raised a marine which was the terror of *Europe*; and it was not among the least of the causes which made them declare war against the *Dutch*, that the latter openly carried on an illicit trade with *Barbados*, and that they encouraged and supported those islanders in their rebellion against the republic. Colonel *Allen*, and the other *Barbadians* who were then in *England*, having laid before the government the state of their affairs in the *West-Indies*, Sir *George Ayscue* was immediately commissioned to the command of a strong squadron, and a considerable body of land-forces, for the reduction of that island, and all the other *English* *Caribbees*, which, by this time, the lord *Willoughby* had forced to acknowledge the royal cause. As the isles of *Scilly*, at that time under *Godolphin*, *Carteret*, and others, held out for the king; Sir *George*, before he sailed from *Barbados*, had orders to attack two of those islands, which he did with great courage; and one captain *Morris*, who was to serve under him in the expedition to *Barbados*, at the head of two hundred of the land-forces, reduced them both. Upon this, Sir *George*, who had orders to keep his expedition to *Barbados* a secret, returned to *Falmouth*, where he found a large number of *Barbados* merchants *Dutch*, as well as *English*, waiting to embark on board his fleet (T).

Sir
George
Ayscue
sent with a
fleet a-
gainst
Barbados.

(T) See *Mercurius Politicus* for 1651. page 789, where the reader will find a letter from Sir *George Ayscue* giving an account of this expedition.

IN the mean while ^p, the commonwealth of *England* had issued very rigorous prohibitions against the *Dutch* trading to *Barbados*, or any of the *Leeward Islands*, which were highly resented by the merchants of *Holland*, who appear to have traded there in the same manner as if the island had belonged to themselves. They, therefore, made most grievous complaints to the states-general at the *Hague*, of their being ruined by this prohibition, and prayed them to interpose their authority with the *English* ambassadors, then in *Holland*, that the trade might be free as formerly. But the ambassadors being then upon their departure, nothing was done in the matter; though we learn from one of Sir *George Ayscue's* letters, that some *Dutch* merchants had a particular indulgence for that purpose granted them. Some demur happening about Sir *George's* sailing, he wrote from on board the *Rainbow*, pressing for dispatch, and he sailed about the middle of *May*; but had a secret instruction to look out for prince *Rupert* and his squadron, and, if possible, to fight him. It was the 16th of *October*, 1651, when he appeared in *Carlisle-Bay*, and he sent in the *Amity* frigate, captain *Peck*, commander, to seize fourteen sail of *Dutch* ships; which he accordingly did, and made their captains and crews prisoners, as he did those of three other ships trading to other islands. But the service proved of more difficulty than had been imagined. Lord *Willoughby* and his friends were staunch to the royal cause. They manned the forts which defended *Carlisle-Bay*, and made such an appearance by land on the shore, that though Sir *George* had on board his squadron above 2000 land troops, he could not effect his landing. According to some accounts that have come to our hands, he was defeated in several attempts to make it good, and even obliged to conclude a treaty with the *Barbadians*, who, though they could not be prevailed upon to acknowledge the authority of the commonwealth, offered, that colonel *Allen*, and the rest of the planters who had taken part with the parliament, should re-enter into peaceable possession of their estates and plantations. This proposal was embraced by several of those merchants, but not by *Allen*, who continued on board the fleet, and had been pitched upon by Sir *George* as being the most proper person to conduct the landing, as soon as a favourable opportunity presented. All this while, *Ayscue's* squadron was beating about the island, and in *December* anchored in *Speight's-Bay*. Though Sir *George* was so much of a man of honour that he would not neglect, far less betray, the service he was employed on,

^p Ibid, p. 760.

yet it is certain, that he was no enthusiast in the cause of his masters; but an accident happened, by which he acquitted himself of this expedition with credit. Perceiving that his force was too small actually to reduce this island, he waited till the arrival of the *Virginia* merchant-fleet, on board of which was a regiment of 700 men, and about 150 *Scotch* transports, who had been made prisoners at the battle of *Worcester*; and resolving to avail himself of this force, he immediately made dispositions for landing all his men, who now amounted to about 3000. The landing was effected under the command of colonel *Allen*, who was killed before he got on shore, with above sixty of his men; while the *Barbadians* were driven to a fort, which was taken with four pieces of cannon; but this was far from completing the reduction of the island.

Barbados
submits to
the com-
monwealth
of Eng-
land.

LORD *Willoughby* and the common people still kept the field; and though there was no probability of their being of effectual service to the cause they espoused, yet *Ayscue* could make no impression upon them. On the other hand, the principal royalists, who were men of large estates, coincided with *Ayscue's* moderate plan; and colonel *Modiford*, who was one of their chiefs, entered into a correspondence with *Ayscue*, whose men made frequent sallies from the fort they had taken, to the ruin of the neighbouring plantations. The negotiation was so well managed, that *Modiford* engaged himself and his friends to join with *Ayscue*, in case lord *Willoughby* should prove so intractable as to reject all terms of accommodation, to bring him to reason. By this time, *Ayscue* had put on shore 2000 foot and 100 horse; and lord *Willoughby* being apprized of the sentiments of his friends, was obliged to agree to a cessation of arms, and to name commissioners for treating of a capitulation for the whole island. Those for his lordship were Sir *Richard Peers*, *Charles Pym*, Esq; colonel *Ellice*, and major *Byham*; and those for Sir *George*, captain *Peck*, Mr. *Searl*, colonel *Thomas Modiford*, and *James Colliton*, Esq. On the 17th of *January* was the first meeting, and every thing passed in the most amicable manner. Both parties were secured in their freedom and estates, as was even lord *Willoughby* himself, though obnoxious in the last degree to the governing party in *England*; and had he been made prisoner, could have expected no mercy. This moderate conduct was of infinite service to the island; nor was the pacification followed by any acrimonious measures against the loyalists. So far from that, it has been made matter of doubt, though we think without the least degree of probability,

bility, whether the inhabitants were obliged to take the oaths to the commonwealth.

It is uncertain, nor, indeed, is it very important to know, what became of lord *Willoughby* after this pacification. Some say that he visited the rest of the islands of his government, and confirmed them in their attachment to the king; but it appears, that he was in *England* about the time of the restoration. Some have said⁹, that one of the articles of the late pacification was, that the chief royalists, as well as lord *Willoughby*, should quit the island for a year, till its government could be put upon a proper footing. This may be true, but probably none were obliged to comply with the terms, but those whose consciences did not allow them to act under the authority of the commonwealth. Upon lord *Willoughby's* leaving the island, Mr. *Searl* was appointed its governor, and he called an assembly, in which the following acts passed: "an act for weights, numbers and measures, according to the weights, numbers and measures, used in the commonwealth of *England*; an act to prevent frequenting of taverns and alehouses by seamen; an act for the keeping clear the wharfs, or landing-places, at the *Indian-Bridge*, and on *Speight's-Bay*, alias *Little Bristol*; an act, that the bringing writs of errors, and other equitable matters, before the governor and council, to be by them determined, be, and do continue in force, according to the ancient customs of this island; an act for prohibiting all persons to encroach upon their neighbours line; an act for the certain and constant appointment of all officers fees within this island."

UPON *Cromwell's* death, and the subsequent change of affairs in *England*, when the committee of safety (as it was ^{governor.} called) took upon themselves the direction of national affairs, Mr. *Modiford* was appointed governor of *Barbados*. Though he was a perfect royalist, yet his moderation, and the credit he obtained in the island, recommended him to the ruling powers. About this time, the navigation-act took place in *England*, and it required that the product of all the colonies should be shipped for the mother-country. Though this was a very noble and a beneficial provision for *England*, yet it altered the whole system of the *Barbadian* commerce. That island had been governed under the authority of a proprietary, whose circumstances were so indifferent, that he could not make the necessary dispositions for its improvement, so as to render it of any emolument either to himself or to *England*. The planters, therefore, had no rule to steer by, but private

⁹ Complete System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 748.

Wise re-
gulations.

interest ; so that all the nations in *Europe*, but the *Dutch* especially, reaped the benefit of the *Barbados* trade. As that people were then, as they have been since, the great carriers of *Europe*, they supplied the *Barbadians* at an easy rate with all the *European* luxuries for their sugar and other products, which were always sure of finding a ready market all over the world. The soil being new, after it was cleared, was incredibly fertile ; and the facility of obtaining lands and plantations upon the island, had encreased its population to the amazing numbers we have mentioned, in little more than the space of twenty years : but those vast improvements had been of very little service to the mother-country ; and it must be acknowledged, it was during her republican state that *England* first received the true principles of commerce, for making her colonies beneficial to herself. The *Dutch* had been indeed greatly instrumental in raising *Barbados* to what it was, and had not only furnished it with the means of making sugar, but with utensils of all kinds, and with negroes from *Africa* ; a trade which was at that time little known to the *English* : but they found their own interest in all this ; and upon the restoration of peace between the two commonwealths, measures were taken for putting an end to their gainful trade with *Barbados*. The *Barbadians*, notwithstanding the prohibition of the *English* government, had, during the war, still carried on a trade with the *Dutch*, which was connived at by the governor, Mr. *Searl*, who durst not venture to use any rigorous measures for suppressing it ; and when the act of navigation passed, the *Barbadians* complained of it, as the greatest hardship that could be imposed upon them ; and if we are to believe their writers, both their trade and population has ever since been upon the decline.

THE wise regulations introduced into commerce by the navigation-act, were so self-evident, that they were retained by the government of *England* after the restoration : but it was impossible that they could be carried on to any purpose under a languishing proprietary government. At this time, however, the population of *Barbados* began to decrease by the conquest of *Jamaica*, and the settlements of other islands. The numbers of whites in *Barbados* had been so great, that in the expedition under *Penn* and *Venables* against *Hispaniola*, in *Cromwell's* time, the *Barbadians* alone furnished 3500 soldiers towards it, and that without any sensible inconveniency. They were encouraged in this by the vast prospect they had of plunder, little foreseeing that the casual conquest of *Jamaica* would prove so prejudicial to them as it afterwards did. But a very favourable juncture now presented itself. The family

family of *Carlisle* was extinct, and *Hay* earl of *Kinnboul*, a Scotch nobleman, was its heir, and the king proposed to give him 1000 *l.* a year upon his surrendering to the crown the earl of *Carlisle's* patent, which the earl of *Kinnboul* agreed to. This, however, was not done without great opposition on the part of the planters. The value of *Barbados* came now to be well understood; and therefore the right of the planters' possessions being more narrowly examined into; it was found or pretended, that very few of them had any right to the estates they held. If we suppose, that their rights were to arise from proprietary grants, this very possibly was true; for the king disclaimed all that had been done under *Cromwell* and the republic. In the mean while, lord *Willoughby* had seven or eight years of his covenant with the earl of *Carlisle* still unexpired, and he had before behaved so well in the government of *Barbados*, that it was confirmed to him by the king, with a new commission of captain-general and governor in chief of this and the rest of the *Caribbee Islands*, for seven years, to commence from the time of his majesty's purchase, and a salary of 1200 *l.* a year.

THE proprietary government being thus dissolved, and the island reverting to the crown, a new clause, that had never been in any former commission, was added to this of lord *Willoughby*, renewing to the king a power to approve or disallow of all laws that should be made in the island: It must be acknowledged, that in all this proceeding, the king had upon his side the letter of the law; but as the planters had improved the island upon the good faith of the government under which they had lived, and had received neither profit nor protection from *Carlisle's* patent, it would have been barbarous and unjust to have treated them with rigour; not to mention the ingratitude of oppressing men, who had suffered, as many of the *Barbadians* had done, so much for the royal cause. My lord *Clarendon* was then lord high chancellor of *England*, and fell in with the moderate and equitable cause, which was that of the planters, by making them secure and easy in their possessions. This was a work of some difficulty: It was pretended, that the earl of *Carlisle* had died 50,000 *l.* in debt, which must be satisfied out of his patent; and besides the 1000 *l.* a year granted to *Kinnboul*, the heirs of the earl of *Marlborough* had a perpetual annuity of 300 *l.* a year upon the same patent. The planters, not to be wanting to themselves, had sent over agents, to take care of their interests: They were given to understand, that the king was resolved to take the government of the island into his own hands; but that he expected the assembly would give him a proper con-

sideration for the benefits they were to enjoy under a royal government. Upon some hesitation on the part of the agents, who said, they could do nothing without knowing the terms proposed, and without the authority of the assembly, they were given to understand, that it was expected the latter would grant to the crown four and a half pounds for every five score pounds of the dead commodities of the produce of the island. The agents urged, that this would amount to a tax of ten per cent. on the clear profits of the planters estates, and would produce, upon the whole, at least 10,000 *l.* a year. Mr. *Kendall*, one of the agents, was for accepting this proposition; but the other remonstrated against it, as being a tax which the island could not bear. But the measure had been resolved upon, and his majesty, as well as the hungry dependents upon his court, were so greatly interested in its success, that the lord *Willoughby*, in 1663, agreed to carry it into execution, by going over in person to *Barbados*, which he afterwards did. Though he had for some time received his patent, yet he left the administration of affairs to the president and his council, who happened to be *Humphry Walrond*, an old royalist, and himself a considerable planter. This gentleman seems to have discharged his duty with great integrity and prudence, and many excellent acts took place during his administration. Provisions were made for regulating the courts of justice, for settling commercial disputes, for ordering the rates between masters and servants, for the keeping highways in good repair, and other matters of great benefit to the island. But nothing was more commendable under this gentleman's administration, than the great care that was taken in regulating the militia, and in setting a regulation of horse.

Opposition
to lord
Willough-
by;

LORD *Willoughby*, upon his arrival, found the planters in general extremely out of humour with the tax that had been proposed. The royalists thought it was an ungrateful return for their sufferings, and the others opposed it through principle. At the head of this opposition was one colonel *Farmer*, a man of a resolute disposition, who gave his lordship great disquiet. The assembly was called in the *December* after his lordship's arrival, which was in *August*. He found every thing in very flourishing circumstances; for though the population of *Barbados* had been somewhat diminished, as we have already observed, by the removal of *Modiford*, and some other families, to *Jamaica*, yet the remaining planters were the richer; and though the spirit run very high against the proposed tax, yet the consideration of the precariousness of their tenures prevailed with the members of the assembly to pass it, which they

they did in an act, with the following specious preamble ; “ As nothing conduceth more to the peace and prosperity of any place, and the protection of every single person therein, than that the publick revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the publick charges and expences ; and also well weighing the great charges that there must be of necessity in the maintaining the honour and dignity of his majesty’s authority here, the publick meeting of the sessions, the often attendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, the building a sessions-house, and a prison, and all other publick charges incumbent on the government: we do, in consideration thereof, give and grant unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, for ever ; that is to say, upon all dead commodities, of the growth of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, four and a half in specie for every five-score.”

THIS act did not pass without so strenuous an opposition, *quo sendis* that the lord *Willoughby*, being apprehensive of a general re- *colonel* volt, ordered colonel *Farmer* to be arrested, and sent over pri- *Farmer* soner to *England*, with a charge against him of mutiny, sedi- *prisoner to* tion, and treason ; and that his behaviour and practices had *England.* prevailed upon a disaffected party in the island so far, that it would be highly improper to suffer him to return to the island before the inhabitants were brought to a better temper. This was an infamous proceeding on the part of the governor, but agreeable to, what was called then, the spirit of loyalty, which suspended all regard for the constitution ; nor could the wisdom and honest intentions of the great earl of *Clarendon* himself guard him from the infection. When *Farmer* arrived in *England*, he was carried before the king and council, where he pleaded with a freedom, which the temper of that court could not bear, and which the lord *Clarendon* himself pronounced to be insolent and presumptuous, and to deserve imprisonment. *Farmer*, on the other hand, urged his rights of an *Englishman* under *Magna Charta*, and that he had done nothing but in a loyal constitutional manner, and agreeable to the birthrights of a free subject. His plea became his demerit, and he was sent to prison chiefly through the influence of lord *Carendon*, against whom his conduct in this affair afterwards constituted an article of his impeachment. His lordship, at the same time, thought that *Farmer* ought to be sent back to *Barbados*, there to be proceeded against for the crimes laid to his charge ; because, said his lordship, if he was discharged in pursuance of *Magna Charta*, the governor could not preserve his majesty’s right. This must be acknowledged to be a very extraordinary argument, and could be called

no other than a reason of state, or rather, of tyranny: *Farmer* was the sacrifice; nor did he recover his liberty till after a long tedious imprisonment.

IN 1664, during the war between *Holland* and *England*, *de Ruyter*, the famous *Dutch* admiral, appeared off *Barbados*, seemingly with an intention to make a descent upon it; but the *Barbadians*, drawing out their militia, made so good an appearance, that *de Ruyter*, after firing a few shot, sheered off. After this, till the death of the governor, *Francis* lord *Willoughby*, which happened in 1656, nothing memorable occurs in the history of *Barbados*, where the royal interest, after the imprisonment of *Farmer*, gained an entire ascendancy. In justice to his lordship, it must be acknowledged, that this proceeding was the only one in his administration, that could be called unwarrantable, and that all the rest of his conduct was equitable and wise, both in *Barbados*, and in the other islands of his government. He had carried over thither with him some part of his family, and intending, under the pretext of visiting the other islands of his government, to undertake an expedition against the *Dutch*, he nominated *Henry Willoughby*, *Henry Hawley*, and *Samuel Berwick*, Esqrs. to be governors in his absence. His lordship then departed from *Barbados*, but perished at sea by shipwreck, upon his expedition.

Death of
lord Wil-
loughby.

The Barba-
dos laws
collected.

THE new governors, during their administration, undertook a very useful design; and that was to ascertain the laws of the island, which having passed under various constitutions, and repugnant governments, stood greatly in need of a proper arrangement and publication; not to mention that, through the calamities of fires, hurricanes, and other accidents, great part of the original records of the island had been destroyed. An act accordingly passed, which appointed *Philip Bell*, *Constant Sitvester*, *Robert Hooper*, *Simon Lambert*, and *Richard Evans*, Esqrs. and *Mr. Edward Bowden*, secretary of the island, commissioners to collect what laws should be in force there, which they accordingly did to the best of their information and knowledge. Among other things, they wisely confirmed all the acts that had passed under *Searle's* and *Walrond's* governments, and made their return, in a fair transcript, of the whole, consisting of fifty-eight laws; which were not only confirmed by the assembly, but duly published through all the parishes of the island, and honoured with the royal confirmation and approbation of their being the standing laws of *Barbados*, which they continue to be at this day. But still the duty of four and a half per cent. continued to be of so hard a digestion, that those commissioners expressed

pressed themselves not a little doubtful as to the legality of the assembly which imposed it, and whether the former taxations under the proprietary government were not all that this island ought to pay,

THE certainty of *Francis* lord *Willoughby's* death being *He is suc-* known in *England*, the king appointed his brother *William* ceded by lord *Willoughby*, to succeed him in the government of *Bar-* his brother *bados*. This *William* lord *Willoughby* came to *Barbados* soon after his brother's death; but another *William Willoughby* being upon the island, and sometimes acting as deputy-governor, has occasioned some confusion in this part of the history, though of no great consequence. The government of *England* seems even at this time, to have been not a little distrustful of the safety, and perhaps, the allegiance of the *Barbadians*; for, at the time of this lord *Willoughby's* arrival upon the island, a regiment of soldiers, likewise, landed there under the command of *Sir Tobias Bridge*. The assembly was very assiduous in providing accommodations for those soldiers, and passed several acts for that purpose; besides making other regulations in regard to the law-courts of the island, and its internal police. Some of those acts are remarkable, and serve to point out the disorders that then chiefly prevailed in the island. One was for preventing forcible and clandestine entries into lands; another, for reducing the yearly interest of money to ten pound for an hundred; and another, declaring the negroe slaves of the island to be real estate. About the same time, the assembly applied themselves towards the repairing the damage that had been done by a conflagration at *Bridge-Town*, by ordering a stop to be put to the running up wooden houses, and that the chief materials for building should be of stone, and so contrived, as to make a better resistance against future fires.

By this time, the date of lord *Willoughby's* commission, under the earl of *Carlisle's* patent and the king's authority, was on the point of expiring; and, after spending some months in visiting the other islands, of his government, he embarked for *England*, leaving as his deputy colonel *Christopher Codrington*, in *November* 1668. Upon the expiration of his lordship's patent, no new powers arriving, we are told that the council and assembly then in being met, and voted themselves to be governor, council, and assembly, until his majesty's pleasure should be known; and we are to suppose, that *Codrington*, in this interval, acted under their authority. Lord *Willoughby*, after an absence of six months, returned, but with a commission to be governor of *Barbados* only; his majesty thinking proper to divide the former government, by

Atkins,
governor.

giving another governor to the other islands. Soon after, his lordship again took leave of *Barbados*, and left colonel *Codrington* once more his deputy-governor, who acted as such in 1672; but was succeeded next year by Sir *Peter Colleton*. Lord *Willoughby* afterwards returned to *Barbados*, but died in 1674; and his place, as governor of *Barbados*, was filled up by Sir *Jonathan Atkins*: here ended the government of the two lords *Willoughby*. Notwithstanding the outcries against the tax of the four and a half in the hundred weight, and the unjustifiable proceedings against *Farmer*, it must be acknowledged, that the administration of those two lords was prudent, mild, and equitable, and well calculated for the prosperity of the island. After the Restoration, the humour of preferring *Jamaica* to our other islands, which, during the usurpation, had been very strong, subsided; and *Barbados* recovered its reputation so greatly under its two noble governors, that, upon the arrival of Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, the whites were computed to be 50,000, of whom 12,000 were able-bodied men, 80,000 negroes, and 20,000 mulattoes and mestize slaves; a number of inhabitants scarcely credible upon so small an island; especially when we consider the prodigious losses the planters had sustained by fires and hurricanes, which besides killing great numbers of people, and blowing down three hundred houses, had so effectually destroyed their plantations and works, that they could make no sugar for two years. The corn was destroyed, and eight ships cast away in the harbour. In short, the face of the whole island presented but one continued wreck. To heighten the misfortunes of the *Barbadians*, *New-England* about the same time was in no condition to send them the usual supplies of provisions.

Hurricane
at Barba-
dos.

ONE of the first acts of Sir *Jonathan Atkins's* government, was to take some effectual measures against the consequences of this public calamity. *Barbados* was now thought to be in danger of depopulation, not so much from the hurricanes, as from the rapaciousness of creditors, should they press their debtors so, as to oblige them to leave the island. Sir *Jonathan* immediately called together the assembly, and laid before them the danger they were in from their negroes, should any of the whites abandon the island; but we know of no act that passed to obviate this danger, which, perhaps, was only imaginary. The distress of the island, nevertheless, called for some relief; for the officers of the custom-house refused to allow the four and a half duty that had been paid for goods lost in the late storm, to be deducted from a second entry of the like goods. The assembly, therefore, passed an

an act for allowance of a second free entry for the dead production of this island, lost or taken, relating to the four and a half per cent. At the same time, the assembly agreed upon an address, to be transmitted to the government of *England*, praying, that the duty of four and a half per cent. should be taken off, as the only means of saving the planters from ruin; but this was an indulgence that could not be granted them, and the petition came to nothing. It was in vain for the *Barbadians* to remonstrate upon their hardships, and that none of the public-spirited purposes for which that great tax had been granted, ever had been answered. The necessities of the king's government, and of raising money to support his pleasures, were replies to all their complaints.

BUT the court of *England*, at that time, began to adopt *Which is* a new system with regard to the island of *Barbados*, and the *oppressed* other *Caribbees*. The duke of *York*, brother to king *Charles*, understood trade, and had been at some pains to put himself at the head of one branch of it, by projecting the Royal *by the royal African* *African Company*. Till that was established, the *Barbadians* had imported their own negroes without any exorbitant expences attending them; but this company obtaining an exclusive charter for the trade to *Africa*, laid the *Barbadians* under what contributions they pleased to raise, and the merchants of *London* trading to *Barbados*, or any of the *English* islands in the *West-Indies*, were sharers in the same hardships. Other causes gave uneasiness to the substantial planters at the same time. The petty traders upon this island used by various arts to engross provisions before they came to market, and this occasioned an act to prevent the inconveniences upon the inhabitants of this island, by forestallers, ingrossers, and regrators. Another infamous practice prevailed at this time, not only in the *English*, but in the *French* and *Spanish* *West-Indian* islands, which was that of kidnapping the *Indian* natives from the continent, and, as often as they could find occasion, from the islands likewise. Though this practice was not perhaps, in itself, more barbarous than that of buying negroes, yet it was attended with worse consequences, because it deprived the *English* of all trade with the natives, who not only became shy in their communications, but lost no opportunities of being severely revenged. It was then doubtful under what species of felony this practice came; and one colonel *Warner*, who was charged with it, was seized in *England*, and sent over in the *Phoenix* man of war to be tried at *Barbados*: but he was acquitted, either for want of a law to punish him, or because he had a powerful interest in the *West-Indies*.

by seizing
the ships of
the island.

THE island began now to recover from the vast losses it had sustained by the late hurricanes. The planters had been thrown into such consternation, that they had lived for many months in huts upon the open fields, without daring to venture their persons in houses, or to be at the expence of them. But falling now into a more substantial manner of building, they began not only to build houses, but to repair their fortifications and breast-works, and to raise new ones for the security of the island. But all their precautions could not ward off the blows they received from the duke of York's interest. The governor had orders to seize all interlopers, for so the *Barbados* ships importing negroes from *Africa* were called: those orders were put very severely into execution, and ruined a vast number of families; so that every day produced fresh bankruptcies upon the island. As to the political and religious principles of the *Barbadians*, they were pretty much according to the complexion of those which reigned in *England*; and it was, perhaps, of no service to their commercial interests, that when the popish plot broke out there, their assembly passed an act for enforcing an *English* act against popish recusants. Prior to this, it appears, that the quakers had not been a little active in converting the negroes. Their principles of non-resistance were far from being agreeable to a colony which, like that of *Barbados*, was every hour exposed to invasion; and therefore an act passed to prohibit negroes from frequenting quakers-meetings; and the same act contained a clause against dissenters teaching schools upon the island. This last was a precaution perhaps not quite impolitical among planters, where labour was of more utility than learning.

In 1678, the *Constant Warwick* man of war, captain *De-laval* commander, which was stationed at *Barbados*, took the *Barbadian* merchant-fleet as far under convoy as in 20 deg. of latitude; and that captain, upon his return to *Barbados*, was extremely active in seizing interlopers, which he did to a very considerable amount, and to the great oppression of the *Barbadians*. The hardships suffered, as represented by them, were inconceivable. If they met with any of those ships upon the coast of *Africa*, they were treated as being little better than open enemies; and at home, they never missed being condemned in the courts of admiralty, without having the benefit of being tried by a jury. Those proceedings were the more shameful, as the forfeitures always extended to ships and goods, and were given to the king; the governor being, at the same time, the judge and the informer. At last, those oppressive practices became so crying, that Sir *Jonathan Atkins*

kins desired to be recalled from his government, which he was in 1680; and Sir Richard Dutton was appointed to succeed him. This new governor is represented as having been a thorough tool of the court, and sent over to reconcile the Barbadians and the other inhabitants of the *Leeward-Islands* to popery and arbitrary power. After touching at the *Madeiras*, he arrived in *April* at *Barbados*, where he was received by the assembly and people with great expressions of loyalty. He was the first who procured a clause to be inserted in the militia-act for the men to wear red coats, which was complained of as an unnecessary expence to the inhabitants, who appear, nevertheless, to have been very tame under his government. The doctrine of abhorring addresses for redress of grievances, prevailing, at that time, greatly at the court of *England*, Sir Richard, to give a proof to the government of his services, brought the assembly of *Barbados* to agree to one of those abhorring addresses, which he transmitted to *England*, where it was received by his majesty with particular marks of satisfaction. We have little historical matter to relate farther of this governor, excepting that the severity of his proceedings is said to have driven a great number of people from *Barbados*, who left the island burdened with their wives and children. This made it necessary for the assembly to pass an act for the better regulating the manner of giving tickets out of the secretary's office, in order to prevent such emigrations. In 1683, the grand jury of *Barbados* overflowed so much in zeal for his majesty, that they voted a most loyal address to be presented to him by their governor, who was then about to take his departure from *Barbados*. In this address his majesty is complimented upon their governor's having stifled and discountenanced faction and fanaticism in their very embryo. They then inform the king, that "their minds had been infinitely ruffled and disturbed at the notices they had of the many attempts and offers that had been lately made in their native country of *England*, and by the rebellious heat of some spirits, hatched in hell, to shake his majesty's throne." They conclude with declaring themselves to be hearty lovers and admirers of his dearest brother.

It is not certain whether Sir Richard had, at this time, any other business in *England* but that of presenting this notable address to his majesty; who, possibly, wanted to be informed by himself concerning the condition of his government; but Sir Richard returned, after a few months absence, to *Barbados*. It is well known that the regal, or as some call it, the popish faction, gave law in *England* during the last four years of *Charles's* reign, and that the common people were

Sir Richard Dutton, governor,

He goes to England.

ab-

forbed in a kind of whirl of loyalty. Upon Sir *Richard's* return to *Barbados*, he held an assembly, in which he passed several new provincial acts; and colonel *Richard Salter* was by law appointed treasurer for the island. Soon after this, *Monmouth's* rebellion broke out in the west of *England*; and great numbers of unfortunate wretches, who were engaged in it, were transported to *Barbados*, where their condition is said to have been rendered almost as miserable as that of the negroes, by a bill which that zealous assembly passed, entitled, An act for the governing and retaining within this island all such rebel convicts as, by his majesty's most sacred order, or permit, have been, or shall be, transported from his *European* dominions to this place.

*New taxes
on the Bar-
badians:*

Colonel *Walrond*, who had been left deputy-governor by Sir *Richard* about this time, fell under his displeasure, and was sent to *England*, to answer a petty charge against him, on account of a trial before a court of *Oyer and Terminer*, in which *Walrond* presided; and he was there prosecuted to the ruin of himself and his family, though he was so much in favour with the assembly, that they not only gave him an ample testimony of his behaviour in that court, but made him a present of 500 *l.* for the service he had done the island. The ceremonies which the governor, to demonstrate his loyalty, ordered to be observed when king *James the Second* was proclaimed, were so magnificent, as to exceed any exhibition of the same kind that has since appeared in *Barbados*. All those demonstrations of loyalty were ineffectual for delivering them from the storm that was now hovering over them. They were given to understand, that they must submit to a new tax of two shillings and fourpence upon every hundred weight of muscovado sugar, and seven shillings upon sugars fit for use. The *Barbadians* represented, that if the whole tax must be laid upon trade, it might be laid upon all commodities alike: they said, that a small advance upon all the customs might serve every purpose, as well as a great one upon some; and that this might be borne with some ease, there being so many shoulders to bear it. All their remonstrances availed nothing; the king was in earnest that the tax should take place: but some of his privy-councillors assured the parliament, in his name, that if it should prove too burdensome to the plantations, it should be taken off. After the act imposing this heavy tax passed, the planters claimed the king's promise by petitioning against it, and endeavouring to shew that it was more heavy than the plantations could bear. The answer returned to them was well suited to the despotic spirit of this reign. "That it was very indecent,

not to say undutiful, to tax the king with his promise." This tax was laid on in time of peace, without any apparent necessity, and continued from the firm persuasion which the government entertained as to the ability of the island to discharge it. *Dutton* encouraged every motion towards loading the planters, and was so zealous a friend to the Royal African Company, that he left Mr. *Edwyn*, (afterwards Sir *Edwyn*) *Stede*, his deputy-governor when he went to *England*; tho' *Stede* was known to be an agent of the African company, and had been in no higher station than deputy-secretary to *Dutton*. Soon after, king *James* sent him a commission to be lieutenant-governor of the island; and in the year 1687, he had the honour to receive the duke of *Albemarle* with great pomp and magnificence, when he put into *Barbados* in his voyage to *Jamaica*, of which he was appointed governor.

It was at this time that a fresh plot was formed among the negroes for murdering all the white men upon the island, or rendering them slaves, and to possess themselves of the women. This conspiracy was discovered when it was upon the point of breaking out; and about twenty of the ring-leaders were put to death. Soon after, some gentlemen of the island formed a project of a factory for monopolizing in reality all the sugars and other commodities of the island; but it was of so arbitrary and oppressive a nature, that it was discouraged even by the lord-chancellor *Jefferies*. By this time, the government of *Barbados* began to make a great figure in the state of *England*; for the planters found their account so much in having the governor for their friend, that from time to time they presented him with a thousand pounds; and it was said, that the place brought in about 4000*l.* a year. When the revolution in *England* took place, king *William* renewed *Stede's* commission as lieutenant-governor, and soon after appointed *James Kendall*, Esq; who was himself a native of *Barbados*, to be captain-general and chief governor of that island and the other *Caribbees*. Before his arrival, the people of *St. Christopher's* and the other *Leeward Islands*, as will be seen in their history, applied to the government of *Barbados* for assistance against the *French*; and Sir *Timothy Thornbill*, a gentleman of *Barbados*, received a commission for raising a regiment on the island for their relief, which he did, to the amount of 700 men, who were all of them cloathed, armed, and embarked, at the expence of the *Barbadians*. This expedition took place the 1st of *August*, 1689, and Sir *Timothy Thornbill* remained at *St. Christopher's*, and the other *Leeward Islands*, with his regiment, some time after the arrival of Mr. *Kendall* at *Barbados*.

War with
the French
in the
West-
Indies.

THIS gentleman was a zealous enemy to the *French* encroachments upon the *Leeward Islands*, and passed many popular acts for the encouragement of trade in those parts. The war with *France* raging with great violence, the masters of the ships trading to *Barbados* took that opportunity of raising their freights to so exorbitant a rate, as to demand the interposition of the legislature of the island. An act accordingly passed, "for regulating the exorbitant rates demanded and received by masters of ships and others, for freights of sugars for *Europe*;" by which the freight was settled at 6*s.* and 6*d.* the hundred weight; for muscovado sugar, 7*s.* and 6*d.* for whites; 5*s.* a hundred for scalded, and 6*s.* a hundred for scraped ginger; and 2*d.* a pound for cotton. This regulation, however promising, was ineffectual; for the ship-masters, though they were bound by it, could not be obliged to send vessels to *Barbados* upon the terms prescribed by the act, and therefore it was repealed. It was observable, that great fortunes were made now upon the island, by the improved sale of the sugars it produced; and the operations against the *French* still continuing in the *Leeward Islands*, no fewer than six stout ships were taken up at *Barbados*, and sent from thence to reinforce commodore *Wright's* squadron at *St. Christopher's*. On the 17th of *March*, 1690, an act passed to repeal an act for the governing and retaining within this island all such rebels convicts, as, by his majesty's most sacred order or permit, have been, or shall be, transported from his *European* dominions to this place. This act was in consequence of an order, said to be sent by king *William*, for the enlargement of the rebels who had been transported to *Barbados* for being concerned in the duke of *Monmouth's* rebellion; and who, as has been already hinted, remained there under particular hardships.

The Bar-
badians
appoint
agents at
London.

AFTER the Revolution, one Mr. *Gardener*, who was solicitor at *London* for the affairs of *Barbados*, remonstrated so effectually against the hardships which that island suffered from the exclusive patent of the royal *African* company, that the planters were eased of their oppressions, by the company's right to seize their ships as interlopers being repealed, and the *African* trade thrown open. This was thought to be the consequence of the great partiality which king *James* had always expressed for that company. That same year, the assembly of *Barbados* appointed two agents, with a salary of 250*l.* each, to manage their affairs at *London*. The prosperity of *Barbados* may be now said to have been at its vertical point. The trade to *Africa* being thrown open, the enterprising *Barbadians* engaged deeper than ever in the *Leeward* expeditions; but their affairs were under very bad management. *Wright*,
the

the *English* commodore, appears to have been a man neither of courage nor capacity; and notwithstanding the great reinforcement sent to him by the *Barbadians*, he trifled away his time so egregiously, that the *French* made prizes of a great number of *Barbados* ships, so that the island itself was threatened with scarcity. This drove the planters to the necessity of fitting out two ships for their own defence; and an act of the assembly passed, "to secure and reimburse the honourable colonel *Richard Salter*, treasurer of this island, all such sums of money, together with the interest of the same, after the rate of ten *per cent. per annum*, he shall lend and accommodate towards the hiring, equipping, and fitting out, two ships, sloops, or other vessels of war, for the defence of this island." Another act, about the same time, passed, "for entrenching and fortifying this island, in such places as his excellency shall direct." It must be acknowledged, that the maritime affairs of *England*, during most part of the reigns of king *William* and queen *Anne*, were under a miserable direction. The *Barbadians* being left to defend themselves, suffered vastly, not only by their most useful hands being employed in war, but by a pestilential disease, which broke out among their soldiers, and communicated itself to the islanders, such numbers of whom were swept off, that it is believed *Barbados* has not to this day recovered the depopulation it then sustained. Their affairs mismanaged.

THE cowardice and mismanagement of commodore *Wright* being too notorious to be longer palliated, he was sent home prisoner, and was succeeded in his command by captain *Wren*, a brave active officer. He arrived at *Barbados* with eight men of war on the 16th of *January*, 1690-91, while the *French*, with sixteen men of war, and two fire-ships, remained masters of the seas there, and distressed the *British* trade. *Kendall*, the governor of *Barbados*, hearing that nine of those men of war were plying to the north-east of that island, fitted out two stout merchant-men as ships of war; and they were joined by his majesty's ships the *Norwich*, *Mary*, *Antelope*, *Mordaunt*, and *Diamond*, with two sloops. This squadron, after cruising for some time in the latitude of *Martinico*, returned on the 5th of *February* to *Barbados* without effect. Captain *Wren* then took under his convoy the merchant-ships bound to the *Leeward-Islands* and to *Jamaica*; where being joined with the *Assistance*, the *Hampshire*, and the *Paul* fireship, he sailed in quest of the *French* fleet. On the 21st of *February*, being off the *Delcadas*, he discovered it to the number of sixteen men of war and two fireships, commanded by the count *de Benac*; and, after several manœuvres, an engage-

ment ensued, in which captain *Wren*, though he had but seven men of war, acquitted himself so well, that he carried all his ships and convoy safe to *Barbados*, excepting the *England* frigate, which bore away to *Jamaica*. About the same time, the *Assistance* man of war met a *French* ship of sixty guns, laden with masts, with all kinds of ship and sea-stores, and carried her into *Barbados*. This was one of the most seasonable prizes that was made during the whole war in the *West-Indies*.

Great distress of the island. THAT island continued, during all the year 1692, to be in a most miserable situation. The mortality raged on board the shipping to such a degree, that hands were wanting to man their vessels, and the brave commodore *Wren* was among the number of the dead. To add to the affliction of the survivors, the weather was so rigorous, that their crop of sugars failed, and a fresh demand was made upon them for raising 1000 men, to be employed in a new expedition against the *French*. It was about this time that the board of trade and plantations began to make a figure in *England*, and the island of *Barbados* became one of its chief subjects. Some of the principal planters were displaced from their seats in the council, on account of misrepresentations for disaffection; but they were cleared by their governor, and replaced. The *French* still continuing to harass the *Barbados* trade, the assembly there ordered their agents in *England* to petition the commissioners of trade and plantations for a regiment of soldiers, to whom they promised free quarters, to remain in their island; but this proposal came to nothing. The *Barbadians*, all this while, expressed the greatest loyalty to the government of *England*, as settled upon king *William* and queen *Mary*; and colonel *Stede* received the honour of knighthood for presenting the address of the assembly to their majesties.

Another conspiracy of the negroes.

BUT the face of affairs was now greatly altered in this island, which, from being rich, powerful, and populous, but a few years before, was now distressed by sickness, and want of hands to carry on their necessary works. Those were chiefly supplied by a vast importation of negroes from *Guinea*; who not being born upon the island, conceived an implacable hatred to their masters, and entered into a more dangerous conspiracy than any they had yet formed, to exterminate the white inhabitants. Though the *English* were ignorant of the particulars of the plot, yet they knew in general that some such design was in agitation. They had passed two acts; one “for encouragement of all negroes and slaves that shall discover any conspiracy;” and another “for prohibiting the selling of rum, or any strong liquors, to any negro or other slave.”

slave." Those precautions had but little effect; for the negroes proceeded upon a plan much better concerted than could have been expected from such barbarians. They agreed to begin with killing the governor; and the slaves of each plantation were to murder their masters and overseers, while the storekeeper's own negro was to cut his master's throat, and to throw open the magazine of arms and ammunition to the conspirators. They had appointed their own officers, and projected a design for surprizing the fort, and thereby to become masters of the shipping. In all this they were encouraged by the scarcity of white inhabitants upon the island; and though the conspiracy, even if prosperous, must have terminated in their destruction, yet it primarily must have occasioned that of the island likewise.

THE general persuasion the *English* had that such a conspiracy was on foot, made them more than commonly vigilant; and at last, two of the head conspirators being overheard to talk of their design, they were apprehended almost upon the eve of its being put into execution. The wretches thought themselves so sure of being rescued, that they suffered themselves to be hung in chains for four days, without any sustenance. Their punishment daunted the other conspirators. They made no efforts to save the criminals, who, on their own request, were taken from their gibbets, and discovered all they knew. Their accomplices were immediately seized, put to the torture, and many of them executed, to the great detriment of their masters and the trade of the island. It is now more than probable, that this conspiracy was privately fomented by *French* agents; and the *Barbadians* resolved to use their utmost endeavours in an expedition against *Martinico*; but in the mean while, they very prudently passed acts for preventing for the future the like dangers which they had so lately escaped. Notwithstanding the thinness of their island, the *Barbadians* raised two regiments, of 500 men each, one commanded by colonel *Salter*, and the other by colonel *Boteler*, two of their own countrymen. The government of *England* had this expedition so much at heart, that Sir *Francis Wheeler* was appointed to the command of a stout squadron, with two regiments of foot on board, which sailed for *Barbados* under the command of colonel *Foulk*.

THIS armament arriving at *Barbados* about the beginning of the year 1693, were immediately joined by the regiments raised in that island, and such a number of volunteers as made the whole to amount to near 1400 men. On the first of *April*, this squadron with the troops on board arrived off *Martinico*, and anchored in the *Cul de Sac Marine*, while the admiral,

miral and the commanders of the land troops were searching for a proper place to land their men. According to the best accounts, this expedition was miserably mismanaged. The *English* regulars amounted to above 4000 men, a force that was thought sufficient to have dispossessed the *French* of the island. The *French* had strong posts all along the shore, and the wind blew high; but at last colonel *Foulk* effected a landing with 1500 men. All he could do was to destroy defenceless houses and works in the neighbourhood; and, after being but one day on shore, they re embarked on the 4th of *April*. Next day, Sir *Francis Wheeler* landed with 500 men in *Diamond-Bay*, where he burnt several houses and plantations, while the inhabitants fled to the woods. Next day, colonel *Lillister* landed with another party, and ravaged part of the open country. On the 9th, colonel *Codrington* joined the squadron with *Lloyd's* regiment, and the *Leeward* forces, and the armament was then thought strong enough to attack *St. Pierre*, the chief fort of the island; before which they accordingly arrived on the 15th of *April*, and anchored within musket-shot of the shore.

It is said, to the honour of the *Barbadians*, that had all the *English* troops behaved as well as they did, not only *Martinico*, but all the *French Leeward-Islands*, must at this time have fallen into their hands; but the government of *England* had not been sufficiently careful in their choice of officers to command the expedition. Many of them were disaffected to the service, and for that very reason were employed in the *West-Indies*; and some of them were known to be *Irish Roman catholics*. The colonels *Foulk* and *Goodwin*; with major *Abraball* and others of their chief officers, remained on board the ships, where they died ingloriously of contagious distempers. Notwithstanding this, the *Barbados* and the *Leeward* troops behaved with the greatest spirit and resolution. They possessed themselves of an eminence which commanded the town of *St. Pierre*, landed their heavy artillery, destroyed the country, drove the enemy from all their advanced posts, and obliged them to keep behind their entrenchments. On the 19th, the *French* made a sally, but were repulsed; and so apprehensive were the people of *Martinico* of their danger, that the most wealthy of them shipped off themselves and their effects for *France*; but some of them were intercepted by the *English*. Nothing but the most scandalous mismanagement could have prevented *St. Pierre* from being reduced; but a council of war being held, it was most unaccountably resolved to re embark the troops and the artillery, under pretext that they had not foreseen the difficulties they had

Miscar-
riage of the
expedition.

had to encounter, and that both the soldiers and sailors were sickly. Thus ended this promising expedition, in which, according to the *French* accounts, the *English* lost some of their heavy artillery, besides having about 600 men killed, and 300 taken prisoners; but those numbers probably include those who died of sickness.

Soon after, his majesty king *William* recalled colonel *Ken-* *Ruffel*, go-
dall, whom he made one of the lords of his admiralty; and *vernor*.
 nominated colonel *Francis Ruffel*, brother to the earl of *Or-*
sford, to the government of *Barbados*; and likewise to the
 command of a regiment, which was to reside and do duty
 upon that island. This regiment arrived there in 1694, and
 the assembly took care to accommodate the men with quarters.
 All this while, the epidemical sickness continued to rage both
 at sea and on land, and carried off such numbers of seamen,
 that the assembly was forced to pass an act for manning the
Tiger and the *Mermaid*, two men of war that lay in *Carlisle-*
Bay for the protection of the island. Some of the *Barbados*
 regiment having been left in the *Leeward-Islands*, after the
Martinico expedition, the new governor fitted out the brigantine
Marygold to bring them home. The assembly, about the same
 time, victualled the *Bristol* man of war, and the *Play-Prize*,
 for their security against the *French*; remitted a considerable
 sum of money to their agents at *London* for the use of their
 island; and made a present of 2000 *l.* to their governor, who
 had carried over with him a numerous and expensive family,
 besides paying his regiment. Upon the death of queen
Mary in 1695, the governor, council, and assembly, presented
 a most dutiful address of condolance to his majesty, which he
 received with great satisfaction; but the want of economy in
England, and the party-heats which prevailed at court, laid
 the *Barbadians* under infinite hardships. They were obliged
 to victual, man, and pay the very ships appointed for the
 convoy of their trade; and though they made a fresh present
 to their governor of 2000 *l.* so little attention was paid to the
 security of the island, that it is said, that when *de Pointis*,
 the *French* admiral, came in sight of *Barbados*, in his expe-
 dition to *Carthage*, there was not in all the forts upon the
 island seven rounds of powder. It was thought that the
 agents of the pirates, who now became to be very trouble-
 some, had shipped off great quantities of that commodity for
 their new settlement at *Madagascar*. Mean while, governor
Ruffel died, and the administration in the interim devolved,
 as usual, upon the president of the council, who was *Fran-*
cis Bond, Esq.

Loyalty of
the Barba-
dians to
king Wil-
liam.

UPON the breaking out of the assassination-plot, the pre-
sident, council, and general assembly of *Barbados*, voted an
address "to congratulate his majesty's wonderful and happy
deliverance from the most barbarous and bloody assassination
lately designed against his royal person by execrable villains,
and monsters of mankind, who are the dishonour of the pre-
sent, and will be the horror and detestation of future ages."
The grand-jury of the island presented a like address upon
the same occasion. Mr. *Bond's* administration was productive
of several excellent measures for the benefit of the island.
The right of elections of members to serve in the assembly
was secured, and a great point was gained by their passing an
act, "That the solemn affirmation and declaration of the
people called Quakers, shall be accepted instead of an oath
in the usual form." By another act of the same assembly,
judges were restrained from pleading and practising in any
courts of the island; and by another act, the militia of *Bar-
bados* was put under a better regulation than it had ever been
under before. By that act, cannons were ordered to be
mounted upon the principal posts of the island, the inhabi-
tants being every day apprehensive of an invasion; but they
were somewhat relieved in 1697, by the arrival of an *English*
fleet under admiral *Nevill*, who was ordered to go in search
of *Pointis*.

Grey, go-
vernor.

UPON the conclusion of the peace of *Utrecht*, which was
of great service to *Barbados*, his majesty appointed the ho-
nourable *Ralph Grey*, Esq; brother of the earl of *Tankerville*,
to be governor of that island. He sailed from *St. Helena*
the 1st of *June*, 1698; and on the 26th of *July*, after touch-
ing at *Madeira*, he arrived at *Barbados* in the *Soldados* prize,
together with the *Speedwell* man of war, the captain of which
narrowly escaped being murdered by some of his crew, who
intended to have run away with the ship, and to have turned
pirates; but being discovered, they were sent in chains to
England. The new governor was received with high marks
of respect by the administration of the island; and Mr. *Max-
well*, the speaker of the assembly, complimented him on his
safe arrival. It may be here proper to observe, that his ex-
cellency's commission nominated him to be "captain-gene-
ral and chief governor of the island of *Barbados*, *Santa
Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *Dominico*, and the rest of his majesty's
islands, colonies, and plantations in *America*, known by the
name of the *Caribbee-Islands*, lying and being to windward
of *Guadaloupe*." Before the arrival of Mr. *Grey*, the gover-
nors of *Barbados* had generally resided upon an estate called
Fontabell, which was hired for them by the assembly; but
that

that habitation was now not only out of repair, but inconveniently situated, being exposed to descents of pirates and enemies. The assembly, therefore, passed an act "to settle 500 *l.* per annum on his excellency for his habitation." Another act passed for declaring and ascertaining the rights and powers of the general assembly of the island; and on the 7th of *September* that same year, the assembly made their new governor a present of 2000 *l.*

Mr. *Grey's* administration happened to be very popular, though he had from the crown an order to receive 1200 *l.* a year out of the four and a half per cent. to be paid on the spot by the collectors of the tax; but, being generous and magnificent, his person was very acceptable to the planters, though their island at the time of his arrival was in a miserable condition. The infectious distemper was not quite abated. The expedition to *Martinico* had cost the *Barbadians* above 30,000 *l.* above forty sugar-works were deserted; many acres of ground lay waste; the late expensive taxes had disabled some of the principal planters from carrying on their works. Not only corn and provisions of all kinds, but even sugars, were become scarce; and a fresh hurricane destroyed great numbers of plantations that had been repaired. As some alleviation to so many misfortunes, the sickness soon after Mr. *Grey's* arrival ceased; and though it broke out about two years after, it did not last long. The northern colonies, *New-England* especially, supplied *Barbados* with provisions; and though not above 90,000 acres in the whole island were in a condition to pay taxes, the inhabitants supported themselves and their government with invincible spirit and constancy. The laws of the island were collected and printed at the public expence; and, by the return of health to the island, all its former calamities seemed to vanish. In the year 1701, the governor, Mr. *Grey*, went to *England* for the recovery of his health, where he soon after became lord *Grey of Werk*, by the death of his brother.

Mr. *Grey* left the administration of affairs in the hands of *John Farmer*, Esq; president of the council; and in his time happened the death of king *William*, and the accession of queen *Anne* to the crown; events which were notified in form to the president and assembly of *Barbados*. Her majesty was proclaimed with all the pomp which the government of the island could furnish out; and a most loyal address of congratulation and condolance was sent over, which was presented to her majesty by the lord *Grey* the late governor. As soon as the war broke out between *France* and *England*, the island of *Barbados*, which now had recovered an entire state of

Sir Bevill
Green-
ville, go-
-vernor.

health, fitted out a vast number of privateers to act against the *French Leeward-Islands*. A fleet of no fewer than sixteen of them rendezvousing off the island of *Guadaloupe*, their crews landed; and after destroying part of the island, they brought off from it a considerable number of negroes. *Barbados* was, at the same time, threatened with a new conspiracy of the negroes, who had plotted to seize the forts of the island; but being discovered, the ringleaders were apprehended and executed. In 1703, Sir *Bevill Greenvill* supplanted Mr. *Mitford Crow*, a *London* merchant, in the government of *Barbados*. Mr. *Crow* had kissed king *William's* hand upon the same, and was very acceptable to the planters; but upon that prince's death, Sir *Bevill* was appointed, to the great disappointment of a number of the islanders. The presents of 2000 *l.* which had been made, being found inconvenient for the crown as well as the people, the custom was abolished in Sir *Bevill's* person; but he was impowered to receive as his salary 800 *l.* a year of additional revenue, which raised his ordinary income to 2000 *l.* Upon his arrival at *Barbados*, the assembly paid him the compliment of appointing his brother-in-law, Sir *John Stanley*, to be one of their agents at *London*; and a new house was built for Sir *Bevill* himself, on a spot called *Pilgrim's Plantation*, which continues to this day to be the residence of the governors.

Sir *Bevill* having been brought in by the tory ministry, which had the ascendancy in the first years of queen *Anne's* reign, met with many enemies upon the island, who represented him in a very unfavourable light at home. There is some reason for believing that Sir *Bevill's* behaviour was not so cautious as it ought to have been; but the *Barbadians* under him having had great success in privateering, his conduct was the less questioned; especially as he had denied all the charge that had been sent over against him; and none of them seem to have been legally proved. On the other hand, Sir *Bevill* complained of a design that had been formed against his life; and parties went so high in the island, that a member of the council was fined 2000 *l.* on that account. In 1705, the want of specie in the island was sensibly felt, on account of the silver being sent off to evade the compliance with a proclamation for reducing it to a certain standard all over the *English West-Indies*. To supply this scarcity, the assembly passed an act for striking paper-money to the amount of 65,000 *l.* which their treasurer was to give out in bills to the planters, upon the security of land and negroes; and Mr. *Holder*, the speaker of the assembly, being appointed treasurer, had an allowance of five per cent. for managing the bills.

This

This act was exclaimed against by the gentlemen of the greatest property in the island, who complained of it as a fraud, on account of the difficulty they found in negotiating the bills; and no sooner did the assembly rise, than they sent over remonstrances to *England* against the act.

SIR *Bevill Greenwill* found himself now uneasy, and obtained his recall, but died on his voyage to *England*. Upon his death, Mr. *Crow*, who had distinguished himself by his services in *Spain* to the whig administration, was appointed governor of *Barbados*, where he arrived in 1707. He found parties there running very high on account of the paper-credit; and the whig interest now prevailing in *England*, one of the first acts of his government was, to remove from their places at the council-board, and from the administration of all affairs, all who were at the governor's disposal, all who had been concerned in the paper-credit act; and Mr. *Holder* was obliged to refund the money he had received for the management of the bills. This served only to encrease the spirit of party in the island; which running higher than ever, Mr. *Crow* was recalled from his government, upon the change of the ministry, at the latter end of queen *Anne's* reign, in 1711, and was succeeded by *Robert Lowther*, Esq. This gentleman was removed from his government in 1713, upon some complaints against him.

Succeeded
by *Crow*.

Lowther,
governor;

UPON his departure, the administration fell into the hands of *William Sharp*, Esq; president of the council; but *Lowther*, notwithstanding his recall, was so loth to part with his power, that he threatened to prosecute two members of the council, *Cox* and *Salter*, for treasonable practices, because they disowned his authority. *Lowther* being at last obliged to leave the island, Mr. *Sharp's* administration was so unexceptionable, that he received the thanks of the ministry; but in 1715, *Lowther* was restored by king *George* the 1st to the government. Being a proud vindictive man, he made an unmerciful use of his restoration to power. Having a particular quarrel with the reverend Mr. *Gordon*, rector of *St. Michael's*, and the bishop of *London's* commissary upon the island, he represented him to his diocesan in the most odious colours, and obtained, by means of the *Barbados* agents, some harsh proceedings to pass at the board of trade against *Gordon*. The latter, upon this, appealed to the crown; and on the 15th of *March*, 1718, his majesty referred his petition to a committee of the council, complaining as well against a petition of the agents of the island of *Barbados*, and a report of the board of trade thereupon, as against a letter wrote by the governor of the said island to the lord bishop of

his mis-
manage-
ment.

London, highly reflecting on the said *Gordon's* conduct as commissary, and on his principles and character. *Mr. Gordon* obtained from the lords-justices (the king being then at *Hanover*) an order for taking depositions at *Barbados*, and the governor had the same liberty; but upon *Mr. Gordon's* returning to *Barbados*, and serving this order upon the governor, the latter paid so little regard to it, that he committed *Gordon* prisoner to the common gaol. In short, the whole of the prosecution against *Gordon* was so arbitrary and malicious, that the lords-justices voted them to be groundless, and that they ought to be dismissed.

Tyranny of
Lowther.

THIS was not the only act of tyranny which *Lowther* was guilty of in his government. One *Lansa*, a merchant in *Bridge-Town*, petitioned the king and council in *England* against an unlawful seizure, which *Lowther* made of his ship, and returned to *Barbados* with an order for making an enquiry into the matter of the complaint. *Lowther* disputed the authenticity of this order; and pretending that it was forged, he not only forced the original from *Mr. Blenman*, who was counsel for *Lansa*, but sent him to prison, and bound him over in 1000*l.* bail. *Blenman* being unable to obtain any justice upon the island, went over to *England*; where, upon hearing the cause, the lords-justices ordered, That all proceedings on the recognizance be vacated; and if any levy had been made upon the forfeiture, that the same be forthwith returned to *Mr. Blenman*, or his agent. About this time, *Sir Charles Cox* petitioned the king and council against *Lowther*, for removing his brother from the council-board in an arbitrary and illegal manner. While this petition was in dependence, *Lowther* went over to *England*, and left the government of *Barbados* in the hands of his nephew, one *Mr. Frere*. The truth of *Cox's* complaint being fully proved, the lords-justices restored his brother to the presidentship of the council, and ordered *Frere*, of course, to resign to him the administration of the island; and he not complying with this order, was summoned forthwith to appear before the council-board of *England*.

Misgovernment
of the
island.

EVERY day now produced fresh charges against *Lowther*. Two others of the council, *Alexander Walker*, and *Timothy Salter*, Esqrs. having likewise been arbitrarily removed from the council-board, were restored to their seats there. A petition was presented against the governor for speculation and illegal practices, and signed by *Sir Robert Davers* and *John Walters*, Esq; both of them members of the *British* parliament, *Mr. Allen*, and other gentlemen of great interest in the island. The allegations of this petition were, that *Lowther*,

in

in violation of his instructions from the crown, had extorted from the island of *Barbados* 28,000 *l.* of that currency; and that he had, contrary to the acts of trade and navigation, suffered a *Spanish* vessel to trade with the island. Those charges being fully proved, *Lowther* was ordered to be taken into custody and prosecuted; but the prosecution was afterwards dropped. Other charges, of the most tyrannical nature, were brought against *Lowther* and his creatures, particularly for their having caused a gentleman of the island to be publicly whipped by the common slave-whipper, upon an accusation of private defamation; and all the justices, to the number of eight, who had been concerned in this illegal judgment, were removed from the commission of the peace. Mr. *Cox* being restored to the presidentship, and consequently to the administration during the vacancy of the government, a strange scene of anarchy ensued. All the chief places of the island were filled with *Lowther's* friends, who had on their sides a majority both in the council and the assembly; and they had passed an act for preserving the peace and tranquillity of the island. The meaning of this act, in fact, was, to preserve their own places and seats at the council-board and in the assembly, and to restore *Frere* to the presidentship, notwithstanding the royal orders in favour of *Cox*. Their party was so strong, that when Mr. *Cox* at last took possession of the presidentship, they insisted upon the validity of the tranquillity-act (as they called it); and he was so hampered in his government, that he was obliged to suspend five or six of the refractory counsellors.

THE fluctuation of parties in *England*, and the death of secretary *Craggs*, who was *Cox's* great patron, with several other incidental causes, proved favourable to *Lowther* and his party. He suspended counsellors, and their friends sent over heavy complaints against *Cox*, and they obtained an order for resuming their seats at the council-board. This was so complete a triumph to the party, that they exulted more than ever, and perplexed the affairs of the government so much, that even the excise-bill, which was necessary for the support of the public, was in danger of being lost. It must be owned, at the same time, that Mr. *Cox* did not behave with the requisite moderation; and this might prepossess the ministry against him. He had, under no very justifiable pretences, removed from the bench of justice several men of consequence in the island, who had been friends to *Lowther*, and had endeavoured to commence vexatious prosecutions against them; and this served to encrease the opposition to his government. The apparent intention of the *British* ministry, upon so many

contradictory charges as daily came over from *Barbados*, was to let matters continue in the state they were, until a new governor should be appointed, who was to be furnished with full powers and proper instructions for enquiring into, and punishing all publick malversations on both sides.

Lord Belhaven appointed governor. IT was about this time that the greatest families in *Britain* were severely feeling the dreadful effects of the *South-Sea* scheme; and the ministry, perhaps with no sound policy, sought to indemnify some of the sufferers by giving them *West-India* governments. Of this number was the lord *Belhaven*, a *Scotch* nobleman, a favourite with the prince of *Wales*, who being at that time well received at court, had interest enough to procure him to be appointed to the government of *Barbados*; but his lordship was unfortunately cast away near the *Lizard-Point*, in his voyage to that island. Lord *Irwin* was likewise appointed; but he also died before he reached *Barbados*, and then the government was given to *Henry Worsey*, Esq. Before that gentleman arrived in the island, the duke of *Portland*, who had been appointed to the government of *Jamaica*, with his dutchess, and a splendid retinue, landed at *Barbados*. Though the island was then in little less than a state of civil commotion, yet both factions seemed to vie with one another in the honours and entertainments bestowed upon his grace, but always in separate parties; and the most noble visitants departed from thence with the highest opinion of the *Barbadian* elegance and politeness.

Account of the intended settlement of St. Lucia. WHEN the duke of *Portland* was in *Barbados*, the ineffectual attempt made by the *English* under the duke of *Montague*, to settle the islands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, took place. We shall not here enter into any discussion of the equitable claim the crown of *England* had to settle those islands, and which seems to be established beyond all dispute; but we shall recount how far the government of *Barbados* was concerned in those settlements. Mr. *Vring*, who had been appointed deputy-governor of both islands, found the affairs of both in a very different situation from what he expected; and to say the truth, it is not a little surprising that the *English* ministry should suffer the duke of *Montague* to expend the vast sums he did on this expedition, without knowing the dispositions of the *French* court; not to mention the disgrace it brought upon his majesty's government and the honour of the nation. The governments of *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, and *St. Dominica*, had till then been included in the commission of the government of *Barbados*, even after that of the *Leeward-Islands* was separated from it. The insidious conduct of the *French* had amused the *English* governors

nors into too great a neglect of those islands ; though *William* lord *Willoughby*, while he was governor of *Barbados*, had always paid great attention to them ; and in 1668, he sent to *St. Vincent* a force which the *French* historian, *P. du Tetre*, acknowledges obliged the *Indian* natives of that island, as well as those of *Dominica*, to submit to the *English* government. Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, who succeeded the younger lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Richard Dutton*, who succeeded him, seem to have paid but little regard to those islands ; but colonel *Stede*, *Dutton*'s lieutenant-governor, hearing that the *French* used to wood and water upon them, sent captain *Temple* thither with a force to interrupt them. This happened about the time that king *James* the II entered into a kind of a treaty of neutrality with the court of *France* ; by which all matters of debate, both in *America* and the *West-Indies*, were to be amicably adjusted by commissioners, and the conquests on both sides were to be restored. Even this treaty preserved entire to the crown of *England* its rights upon *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, and they still continue to be named in the commissions of the governors of *Barbados* ; but it must be acknowledged, that effectual care had not been taken sufficiently to ascertain that right by possession ; and the *French* government, which never fails to turn the smallest omission to their own advantage, pretended, for that reason, that they belonged to his most Christian majesty,

In 1719, *M. D'Estrées* obtained from the regent of *France* a grant of *St. Lucia*, and he accordingly sent a colony to possess and settle it. Though the *English* ministry at that time were but too intimately connected with that of *France*, yet the insolence of this grant became so much a national concern, that the *British* ambassador at *Paris* had orders to present very spirited memorials against the intended colony ; and so far had the *English* government been from giving up their right to the islands in question, that the following article always made part of the instructions given to the governors of *Barbados*, viz. " If any of the subjects of a foreign prince or state have already planted themselves upon any of the islands of *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, *St. Vincent*, *Tobago*, or shall hereafter attempt to do the same, you are to assert our right to the said islands exclusive of others ; and in order to hinder the settlement of any colony there, you are to give notice to such foreigners that shall pretend to make such settlements, that unless they shall remove within such time as you in your discretion shall assign, you shall be obliged by force to dispossess, and send them off the islands."

Assistance
given to it
by the Bar-
badians.

It is remarkable, that in the grant made by the regent of France to the marshal *D'Estrees*, nothing was reserved to the crown of France but the faith and homage of the settlers, “and a tenth of the free profits of the mines which shall be wrought there by the marshal or his assigns.” This extraordinary grant being remonstrated against (as we have already seen) by the *British* ambassador at *Paris*, *D'Estrees* had orders from his court to discontinue his settlement, and to withdraw his people from the island. This compliance, together with the perpetual interruptions which the governors of *Barbados* had given to the *French*, when they pretended to wood and water upon those islands without their leave, was considered by the court of *England* as an acquiescence in their right to the islands in question; and it was upon that presumption that the duke of *Montague* had obtained his grant. The new colony was under the convoy of the *Winchelsea* man of war, captain *Orme* commander, which brought *Mr. Vring* to *Barbados*. From hence he proceeded to *St. Lucia*, where they arrived the 17th of *December*, 1722. The resistance and danger which *Vring* underwent in attempting a settlement on *St. Lucia*, belong to another part of this work. Perceiving by all accounts that *M. de Feuquieres*, the governor of *Martinico*, had orders from his court, at all events, to oppose the settlement, *Vring* sent to the president of *Barbados* the letter he had received from *Feuquieres* on that head. The president, upon this, dispatched *William Boteler*, Esq; with a letter to *Martinico* for the *French* governor there, remonstrating against the opposition which *Vring* had met with upon the island, mixed with some menaces: but all was to no purpose. *Feuquieres* persisted in his resolution to act according to the letter of his instructions, and the commanders of the *English* men of war that were then in the *West-Indies*, hesitated to give *Vring* any assistance. This pacific conduct is not easily to be accounted for, but by either supposing that those commanders did not think themselves warranted in commencing hostilities with the *French*, or that they had received secret instructions from the *English* admiralty to act as they did; but, indeed, the whole management of this expedition is dark and unaccountable. Nothing, however, was wanting on the part of the *Barbadians* to render the settlement successful. The president assembled the council, and understanding that captain *Brown*, of the *Feversham* man of war, had returned a very doubtful answer to *Vring's* request of assistance, *Cox* sent him a letter, in pursuance of his instructions, offering him, on the part of the island, all the aid he could require for making the duke of *Montague's* settlement good.

good. This letter proved to be of no service, for the French pushed *Vring* so briskly, that they drove him off *St. Lucia*; nor did he succeed better at *St. Vincent*, which he afterwards endeavoured to settle. Upon the arrival of Mr. *Worfeley* at *Barbados*, he was congratulated by *de Feuquieres* in a letter which contained some reflecting expressions upon *Vring's* attempt. Mr. *Worfeley*, in one paragraph of his letter, in answer to *Feuquieres*, dated the 12th of *February*, 1722-3, tells him, that "since you are pleased to communicate to me your conduct in the affair of *St. Lucia*, I must say I have a very great esteem for every officer that punctually obeys his master's orders; and had I been in my government when this affair happened, I should have used my utmost endeavours to have maintained the duke of *Montague* in the possession of those islands, to which the king my master has an incontestable right."

MR. *Worfeley* appears to have carried with him to *Barbados* strong prepossessions against Mr. *Cox*, the president, and the gentlemen who had opposed Mr. *Lowther*; but he conducted himself with so much address, that neither party thought him their enemy, and therefore both courted him for their friend. Add to this, that many gentlemen of great consequence in the island blamed both parties, and sincerely wished to see an end put to their civil dissensions. All this operated favourably for the governor, who was well supported at home, and the assembly was brought to agree to grant him the enormous revenue of 6000 *l.* a year. Their reasons, as afterwards appeared, for this liberality were, an expectation that all their grievances should be redressed, and their depending upon the governor's promise, "that he would be satisfied with that settlement, and make no other demand upon the public during his government." This great point being gained by the governor, and half a crown a head being laid on each negro for defraying it, he proceeded to his enquiries into the state of the island before his accession. A strong charge was urged against the conduct of Mr. *Cox*, who was accused, among other things, of insolent language in the council; but he recriminated upon his opponents, by pleading that their behaviour had been undutiful and unwarrantable. He was likewise accused of having called too many councils, to the great molestation of the members; but he shewed that this was owing to their own non-attendance, by their factiously absenting themselves when any business of importance was to be done. Lastly, he was charged with the like misbehaviour for which Mr. *Lowther* had been censured, in his arbitrary commitments to prison, particularly of one *Macmahone*.

mahone, a lawyer, and one of his keenest opponents. Mr. *Cox*'s answer to this was, that *Macmahone*, by his outrageous disrespectful behaviour, for which he was afterwards convicted before a jury, had drawn the commitment upon himself, and that he had suffered very justly.

He censures
Cox.

BUT the very able defence which Mr. *Cox* and his lawyers urged, had no effect upon the governor; who, having closed the process, reserved the decision of it to himself; and Mr. *Cox* petitioning him to know his fate, received from Mr. *Hammond*, his excellency's secretary, the following declaration. "His excellency commands me to acquaint you, in answer to your petition in which you have prayed a copy of the judgment his excellency had given in your affair, that upon his hearing the evidences on both sides, he did determine, that you had acted corruptly, arbitrarily, and illegally; and, therefore, he not only removed you from being of his majesty's council here, but also declared you incapable of ever being one. And that it was his farther opinion, you ought to be prosecuted in the manner that the nature of the crimes proved against you required. I am, with very great respect, Sir, your most humble servant." This censure did Mr. *Worsley* very little service. It exasperated all the friends of Mr. *Cox* against him, and the tax which had been laid upon negroes for the payment of his salary, was now so cruelly felt by all ranks and degrees upon that island, that there was a kind of general coalition of parties against paying it.

Disadvantages
of the Bar-
badians.

THIS was in a great measure owing to the indolence of the *English* government, which had suffered the *French* and the *Dutch* plantations in the *West-Indies* to cut the *English*, and the people of *Barbados* particularly, out of the sugar and rum trade, which was almost the sole means of their subsistence. The great imposts which the *Barbados* trade lay under, disabled the planters there from sending their sugars, rum, and molasses, so cheap to market as their rivals could afford to do; so that the latter carried on a prodigious trade with the *English* colonies in *North America*, who supplied them with great quantities of provisions, without which their islands could not have subsisted. The *French* likewise undersold the *English* in all the *European* markets; for they sent their commodities not only to *France*, *Germany*, *Holland*, the *Streights*, and other countries on the continent of *Europe*, but to *Ireland* itself, and all this, by means of the small duties they paid; while the *English* planters were bound down by the navigation and other acts to send their sugars first to *England*, which created an immense additional charge by their loss of time and enhancing their freights. But this grievance was in some measure

sure remedied (though the trade, even after that, lay under great clogs) by a *British* act of parliament enabling them to send their sugars to other ports as well as to *England*. The advantage the *French* had over them in this respect was so great, that the planters themselves and merchants in *Barbados* brought sugars cheaper from *Martinico* than they could expect them from their own islands. Those hardships were too severe to be longer endured, and at last the *Barbadians* laid their complaints before the *British* government, but without effect; though they proved, at the same time, that their island paid 10,000 *l.* a year to the unappropriated revenue, and 50,000 *l.* in customs.

THE council, the assembly, and the people of *Barbados*, ^{who are disappointed of redress.} resented their disappointment in not obtaining their redress of grievances; but they could not get rid of the exorbitant salary which they had voted to their governor. The complaints they transmitted to *England* on this occasion, have something in them very striking, and serve to shew the deplorable state of the island at this period. They represented; that when his excellency *Henry Worsley*, Esq; took his administration of this government upon him, the gentlemen of this island, having for many years before been harrassed with parties and divisions, in hopes to put an end to the same, and to obtain the redress of several grievances, were wrought upon to submit to a settlement of 6000 *l.* sterling *per annum* on the said governor during his residence here; yet, notwithstanding this extravagant settlement, the island was so far from reaping any advantage from their indiscreet generosity, that, on the contrary, the public good had been entirely neglected, and no measures taken to redress the grievances of the island; but his excellency and his creatures had thereby been the better enabled, and more at leisure to oppress the inhabitants; the militia had been entirely neglected; the forts, breast-works, and batteries were gone to ruin; the public stores were embezzled and wasted; and all persons in office under his excellency busied in nothing but how to raise fortunes from the ruins of the people. To complete this dreadful view of the hardships they suffered under their governor, they added, that the said grievances, and many others tending to the impoverishing and ruin of the island, were still the more insupportable; from the dismal apprehensions his majesty's subjects here lie under in case of a war, the forts and fortifications of the island having gone to ruin, warlike stores of all kinds necessary for the defence of the island being wholly wanted, and no possibility of purchasing a sufficient quantity of powder and other stores, and the inhabitants not in a

condition of bearing the necessary charges, either of buying powder sufficient were the same to be purchased; or repairing the forts and fortifications, while the heavy tax which they had for so many years paid, chiefly for his excellency's use, was continued; by which tax almost all the current cash of this island was annually brought together, and hoarded in his excellency's coffers, trade was stagnated, and the value of the produce of the island was very considerably lowered, to the vast damage of the distressed inhabitants, who were forced to part with their goods at any price, to raise their quota of a tax, not only heavy in itself, but much more so in regard of the ill effects it had upon trade and the markets in the colony.

*Com-
plaints a-
gainst the
governor.*

BEIDES this general representation, a great many private complaints against the governor were sent over by particular merchants, representing their grievances, of which they could get no redress upon the island, because of the servility of the council towards the governor, which rendered it hazardous even to petition him for relief. Among other matters it was asserted, that he had demanded and received at one time 2000 *l.* for the repairs of his house, notwithstanding his engagement to bring no farther burden upon the island than the payment of his salary. The governor, on the other hand, made a vigorous defence to all those charges; and his agents baffled them all before the Board of Trade. In this he was greatly assisted not only by the council, but by the grand-jury, which is supposed to be the mouth of the common people of the island, and who presented an address applauding his conduct, and condemning that of his opponents. About the same time, the council had ordered some amendments to be made to the excise-bill, as prepared by the assembly. The council had loaded it with many gratifications to particular persons, for services performed in *England* not specified; a compliance with which the assembly thought to be unreasonable and unjust to their constituents; and therefore demanded, that the merits of the several parties should be enquired into before the money was granted; but the government interest in *England* got the better of this and all other objections to the liberality of the council, though not without considerable difficulty. In short, the abuses of patent places granted to those who never had been in the island, were acknowledged and universally condemned, but never redressed. The complaints, however, that were sent over upon those occasions were so frequent, and so well supported, that the government of *Great-Britain* became sensible of the necessity, on its own account, of looking more narrowly

rowly than ever into the affairs of *Barbados*. Mr. *Worfeley*, the governor, found such difficulty in receiving his salary, that the island was near 20,000 *l.* in debt to him, and he was obliged to employ legal methods to recover it. Upon his return to *England* in 1732, the government devolved upon *Samuel Berwick*, Esq; president of the council. It was under this gentleman's wife and moderate administration that the *British* ministry first applied in earnest to the relief of *Barbados*. Hardships and oppression had reconciled all parties upon the island, so that the *English* government was no longer under any doubt as to the preference of clashing representations; for all concurred in their sentiments as to the interest and distresses of the island; and a petition to the throne, entitled, "The humble petition of your majesty's island of *Barbados*," was sent over to *England*; representing, "That within these few years, great improvements have been made by the *Dutch* and *French* in their sugar colonies, and great and extraordinary encouragements have been given to them, not only from their mother-countries, but also from a pernicious trade carried on by them to and from *Ireland*, and the northern *British* colonies; and the *French* do now, from the produce of their own sugar-colonies, effectually supply with sugar not only *France* itself, but *Spain* also, and a great part of *Ireland*, and the *British* northern colonies; and have to spare for *Holland*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and other parts of *Europe*: and the *French* and *Dutch* colonies have lately supplied the northern *British* colonies with very large quantities of molasses, for the making of rum and other uses, to the vast prejudice of your majesty's sugar-colonies. As rum is a commodity, and which, next to sugar, they mostly depend upon, and they have in return for such sugar, rum, and molasses, shipping, horses, boards, staves, hoops, lumber, timber for building, fish, bread, bacon, corn, flour, and other plantation necessaries, at easier rates than your majesty's subjects of the sugar-colonies have. For the continual supplies received by the *Dutch* and *French* from the *British* northern colonies, have enabled them to put on and maintain a great number of slaves on their plantations, and to enlarge their sugar-works, and make new settlements in new fertile soils; and, at the same time, cost little, being now purchased chiefly with molasses, which, before this late intercourse between the foreign colonies and the northern *British* colonies, were flung away as of no value."

*Petition of
the Barba-
dians.*

THOSE allegations were all of them self-evident, and too notorious to be contradicted. Add to this, that the *French* and

who obtain some redress.

and *Dutch* colonies paid but one per cent. of duty for the sugars they exported to foreign parts. To remedy the hardships arising to the *Barbadians* from so many different causes, they proposed, that no foreign sugar, rum, or molasses, should be imported into any of the *British* northern colonies, or into *Ireland*, without being first imported into *Great-Britain*; that thus the *British* sugar-colonies might be at least on a footing with their neighbours. This petition was taken into very serious consideration; foreign rum, sugar, and molasses, were entirely prohibited from being imported into *Ireland*, without being first landed in *Great-Britain*. Foreign sugars, rum, and molasses, imported into any of our northern or southern colonies, were subjected to heavy duties, and certain restrictions were established, under which no sugar-colonies were at liberty to carry sugars to all the foreign parts of *Europe*. Other encouragements were likewise given to the petitioners. We are not to forget that this revival of unanimity and public spirit among the *Barbadians*, was, in a great measure, owing to a printing-press, which, at that time, was set up at *Bridge-Town*, and every week published a paper, in which the most understanding inhabitants of the island had an opportunity of inserting essays and letters concerning the most important interests of their commerce.

Lord Howe, governor.

BUT the *British* ministry, who consulted the good of *Barbados*, chiefly, perhaps, on account of the benefits they themselves received from it, by the patent, and other, places it furnished, and which it was at this time no longer able to support, did not think it sufficient to give that island the relief above-mentioned, without putting it, in the mean while, under a mild, disinterested, and generous administration. For this purpose, the lord *Howe* was appointed to this government; and he arrived there with his lady in the *Rye* man of war on the 11th of *April*, 1733. A few days after, he met the assembly, and his speeches and behaviour to them were of so very different a cast from those of their late governors, that the *Barbadians* formed the highest opinion of his present and future administration, in which their most sanguine expectations were exceeded. The only discontent that appeared on the island, was among a few practising lawyers, who apprehended their exorbitant fees would be reduced under so equitable an administration. So pacific a period affords but little matter for history to transmit. The *Barbadians*, unable to furnish his lordship with the same exorbitant salary that had been settled on his predecessor, gave him to the utmost of what their circumstances could afford, which was 4000 *l.* a year; and which he generously spent upon the island,

island, with a large addition of his own revenue. But all his lordship's virtues could not extinguish certain private animosities which still subsisted there, and in a quarrel that happened at *Bridge-Town*, in which several gentlemen on both sides were engaged, one of them, *Keeling*, happened to be killed; upon which, some of the others, among whom was *Macmahone*, the turbulent lawyer, left the island, a bill of indictment being prepared against them. The parties afterwards surrendered themselves, and *Macmahone* alone was found guilty of manslaughter.

On the 27th of *March*, 1735, the lord *Howe*, who had *His death* been for some days ill of a fever, died, to the inexpressible grief of all the island. Their sorrow for this loss was expressed in the most affecting manner, and never was there an experiment made with so much success, of what importance the right choice of a governor is to the prosperity of that or any other of our sugar-islands. The good understanding between the governor, the council, and the assembly, produced the very best effects for the mother-country, as well as the colony. As he had not resided as governor in the island above two years, he had rather suffered than gained in his private fortune by his commission. The council, and the assembly, therefore, took an early opportunity, after his death, to make an acknowledgment of the great benefits they had received during his short administration; for *Mr. Dottin*, who acted as president of the council, succeeding him in the government, called the assembly together, and having, in a very pathetic speech, represented the vast loss they had sustained by his lordship's death, he proposed the making a handsome present to his widow, who had of herself acquired a most amiable character in the island. A bill was accordingly brought in, and being passed unanimously, was entitled, "An act the better to manifest the gratitude of the people in this island, for the benefits they received from the just and prudent administration of his late excellency." By this act, 2500*l.* was granted to her ladyship, for her use, and for the payment of such debts as his lordship might have contracted upon the island. Soon after, her ladyship sailed for *England*, with the corps of her lord. The remaining part of *Mr. Dottin's* administration was employed in settling the fees for the several officers of the island, a measure of the utmost importance to the inhabitants, and in other acts of the same salutary public nature. Though his administration was active and irreproachable, yet he was contented with a settlement of 600*l. per annum*, during its continuance; a

proof at what an easy expence the business of government may be carried on.

Dottin,
president.

Mr. Byng,
governor.

MR. *Dottin's* administration continued in a calm, equitable strain, from the death of lord *Howe* to the year 1739, when the honourable *Robert Byng*, Esq; son to the lord *Torrington*, and elder brother to the late unfortunate admiral of the same name, was appointed governor of *Barbados*. The war having broke out, at that time, between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, the new-governor's equipages were unfortunately taken at sea by his enemy, and the assembly generously made him a present of 2500*l.* as an indemnification for his loss. It does not appear that the *Barbadians* held Mr. *Byng* in the same degree of esteem and affection as they had done his predecessor the lord *Howe*; and some altercation happened between him and the assembly on account of his salary, which at last was fixed at no more than 2000*l.* a year. The short time of his administration was chiefly distinguished by the spirit which the *Barbadians* discovered and exerted against the enemies of *Great-Britain*, and in the large sums they expended in putting their forts in order, and making the necessary dispositions against them and the *French* in case of invasion. In the month of *July*, the *Shoreham* man of war arrived at *Barbados*, with orders for reprisals upon the *Spaniards*, which were received by the *Barbadians* with the utmost joy; but it was thought they would have been more effectual, had they not been published with so much ostentation, that the *Spaniards* were put upon their guard. As the war was not yet proclaimed with *France*, it was common for the *Barbadians*, as usual, to visit *Martinico*; and a misunderstanding happening between captain *Reddish*, commander of the *Anglesey* man of war, and the captain of a *French* man of war, some of the principal *Barbadians* were taken by the *Frenchman's* boat; but, by the firmness of the *English* commander, they were soon set at liberty, and the offenders obliged to ask pardon. Notwithstanding this, it is certain, that besides the loss of the ship *Dolphin*, captain *Rhimes* commander, which carried governor *Byng's* baggage, and a very valuable cargo besides, the *Barbadians* sustained great loss by the *Spanish* privateers: but, in a short time, they made themselves ample amends, by covering the seas with a number of their own privateers, who carried into the island great numbers of rich *Spanish* prizes.

His death.

GOVERNOR *Byng* died at *Barbados* in 1740, before he had been quite a year in his office. His administration was allowed to have been inoffensive, and he shewed no mean talents for government. Two days after his death, the assembly

sembly met, and came to a resolution not to make any settlement whatever upon a future governor. By this resolution, we are given to understand, that the *Barbadians* thought they had been ill-treated by their former governors, on account of their independency; and that they were resolved from thenceforth to proportion their rewards to their behaviour. Mr. *Byng* was succeeded in his government by Sir *Thomas Robinson*, 1743. This gentleman, upon his arrival at *Barbados*, had likewise some disputes concerning his salary; but they were soon compromised. His behaviour, during his administration, was universally allowed to have been affable and unexceptionable; but the ministry of *England* being altered, he was in the year 1746 recalled, and succeeded by *Henry Grenville*, Esq; nephew to the lord *Cobham*, and brother to the present earl *Temple*. This gentleman, after his arrival in the island, had little or no dispute about his salary, which is said to have amounted to 3000 *l.* a year; and he is reported to have understood the commercial interest of the island better than any of its former governors.

Mr. Grenville, governor.

THE island of *Tobago*, which, as we have already seen, had been always named in the commission of the governor of *Barbados*, was, by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, in 1748, stipulated to be neutral. The *French*, by an incredible effort of assurance and perfidy, privately sent orders to the marquis de *Caylus*, their then governor of *Martinico*, to settle this island, which they accordingly had begun to do, when their design was made known to Mr. *Grenville* the governor of *Barbados*. He immediately ordered captain *Tyrrel* to visit that island in a frigate, and to learn the truth of the report. The captain, on his arrival at *Tobago*, found, that three hundred men had already landed there, under the protection of two men of war, and two batteries, and every hour expecting farther reinforcements for carrying their design into execution. Mr. *Grenville*, not to be wanting in the duties of his commission, had sent a proclamation, which had been stuck up in the chief posts of the island of *Tobago*; commanding the *French* to evacuate the same, upon the pain of military discipline in thirty days time. *De Caylus*, on the other hand, published an ordonnance, authorizing his master's subjects to continue in, and settle on, the same, and promised them assistance and protection against all who should attempt to dispossess them. As *Tobago* is, of itself, about the largeness of *Barbados*, besides a lesser island lying near it, and admitted of prodigious improvements, through the richness of its soil, the *French* would have carried a great point had they completed their settlement. Captain *Tyrrel* informed their

Opposes the settlement of Tobago by the French.

officers, that their attempt was a direct breach of treaties, especially that of *Aix la Chapelle*; and that, if they did not desist from their intended settlement, he would employ force to oblige them. It is a little surprising on this occasion, when we consider how positive the stipulation for the neutrality of this island was by the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, that a sufficient force was not fitted out to act offensively, especially as the *French* did not offer to justify their procedure. So far from that, the commanders of their two ships of war, when night came on, made the best of their way to *Martinico*; and the *English* captain having executed all that he had in charge, returned to *Barbados*.

It was not long after this, before Mr. *Grenville* had an opportunity of transmitting a full account of this transaction to *England*, where it no sooner became public, than a vast indignation appeared among all ranks of subjects. The peace of *Aix la Chapelle* itself had not been universally approved of by the nation, and this daring violation of it was resented by all parties. Instructions were sent to the *English* envoy at *Paris* to make the proper representations on that head. The *French* ministry were prepared for this, and endeavoured to shew that Mr. *Grenville's* proceeding had been too hasty, and was unwarrantable. *Puyseux*, one of their ministers, had even the insolence to hint, that the *French* having been in possession of *Tobago* towards the middle of the last century, it could not be properly considered as a neutral island. Being driven from this argument, he pretended that all that *de Caylus* designed, was to secure to the *French* a liberty of wooding and watering upon the island; but a copy of the original order of *Caylus* being produced, a dispatch was immediately sent off, commanding him to discontinue the settlement, and to evacuate *Tobago* of its new inhabitants. The plan of the *English* ministry, at that time, undoubtedly, was to keep well with *France*, of whose power, as we since have seen by experience, they had conceived too high an idea. The opposition in the house of commons believing that the *French* would not have attempted so flagrant a breach of the peace without some tacit encouragement from the *British* ministry, and receiving daily intimations that the *French* intended to settle the other neutral islands, as well as *Tobago*; an address to his majesty was moved for in the house of commons, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before the house copies of the instructions given to the governors of *Barbados* for ten years last past, so far as they related to those neutral islands. This motion was opposed by the then minister Mr. *Pelham*, as having an un-

dutiful

dutiful tendency against the prerogative; and the motion was over-ruled.

THE people of *Barbados*, all this while, continued in great tranquillity. The publication of the *French* orders, revoking their settlement of *Tobago*, gave them infinite satisfaction; and the daily encrease of their trade perfectly reconciled them to their government both there and in *Great-Britain*; not to mention, that the vast number of prizes brought to their island encreased their riches and importance. The time for Mr. *Grenville's* government being expired, he was, at the recommendation of the first lord of trade in *England*, succeeded by Dr. *Pinfold*, an eminent civilian, who still holds that government. During this gentleman's administration, the inhabitants of *Barbados* bore no mean share in the glorious events which distinguished the *British* arms during the latter part of the last, and the beginning of the present reign. A resolution having been formed to reduce the island of *Martinico*, which had been at all times so formidable to the *Barbadians*, the same was communicated to their governor, and they entered into it with a spirit and ardor hardly to be paralleled in the *English West-Indies*; for they immediately ordered a large body of volunteers to be raised and disciplined at their own expence. They were greatly encouraged in this by a memorial presented to the *French* king by the chief inhabitants of *Martinico*, in which they represented their island as being in the most distressful circumstances, and as having been abandoned by its mother-country. Captain *Hughes* had sailed from *St. Helen's* on the 12th of *November* 1758, to join commodore *Moore*, who was then lying at *Carlisle-Bay* in *Barbados*. *Hughes* carried with him eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, with six regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery in sixty transports, besides 800 mariners distributed through the ships of war. The land forces were commanded by major-general *Hopson*, an officer of judgment and experience, but thought not to be of sufficient activity for the command of such an expedition. He had under him major-general *Barrington*, the colonels *Armiger* and *Haldane*, with the lieutenant-colonels *Trapaud* and *Clavering*, who acted as brigadiers. This squadron, in seven weeks and three days, arrived at *Barbados*; where Mr. *Hughes* resigned his command to commodore *Moore*. The governor, council, and assembly of *Barbados*, immediately before this junction, had given directions for the inhabitants to furnish every thing that was in their power to render the expedition successful. Proclamations for that purpose were issued, the number of the volunteers augmented, and

The Barbadians assist in the expedition against Martinico.

Account of the unsuccessful expedition against Martinico.

to save the labour as much as possible of the regulars, the *Barbadians* presented every ship with forty negroes for drawing the artillery. The whole of the troops did not exceed 5000 men; but before they left *Barbados*, they were joined by 200 highlanders of lord *John Murray's* regiment, under the convey of the *Ludlow-Castle* man of war. The whole armament sailed on the 30th of *January*; but the men were in a sickly condition, through diseases occasioned by the heat of the climate.

THOUGH *Martinico* was the first and chief object of this expedition, yet it was intended for the reduction of all the *Caribbee Islands*. *Martinico* itself lies in the latitude of 14 degrees and 30 minutes north; and through the natural indentments, which the *French* call *Cul de sacs*, that run along its shores, and are extremely dangerous, on account of their sands, discernible only at low-water-mark, is very difficult of access, and the more so, as all the approachable posts of its coasts were strongly fortified. Though it does not extend above fourteen leagues in length, and seven in breadth, yet it is by far the most considerable of all the *French Caribbees*; and the chief reason why their government had neglected it so much as it did, was, because they thought that nature and art had rendered it impregnable. Besides the difficulties we have already mentioned the *English* were to overcome, a ridge of almost impassable mountains runs quite through the island north-west and south-east, and all the space on both sides those mountains are intersected with deep gullies, which are very difficult to be passed, through the impetuosity of the water which poured through them in the rainy seasons. The chief fortifications of the island were the citadel of *Port-Royal*, and the town of *St. Pierre*, both which, especially the first, were regularly fortified. *Port-Royal* is the capital of the island, and is situated at the bottom of a bay of that name. As to the other defences of the island, they consisted of a body of regulars, then upon it, and a numerous well-disciplined militia, which the *French* had always accounted to be invincible by all the force the *English* could bring against them; and, indeed, their government had spared no pains to render the island populous. They likewise could bring into the field a very considerable body of negroes, the best of any in the *West-Indies*, because well-affected to their masters, most of them having been born upon the island; but, to the reproach of the *French* government, the place in all other respects was unprovided with necessaries, even to its wanting water and ammunition. At a place called *Casenavire*, they had thrown up some intrenchments, thinking the descent would be attempted there. On the 15th of *January*, the

British

British Squadron entered the bay of *Port-Royal*, and was somewhat annoyed by a battery about half-way up the bay, from the little island of *Ranieres*. Upon the advance of the *English*, a *French* ship of 74 guns, and two frigates, put themselves under the protection of the citadel; but the two frigates escaped in the night. The first operation of the *English* was to attack the battery of *Fort Negro*, which they soon mastered, and then they destroyed the other battery at *Casnavire*; upon which, the *French* troops, which had been drawn up to oppose the debarkation, retired to the citadel, and the *English* landed without any molestation, and took post in the island.

It happened fortunately for them, that the *French* general of the island had neither experience nor courage answerable to such a command; and it was as fortunate for the islanders, that the *British* officers either had no good understanding among themselves, or had formed no settled plan of operations; at least it appears that they were entirely ignorant of the nature of the island they were attempting to reduce. The vivacity of the islanders supplied the defects of their general. They plied the *English* as they lay under arms all night from their musketry, under the shelter of their woods. They had broken up all the roads, and next day, as the *English* advanced to an eminence called *Morne Tortneson*, which overlooked the town and citadel of *Port-Royal*, they lost abundance of men from the fire of the *French*, without being able to perceive from whence it came. Though this eminence was the most considerable part of the island, yet the *French* general had neglected to fortify it, and was preparing to blow up the fortifications of the citadel, when general *Hopson* drew off from the attack, and all the *British* troops were reembarked within less than four and twenty hours after their landing. The reason given for this unaccountable resolution, was, that the troops could not advance regularly; and that the naval officers could not undertake to land the heavy artillery so near to the fort as the general required. It is said, that when this resolution was taken, the principal inhabitants found themselves in so miserable a situation, through their want of cannon and ammunition, and the cowardice of their general, that they were deliberating in the town-house of *Port-Royal* about sending to the *English* terms of capitulation.

WHEN the *British* troops were reembarked, it was proposed in a council of war to attack *St. Pierre*, where about forty sail of merchant-ships lay at anchor in the bay. This proposal was opposed by the *British* commodore for reasons which operate equally against any enterprize of danger; and

he gave it as his opinion, that the armament should proceed immediately to the reduction of *Guadalupe*; in the mean time, that no charge of backwardness might lie against him, he gave directions for founding the bay of *St. Pierre*. Captain *Jekyl*, in the *Rippon*, was at the same time ordered to silence a battery, about a mile and a half to the northward of *St. Pierre*, which he did very gallantly; but his ship received such damage from two other batteries, and was in such danger of running aground, that orders were given for towing her off. All thoughts of any operation being effectual against *Martinico* being now at an end, the armament directed its course towards the island of *Guadalupe*; an object not so splendid, but more important than *Martinico* itself. It is one of the *Caribbee Islands*, lying about thirty leagues to the westward of *Martinico*, and is about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; or, to speak more exactly, the whole forms two islands, divided from one another by a salt water river, which is about 300 feet over where it is widest.

Expedition
of the Eng-
lish a-
gainst
Guada-
loupe.

THOUGH *Guadalupe* was one of the oldest settlements the French had in the *West-Indies*, and its intrinsic value even exceeding that of *Martinico*, yet its importance was little known to the French themselves till after the treaty of *Utrecht*, or to us till after we had conquered it. The expence which the French government had been at in settling and fortifying *Martinico*, and the private interests of their governors and creatures in the *West-Indies*, rendered *Guadalupe* of little public consideration compared to *Martinico*; and the people there could only trade with *Europe* but by the way of *Martinico*; so that the English in general imagined that all the rich produce of *Guadalupe*, in sugars and other commodities that came to *Europe*, belonged to *Martinico*. The western division of *Guadalupe*, which is known by the name of *Basse Terre*, but commonly called *Guadalupe*, is its principal, and contains the metropolis, with a citadel and other fortifications. The eastern division, which is called *Grand Terre*, has in it little or no fresh water; but it is defended by a fort and redoubt, called *Port Lewis*, which commands the road of *Gosier*. No place in the world is better furnished with fresh water or rivers than the western division. *Guadalupe* abounds in high hills; of which one is a volcano, but presents one of the most beautiful landscapes to the eye that nature exhibits. The plains are fertile to profusion in sugar, cotton, coffee, indigo, and ginger. The air is remarkably salubrious for an island that lies between the tropics, and it is seldom mentioned but as being one of the most desirable spots in the *West-Indies*. Two small islands, called *All Saints* and *Descada*,

on

on the eastern side of *Guadalupe*, belong to its government; and besides all the advantages we have already mentioned, the woods of the island produce great plenty of game, and the plains all kinds of roots and vegetables for the common uses of life.

It was the 23d of *January* when the *English* fleet came before the town of *Basse Terre* (for so the capital of *Guadalupe* is called); and it was resolved to attack the citadel, town, and other batteries, which all together composed a most formidable fortification, from the ships. Four large men of war were brought to bear upon the citadel, while the rest were disposed of so as to act against the town, and the batteries which opposed the landing. Captain *Trelawney*, in the *Lion*, began the engagement by attacking a battery of nine guns. It was not long before the firing became general and dreadful. It was incessant from nine in the morning till night; but, in the mean while, the continual showers of bombs which seconded the cannonade, and which fell into the town, set it on fire; and the flames being encreased by the rich but combustible materials they met with in the warehouses, nothing could be more dreadful than the prospect it presented all along the shore. Never did the commanders of an *English* fleet exert themselves with more intrepidity, and at the same time with more judgment, than they did on this occasion. The captains *Leslie*, *Burnet*, *Gayton*, *Jekyl*, *Trelawney*, and *Shuldham*, distinguished themselves in an extraordinary degree. The *Burford* and *Berwick* being driven to sea, captain *Shuldham* in the *Panther* was for some time unsustained; and the ship of captain *Jekyl*, after silencing the guns of one of the forts, running aground, was for some time exposed to a severe fire of musketry from a numerous and resolute militia, which lined the shore, and who, bringing up an eighteen-pound cannon, must have destroyed the ship, had not captain *Leslie*, in the *Bristol*, ran between it and the battery, and thereby saved her. Towards night, all the guns of the citadel and batteries were silenced; and at five in the afternoon next day, the *British* troops, after their ships had taken many of those of their enemies, who endeavoured to make their escape, landed, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. It is said, that this success was not a little owing to the wisdom of the *British* commodore, who, by shifting his flag into the *Woolwich* frigate, and by keeping aloof without gun-shot, that he might give directions with the greater coolness, taught the officers under him that prudence ought to unite with courage in the character of a commander in chief.

A *GENOESE* deserter, who fell into the hands of the *British* troops, informed them, that the regulars upon the island did not exceed 100 men, who had retired with so much precipitation, that they could not execute a design they had of blowing up the powder-magazine in the citadel, which was accordingly saved, and most of the enemy's great guns were rendered serviceable by the matrosses, who drilled out the nails with which they had been spiked. But the taking of *Basse Terre* was far from reducing the island, the nature of which was such, that it might have been defended foot by foot. When *Basse Terre* was no longer tenable, the governor, *Nadau D'Étreil*, retired with about 2000 of the inhabitants and the armed negroes to the strong passes, particularly one in the mountains, called *Dos d'Ane*, the *Ass's Back*, which was deemed impregnable, and the most important in the island, as it opened a communication with *Capesterre*, the principal and most beautiful district of all *Guadalupe*. Here they assembled, and the governor gave out that he would defend it to extremity. The *British* commanders, being informed of the enemy's situation, sent a flag of truce with offers of capitulation to the governor. His answer was, that they were not to form a judgment of the strength of the island from the facility with which they had reduced *Basse Terre* and its citadel; and that if they proceeded to unwarrantable extremities, he had a master powerful enough to revenge them.

Cowardice
of the
French
governor,

THIS behaviour of *D'Étreil* carried with it a shew of resolution; but his cowardly retiring from the defence of *Basse Terre*, and his subsequent conduct, sufficiently evinced the small attention the *French* court had paid to the choice of their *West-Indian* governors. His cowardice was partly supplied by the spirit and resolution of the inhabitants and militia. Both they and their armed negroes kept up from their woods a constant fire upon the scouting parties of the *English*, even while their habitations were all on fire round them, and were not afraid of even encountering them upon an equality. A lady of fortune, one *Ducharmey*, signalized herself in person, at the head of her negroes, and obliged the *English*, who lost twelve soldiers, besides thirty who were wounded in the attack, to storm the intrenchments she had thrown up in defence of her estate. It was now the 6th of *February*, and the reduction of the island seemed still to be at a great distance. The islanders had formed a most sensible plan of defence, which was, to take every advantage of the strength and knowledge they had of the ground, by cutting off their enemies whenever they saw an opportunity. They knew, at the same time, that the *British* army was sickly,

and courage of a
lady.

and but indifferently furnished with provisions; so that above 500 were obliged to be sent sick from their hospitals, which were too crowded to contain them, to the island of *Antigua*; and they shewed so much resolution in all encounters, that the *English* officers resolved to shift their scene of action to *Grand Terre*, to which their great ships were accordingly sent round; and a body of their marines and highlanders, after a severe cannonading and driving the *French* sword in hand from their intrenchments, took possession of *Fort Lewis*.

SOME days after this, viz. on the 27th of *February*, major-general *Hopson* died at *Basse Terre*, and was succeeded in the chief command of the army by general *Barrington*, an officer of far greater enterprize and activity. The commodore had ordered two ships of war to cruize off the *Dutch* island of *St. Eustatia*, and to intercept all the supplies and provisions with which those mercenary republicans had hitherto furnished the inhabitants of *Guadalupe*. *Barrington*, on the first day of his command, ordered the *British* troops to strike their tents, the better to amuse the enemy; and, in a few days after, he recalled his detachments from their advanced posts, and ordered the batteries in and about *Basse Terre* to be blown up. The army was then reembarked; but colonel *Debrisay* was left with a regiment and a detachment of artillery in the citadel of *Basse Terre*. This disposition had all the effects which the *British* general had foreseen. The enemy, deceived by the reembarkation of the troops, attacked the citadel, and were preparing to besiege it in form, when the brave colonel *Debrisay*, major *Trollop*, a lieutenant, with some bombardiers and soldiers, were unfortunately blown up by the explosion of a powder-magazine, which damaged the south-east bastion of the citadel. Upon this accident, the enemy redoubled their attacks upon the fortifications, but were constantly repulsed; and general *Barrington*, understanding what had happened, sent major *Melvil*, an officer of great merit, to succeed *Debrisay* in the command of the citadel, and the chief engineer to repair the damage that had been done to its works.

CERTAIN intelligence by this time was come, that *M. de Bompert*, a *French* admiral, with eight sail of the line, and three frigates, and a large body of land-forces, were arrived at *Martinico*, where they lay at anchor in the bay of *Port-Royal*. Upon this, *Mr. Moore* called in his cruisers, and set sail for the bay of *Dominica*, an island about nine leagues distant to the windward from *Guadalupe*, leaving general *Barrington* with the transports, and no more than one forty-gun ship for their protection, while he resumed his operations against

against *Guadaloupe*. Mr. Moore's taking his station at *Dominica*, instead of sailing directly to *Martinica*, where he might either have fought the enemy's squadron, or blocked it up, occasioned many speculations, especially as he left the seas open to the *French* privateers, who, on that occasion, carried prizes into *Martinica* above fourscore *British* ships.

Gradual
conquest of
all *Gua-*
daloupe.

GENERAL *Barrington*, in the mean while, knew what his country expected from the armament under his command, and ordered 600 men to make a new descent upon *Grand Terre*, under colonel *Crump*, who landed between the towns of *St. Anne* and *St. Francis*. Another detachment of 300 men landed, and, after a vigorous resistance, destroyed the battery and entrenchment that defended the town of *Gosier*, and drove its garrison into the woods. The detachments then forced their way to *Fort Lewis*, where an *English* garrison still continued, and which was ordered to sally out to favour their attempt; in which they succeeded with some loss and difficulty. Thus far the way was cleared towards a final reduction of the island; which still seemed to be at a great distance; and the general ordered the colonels *Crump* and *Clavering* to attempt surprising all at once the three towns of *Petitbourg*, *Gonoyave*, and *St. Mary's*, situated on the *Basse-Terre* side of the island. This design, though well laid, miscarried, partly through the tempestuousness of a dark night, and partly through a panic which seized their negroe conductors, who ran their flat-bottom boats upon shoals. This disappointment was far from daunting the ardour of the *British* general and officers, who shewed an alacrity hardly to be paralleled under such difficulties and discouragements as they had to encounter. Some fresh volunteers had, by this time, landed from *Barbados* and the other *English* islands, and general *Barrington* detached the same, two colonels with them, and about 1300 more men, to land in a bay under the protection of the *Woolwich* man of war, near the town of *Arnonville*, which lies at the bottom of the little *Cul de Sac*.

THE absence of the *British* fleet at *Dominica*, was, at this time, sensibly felt by our troops, as the communication between *Guadaloupe* and *St. Eustatia* was again open, and furnished the islanders with supplies of all kinds. They had foreseen the descent near *Arnonville*, but had thrown up a very strong entrenchment at a post behind the river *Le Corne*, which covered the bay *Mahaut*, where their succours from *St. Eustatia* landed. The enemy had neglected nothing that could improve by art the natural strength of this post, upon which, indeed, the defence of their island chiefly depended, and which, perhaps, no troops in the world but *British* could

could have mastered with so inconsiderable a force. *Duroure's* regiment and the highlanders advanced with the greatest intrepidity and coolness to attack it, under the fire of four field-pieces and two howitzers. The enemy had no idea of such resolution, and the assailants drove them from their entrenchments on the left, with vast rapidity, into the redoubt, which they became masters of. The *French* made a better stand within their entrenchments on the right, where they were well provided with cannon and musketry; but the *English* passing the river on that side upon an occasional bridge, they were driven from that post likewise, and about seventy of them, among whom were some of their chief planters, were made prisoners; while the *English* had two officers and thirteen men killed, and about fifty wounded: and the truth is, when we consider the difficulties of the service, and the resolution of the enemy, the loss of our troops on this expedition was but very inconsiderable.

PETITBOURG was next to be attacked; and though the banks of the river *Lizard* were strongly fortified by entrenchments and cannon, colonel *Clavering* forced them, and pursued the enemy to *Petitbourg*, from whence he likewise drove them by the assistance of captain *Uvedale* of the *Granada* bomb-ketch. So many dreadful blows seemed to have stunned the *French*, who, on the 15th of *April*, abandoned the strong post of *Gonyave*, which, had it been well defended, was next to inaccessible. This important post being gained, colonel *Crump* proceeded with 700 men to the town of *Mahaut*, lying upon the bay of that name. A magazine of stores from *St. Eustatia* lay there; all which he seized, and burnt the place. On the 20th of the same month, colonel *Clavering* made two dispositions of the detachment under his command, one under colonel *Barlow* to attack the enemy, who were assembled at *St. Mary*, in the rear; and another under himself for forcing their entrenchments, within which, it was given out, they were to make their last stand for the island. The *French* every where gave way to colonel *Barlow*, and retiring into their lines at *St. Mary*, when they saw the *English* endeavouring to turn them, abandoned them likewise to oppose their enemy upon equal terms; but they were soon defeated by a galling fire from the *British* musketry, whose commanders beat them out of all their works, obliged them to abandon their artillery, and took up their quarters for the same night within the lines of *St. Mary*. Nothing was now left to the inhabitants but to obtain as good a capitulation as they could; and, while they were drawing up the terms,

terms, the *English* troops entered without resistance the country of *Capesterre*, the principal division of the island, where one planter surrendered himself with no fewer than 870 negroes that belonged to his own estate; and his example was followed by many other chief inhabitants.

Terms of
the capi-
tulation it
obtained.

Two *French* gentlemen *Clainvilliers* and *Duqueruy*, were chosen by the latter as their deputies, for settling the terms of the capitulation for the inhabitants, and were conducted by colonel *Clavering* to general *Barrington*, who then was at *Petitbourg*. The general, and the chief *British* officers, were not at this time, as the event shewed, without some well-grounded apprehensions of the islanders receiving succours from the *French* armament that had lately arrived at *Martinico*. Every hour was diminishing the small number of *British* troops, who continued still unprotected by their squadron; and, considering the natural strength of the island, it was hard to say what the event might be, if the inhabitants were driven to despair. The two deputies were authorized to treat by *D'Etrel*, whose commission, as governor, included *Guadaloupe*, *Grand Terre*, *Deseada*, and the *Saintes*. Very little difficulty attended the settling the capitulation: the honours of war were granted to the governor, who with the other regular officers, the commissary-general, and the officers of the admiralty, were to be sent to *Martinico*; and such of them as had estates upon the island, were at liberty to appoint attorneys to act for them; and in case the island should be left to *Great-Britain* by a peace, they had leave to sell their estates, and to carry off the produce; that all the armed negroes should be sent off the island, with all privateers-men, deserters, and the like; and that the island, with all magazines of provision, ammunition, and implements of war, with the papers relating to the revenue, should be immediately delivered up to the *English*.

BESIDES those articles, which related only to the military and royal establishment of the island, another capitulation was drawn up for the inhabitants of the island, represented by Mess. *Debourg*, *De Clainvilliers* and *Duqueruy*, and authorized by *D'Etrel*. This capitulation was of more importance than the former; and the inhabitants, in consideration of the brave defence they had made, during an attack of three months, had the most honourable terms granted them. They were allowed the free and public exercise of their religion; and the priests and religious were to be preserved in their parishes, convents, and all other possessions. The inhabitants were not to be obliged to serve in arms against his most Christian majesty, and were to be indulged in the

continuance of their own civil government, and in the possession of all their properties and privileges. They were to be subject to no imposts but those they had paid under the *French* government, unless the island was finally ceded to his *Britannic* majesty; in which case, they were to pay the same taxes and imposts as were paid by the *English* *Leeward-Islands*. All their prisoners were to be exchanged, and their free mulattoes and negroes were to be considered as prisoners of war. None but the inhabitants, actually resident upon the island, were to possess any lands or houses, by purchase, grant, or otherwise, before a peace; but if at the peace the island should be ceded to the king of *Great-Britain*, then such of the inhabitants as do not chuse to live under the *English* government, shall be permitted to sell their possessions, moveable and immoveable, to whom they will, and retire wherever they please; for which purpose there shall be a reasonable time allowed. This article, which was the eleventh of the capitulation, was granted; but the absentees were at liberty to sell only to *British* subjects. By the 14th article, however, they were to have all the profits of their estates, which they were left at freedom to manage by their attornies. By the 16th article it was provided, that the *English* government shall procure for the inhabitants an exportation for such commodities as the island produces, and are not permitted to be imported into *England*. The 21st article, which was of the utmost importance, ran as follows: "The inhabitants and merchants of this island, included in the present capitulation, shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, and upon the same conditions as are granted to his *Britannic* majesty's subjects throughout the extent of his dominions". This article was granted, with an exception to the privileges of particular companies in *England*, and to the laws there, which prohibit the carrying on trade in any other than *English* bottoms.

SUCH are the material articles which were complained of by the people of *Barbados*, and their correspondents in *England*, as being too favourable to the *French* sugar-trade. But the wisdom of granting the capitulation was evinced in a few minutes after it was signed, when a messenger came into the camp of the islanders, informing them, that M. de *Beaubarnois*, general of the *French* islands, had landed under convoy of *Bombart's* Squadron, with a reinforcement of 600 regular troops, about 2000 buccaneers, or rather free-booters, and a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, for the relief of the island. The same hour, however, brought advice, that the *French* officers, hearing of the capitulation being signed, instantly reembarked their men and their stores, and sailed back

to *Martinico*. Few histories afford instances of so critical a transaction as this capitulation proved to be. The inhabitants were far from being diminished in their numbers, and would have still found resources in their courage and the natural strength of their island, had they not been dispirited by the cowardice and misconduct of their governor and military officers. If the succours from *Martinico* had arrived but one hour sooner, it is probable they would have baffled all the power of the *British* troops that were upon the island, notwithstanding the incredible efforts of courage and military conduct they had exerted. As to the disappointment the people of *Barbados* met with, however great it was, after their services in promoting the expedition, it did not weigh against the vast national advantages which attended the conquest.

*Merits of
the Bar-
badians.*

It is certain, that many thought the public spirit they discovered on this occasion, was not a little influenced by insular considerations. They had long felt the vast progress which *Guadalupe* had made in the sugar-trade, and which, when compared to that of their own island, might be considered as only in its infancy. The soil of *Barbados* in many places was worn out; it no where retained its original fertility, and required great expences to keep it in good condition. Many of their planters were in hopes of being able to make advantageous settlements under the government in *Guadalupe*, and were in a condition to have purchased them; in which case, their estates in *Barbados* would have acquired time for rest, and for recovering their fertility (T). They were disappointed in all those views by the critical capitulation of *Guadalupe*, which at that time was said to produce as much sugar as *Barbados* and all the other *English* sugar-islands.

*Farther
conquests.*

No sooner was the return of *Bompart's* Squadron to *Martinico* known, when the inhabitants of *Guadalupe* left the *Dos d'Ane*, and the *English* generously assisted them in the repairing the devastations of *Basse Terre*, and in erecting huts for their shelter, till their houses could be rebuilt. After this, the islands of *Saintes* and *Desada*; with *Petitierre*, accepted of the same capitulation which had been granted to *Guadalupe*. The inhabitants of *Marigalante*, an island lying about three

(T) The whole of this reasoning, though very plausible at the time, is extremely questionable, when we consider the vast quantities of sugar-grounds

which the *French* had in *St. Domingo* and other islands, which would be easily employed for that culture.

leagues to the south-east of *Grand Terre*, refusing to accept of the same terms, the general sent thither a body of troops, with three ships of war and two bomb-vessels, which took them under convoy at *Prince Rupert's Bay*, where commodore *Moore* then was; and the appearance of this armament soon reduced the inhabitants to reason. All this while, the operations of the *British* fleet under commodore *Moore* were not a little unaccountable; for though he had undoubted intelligence, while he lay in *Prince Rupert's Bay*, of *Bompart's* having failed to the relief of *Guadalupe*, and though, upon that, he returned to the windward, yet he afterwards fell to the leeward; by which the two squadrons never met, and *Mr. Moore*, at last, receiving advice of *Bompart's* safe return to *Martinico*, repajred to his former station in the bay. The conquest of *Guadalupe* being finished, colonel *Crumpe*, who had greatly contributed to it, was left governor of the island, colonel *Melvil* had the government of the citadel of *Basse Terre*, and colonel *Delgarno* commanded at *Grand Terre*. Three regiments were left upon the island, and the rest of the troops were reimbarcked, some for *North America*, and others for *England*.

HAVING thus finished our history of the reduction of *Guadalupe*, upon the authorities of the *London Gazette* and other accounts, which were, at that time, looked upon as unquestionable, we shall, in justice to commodore *Moore*, insert some of his observations, tending to clear up his conduct, which he thought had been too virulently attacked by the people of *Barbados*; because he had been active in preventing the pernicious trade which many of them had carried on, by supplying with stores and provisions^r, the privateers of *Martinico*, without which they could not have fitted out their ships; especially as *Mr. Moore*, by the disposition of his cruizers, had cut off all communication between *St. Eustatia* and *Martinico*. *Mr. Moore* alledges, that had his advice been taken, the island of *Guadalupe* must have been much sooner reduced than it was; and he endeavours not only to clear himself from every charge of being backward in the service, but affirms, that the expedition against *Guadalupe* was owing to his advice, which was founded on the thorough knowledge he had of the (till then concealed) importance of that island. We shall omit some other observations of less consequence, which *Mr. Moore* has made upon the published narratives of this expedition. He justifies himself for shifting

Examination of Mr. Moore's conduct.

^r Continuation of SMOLLETT'S History of England, Vol. IV. p. 451, &c.

his flag on board the *Woolwich* frigate, by the request of the general, who was in the same frigate, and desired him to be present, that they might advise together; and in the papers he communicated on that head, he seems to have had a very mean opinion of the courage of the inhabitants of *Guadalupe*. But as there appears in the papers and observations that have been published in his name, an evident tendency towards depreciating the merits of the land-service, we can say nothing as to that, and several other allegations. As to his sailing to the bay of *Dominica* upon receiving intelligence of M. *Bompart's* arrival at *Martinico*^s, though we are no judges of naval operations, yet considering the vast importance of destroying *Bompart's* squadron, we can by no means think them satisfactory, unless the commodore had advanced some other arguments besides his bare opinion, that *Bompart* could not have been attacked in the bay of *Port-Royal*. The consequence discovered, that the not attacking him there, or the shutting him up behind the cæreenage, hazarded the success of the whole expedition, because if *Bompart* had sailed an hour or two before he did, in all probability it had been ruined; an event of a too dreadful importance to be left to chance, or to the precarious foresight of an officer. The commodore denies, that when colonel *Crumpe* burned the town of *Mahaut*, that any provisions had been landed there since the first invasion of the island, which was owing to the good look-out of his cruisers, and which, he says, obliged a trader of *St. Eustatia* to offer to sell him 10,000 barrels of beef, which he intended for the *French* market. We apprehend there is little force in this argument, excepting what is due to the credibility of the commodore's own information; because the stores said to be found there by colonel *Crumpe* might have been amassed before the attack of the island. He pretends, that the troops who were landed by *Beauharnois* did not exceed 600 blacks and whites, and those in a wretched condition, and that by landing his marines on the back of them, they might all of them have been taken prisoners; adding, that the buccaneers existed no where but in imagination, as the date of those adventurers expired above fifty years before this period. All this depends likewise upon the commodore's single assertion. He takes no notice of the arms and ammunition that were landed at the same time, and we have substituted the word free-booters, instead of buccaneers, which entirely removes his objection to their real existence. That such a landing was effected is undoubted; and when we reflect

^s Ibid p. 458.

upon the spirit shewn by the inhabitants, and that they were still in possession of the *Dos d'Anè*, and several other strong posts of the island, neither the commodore nor any other man can say what the consequence might have been, had not the capitulation been signed. With regard to the other parts of the commodore's defence of his conduct, they do not come under our cognizance, as we do not pretend to pronounce upon the prudence of an officer, nor the operations of a sailor.

THE next great expedition which failed from *Barbados*, and to which the inhabitants of that island contributed in a most eminent degree, was that to *Martinico*. No attempt had been made by the *English* government from the time that *Guadalupe* and its neighbouring islands had been reduced, to the period when it was more than suspected that a family compact had been entered into between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, with a view principally of distressing *Great Britain*. It was then foreseen that a rupture between her and *Spain* was unavoidable, and that she was consequently under the necessity of reducing *Martinico*, before she could be in condition to attack *Spain* in her *West-Indies*, in case a war with that nation should succeed. From this consideration, the court of *Great Britain* came to a resolution of sending to the *West-Indies* an armament superior to any that had ever been seen in those seas, and that it should rendezvous at *Barbados*; and the government and administration of that island having received proper notice of this intention, exerted themselves as they had done before in the expedition against *Guadalupe*, in contributing all they could to the success of the undertaking. The war against the *French* in *North America*, having in the year 1761, been decisively finished in favour of *Great Britain*, it was resolved to employ all the troops that could be spared, after the reduction of *Canada*, upon the expedition against *Martinico*, which the *French* affected to say was impregnable to the *British* arms, and had already repelled their utmost efforts. Eleven battalions were drawn from *New York*; a considerable draught was made from the garrison of *Belleisle*, and all the troops that had been cantoned in the *Leeward Islands* were ordered to the rendezvous at *Barbados*; and general *Monckton*, who had so gloriously distinguished himself at the conquest of *Quebec*, was appointed to the command of the land-forces, while rear-admiral *Rodney* was to command the marine.

MR. *Rodney* sailed in 1761 from *England*; but soon after his departure, he was separated from the rest of his squadron in a bad gale of wind. After his arrival at *Barbados*

on the 22d of *November*, he was by degrees rejoined by them, and by the 9th of *December*, all his ships were re-assembled. By the 14th of *December*, all the troops arrived from *Belleisle*; and by the 24th, general *Monckton* landed with all the *North American* forces. Some days were spent in watering the ships and recruiting the men, in which the inhabitants of *Barbados* contributed all that was in their power. On the 7th of *January*, the whole armament arrived off *Martinico* at *St. Anne's Bay*, where Sir *Jamés Douglas*, a captain under Mr. *Rodney*, silenced some batteries that were raised on the shore. In this service, the *English* lost the *Raisable*; but all her men, guns, and stores, were saved. After beating about for some time for a safe landing-place, *Cas de Navires* was pitched upon, and the ships having silenced all the batteries there, the troops landed without opposition, and without the loss of a man, on the 16th. Several skirmishes passed after their landing, but to the disadvantage of the *French*, some of whom were killed. The *English* encamped upon the heights above the *Cas de Navires*; but upon examining the country, they found it stronger, and more inaccessible than *Guadalupe*. The grounds were intersected with gullies and ravines, with rivulets between them at certain distances; and wherever they were passable, the *French* had erected batteries to defend them. Though the regulars upon the island were not very formidable, yet the militia, as also their mulattoes and negroes, were numerous, brave, and well-disciplined, and all of them in arms. The *English* happened to land at a place where those obstructions were greater than any where else in the island. The eyes of their army were bounded by two great eminences, *Morné Tortenson*, and *Morné Garnier*, both of them fortified with the utmost care, though they seemed almost inaccessible by nature. *Morné Tortenson* was the first to be attacked, and batteries were raised to defend the *British* troops in their passing a very wide gully, lying between them and it. Three dispositions were made for the attack. It was begun by the grenadiers under major *Grant*; brigadier *Rufane* with his division, assisted by 1000 seamen in flat-bottomed boats, fell upon the enemy's redoubts along the shore; and brigadier *Walsh* with his brigade and the light-infantry, under colonel *Scott*, after attacking the left of a plantation, were to endeavour to get round the enemy. All those operations were performed with astonishing impetuosity and success. The attack began at break of day, and by nine in the morning, the enemy having been driven from post to post, were obliged to abandon *Morné Tortenson* to the *English*, who were to the last degree ama-

The vast
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it.

zed upon viewing its strength and situation, at the dangers they had surmounted, and the numerous redoubts of the *French*, all of them mounted with cannon. The enemy, after suffering severely, especially from the grenadiers, fled, part of them to *Morne Garnier*, and part of them to *Fort Royal*, the *British* grenadiers pursuing them to the bridge of that place, where they even made some prisoners.

AFTER this, the general took possession of certain posts that were proper for carrying on the attack against *Morne Garnier*; and on the 25th, he began to erect batteries on *Morne Tortenson* for carrying on that against *Fort Royal*: but here the troops were galled from *Morne Garnier*, and reduced the general to the necessity of erecting batteries to the left, to silence those of the enemy, and to cover the passage of the troops over a ravine. It must be acknowledged, that had the *French* kept upon the defensive, had they been commanded by brave and steady officers, under a resolute and experienced general, it would have been extremely difficult for the *British* troops to have surmounted the dangers that now lay before them. But on the 27th, the *French* presuming that their enemies were entirely discouraged and dispirited, and that they wanted only a pretext to make the best of their way back to their ships, attacked the *British* light infantry, and colonel *Haviland's* brigade. Here fortune most surprizingly seconded the ardour and intrepidity of our troops, to whom nothing could have happened of such advantage as this attack. They repelled their enemies, they improved their own defensive situation into a most vigorous charge, and being well supported, pursued the enemy across the ravine, where they seized their batteries, and took post even in the enemy's redoubts; and this rout was so happily improved, that by nine at night, *Morne Garnier*, with all its works, was in possession of the *English*.

NOTHING but the want of proper officers could have induced the *French* to make so ill-judged an attack, and so disgraceful a retreat; for they left a mortar loaded, and their guns unspiked, besides ammunition and provision in the hands of the *English*. But general *Monckton* was now preparing to batter the citadel of *Fort Royal* from the eminences he had gained; which the enemy perceiving, their despondency became as great as their presumption had been before. On the evening of the 3d of *February*, they beat the chamade, and accepted of a capitulation, by which the garrison was to be sent to *Rochfort* in *France*; but the militia and freebooters, with all others in arms upon the island, were to remain prisoners of war, till the fate of the island was determined.

mined. In consequence of this capitulation, which was not more fortunate than unexpected, the *British* troops took immediate possession of the citadel. The conduct of M. *De la Touche*, the governor-general of the island, was equally absurd and unaccountable. He had abandoned the citadel of *Fort-Royal*, at a time when it was very defensible; and retired with his remaining regulars to *St. Pierre*, the principal town upon the island, with a fullen kind of defiance both to the *French* and the *English*; and he seemed to disdain having any correspondence with the latter so much, that he did not send to enquire about his prisoners, or his dead or wounded. The islanders perceiving the amazing progress of the *British* arms, and that they were, in a manner, abandoned by their governor, sent deputations from all quarters of the island to capitulate against his express order; and a capitulation was accordingly settled between their excellencies Mess. *Monckton* and *Rodney*, generals by land and sea of his *Britannic* majesty, and the inhabitants of the island of *Martinico*; represented by Messieurs *D'Alessò*, Seig. *Defragny la Pierre*, captain of horse, and *Fereyre*, captain of infantry of militia, furnished with full powers from nine quarters of the island. By this capitulation, the inhabitants were to march out of their posts with the honours of war, but afterwards were to give up their arms. They were to have the free exercise of their religion, nor were they to be obliged to take arms against the *French* king; and they were to live as *British* subjects, under their own civil government, till his *Britannic* majesty's pleasure was known. They were, the religious as well as laity, to be secured in all their property, and to be put on the footing of the other *English* subjects in the *Leeward Islands*. If the island was ceded to *Great-Britain*, the inhabitants, who chose it, were at liberty to dispose of their estates to *British* subjects; their trade was to be continued; and, upon very moderate conditions, they were allowed to make white and clayed sugars.

By this time *Pidgeon-Island* surrendered, which, according to Mr. *Rodney* (U), gave the *English* forces possession of the noblest and best harbour in these parts of the *West-Indies*. *De la Touche* still continued to make a shew as if he would defend *St. Pierre*; and disapproved of the capitulation made by the other inhabitants. Mr. *Rodney* was just about to embark to reduce this stubborn governor-general, when the prin-

(U) See copy of a letter from rear-admiral *Rodney* to Mr. *Cleveland*, dated in *Royal Bay, Martinico, February 20, 1762.*

cipal inhabitants of the island, seeing how irresistible the *British* arms were, and reasonably apprehending that if matters came to extremity, they might lose the benefits of the capitulations which had been granted to the rest of the island, forced him, in a manner, to send two deputies to *Fort Royal*, where the *British* general was, and where they arrived on the 12th of *February*, with an offer of a capitulation for the whole island on the part of the governor-general. Mr. *Monckton* sent back his answer to these proposals, and on the 14th, the capitulation arrived signed. The *French* governor-general struggled hard for a suspension of arms for fourteen days; and after that, if no *French* succours arrived in the island, the capitulation was to take place: but this was denied him, and he was obliged to put the whole island, with all its forts and posts, into the immediate possession of the *British* troops. In other respects, this capitulation did not much differ from that already granted. The governor-general desired with all his garrison, some cannon, and arms, to be sent to the *Grenades*; but they were sent to *France*. *De la Touche*, in this capitulation, employed much art and chicanery to obtain some articles, by which the *English* government might have been loaded with the *French* king's debts to private persons; and a road might have been opened to such collusive practices as might have greatly diminished the value of the conquest; but all those artifices were seen through, and rejected in the capitulation. *La Touche*, it seems, had a suspicion of a secret correspondence being carried on between the *English* and some of the inhabitants of the place, and therefore he demanded five of the latter to be delivered up to him; but his request was refused, because they had, by the former capitulations, been taken under the *British* protection.

THUS the whole island of *Martinico*, the capital of the *French* trade and dominions in the *West-Indies*, was reduced to the subjection of *Great-Britain*. It is not to be denied, that during the whole of this expedition, the people of *Barbados* had great merit in diligently supplying the fleet and army with all the provisions which their island afforded. The officers who distinguished themselves the most in this glorious reduction, were the brigadiers *Haviland*, *Grant*, *Rufane*, lord *Rolls*, and *Walsh*; the lieutenant-colonels *Fletcher*, *Massej*, *Vaughan*, and *Scot*; major *Leland*, and captain *Kennedy*. The entire reduction of this island cost the *French* above 1000 of their best men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The loss of the *British* troops, considering the nature of the service, was surprisngly small. No more than seven

The History of America:

officers were killed, and about 100 common men, and about 350 upon the whole were wounded. This expedition was distinguished above all that ever had gone from *Great-Britain*, by the unanimity which prevailed between the officers and men of the sea and land-service.

*The other
French
Caribbees
reduced.*

DURING the reduction of *Martinico*, Mr. *Rodney* had made proper dispositions for reducing all the rest of the *French Caribbee-Islands*. That of *St. Lucia* surrendered to captain *Harvey*, with a very considerable quantity of ordnance, powder, and military stores. The island of *St. Vincent*, at the same time, was very closely blocked up, and commodore *Swanton* was detached with a squadron, which had on board a detachment of land-forces under major-general *Walch*, to reduce *Granada*. All those undertakings succeeded without any effusion of blood. The island of *Grenada*, and the fort upon it, which was very strong, surrendered upon the same terms that had been granted to the inhabitants of *Martinico*; and to this desirable event, the same of the *British* clemency did not a little contribute. The *Grenadillas*, with the island of *St. Vincent*, underwent the same fate. Those conquests were the more important, on account of the period at which they were obtained; for the very day of the surrender of *Granada*, which was the 5th of *March*, the most powerful armament that ever went from *England* to the *West-Indies*, sailed from *Portsmouth*, to reduce the *Havannah*, which must have been next to impracticable, had the *French* remained in possession of *Martinico*, and their other *Caribbee-Islands*. The people of *Barbados* had undoubtedly formed to themselves very sanguine hopes of wealth and commerce upon their mother-country becoming mistress of all the *French Caribbees*. A number of adventurers, some of them with very considerable stocks, had of late offered to settle on their island; but they could neither get employment, nor lands to cultivate, the soil being improved to the utmost, and therefore they were obliged to remove to other *British* islands or settlements, and many of them, particularly those from *Ireland*, are said to have settled upon the *French* part of *Hispaniola*. It was on the other hand easily to be foreseen, that had the *English* kept possession of *Guadaloupe*, *Martinico*, and the other islands they conquered, great numbers of the *French*, from their attachment to their religion and government, would gladly have disposed of their estates to *British* subjects, the *Barbadians* especially, which would have given the latter an opportunity of extending their commerce to an inconceivable degree. But the peace of *Fontainbleau*, in the beginning of the year 1763, destroyed all their expectations. It long remained

mained a doubt with the government of *England*, whether they ought to give up the conquests they had made over the *French* on the continent of *America*, or those in the *West-Indies*. Many reasons determined them to part with the latter: for though their keeping possession of *Martinico*, *Guadaloupe*, and the other *French Caribbees*, might have greatly extended their sugar-trade, yet it could not have secured the whole of it to *Great-Britain*; as both the *French* and the *Spaniards* were still possessed of vast tracts of land in the *West-Indies*, proper for that culture; and even the *Dutch* and *Danes* had settlements there, which they could have improved in raising sugars. In short, the monopolizing of that trade to *Great-Britain*, by maintaining those islands, was found to be a mere chimera; and, as the primary object of the war was to secure the *British* settlements in *North America*, which they did by the conquest of *Canada*, and the cession of *Louisiana* and *Florida*, the retention of the latter was thought to be by far the preferable alternative. We are now to give some description of the produce and commerce of *Barbados*.

OUR best geographers have laid down the island to lie between long. 59. 50. and 60. 2. west from *London*; and betwixt north lat. 12. 56. and 13. 16. As to its extent, it is very difficult to ascertain it. The most general opinion is, that it is twenty-five miles from north to south, and fifteen from east to west; but those mensurations are subject to so many difficulties and uncertainties, that the reader, perhaps, will form a more adequate idea of the extent of this island, when he is told, that in reality it does not contain above a hundred and seven thousand acres. *Barbados* is the most windwardly of all the *Caribbee Islands*, excepting *Tobago*. The whole of the island may be considered as one continued garden, every foot of which is so precious, that it is improved to the utmost, and presents to the eye, wherever it is turned, the most delightful prospects. The climate is hot, but not unwholsome, because of the sea-breezes; and a temperate regimen renders it as safe to live in as any climate in *Europe* south of *Great-Britain*, and, according to the opinion of many, as *Great Britain* itself.

Description of Barbados.

THE chief town of *Barbados* is *Bridge-Town*, which lies in the inmost part of *Carlisle-Bay*. This originally was a most unwholsome situation, and chosen entirely on account of its conveniency for trade; but it is now deemed to be as healthy as any place in the island. The town itself would make a figure in any *European* kingdom. It is said now to contain about 1500 houses, and some contend that it is the finest the *English* possess in *America*. The rents of the houses, which

which in general are spacious, well-built and finished, are as high as such houses would let for in *London*. The wharfs and quays are well defended from the sea, and very convenient. The harbour is secure from the north-east wind, which is the constant trade-wind there, and *Carlisle-Bay* is capable of containing 500 sail of ships, and is formed by *Needham* and *Pelican* points. But that which renders *Bridge-Town* the finest and most desirable town in the *West-Indies*, is its security against any attacks from foreign enemies. It is defended on the westward by *James-Fort*, which mounts 18 guns. Near this is *Willoughby's-Fort*, which is built upon a tongue of land running into the sea, and mounts 12 guns. *Needham's-Fort* has three batteries, and is mounted with 20 guns; and *St. Anne's-Fort*, which is the strongest in the island, stands more within land. In short, according to Mr. *Douglas*^t, there is all along the lee-shore a breast-work and trench, in which, at proper places, were 29 forts and batteries, having 308 cannon mounted, while the windward shore is secured by high rocks, steep cliffs, and foul ground. Such was the state of the fortifications of the island in 1717: but since that time it has admitted of such additions, that though the plunder of this small, but rich island, is the most alluring object our enemies can have; yet it does not appear, that during the two late wars, while we were conquering all their *West-Indies*, that they ever thought in earnest of an attack upon *Barbados*. The powder and stores of the island are kept under a strong guard in a stone magazine, within a small fort of eight guns, on the east side of the town. The church of *St. Michael* exceeds in beauty, largeness, and conveniency, many *English* cathedrals, and has a fine organ, bells, and clock. In short, *Bridge-Town* is destitute of few elegancies or conveniencies of life that any city in *Europe* affords. It has a free-school for the instruction of poor boys, an hospital, and a college. The latter was erected by the society for propagating the Christian religion, in pursuance of the will of colonel *Christopher Codrington*, who left about 2000 *l.* a year for its endowment, for maintaining professors and scholars to study and practice divinity, surgery, and physic.

Attempts
of the
French
against it.

It is certain, that sixty years ago, at the beginning of queen *Anne's* reign, and war with *France*, the *French* had an eye upon *Barbados*; and *Labat*, one of their most judicious missionaries and voyagers, who was upon the island, was of opinion, that the plate and furniture of *Bridge-Town*, if plundered, was equal in value to the capture of the *Spanish gal-*

^t DOUGLAS'S Summary, Vol. I. p. 133.

leons; and that *Chatteaufrenauld*, in 1702, might have made himself master of the island, had he not proceeded to convoy the plate-fleet to *Vigo*. But the missionary, at the same time confesses, that the conquest of *Barbados* could not have been effected by a less number than that of 5000 men, and those creoles and buccaneers, and twelve men of war to prevent any succours from coming to the islanders. But he supposes, at the same time, the *Irish* Roman catholics, who were then very numerous upon the island, would join the *French* against their masters. The opinion of this judicious missionary has in it some weight, even at this time; for though the island is now incomparably better fortified than it was sixty years ago, yet there is some reason for doubting, whether it is equally populous. Thirty thousand souls are supposed to be the utmost extent of the white inhabitants; so that the whites upon the island; capable of bearing arms, cannot be very numerous. According to a report of the military state of this island in 1736^u, it had 22 castles and forts, 26 batteries, mounted with 463 pieces of ordnance, many of which were honey-combed, and near 100 wanting to complete the fortifications; which, with the military stores and arms, were much decayed. The militia consisted then of one troop only, two regiments of horse and foot, making in all, 4326 men; but the militia is now computed at 1500 horse, and 3000 foot. It is to be noted, that all freemen here are obliged to enter themselves in the regiment of their own district; and that there is a law obliging all persons, who design to go off the island, to leave notice thereof at the secretary's office three weeks before their departure. The reader in the note (X) will find

^u System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 751.

(X) The government of this island as it is now constituted, resembles that of the other islands. It consists of the governor, a council of twelve men, who are, as it were, of his own nomination, being appointed by letters of *mandamus*; and an assembly of twenty-two, chosen yearly out of the several parishes; *viz.* two for each, by a majority of votes. The members of the council sit in the court of chancery with the governor, and are, by virtue of their posts, styled honour-

able. The governor has the sole power of appointing and displacing all military officers; but judges and justices of the peace, (though removeable by him for sufficient reasons) are to be appointed by consent of the council, of whom no member can be displaced, without consent of the rest, unless on an extraordinary occasion not fit to be divulged to the whole body; and then the governor's reasons for such suspension are immediately transmitted home. The governor, besides his salary

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Its go-
vernment
and towns.

a very full and accurate account of the government of the island, which comes from so good an authority, that we

lary of 2000 *l.* sterling, payable out of the four and a half per cent. is intitled to no perquisite, except a third of seizures; and restrained from receiving any gift or present from the assembly, or others, unless it be granted as a settlement by the first assembly he meets after his arrival. Tho' the senior counsel is to administer affairs in his absence, or after his death, till the arrival of another, he cannot pass any acts but what are immediately necessary for the peace and welfare of the island, nor dissolve the assembly then in being, nor remove or suspend any officer, civil or military, without the consent of at least seven of the council. The president is allowed for his trouble one half of the salary and emoluments allotted to the governor for the time being; and five members of council make a quorum, to transact all public business, and to constitute a court of chancery, and court of errors; which courts are held monthly. The members of a new assembly are chosen on the expiration or dissolution of a former, on the *Monday* after the third publication of a writ directed to the parish-churches throughout the island for that purpose; and where they are returned to the governor in council, they take all the state-oaths, subscribe the test, and then chuse a speaker, who cannot act as such before he is presented to, and approved by, the governor. The speaker, and eleven other members, constitute a house for transaction of business. They may make what rules they think proper, which are binding on themselves. They may expel any of their members, and may give leave to two of them to go off the island for six months, for recovery of their health. They have a right to try and determine all controverted elections; but can only adjourn themselves from day to day; all longer adjournments being to be made by the commander in chief. The assembly annually nominates the treasurer, the storekeeper of the magazine, the agent, and the comptroller of the excise; as also, an inspector of health, and the gaugers of casks; but all those officers are to be approved of by the commander in chief and council, which the clerk and marshal of the assembly, of their own appointment, are not. The assembly, likewise, ascertain all the publick levies, which cannot be raised without their consent; and they prescribe the uses to which the money must be applied. Four of the council, and six of the assembly, or any six of them, are a committee for settling the publick accounts of the island. The governor has a negative in the passing of all laws agreed to by the council and assembly. Three of the council and three of the assembly, or any four of them, are appointed as a committee, to correspond with the agency in *Great-Britain*. The treasurer can pay no publick

chuse to give it in the words of the writer. The governor collates rectors to the parishes of the island, which are in

lick money, nor make any particular appropriation of money, without an act, or an order from the governor, with the consent of the council. The chief justice of the pleas of the crown, and chief baron of the court of exchequer, are appointed by the governor, and have four other barons named with them; and any three of the five make a court for determining all matters. The island being divided into five precincts, there is a judge in each, who holds a court of common-pleas for trial of all causes, once every month, till the 26th of *September*, and then adjourns to the last *Monday* in *January*. From these courts there lies an appeal in all causes above 10*l.* value, to the governor and council, and from them in all above 500*l.* value, to the sovereign and council of *Great-Britain*. The five judges of the common-pleas courts are appointed by the governor, have each of them four assistants named with him, and any three of the five make a court for determining all suits for above eight pound. The chief judges of those courts take the probate of all deeds, which is the greatest profit of the office. The sole judge of the court of vice-admiralty is a patent-officer, though, for many years past, he has acted under a commission from the governor, who also appoints the two masters in chancery, the solicitor, and the escheator general; but the attorney-general is appointed by patent;

as are, also, the chief clerk, register, and sole examiner in chancery, clerk of the crown, and clerk of the peace; the secretary, and the clerk of the council; the provost-marshal, serjeant at arms, and marshal of the several courts; and the clerk of the market; all which officers are executed by deputies named by the patentees, or their attorneys. The casual receiver has his commission from *England*; the auditor-general is appointed by the lords of the treasury, and executes his office here by a deputy. The surveyor-general of the customs, with the other officers, are appointed by the commissioners of the customs, and, on any vacancy, the surveyor-general nominates till it is supplied from *England*. The naval office is granted by patent, and executed by a deputy; the surveyors of land are appointed by the commander in chief; the justices of the peace are appointed by a commission, which generally issues soon after a governor's arrival; and one of the persons named in that commission is nominated every half year, by the commander in chief, with the consent of the council, to preside as chief justice of the court of grand session, which is appointed by law to be held in *June* and *December*, besides the quarter-sessions held by the justices in every parish. The chief justice, with five other justices, are empowered to hold the court, to which are returned, from every parish, six of its

number eleven. The perquisites are very considerable; their stated income is about 150 or 200*l.* a year each; but the rectory of *St. Michael's*, in *Bridge-Town*, is supposed to be worth 7 or 800*l.* a year. The bishop of *London* is the ordinary of all the *English West-Indies* and *America*, which makes his see the most extensive of any in the world. Dr. *Sherlock*, while he held it, made an attempt, in the reign of *George* the second, to introduce suffragans into *America*, for the more regular performance of the sacerdotal duties. But the motion was discouraged at the council-board, and his lordship got no credit by it, because it was considered as tending to the too great aggrandizement of his own authority. The church-affairs of *Barbados* are governed by a surrogate, of the bishop's appointment. There are upon the island some jews and quakers, and but very few other dissenters. The *Barbadians* formerly were remarkable for their unanimity, both in politics and religion; and their modern dissensions regarded rather persons than principles, and were occasioned through parties formed by oppressive rapacious governors.

THE forts upon the island, and what we may call the military establishment, are supported by a duty of four pounds of gunpowder for every ton of shipping that unloads there; and the amount of the duty is about 600*l.* a year. Every pipe of *Madeira* wine pays a duty of 4*l.* 10*s.* and this amounts to about 9000*l.* a year, and the duties upon other liquors, to about 2000*l.* a year. Besides those duties, the

inhabitants, who are freeholders, to serve on the grand inquest, and petty-juries. The coroners for the several parishes are appointed by the commander in chief, and so are the gunners and mattrasses belonging to each of the five divisions, tho' they are under the command of the colonels of the foot, to which each division respectively belongs.

The commissioners for taking care of the fortifications are, the members of council and assembly resident in each parish or district, together with the field officers of the island in the precincts where the regiments are to which they be-

long. The governor, as captain-general, usually presides at the councils of war, but sometimes he grants the commission of president to another officer. There are six regiments of foot here, and two of horse, besides a troop belonging to the island, called the troop of horse-guards, the royal regiment of foot-guards, the *Windward* regiments of horse and foot, the flying regiment of foot, *St. James's*, or the *Hole* regiment of foot; *Scotland* regiment of foot, and the *Leeward* regiments of horse and foot. Here is also a good train of artillery. *Ibid.*

assembly

assembly imposes occasional ones for public uses, which sometimes amount to about 2000*l.* a year more. All those are exclusive of the four and a half per cent. duty paid to the crown, which of late years has amounted to a large sum. The negroes, mulattoes, and mistive slaves, upon the island, are computed at an hundred thousand, and form great part of the wealth of the planters; but *Barbados* is not so subject now, as formerly, to the insurrections of negroes, because many of them are born upon the island, and entirely reconciled to their state, which their masters, for their own interest, make as agreeable to them as possible. They are not even without some property, having little indulgences granted them, and particular times allowed them, in which what they earn, becomes their own.

THE trade of *Barbados* is very extensive; they bring their *Its trade.* lumber, that is, timber of all kinds, their bread, flour, *Indian-corn*, rice, tobacco, some salt-beef and pork, fish, pulse, and other provisions from *New-England*, *Carolina*, *Pensylvania*, *New-York* and *Virginia*. They import their slaves from the coast of *Guinea*; but since the acquisition of *Senegal* to the crown of *Great-Britain*, great improvements may be introduced into that trade in favour of the *English* colonies. They import their wine from *Madeira*, *Tercera*, and *Fayal*; and likewise some brandy. *Ireland* furnishes them with beef and pork, and the *Dutch* island of *Curassao*, with salt. The great value, however, of *Barbados* to the mother-country, is best known from its vast consumption of *British* and *Irish* manufactures and commodities. Of these they import *Osnaburghs*, so called from a town in *Germany*, famous for manufacturing this coarse linnen-cloth, which clothe their slaves *, linnen of all sorts, with broad cloth and kerseys, for the planters, their overseers and their families; silks and stuffs, for their ladies and household servants; red-caps, for their slaves, male and female; stockings and shoes, of all sorts; gloves and hats; millinery-ware and perriwigs; laces for linnen, woollen, and silks; peas, beans, and oats, from our western counties; and biscuit from *London*; wine, of all sorts; strong beer, (which they have also from *New-England*;) and pale ale, pickles, candles, butter and cheese; iron-ware for their sugar-works, such as saws, files, axes, hatchets, chissels, adzes, hoes, mattocks, planes, gouges, awgers, hand-hills, drawing-knives, nails, and all sorts of leaden-ware; powder and shot; and brass and copper-wares; but *Birmingham*-wares, though good commodities, soon rust

* *Ibid.* p. 751.

and canker, by the evening damps of this climate; and therefore stand in need of continual repair, or new tools in their room; and to this moisture of the air it is imputed, that clocks and watches seldom go right in this island. The *Barbadians* take off likewise large quantities of *East-India* goods from *England*; and in short, there is nothing that sells in an *English*, or even *European* shop or market, that does not find a ready vent in *Barbados*, if agreeable to the climate. The soil of *Barbados* being too precious for common culture, renders it of infinite advantage to those parts of the *British* dominions, where the ground is best employed in producing the necessaries of life. Even coals, pantiles, hearthstones, and the like commodities and manufactures, are profitable branches of imports into this island. But besides what the *Barbadians* consume themselves, they are very considerable exporters of *British* goods to *Africa*; and they even pay for their slaves in our manufactures; such as guns, powder, and arms, stuffs, hats, and wearing-apparel of all kinds. Some authors, who are acquainted with the island, pretend, that formerly *Barbados* required a supply of 100,000 slaves every thirty years; and when the *African* trade was under a parliamentary enquiry in 1728, it appeared, that in three years only, the number of negroes imported at *Barbados*, *Jamaica*, and *Antigua*, amounted to 42,000, exclusive of those carried to *St. Christopher's*, *Nevis*, and *Montserrat*. Thus much for the imports of *Barbados*.

Its negroes.

Exports.

As to its exports, sugar is its staple commodity. In the course of the history of the island, we have introduced that of the sugar trade; and have observed, that both the population and commerce of *Barbados*, were in former times superior to what they are now; nay, if we are to believe some writers, in the year 1676, this island employed 400 sail of ships, each at an average, of 150 tons, and the current cash of the island was about 200,000 *l.* while its exports to *Great Britain* in sugar, ginger, indigo, and other commodities, amounted to about 350,000 *l.* yearly. It is even said, that *England*, the aforesaid year, by exporting the goods imported from *Barbados*, got 200,000 *l.* and that she had the like profit for many years before. But even those were not the golden times of *Barbados*, whose trade, before the Restoration, was still more considerable, though far from being so profitable, to the mother-country; or indeed, to the planters themselves, as great part of it was engrossed by the *Dutch*, and entered in *Holland*: nor did it settle in *England* till after

v Ibid. *ibid.*

the navigation-act, and several other others of the same kind were passed by the legislature, both here and at *Barbados*. Those acts rendered *London* the great mart all over *Europe* for sugar, which commerce had formerly been in the hands of the *Portuguese*, by their being masters of *Brasil*. It was calculated, that from the year 1636 to 1656, *England* acquired by *Barbados* two millions of money, and double that sum the twenty years following. The settling and improvement of the *French* sugar-islands, with the decay of population in *Barbados*, from the causes already mentioned, no doubt, in after-times hurt the *Barbados* sugar-trade; but² an accurate calculator says, that in the space of an hundred years, the people of *England* have received twelve millions of silver by means of this plantation; and had 50,000 of her inhabitants maintained all at that time, by the people of this colony. It appears, from the remarks on the present state of the sugar-colonies, that the *Barbadians* in 1730, exported hither 22,769 hogheads of sugar, each weighing thirteen hundred weight; of which, near 18,000 hogheads came into the port of *London* only: and that they made 340391 *l.* clear profit of the whole; because it was proved, that the rum and molasses paid all the charges of a plantation. *Barbados* has now lost all its indigo-trade, that culture being much more proper for the northern colonies; but it ships off a great deal of ginger, of which the inhabitants cure large quantities for *England*; as also lignum vitæ, sweet-meats, citron, and other strong waters, molasses, rum, and lime-juice.

THE inhabitants of *Barbados* are reducible to three classes, *Inhabitants*, viz. the masters, the white servants, and the black servants. *tants*. The former are either *English*, *Scotch*, or *Irish*; but the great encouragement which the *British* legislature has given to the peopling of that and our other islands, has induced some *Dutch*, *French*, *Portuguese*, and *Jews*, to settle among them with their estates; by which, after a certain time, they acquire the rights of naturalization in *Great Britain*. The white servants, whether by covenant or by purchase, lead more easy lives than common day-labourers in *England*, and when they come to be overseers, their wages and other allowances are considerable. As to the black servants, the notions which generally prevail in *Europe* concerning them are very erroneous, it being, as we have already hinted, the interest of every planter to be even more careful of his black than of his white servants; the former with all his posterity, unless they should happen to be set free, being his perpetual property.

² *Ibid.* p. 752.

Most of the negroes are employed in the field; but some of them work in the sugar-mills and store-houses, while those of both sexes, who are most likely and handy, are employed as house maids and menial servants. The original price of a negroe, when he comes from *Guinea*, is from twenty to forty pounds, according to his likelihood; but when they improve in any mechanic, or other trade, their price rises greatly: so that 400 *l.* has been refused for a good sugar-boiler. The men are indulged in a plurality of wives. But it is ridiculous to imagine, that their being converted to Christianity introduces any alteration into their state of servitude. All the difference is, that a planter of any humanity may shew some indulgences to a negroe who discovers sentiment or reflection enough to desire to be baptized. But the truth is, the negroes in general are of such dispositions as call for the utmost vigilance, and the most severe discipline. They are obstinate, sullen, treacherous and vindictive; and many of them shew but few faculties that entitle them to be considered as rational creatures. Plantains, being a fruit so called, is the chief support of the negroes; who have various ways of dressing it; but they have every week, at stated times, an allowance of *Indian* corn bread, salt fish, or salt-pork. Every negroe family has a cabin, and adjoining to it, a small piece of ground by way of garden, in which the more industrious sort plant potatoes, yams, and other roots, and rear live stock, which they are at liberty to eat or to convert into money for their own use, and it is incredible what savings of this kind some of them make. They are fond of rum and tobacco, and they generally lay out their earnings in fine cloaths, and ornaments for themselves and their wives. In all other respects, the manner of gentlemen and their families living at *Barbados*, is the same as in the most polite towns and countries in *Europe*; only the nature and narrowness of their country disable them from hunting and other out-door exercises.

*Division
of Barba-
dos.*

As to the particular parishes, settlements, and towns in other parts of *Barbados*, besides *Bridge-Town*, there is but little either variety or improvement in describing them. It is sufficient to say here, that no article, either of conveniency or luxury, is wanting to the inhabitants, according to their different ranks, and that the island is divided into precincts and parishes as follows. In the south part of the island, in *St. Michael's*, or *Bridge* precinct, are the parishes of *St. Michael*, *St. George*, and *St. John*. In *St. James's*, or the *Hole* precinct, are the parishes of *St. James*, and *St. Thomas*. In *St. Peter's*, or *Speight's* precinct, is the parish of *St. Peter*,

with *All-Saints* chapel. In the west is the parish of *St. Lucy*. In the north, in *St. Andrew's Overhill*, or *Scotland* precinct, are the parishes of *St. Andrew*, and *St. Joseph*. In the east, in *Offine's* precinct, are the parishes of *Christchurch* and *St. Philip*. We are now to consider the soil, and other productions of *Barbados*.

THIS island has two streams that are called rivers on its east-side, and in its center it is said to have a bituminous spring; which sends forth a liquor like tar; and serves for the same uses as pitch or lamp-oil. The island abounds in wells of good water, and contains reservoirs for rain-water. Some parts of the soil are said to be hollowed into caves, several of them capable of containing 300 people. These are imagined to have been the lurking-holes of run-away negroes, but they are probably natural excavations. The woods that formerly grew upon the island have been all cut down, and for the most part converted into sugar-plantations. When those plantations were first formed, the soil was infinitely more fertile than it is now; for the land, in some places, about thirty years ago, was so worn out, that the planters were obliged to raise cattle for the sake of their manure, which reduced their profits to less than one tenth of their usual value. Notwithstanding the smallness of *Barbados*, its soil is different, being in some places sandy and light, in others rich, and in others spongy; but all of it cultivated according to its several natures: so that the island presents to the eye, the most beautiful appearance of spring, summer, and autumn. The sugar-cane is cultivated from *August* till the latter end of *January*. The inhabitants have few orchards or gardens, because they employ their lands in a more profitable culture, and they can bring *Indian* corn from *North America* cheaper than it can be sold for when growing upon the island. Oranges and lemons grow in *Barbados* in great plenty, and to great perfection, and the lemon juice made here has a particular fragrantcy.

THE citrons of *Barbados* afford the finest drams and sweet-meats of any in the world; the *Barbados* ladies excelling in the art of preserving the rind of the citron fruit. The citron-tree is small, but its fruit is so large, that it often pulls it to the ground; its stalk is darkish, and its leaf dark green; but indeed, *Barbados*, of all spots in the world, is by nature the best fitted for furnishing those exquisite luxuries, many of which are equally salutary as delicious. The lime-tree is prickly, like the *English* holly, so that, formerly, hedges were made of it. It grows about seven or eight feet high, and so much resembles the lemon-tree, that the difference is

scarcely to be discerned at a little distance. The juice of the limes, or dwarf-lemons, (for such they are) is the most agreeable souring we know of, and great quantities of it begin now to be imported from *Barbados* to *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. The tamarinds of *Barbados* is an agreeable, yet wholesome, sweet-meat, and has many medicinal virtues. The anana, or the pine-apple, is common at *Barbados*, and its flavour much more exalted than in *Europe*, with all the modern improvements of gardening and hot-houses. The aloe, mangrove, calabash, cotton, cedar, mastic, and bulley-trees, grow here in great plenty, as does the cocoa, and the cacao-tree, the latter yielding a fruit of which chocolate is made. The other trees of this island are the fig-tree, the fibres of which, shooting out of its trunk, take root again, and if suffered to grow, would produce a continued grove. The *castia fistula*-tree is said sometimes to grow eight feet in twelve months. It would here be improper to enter into a description of the numerous fruits and trees, all of them unknown in *Europe*, that grow upon this island; such as the prickled-apple, pomegranate, papa, guava, custard-apple, macow-tree, palmetto, locust-tree, and iron-wood. The plantain-tree, or shrub, deserves a more particular description, because it is of the greatest utility, by its being the most wholesome nourishment which the negroes of the island have. Its growth is very quick, one sprout keeps its ascendancy over several that come out of the same root, and is surrounded with leaves, which rotting, are succeeded by fresh ones; and these last expand as the sun rises and grows intense. The plantain-tree is full grown, when it is eight or ten feet high, and then it no longer sheds its leaves. The negroes love the fruit when green, the *English* when ripe, and think it both nourishing and pleasant. *Barbados* likewise produces some sensitive plants, with a good deal of garden-stuff that is common in other places. The yam, which grows there, is a root resembling potatoes, and the cabbage-tree grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet, being so called by its bearing a flower or fruit resembling our cabbages in form and taste. In short, a native of the finest, the richest, and most diversified country in *Europe* can scarcely form an idea of the variety of delicious, and, at the same time, nutritive, vegetable, productions with which *Barbados* abounds, and for which we refer to the natural histories of that island.

Its cattle. WHEN *Barbados* was first discovered by the *English*, few or no quadrupeds but hogs were found upon it. For convenience of carriage to the sea-side, some of the planters at first procured camels; which, undoubtedly, in all respects,

would have been preferable to horses for their sugar and other works, but the nature of the animal disagreeing with the climate, their breed could not be preserved. They then applied for horses to *Old* and *New England*, from the former they had those that were fit for shew and draughts; from the latter those that were proper for mounting their militia, and for the saddle. They had, likewise, some of a coarse kind from *Curassao*, and other settlements. They are reported to have had their first breed of bulls and cows from *Bonavista*, and the isle of *May*, and they now breed upon the island, and often do the work of horses and negroes. Their asses are the most serviceable in carrying burdens to and from the plantations. The hogs of *Barbados* are finer eating than those of *England*, but the few sheep they have are not near so good. They, likewise, have goats, which when young, are excellent food, and plenty of raccoons and monkeys are found in the island.

BARBADOS produces a variety of birds, the most famous *Birds*.

of which is the humming-bird, the description and beauty of which is now well known in *Europe*; it being, according to the general report, the smallest and most beautiful bird that is known. The *Barbadians* have not often wild fowl. Teal are sometimes found near their ponds. A bird, which they call the man of war, is said to meet ships twenty leagues from land, and their return, is, to the inhabitants, a sure prognostic of their arrival. When the wind changes to south, and southwest, they have flocks of curlews, plovers, snipes, wild pigeons, and wild ducks. The wild pigeons are very fat, and plentiful at such seasons, and rather larger than those in *England*. The tame pigeons, pullets, ducks, and poultry of all kinds, that are bred in *Barbados*, have a fine flavour, and are accounted more delicious than those of *Europe*. Their rabbits are scarce; they have no hares, and if they have deer of any kind, they are kept as curiosities. The insects of *Barbados* are not venomous, nor do either their snakes or scorpions ever sting. Their musketoes, a kind of gnats, are troublesome and bite, but are more tolerable at *Barbados* than they are upon the continent. They have various other insects upon the island, some of which are troublesome, but not in a greater degree than those produced by every warm summer in *England*. *Barbados* is well supplied with fish, and some caught in the sea surrounding it almost peculiar to itself, such as the parrot-fish, snappers, and grey cavallos, terbums, and coney-fish. Their mullets, lobsters, and crabs caught here are excellent; and the green turtle is, perhaps, the greatest delicacy that ancient or modern luxury

And fishes.

can boast of. Besides the variety of eating found in it, it is at once, so light and so nutritive, that no bad consequences are known to attend it from indigestion or surfeit, be the quantity devoured ever so great. At *Barbados* this delicious shell-fish seldom sells for less than a shilling a pound, and often for more. There is found in *Barbados* a kind of a land crab, which eats herbs wherever it can find them, and shelters itself in houses and hollows of trees. According to report, they are a shell-fish of passage, for in *March* they travel to the sea in vast numbers. As to other parts of the natural history of *Barbados*, such as the cultivation of sugar-canes, rum, and molasses, they do not come under the plan of this history; neither shall we undertake to trace the commerce and interests of the island through all their various labyrinths, especially as their channels are changed according to the different views, circumstances, and systems of the *European* nations, and particularly of *Great Britain*.

S A I N T L U C I A.

*Descrip-
tion of St.
Lucia.*

THIS island may be considered as lying next to *Barbados*, from whence it is distant only twenty-one leagues. It lies six leagues south from *Martinico*, and the same distance north from *St. Vincent*. The island, which takes its name from its being discovered on the day of the popish martyr *St. Lucia*, is fifteen miles in length, and eleven in breadth. It has upon it, besides several other hills, two that are remarkably round and high, and are said to be of the volcano kind. At the bottom of those hills are plains, finely watered with rivers, and very fertile. The air, by the disposition of the hills, which admit the trade-winds into the island, is found to be very healthy. The soil produces trees, which are fit for building houses and windmills, and have often been employed for that purpose by both the *French* and the *English* planters. It likewise produces cocoa and fustic. As to the bays and harbours of the island, the *French* had so great an opinion of those of *St. Lucia*, that during the negotiations for peace in 1761 and 1762, they preferred it to any two of the other neutral islands, and made their acquisition of this island an indispensable condition of their continuing the negotiation. The chief harbour of the island is called the *Little Careenage*; and it is, in the opinion of our neighbours, and of many among ourselves, the finest harbour in all the *Caribbees*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that it was thought of so great importance, both by the *French* and *English*,

English, that both possessed it by turns, though neither of them ever fully settled it. The *English* have an undisputed right to the prior occupancy of *St. Lucia*, which was always included, as we have already mentioned, in the commission of the *English* governor of *Barbados*.

IT appears from the best accounts, both *French* and *English*, Settled by the *Caribbees*, who were the original inhabitants of *St. Lucia*, and gave name to those islands, were a fierce, intractable race of savages, and equally irreclaimable by good usage as severity. In the year 1637, the *English* were settled upon *St. Lucia*, where they had lived for some time before; but the year after, the *Caribbeans*, instigated, as the *English* alledged, by the *French*, either killed, or drove off from the island, all the *English* settlers, with their governor, for so the chief man among them was called. We do not, however, find that the *French* at this time laid any formal claim to the property of the island. The reason of the enmity of the barbarians to the *English*, was as follows. An *English* vessel, lying at *Dominica* under a *French* flag, the *Caribbeans* taking her for a ship of that nation, came on board to traffic, as usual; but becoming drunk by brandy, the captain fell with them. The savages, perceiving his treachery, all leapt overboard, and got to their island, excepting two, whom the *English* captain put in irons, and sold for slaves. The savages, who escaped, instigated all the *Caribbeans* who were dispersed through the *Windward Islands*, both *French* and *English*, to revenge this treachery, which they did to the full; for they landed upon all the *English* settlements that were accessible to their canoes, and massacred as many of them as they possibly could. They surprised in the night-time those of *St. Lucia*, killed the governor, and most of the inhabitants, in their beds; a few only of them escaping to *Montserrat*. The *English*, who survived, carried their complaints to M. de *Poincy*, then governor of all the *French Caribbee Islands*, against M. *Parquet*, who was then governor of *Martinico*, and whom the *English* accused of being the instigator of the massacre. *De Poincy* acquitted *Parquet* of the charge, as the latter endeavoured to prove, that he had sent intelligence of the design of the savages to the *English*, as soon as he knew it. Notwithstanding this, the *English* still continued to suspect both those governors of having been at the bottom of the massacre.

THIS dreadful catastrophe discouraged the *English* from *Settled* inhabiting *St. Lucia*; nor could the *English* governors of *Barbados* prevail with any of their countrymen to live in an *English* island, where they were subject to such tragical visits, and

was at such a distance from all relief from their other settlements. *St. Lucia* thus lying uninhabited, when the civil war broke out in *England*, *Parquet*, in 1644, sent thither forty men, under one *Rouffelan*, who was well provided with stores and ammunition. This proceeding revived the suspicions of the *English*, and the rather, as the first thing which *Rouffelan* did, was to build a strong pallisadoed fort upon the island, surrounded by good ditches, and defended by cannon and pateraroes; after which, his people proceeded to cure tobacco, and raise provisions of all kinds, and likewise to build dwelling-houses, under the protection of the fort. This little settlement throve excessively, because *Rouffelan* having married a *Caribbee* woman, was very agreeable to the savages, who not only left him and his colony unmolested, but traded with them. But all the good fortune of the *French* upon this island, ended with the life of *Rouffelan*, who died in 1654, and was succeeded by one *la Riviere*. This gentleman had so good an opinion of the friendly disposition of the savages, that he built a dwelling-house for himself and his family, without the protection of the fort. The savages, by this time, had lost all affection for the *French*, and secretly conspired to cut them off. Barbarous as they were, they concealed and carried on this design in a most artful manner. They visited *la Riviere* as usual, and trafficked the same as before. At last, towards the end of the year, a large number of them came to his house, and after being entertained with liquor, one of them gave a signal, which they had concerted among themselves, and all of them falling upon the *French*, they murdered *la Riviere*, with ten others, plundered his house, and carried off his wife, two of his children, and a negro slave. *La Riviere* was succeeded by *Haquet*. This gentleman being fully apprised of the savage treachery of the *Caribbeans*, used all imaginable precautions to avoid it; but, as the event proved, all was without success. They repaired to his fort with the most friendly appearances, and traded fairly with him for turtle and their other commodities. In the year 1656, pretending that they had left a large quantity of turtle on a neighbouring hill, he was prevailed upon, attended with no more than three of his soldiers, to repair thither, and the savages spying their opportunity, threw him from the hill into the sea. *Haquet* was stunned, but not hurt, by the fall. He recovered himself, and made the best of his way to the fort; but before he could reach it, he was mortally wounded in the side by one of the savages arrows, and died in three days after. *Haquet* was succeeded by one *Breton*, who being of low extraction, and using

who are
massacred—
likewise.

using the garrison ill, they conspired to assassinate him; but he escaped into the woods, and eluded all the search they could make for him. The garrison, upon this, stript the fort; and seizing a ship in the road, escaped to the Spaniards, who protected them.

ABOUT ten days after, a *French* ship passing by from *Gre- The nada*, her captain perceived, that though the conspirators had *French* carried off all the furniture and moveables they could trans-^{repossess} port, yet that the fort itself and its artillery were in good ^{the island;} condition. He therefore left it in custody of four of his seamen, whom he furnished with necessaries and provisions. As this captain was preparing to sail, *Breton* made him a signal, and he was received on board the ship. *Parquet*, understanding what had happened, sent to *St. Lucia* one *Coulis*, with twenty-five soldiers, and thirteen others, to reside there till *M. Aygremont*, the governor, should arrive. In *Aygremont's* time, the *English* attacked the fort of *St. Lucia*, but the *French* pretend that they were beaten off. Be this as it will, it is certain that the savages held the *French* in such detestation, that in 1660, *Aygremont* was assassinated as he went a hunting with them. Two years after, *Mr. Warner*, an *Englishman*, whose mother was a *Caribbean*, and his father, the *English* governor of *St. Christopher's*, having received a commission to be governor of *Dominica* for the *English*, purchased for his countrymen the isle of *St. Lucia* from the *Caribbeans*. In consequence of this acquisition, the *English* sent five men of war, with 14 or 1500 men on board, to take possession of the island, and were joined by about 700 of the *Caribbeans* in their canoes. One *Bonnart* was then the *French* governor of the fort, and having not a dozen of soldiers under him, he surrendered it upon the first summons, upon condition, according to the *French* author *Labat*, that he and his men, with their baggage, cannon, and ammunition, should be carried to *Martinico*. The same writer pretends, that the governor and soldiers only were sent thither; but it is extremely improbable, that such a capitulation should be granted to a dozen of men, shut up in a weak pallisadoed fort, besieged by 1500.

THE *English* having got possession of the island, under so *but give* fair a title as that of a bargain with the natives, one *Mr. way to the Cook* was made governor of it; but no care had been taken *English.* by the *English*, the bulk of whom we may suppose to have been men of desperate circumstances, and not very regular in their manner of living, to keep possession of the island. Their provisions fell short, and epidemical diseases made such havock of them, that in a short time, the poor settlement

was

was reduced to eighty-nine persons. In such a dismal situation, it is no wonder that the few survivors, having before their eyes nothing but death by famine or diseases, set fire to the fort in 1666, and abandoning the settlement, dispersed themselves through the other *English* islands. Father *la Tetre*, another *French* writer, pretends on this occasion, that the *English* made an offer to the *French* of yielding up the island to them, which was accepted of; but that the *English* were persuaded by lord *Willoughby*, then governor of *Barbados*, to retract their offer, on his promising to relieve them. His succours, however, were so long in coming, that they were obliged, in the manner we have mentioned, to abandon the settlement. Two days after, lord *Willoughby*, who perfectly well understood the commerce of the *West-Indies*, and the importance of *St. Lucia*, arrived, as some say, in person, with reinforcements, and took a new possession of the island. This possession was from year to year renewed with all requisite solemnities, by succeeding governors of *Barbados*, within whose commission *St. Lucia* lay; but the inattention of the administration under *Charles* the second, and his close connections with *France*, prevented any material progress being made for its prosperity. By the treaty of *Breda*, in that reign, and that for the neutrality of the *West-Indies* and *America*, in the succeeding, the *British* claim to *St. Lucia* was in some measure suspended by the arts of *France*, though *St. Lucia* was certainly among the islands that by those treaties, as well as by that of *Ryswick*, were stipulated to be restored to the crown of *Great Britain*.

and at last
it becomes
neutral.

SAINTE LUCIA continued, after this, to be resorted to, equally by *French* as *English*; but the only constant inhabitants of it were ship-carpenters, hewers of wood, and other labourers for felling and preparing timber for ship-building, from the size of the largest vessel, down to that of the smallest canoe. In process of time, runaway soldiers and sailors found *St. Lucia*, on account of its rocks and fastnesses, to be a most excellent receptacle for them; and in the year 1689, when Sir *Hans Sloane* was there, a small colony of *Barbadians* resided on *St. Lucia*, and lived by furnishing their own island with timber. Even the treaty of *Utrecht* did not restore *St. Lucia* to the *English*, the *French* pleading, that it was not comprehended in the islands to be restored by the peace of *Ryswick*, because it was not conquered from the *English*, but abandoned by them; and, therefore the *French* entered upon it as an unoccupied island. We have, in the history of *Barbados*, mentioned the remonstrances made by the *French* court on the part of *Great Britain*, on account of the marshal

D'Estrees

D'Estrées' grant and settlement of *St. Lucia*; and it is certain, that the court of *England* always considered *St. Lucia* as an island belonging to *Great Britain*, and which might be planted by her subjects as soon as conveniency should offer. In consequence of this claim, about the year 1715, while the island lay in a state of seeming neutrality, captain *St. Loe*, commander of his *Britannic* majesty's ship *Valour*, had orders to interrupt the *French* cutting logwood upon *St. Lucia*, which produced a heavy complaint from *du Quesne*, general of the *French* islands, who sent one of his officers with a letter to the president of *Barbados* on that head. The president, in his answer, justified what had been done by captain *St. Loe*, and asserted the *British* right not only to *St. Lucia*, but to *Tobago*, desiring the *French* forthwith to remove their settlements from the former island, and asserting, that the resort of the *French* to both had only been occasionally winked at on the part of *Great Britain*. The settlement and evacuation of *M. D'Estrées'* colony at *St. Lucia* followed this transaction; and king *George* the first, on the 22d of *June*, 1722, granted to *John* duke of *Montague*, his letters-patent, constituting his grace captain-general of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, with liberty to settle the same with *British* subjects.

In consequence of this grant, the following vessels were fitted out for those settlements, *viz.* the *Elizabeth*, of 130 tons, four guns, three officers, and nine servants; the *Charles* and *Freemason*, of 200 tons, ten guns, thirteen officers, and 108 servants; the *Griffin* sloop, of 90 tons, twelve guns, three officers, and forty-eight servants; the *Little George*, of 100 tons, four guns, eight officers, and thirty servants; the *Adventure*, of 200 tons, twelve guns, 13 officers, and 141 servants; the *Hopewell*, of 250 tons, six guns, eleven officers, and eighty-nine servants. In all, 520 tons, 48 guns, 51 officers, and 425 servants. This squadron was furnished with 56 pieces of cannon, 1163 muskets and bayonets, 500 cutlasses, 1000 grenado-shells, fixed with fuzees; 4 brass cohorn-mortars, 100 barrels of musket-ball, 20 barrels of bird and drop-shot, 100 barrels of gunpowder, 200 barrels of all sorts of nails, a great quantity of tools for carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, and masons; 20 tons of bar-iron, 10 tons of cordage; all sorts of working-tools, household-furniture, wearing-apparel, and, in fine, of every thing fitting for the secure and commodious being of a new settlement. Besides the above stores, were 30 house-frames, one large house-frame for the governor, 50,000 feet of board, 95,000 shingles, 40 live sheep, and 2 breeding sows. We mention those particulars, that the reader may have some notion of the vast expence to which the

Dated
Fort
Royal,
Marti-
nique,
Feb. 24.
1715,
N. S.

Dated
Pilgrim,
in Barba-
dos, Feb.
21, 1714.
O. S.

noble duke was put in this settlement, and for which he never had any consideration allowed to him or his family. All his squadron was put under the convoy of the *Winchelsea* man of war, captain *Orme* commander; and after taking in additional supplies at *Madeira* and *Barbados*, they arrived at *St. Lucia* on the 17th of *December*, 1722; only the *Adventure* and the *Hopewell* came too late to be of any service to the infancy of the settlement.

Miscarriage of the duke of Montague's settlement;

THE duke of *Montague* had appointed captain *Nathaniel Vring*, late commander of the *West-India* packet-boat, to be deputy-governor of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*; captain *John Braithwaite*, to be lieutenant-governor, and Mr. *William Falkener*, to be secretary. The squadron arriving at *Pilgrim-Bay*, off *St. Lucia*, sailed from thence three leagues farther to the southward, and arrived at *Petit Careenage*, where they found a good harbour, at the entrance of which, Mr. *Vring* landed fifty men, to raise a battery at a place which he called *Montague's-Point*, intending afterwards to fortify a hill within musket-shot of the point. Soon after, a sloop arrived from *Martinico*, with a copy of a mandate by the *French* king, dated *September 21*, 1722, at *Verfailles*, and which had been published by beat of drum through all the towns of *Martinico*, importing, "that neither *St. Vincent*, nor *St. Lucia* belonged to the king of *England*: that the first of them ought to remain to the *Caribbeans*, according to conventions made with that people: that the second belonged to the king of *France*, who had been willing, however, to suspend the settlement of that island, at the request of the king of *England*: that the duke of *Montague's* undertaking to send and take possession of these islands, and to transport families to them, being contrary to the rights of his most Christian majesty, his intention is, that, in case the *English* should take possession of *St. Lucia*, and settle there, the chevalier *de Fouquieres* (governor-general of the islands) shall summon them to retire in fifteen days; and, if they do not depart, he shall compel them to it by force of arms."

THE propriety of the *British* court's conduct on this occasion is extremely questionable. As their ministry was not only in peace with *France* at that time, but intimately connected with its administration, we cannot account for the reason why the duke of *Montague* was put to so prodigious an expence, in attempting to make this settlement, before the *British* court knew the sentiments of that of *France*; or why he was not supported in the attempt. Even the captains of *British* men of war refused to assist him, though lying in the neighbourhood. Mr. *Vring* found all this out, when it was too late; and

and all he could do was to send a letter to the governor of *Martinico*, proposing a suspension of all hostilities, till such time as they could hear from their respective principals. The sequel is scarcely credible. Mr. *Vring* perceived, that not only the captains of all *British* ships of war, but all the *English* interest in *America*, the government of *Barbados* excepted, were averse from granting him any assistance, either by land or sea. Notwithstanding this, he landed his cannon and stores, and was in hopes of raising a defensible fortification upon the hill, before the time limited by the *French* mandate was expired. On the 29th of *December*, several *French* ^{which is opposed by} sloops stood into *Shoque-Bay*, with an intention, as afterwards appeared, to dispossess the *English* settlement; and it is reported, that their force amounted to between 2 and 3000 men. As *Shoque-Bay* is but an hour's march from the fort, which Mr. *Vring* was then attempting to build, he drew up a proclamation, requiring all strangers and foreigners, then within the islands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, or either of them, to submit and conform to the government therein established, or to depart thereout.

THIS proclamation was sent to the *French* at *Shoque*, who treated it with infinite contempt, and their numbers were every day encreasing, both from *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*. Mr. *Vring*, on the other hand, had not with him above eighty persons capable of bearing arms, and received a letter from the marquis *de Champigny*, the commander of the *French* troops, commanding his evacuation of the island, and flatly refusing to give the *English* the smallest respite, nor even time to receive advice from *Europe*. *Vring* consulted those who were about him, and all of them agreed to leave the island, upon condition that all their deserters should be restored, and sufficient time be allowed for reembarking the cannon, arms, ammunition, provisions, stores of all sorts, and whatever had by them been disembarked in that island, which the *French* were also to evacuate at the same time. Those demands were agreed to; but the *French*, to make every thing secure, continued advancing against the *English*, who every day expected the *Adventure* and *Hopewell*, with 240 men on board. Those not arriving, and the *French* every day pouring in fresh reinforcements from their islands, Mr. *Vring* reembarked all his company, demolished his fort and barricado, and, on the 14th of *January*, set sail for the island of *Antigua*. It must be acknowledged, that *Vring*, before his departure, had some regard for the honour of his nation; for the following is part of one of his memorials: "The *French* at this time opposed the *English* settlement, but by article 7th of
the

the treaty, concluded on the part of the *English*, by Mr. *Braithwaite*, empowered by Mr. *Vring*, the duke of *Montague's* deputy-governor, and on the part of the *French*, by M. *de Champigny*, for the evacuation of *St. Lucia*, Jan. 8th, O. S. 1722-3, it is agreed, that immediately after the evacuation of the said colony of M. the duke of *Montague*, the sieur marquis *de Champigny* obliges himself also to make an evacuation of the *French* forces, and leave the island of *St. Lucia* in its former state and condition, till there shall be a decision of it by the two crowns. To the rights and pretensions of which, the said sieurs *de Champigny* and *Braithwaite* declare, they have neither inclination or power to bring any prejudice to the present treaty."

THE evacuation of *St. Lucia* by Mr *Vring* did no prejudice to the *British* right to that island; for Mr. *Worfeley*, who was then governor of *Barbados*, had *St. Lucia* still continued in his commission, but received instructions for its evacuation, in consequence of an agreement between the courts of *France* and *Great Britain* for that purpose, the *French* being tied down to the same condition. From that time to the conclusion of the definitive treaty, concluded at *Paris*, February the 10th, 1763, the island of *St. Lucia* was always considered as neutral; but by the 9th article of the said treaty, it is stipulated, to be delivered to *France*, and his most Christian majesty is to enjoy the same in full right.

S A I N T V I N C E N T.

St. Vincent, a neutral island.

THIS island is about twenty-four miles in length and eighteen in breadth, and lies about fifty miles north-west of *Barbados*. The original inhabitants of it were *Caribbeans*, but by a strange intermixture of shipwrecked, or runaway negroes, the negroe complexion and species has the predominancy. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of *St. Vincent*, before the cession of it to the crown of *Great-Britain* by the treaty of *Paris*, 1763, were extremely tenacious of their independency, but far from being so ferocious as many of the other savages, because they often traded with the *European* nations, and gave them refreshments for hatchets, scissars, knives, and other hardware toys. It is observable, that *St. Vincent* was more populous than the other *Caribbee-Islands* of the same dimensions, because it was the general rendezvous of those savages when they carried on war with the people of the neighbouring continent, with whom they seldom were at peace. By all accounts, the *Caribbeans* consulted their own interests very improperly when they admitted the negroes into a partnership of their soil; for the latter

latter tyrannized over them to such a degree, that they made several attempts to introduce the *French* and *English* into the island, that they might dispossess the negroes. We do not, however, perceive that those attempts succeeded; for many of the negroes having some knowledge of the *European* discipline and manners, they baffled all the attempts made to dispossess them, and are said to have lived on the island plentifully and comfortably.

IN 1719, the *French* from *Martinico* endeavoured to dislodge them, but lost many of their men, and were obliged to return. It is generally allowed, that *St. Vincent* is one of the best of all the *Antilles* islands. The soil is excellent, as likewise the water and the wood. Tobacco may be cultivated here to great perfection, and had the *Europeans* succeeded in making a settlement upon it, it must have soon become a kind of storehouse for *Martinico* and the other *Caribbee* islands, as every thing necessary for life is here easily raised. The negroes assimilate themselves as much as possible to the *Caribbeans* in their dress and manner of living; but they are easily distinguishable by their woolly heads and flat features. Both of them have separate chiefs, but no one claims to be sovereign; their government approaching more to the republican than any other form. When the duke of *Montague's* attempt to people this island, and that of *St. Lucia* took place, the *French*, from *Martinico* and their other islands repaired hither, and prepossessed the inhabitants, both negroes and *Indians*, against the *English*, who, they said, intended to make them slaves. All the endeavours of Mr. *Egerton*, who was sent thither by captain *Vring*, to persuade the natives to submit to the duke of *Montague's* proprietary power, could not get the better of this prepossession; nor could the natives form any idea of the right which a king of *England*, or any other potentate, had to dispose of their island. Their numbers, which amounted in the whole to about 14,000, made them the more secure.

MR. *Egerton* thus failing in his solicitations, Mr. *Braithwaite*—The *English*, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor under first at Mr. *Vring*, was sent from *Antigua*, to which island the settlement designed for *St. Lucia* had retired, in the *Griffin* sloop; settle it, attended by the *Winchelsea* man of war, to make a fresh attempt upon the inhabitants. This became the more necessary, on account of the orders lately arrived from *England*, which were peremptory, that a settlement should be made on *St. Vincent*. Mr. *Braithwaite*, coming to an anchor off the island, was visited by a person who pretended to be a chief, with twenty-two other inhabitants, but he soon had reason to believe, that this chief was an impostor, and had no other view

The History of America.

view than to get from him some presents. The currents soon drove Mr. *Braithwaite's* ship off from this station, and he anchored in a spacious bay to the leeward of the island, which then presented a place very proper for making a settlement. Here he landed, but found the shore covered with *Indians*, headed by a *Frenchman*, and all of them furnished with fire-arms. They immediately seized *Braithwaite*, carried him a mile up the country, where he was introduced to their general, who was surrounded by a guard of about 100 *Indians*, some with fire-arms, and others with bows and arrows. A *Frenchman* served as interpreter between the chief and *Braithwaite*, who found himself under a necessity to conceal his real errand, by pretending that he had come upon the island only to wood and water; and he offered to leave hostages in case the chief could be persuaded to trust himself on board the *English* ship. This offer was rejected, and *Braithwaite* was given to understand, that his safest course would be to get under sail, as information had been received, that he intended to force a settlement upon the island; nor was he permitted either to wood or water. Returning to the shore, he found an additional number of negroes with fire-arms; but when he got into his boat he sent on shore a present of some refreshments to the *Indian* chief. The scene was now changed. The *French* interpreter, who had been placed as tutor over the savage general, was withdrawn, and the present was not only received with great thankfulness, but the messenger was given to understand, that the *English* were welcome to whatever the island afforded. A present of bows and arrows attended this compliment, and ten of the *Indians*, who spoke very good *French*, going on board Mr. *Braithwaite's* ship, offered to remain there as hostages, if he chose again to go on shore. *Braithwaite* sent them on board the man of war, and went on shore with captain *Watson*; but he found that the negroes and the *Caribbeans* were united, and that the negro chief had with him 500 blacks, most of them armed with fire-arms. They offered to suffer *Braithwaite* to wood and water under a guard, and with difficulty he prevailed upon the *Indian* and negro chiefs to go on board the *Winchelsea*, where they were very handsomely entertained, and had presents made them by capt. *Orme*. Being plied with liquor, *Braithwaite* discovered that they were invincibly resolved against the *English* making any settlement upon their island; and he was informed, that had he owned any such design when on shore, they could not have protected him. He understood, at the same time, that the *Dutch* had made a like attempt, but without success; that the *French* had furnished the inhabitants with fire-arms, and had promised to support them with all the force of *Martinico*,
against

against the *English*. *Braithwaite*, notwithstanding all this opposition, learned; that the *Caribbeans* and the negroes were equally averse to the *French* as to the *English* government; and that they were determined to oppose all *Europeans* settling among them:

THUS ended this fruitless expensive expedition, which cost the duke of *Montague* an immense sum of money. It is evident, that the *French* imposed upon the *English* throughout the whole transaction; nor is it easy to account for the principles upon which the latter acted. Upon *Braithwaite's* report, and the captains of the *English* men of war declining to act offensively in support of the settlement, the *English* government at *Antigua* gave it under their hands, as their opinion, that it would be dangerous, and at the same time ineffectual, to make any farther attempt for a settlement upon *St. Vincent*. The island, therefore, was considered as neutral between *Great Britain* and *France*, till the conclusion of the treaty of peace, signed the 10th of *February*, 1763, at *Paris*; when it was ceded by the ninth article to the crown of *Great-Britain*.

It is ceded to Great-Britain.

The GRENADILLAS, or GRENADINE ISLANDS.

THE chief of these is *Grenada*, which lies in west longitude, 61. 40. and north-lat. 12. It is the last of the *Windward Caribbees*, and lies thirty leagues north of *New Andalusia* on the continent. According to father *Tertre*, it is twenty-four leagues in compass; but *Labat* makes it no more than twenty-two, and it is said to be about thirty miles in length, and in some places fifteen in breadth. It abounds with wild game and fish, which, probably, occasioned the *Caribbeans* to resort in greater numbers to this than to any other of the *Antilles* islands. In 1638, the famous *Monf. Poincy*, attempted to make a settlement here, but he was driven off by the *Caribbeans*. *Monf. Parquet*, the governor of *Martinico*, in *June* 1650, carried over 200 men from *Martinico*, furnished with presents to reconcile the savages to them, but with arms to subdue them if they should prove intractable. It is not easy to account for the right this *Frenchman* had to make such a settlement upon an island already inhabited by natives, which had often disclaimed all subjection to the *French*. The number of the latter are said to have frightened the savages into submission; and, if we are to believe the *French* accounts, their chief not only welcomed

*Descripti-
on of Gre-
nada.*

the new settlers, but, in consideration of some knives, scissars, hatchets, toys, and the like, presented to them, yielded to *Parquet* the property of their island, only reserving their own habitations to themselves. The *French* set about raising tobacco, and that which grew on this island was remarkably fine. They scarcely had got in one crop when they began to discover that all the seeming complaisance of the natives was dissembled; for they took every opportunity of surprizing and cutting off their new guests. This produced a war, and the *French* settlers having received a reinforcement of 300 men from *Martinico*, forced the savages to retire to a mountain, from whence, after exhausting all their arrows and other weapons, they rolled down large logs of wood upon their enemies. Soon after, they were joined by other savages from the neighbouring islands, and attacked the *French* anew, but were again defeated; yet they were so desperate, that forty of them who had escaped from the sword, threw themselves over a precipice into the sea. The *French* then vented their rage upon their habitations, which they destroyed, together with all their provisions; but fresh supplies of *Caribbeans* arriving, they renewed the war with great briskness, and killed numbers of their enemies; the latter, upon this, came to a resolution of exterminating the whole race upon the island. An hundred and fifty of them accordingly attacked the savages unawares, and most inhumanly put to death the women and children, as well as the men, besides burning their boats and canoes, to cut off all communication, of the few survivors, with the continent, or the neighbouring islands. Notwithstanding all those barbarous precautions, the *Caribbeans* still proved the irreconcilable enemies of the *French*; and their frequent insurrections at last obliged *Parquet* to sell all his property in the island to the count *de Cerillac* in 1657, for 30,000 crowns. The count sent thither a person of brutal manners to govern it; upon which the better sort of the *French* abandoned it, and he was shot to death by those who remained. In 1664, no more than 150 planters, out of 500 who were settled on the island when the count bought it, lived upon it, and he sold it to the *French West-India* company for 100,000 livres; but in 1674, they were obliged to surrender all their rights in it to the king. After this, it continued to be inhabited chiefly by *French*, but never was fully settled; and, after the conquest of *Martinico* by the *English*, it was easily reduced; the full property of it, and the *Grenadines*, being a cluster of small neighbouring islands, was confirmed to the crown of *Great-Britain*, by the definitive treaty of 1763.

Which is likewise ceded to the crown of Great-Britain.

GRENADA, and the *Grenadines* produced very fine timber, but the cocoa-tree is observed not to thrive so well there as in the other islands. The latin-tree, which grows here, has a tall body, and its leaves, when tied together, serve as thatch for houses. A lake on a high mountain, about the middle of the island, supplies it with fresh-water streams, which render its soil delightful. Several bays and harbours lie round the island, some of which might be fortified to great advantage; so that it is very convenient for shipping, not being subject to hurricanes. Experience has proved, that its soil is fit for producing, besides tobacco, sugar, indigo, peas, and millet; and, upon the whole, this island carries with it all the appearances of becoming as flourishing a colony as any in the *West-Indies*, of its dimensions. The chief port is called *Lewis*, and stands on the west side of the island, in the middle of a large bay, with a sandy bottom. It is pretended that a thousand barks from 300 to 400 tons, may ride secure from storms, and that 100 ships of 1000 tons each may be moored in the harbour. A large round basin, which is parted from it by a bank of sand, if cut through, would contain a considerable number of ships, but at present large ships, on account of this sand-bank, are obliged to pass within eighty paces of one of the mountains lying at the mouth of the harbour; the opposite mountain lying at about half a mile distant. One of those mountains, when the *English* reduced the island, was strongly fortified, and might have made a good defence, but surrendered without firing a gun. The truth is, the inhabitants, who were not very numerous, and but very ill commanded, were amazed at the reduction of *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe*, and lost all spirit. *Grenada*, however, at the time of its surrender, contained the face of a settlement, having a mean church, and some places of rendezvous, where the *French* assembled to defend themselves from the attacks of the savages.

*MARTINICO, GUADALOUPE, and the other
French Caribbees.*

WE have already had occasion so often to mention the chief of the *French Caribbee-Islands*, when, treating of the conquest of them by the *English*, that our description of them is in a great measure anticipated, and we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the historical facts before that period. *Martinico* is the largest of all the *Caribbee-Islands*. It lies betwixt 14 and 15 deg. of north lat. and between 60

deg. 33 min. and 61 deg. 10 min. west longitude; about twenty leagues north-west of *Barbados*. It is said to be about sixty miles in length from north-west to south-east; but its breadth is unequal. The produce of the island, besides tobacco, is much the same with that of *Barbados*, and its coasts abounds with turtle; but the *French* are far from being so expert as the *English* are in that species of fishing.

First settlement of Martinico.

IN 1637, *Monf. d'Enanbuc*, a famous *French* settler, brought from *St. Christophers*, which then belonged to that crown, a hundred soldiers to *Martinico*, all of them well provided for forming a colony. He landed at *Basse-Terre*, which lies to the west, and south parts of the island; and if we are to believe the *French*, the inhabitants yielded up to *d'Enanbuc* all that coast, on which he built a fort called *St. Peter*, at the mouth of a river of the same name, tho' by some it is called *Royal Anne*. Upon the savages retiring to *Cape-Seyre*, the new colonists applied themselves to rear whatever the island was capable of producing; especially, mandioca, peas, potatoes, cotton, and tobacco; for, at this time, the culture of sugar was but little known to the *French*. *D'Enanbuc* then returned to *St. Christophers*, but left one *du Pont* to be his lieutenant-governor in *Martinico*. It is in vain for the *French* to pretend, that the inhabitants formed plots against them, and murdered them whenever they had an opportunity. The *French*, by their own accounts, were the aggressors by invading the natives; and it was natural for the latter to endeavour to repossess their own country. Hostilities multiplying every day, the new settlers gave no quarter to the savages, who sending for assistance to all the neighbouring islands, they were joined by other *Caribbeans*, to the number of 1500, in canoes, from which they landed under the fort. The *French* governor, on their approach, had removed all his men and provisions within his entrenchments; so that the savages imagining the fort to be abandoned, advanced within pistol shot of the walls, without any order. This was what *du Pont* had foreseen; and, watching his time, he poured upon the savages a full discharge of his cannon and musketry, which killing one half of them, the survivors fled to their canoes. This discomfiture of the *Caribbeans* secured to the *French*, for some time, the quiet possession of their settlements, which they not only enlarged, but supplied with fresh colonists drawn from *St. Christophers*; so that, in a short time, the natives were obliged to sue to them for peace.

THE *French* then proceeded to a regular settlement of the island, which they divided into five wards or parishes. Each parish contained a church or chapel, an armoury, storehouses, dwell-

dwelling-houses, and other conveniencies. The governor took up his residence in *St. Peter's* ward, on account of the fort we have mentioned, but made a present of some fine buildings, raised at the expence of the colony, to the jesuits, who were very powerful at *Martinico*, as well as in the other *French* settlements. *Martinico*, notwithstanding all its natural advantages, suffered greatly at this time, by a report that its soil produced and harboured serpents and other venomous reptiles. This notion prevailed so strongly, that the people of *St. Christophers*, and the neighbouring islands, declined coming on shore at *Martinico*; and the inhabitants were obliged to carry their tobacco, which they now raised in great plenty, and of an excellent kind, on board the ships. In process of time, they learned from Mr. *Poincy*, the same who attempted to settle *Grenada*, the art of cultivating the sugar cane; and *Martinico* then maintained 800 men fit to bear arms, besides covenanted servants.

ABOUT the year 1646, many of the inhabitants refused to pay their imposts to the *French West-India* company, within whose charter *Martinico* was included. This produced an insurrection in the island, which was quelled by the death of the chief ringleaders. It was about this time, that the differences which we have mentioned in the history of *Barbados*, arose between the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese* in *Brazil*; and the former retiring from that country, landed at *Martinico* with some rich Jews, who offered to settle there. The jesuits made a strong opposition to this proposal, on pretence that the new guests would introduce judaism and heresy into the island. The large sums of ready money which they were possessed of, prevailed over the jesuits remonstrances with the governor, to allow them a settlement upon the island in a separate quarter. The climate not agreeing with them, many of them died, while others moved off the island, and the few who remained set up public houses, by which they acquired fortunes. But all this while, the possession of the *French* themselves in *Martinico* was very precarious, on account of a general revolt of all the *Caribbeans* from their government. Nothing but the most horrible massacres ensued. Many of the more dissolute among the *French* spirited up the savages; and *Parquet*, who was then governor of the island, was besieged in his own house, where he must have been murdered, had he not been relieved by the arrival of some *Dutch* ships, who seeing several parts of the island in flames, landed 300 men, and defeated the savages. This gave *Parquet* an opportunity of taking the field; and the natives, with the negroes who had joined them, were every where slaughtered,

or obliged to fly to *Dominica* and *St. Vincent*. By their flight, the *French* became masters of *Capesterre*, and at last of the whole island, having clapped up a peace with the neighbouring *Caribbeans*. In 1650, the king granted the old *French West-India* company his licence to sell *Martinico*, *St. Lucia*, *Grenada*, and the *Grenadines*, to *Parquet*, who purchased them for 50,000 livres.

MARTINICO becoming thus *Parquet's* private property, was of no great service to *Old France*. Its inhabitants being under little or no controul, traded with the *English*, *Dutch*, and other *European* nations; but at last, *Lewis* the XIVth, in 1664, redeemed the island from the proprietaries, and granted it to a new *West-India* company. Next year, this company being united with that of *Cayenna*, they purchased all the other *French Caribbee-Islands*, to which they appointed governors. This change of property made little or no alteration in the affairs of *Martinico*, where the same abuses continued, and the same illicit trade was carried on as before, to the vast prejudice of the *French* revenue; but at last, in 1674, the *French* king suppressed this new company likewise, and all the forementioned islands became part of his domain. After this, *Martinico* was attacked by the famous *Dutch* admiral *de Ruyter*; and we have, in the history of *Barbados*, already given an account of the expeditions undertaken by the *English* against this island. But though those expeditions were unsuccessful, they were of infinite prejudice to the *French*, the most wealthy of their planters retiring, with their effects, to places where they could live with more security, many of them moving to *Old France* itself. *Labat*, who was then upon the island, attributes the calamities which the natives suffered, to a kind of an epidemical frenzy, which broke out among them, and drove many of them to put an end to their own lives, while others were guilty of such extravagancies, as proved them to be totally void of all reason. The best cure for this madness was found to be darkness, a low diet, and severe bastinadings, which sometimes brought the patients to themselves.

Invasion
by the
English.

In the year 1700, the *French*, settled upon the island of *Martinico*, were computed to be 1500, besides the negroes, whom they employed, and great numbers of *Caribbeans*, who were readmitted into the island, but were obliged to work as slaves, and to live among the *French*, that they might have no opportunity to form conspiracies and plots with their countrymen, or to associate together. On the 29th of *October*, 1727, *Martinico* was in danger of being destroyed by an earthquake, which lasted, with very short intervals, for eleven hours.

hours, and threw down *St. Peter's Fort*. Many lost their lives in this calamity; and besides churches, convents, and other public buildings, above 200 sugar-works were ruined. One mountain was levelled, another cleft in two, and copious streams of water issued from the fissure. A few years recovered the island, and the inhabitants having the *Gua-* Its flour-
dalupe sugars shipped from thence, with many other advan- rishing
 tages from their mother-country, grew rich and flourishing. state,
 Before it was subdued by the *English*, it could raise 10,000 white inhabitants, fit to carry arms, and above 40,000 negroes or slaves. Besides this force, some companies of regulars were always quartered in the island; so that the *French* at last gave it out to be impregnable; and it is certain, that nothing but the most notorious misconduct, as we have already observed in the history of *Barbados*, could have rendered the *British* troops masters of it with so little loss as they suffered in its conquest.

MARTINICO is not only the chief of all the *French* and go- vernment,
Caribbee or *Antilles Islands*, but the residence of the governor-general, and the intendant of them. It is likewise the seat of a sovereign council, which superintends all their other islands, and even their settlements in *St. Domingo* and *Tortuga*. This council consists of the governor-general, the intendant, the governor of the island, an attorney-general, the lieutenant-governor for the crown, and twelve counsellors. Its powers are very extensive, for it judges in the last resort upon all matters that come before its court by way of appeal. The governor-general, if upon the island, is president of the council, or in his absence, the intendant. If both are absent, the eldest counsellor then present collects the votes, and pronounces the sentence of the court, the constitution of which is preferable to the like in *Old France*, as the members rise to their seats by merit only. The other officers on the island are two lieutenant-governors, one for *Capesterre*, and another for *Basse Terre*, with a secretary of the marine, whose commission is very extensive. But some of those high-sounding officers have more power and honour than profit attending them, their revenues consisting chiefly of some exemptions of their negroes from the capitation-tax, and a few casual perquisites, but those not considerable.

THE *French* governor-general is commonly a man of quality, and both he, the intendant, and the lieutenant-governor, are paid out of the finances of *Old France*. The governor of *Martinico*, as well as of *Guadalupe*, are paid in sugar, as indeed are all the officers of the island, excepting some inconsiderable sums, that issue from the treasury of *Old France*.

The hundred weight of sugar is rated at four livres ten sols. The governors are allowed 60,000 pounds weight, with a pension of 1000 crowns, paid in *Old France*. The lieutenant-governors have 20,000 pounds weight, and 5000 livres salary. The king's judges, attornies, and other officers, have each an allowance of 6000 weight; but the counsellors of the sovereign council have no more than 1200 weight or twelve of their negroes, exempted from the capitation-tax. This is a tax paid by the white men and the free negroes, who are hired servants, and consists of 100 weight of coarse sugar a year, for each domestic or negro, who is employed in manufacturing it; and of six livres for every other. All provisions imported into the island are subject to a duty of one per cent. in specie, and a third of all forfeitures and fines goes to the crown. *Martinico* owes its flourishing state, in a great measure, to the *French* government having transported thither, by way of punishment, great numbers of its protestant subjects; some of whom voluntarily settled there.

*Air of
Martini-
co.*

THOUGH *Martinico* is generally said to be healthful for people settled upon it, yet it is certain, that the vast quantity of water which runs through it, creates a humidity, which is very noxious to the constitutions of the inhabitants. *Martinico* is likewise much subject to epidemical diseases, but those chiefly imported in ships from *Asia* and *Africa*. *Labat*, who resided upon the island, says, that a *French* ship from *Siam*, in bringing off the remains of two colonies they had there, landed at *Martinico*, where the crew and the passengers infected the inhabitants with a most horrible distemper, which corrupted the whole mass of the blood; and, after producing the most shocking symptoms among those affected with it, the patient generally died in four or five days. This was in the year 1705. As we know very little of *Martinico*, it having been too short a time in our custody after its conquest, for us to be perfectly acquainted with it, we are obliged to have recourse to the *French* writers for our description of the island.

*Descrip-
tion of St.
Peter's,
and other
parts of
the island.*

SAINTE PETERS, which we have already mentioned to have been the capital of *Martinico*, was built in 1665, in order to overawe the mutineers of the island against its proprietors, the second *West-India* company, who were at the same time the proprietors of all the *French Antilles*. The town itself extends along the shore; and a battery, which commands the road, is erected on the west side, which is washed by the river *Royolan*, or *St. Peter*. The principal entry to the fort is from the east; and the fort itself, towards the

the sea, is very strong. Upon the high ground, which overlooks the town, is built a wall, which extends thirty-five fathom, and is well mounted with cannon, with a large town at each extremity. This fortification commands the parade and the town. The fort has no ditch, nor covered way, but the walls are four feet and a half thick, with a parapet and battlements of stone, and the gates are defended by strong palisadoes. The parade is a square, of about 300 feet, surrounded on three sides by houses, from which five streets run, and with the fort in its front. The town itself is divided into three wards; the middle, which is properly *St. Peters*, begins at the fort, and runs westward to the battery of *St. Nicholas*, which is mounted with eleven guns, and is situated on a mountain. Under the walls of the second ward, ships ride at anchor more securely than under the fort; for which reason, this ward is called the *Anchorage*, and extends from the battery of *St. Nicholas* to that of *St. Robert*, which bounds the town on the west side. The third ward, called the *Gallery*, extended along the sea-side, from fort *St. Peter* to the *Jesuits* river; but 200 houses of it were destroyed by a hurricane in 1695. It was afterwards rebuilt, and became the most populous ward of the three. But those fortifications, formidable as they appear upon paper, made a very inadequate defence against the *English*, when they reduced this island. The houses of *St. Peter's*, particularly those of the intendant, the governor of the island, and the other public officers, were found to be neat, commodious, and elegant. The parish church of *St. Peter* is built of stone, its front is of the Doric order, and every thing about it, shewed both the taste and magnificence of the jesuits, who officiated in it; the whole being 120 feet long by 36. The church of the *Anchorage*, which belongs to the Jacobine friars, is likewise of stone, and is 90 feet long by 30; two chapels belonging to each church. The building of this church was greatly forwarded by the officers of the marine, who ordered their crews to assist in it; and therefore they enjoy some particular marks of distinction, such as pews and burying-grounds. Nothing can be more delightful than the walk from the yard, in which this church stands, to the Jacobine convent. It is formed by two rows of fine orange-trees, and crossed by two others, half a mile in length. The kitchen-garden of the convent is furnished with all kinds of delicious fruits. The jesuits-cloister is built of marble and free-stone, and commands a very fine prospect over a great variety of gardens and vineyards.

FORT-ROYAL is the next place of great consequence in *Martinico*, and it lies by land at the distance of seven leagues, and nine by water from fort *St. Peter*; but the land-road is so very incommodious, that travellers generally chuse to go by water. This fort is built on an eminence, fifteen or eighteen fathom above the surface of the sea, by which it is furrounded, excepting a neck of land, of about fifteen fathom over; so that the fort may be said to lie in an isthmus. It is built of earth, and its chief defence consists of the fortifications raised upon this isthmus, which are two demy-bastions and a half-moon, but all of them small; a wet ditch, a glacis, and a covered-way pallisadoed. On the flank of one of the demy-bastions lies the harbour, which has a communication with a fortified platform by a pair of stairs. On that side, the fort is shut in by a double wall; and a parapet, with some port-holes, lies towards the sea. The soil, on which the town is built, is a kind of a quicksand; but though it contains regular streets, and one large church belonging to the capuchins, it is said not to be comparable to *St. Peters, Cul de Sac Robert*, which lies in this island, is a large bay, almost two leagues deep, with two little islands at its entrance, which, by breaking the force of the waves, renders the bay a fine, safe, natural harbour; for the largest ships, which may be admitted here, to a great number, may reach the shore by a plank in many places. *Fort Trinity* lies at the bottom of *Trinity-Bay*, and is formed by *Point de Caravel*, on the east side, and on the west by an isthmus, which is joined to the land by a neck, about 200 feet broad. It is said, that the tide here flows to the height of fifteen or eighteen inches, and in new and full moons, to above two feet, which contradicts a common opinion that there is no reflux, or if any, only an imperceptible one, between the tropics. The lieutenant-governor of *Capeſterre* has his residence in *Trinity-Town*, which is likewise inhabited by a considerable number of merchants, and by its convenient situation for the *European* trade, and the safety of its port, during the hurricane-season, is become one of the most thriving parishes in the island. The manufactures of cocoa, sugar, cotton, and other commodities, carried on here, are very considerable. In former times, the *Caribbeans* or natives had their chief town at *Carbet*, (so called from them) near *Fort St. Peter*, in *Basse Terre*. The rivulets and gullies which abound in *Martinico*, render travelling upon the island very incommodious; but under the direction of a better government than that which *Martinica* had when it was conquered by the *English*, those gullies might be made highly serviceable in defending the island.

THE conquest of *Martinico*, in a manner, closed the operations between the *English* and *French* in *America* during the late war. It struck the court of *Versailles* with greater consternation than even the loss of *Canada* had done; and the rather, because their ministers at foreign courts had in no very decent terms reproached that of *London*, for want of judgment in fitting out an armament against an island that might securely bid defiance to all their power, by its artificial as well as natural strength, and the numbers, spirit, and martial disposition of its inhabitants. This conquest, as we have already partly observed, facilitated the reduction of the other *French Caribbee-Islands*, as it in a manner annihilated all their power there. As to the inhabitants of *Martinico*, they remained with great tranquillity under the military government of the *English*, during the short time they held it, and even seemed well-pleased at their change of masters. This disposition proved very favourable to the *English*, who having, by that time, resolved upon an expedition against the *Havannah*, were obliged to draw off great part both of their land and sea-forces from *Martinico*, to reinforce that expedition. During a negotiation for peace, that was managed between Mr. *Pitt* on the part of his *Britannic* majesty, and M. *Buffy* on that of the *French* court, the latter seemed from the beginning to have made no difficulty of putting the *English* in possession of *Canada*, provided they could recover *Guadalupe*; but *Martinico* being conquered, they added to the *English* the possession of *Louisiana*, almost as far as *New Orleans*.

THE subjects of *Great Britain*, however, not foreseeing what turn those negotiations might take, had availed themselves of the conquest of *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*, by opening in both islands a very promising trade; and even numbers of them settled there. It was therefore necessary to prevent all loss and inconveniency to private property, to specify in the eighth article of the definitive treaty, that all *British* subjects, "who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the other places restored to *France* by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands, and other places restored as above; and which shall serve for this use only, without being retained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months

Reflections on its conquest by the English.

Stipulations regarding Martinico in the treaty of 1763.

months is allowed to his *Britannic* majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; but, as the liberty granted to his *Britannic* majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his *Britannic* majesty and his most Christian majesty, that the number of *English* vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to *France*, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the *English* being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his most Christian majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two *French* clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places and posts of the said islands and places restored to *France*; and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated."

IN consequence of this article, on the 20th of *December*, 1763, public notice was given in the *London Gazette*, for all merchants and others concerned in the trade to *Martinico*, and the other restored islands, to send in to lord *Halifax's* office all the above specified particulars, that his lordship knowing the numbers of the vessels, might accordingly apply to the courts of *France* and *Spain* for passports. Upon the whole, the *French* shewed, during the whole course of the negotiation, an eagerness for the restitution of the three islands *Martinico*, *Guadeloupe*, and *St. Lucia*, that was impolitic; and, probably, must be ineffectual. Their retaining the property of *St. Lucia* may be some advantage to them, but can be of no detriment to *Great-Britain*, as we shall farther remark in our account of *Dominica*. The *French*, by all accounts, are endeavouring to give this island all the additional strength that it can admit of; but they are undoubtedly mistaken in imagining as they do, that they ever shall be able to revive that gainful sugar-trade which they carried on before the last war from *Martinico*. The acquisition that has been made by the *English* of the other *Caribbee Islands*, where sugar, indigo, cotton, and the like commodities may be raised in as great perfection, and with as much facility, as they can be in their islands, must soon convince them of their error; besides the infinite losses they have sustained in their *North American* possessions, which used to supply their islanders with many

necessaries for their plantations and commerce, and likewise took off large quantities of their sugar, rum, and molasses.

THE island of *Guadaloupe* was by the *Carribbeans* called *Guada-Carukera*, or *Carriceura*, and was discovered by *Columbus*, *loupe*. who gave it the name it now bears, from a distant resemblance it has to a chain of mountains of the same name in *Old Spain*. *Discovery and name of Guada-* When he landed here, it was peopled by a set of savages *loupe*. who knew the arts of life better than those who inhabited the other *Caribbee-Islands*. His landing was opposed by the women of the island, who furiously attacked his men with their bows and arrows; but they were soon dispersed by the fire-arms of the *Spaniards*, who thereby obtained an easy possession of the island, where they found the houses of the barbarians stored with large quantities of cotton, spun and unspun, and looms for weaving it; mention is likewise made of iron, bows and arrows, and cotton hammocks. Those particulars raise some suspicion as to the veracity of the *Spanish* accounts; unless we can suppose the natives either to have descended from the inhabitants of the old world, or to have acquired some knowledge of manufactures after the two former voyages of *Columbus*. Honey, wax, pompions, (for so a tartard kind of pine-apple is called) a sort of cinnamon-tree, mastic, aloes, sandel-wood, ginger, and several other *West-India* fruits, were found here in large quantities. The birds discovered on the island were parrots, partridges, turtle-doves, herons, falcons, to mention no others; because the histories of places, which come from the first discoverers of *America*, ought to be read with great caution. Whatever may be in this, *Columbus*, who, notwithstanding his personal merits, and the obligations he has laid the public under by discovering *America*, was no other than a commissioned pirate, acting under the authority of two powers, the pope and the king of *Spain*, who had no right over the places he conquered. He behaved accordingly; for after landing his men, he plundered and burnt the houses of the natives.

GUADALUPE lies thirty leagues north-west from *Martini-* *Situation,* *nico*, and is supposed to be near an hundred leagues in compass. We know nothing of its history from the time of *Columbus* landing on and plundering it, till the institution of the *French* general company of the *American* islands in 1635, within whose commission *Guadaleupe* lay. This company being unable of themselves to plant or cultivate their islands, empowered *M. St. Olive*, or, as he is called by *Labat*, *de Loline*, who was their lieutenant-general of *St. Christophers*, which was then a flourishing plantation, and one *du Plessis*, to contract with some merchants of *Dieppe*, for settling *Guadaloupe*.

The

The religious differences in *France*, at that time, as well as in *England*, soon produced adventurers, who, besides the inducement of enjoying liberty of conscience, were stimulated by views of interest, which, in fact united all parties and religions in such adventures. Those merchants contracted with 400 men, who were obliged to serve them three years; but many of the adventurers, who were protestants, did not imagine that the new settlement was absolutely under the direction of cardinal *Richelieu*, who sent along with them four *Dominican* friars, provided with very full powers from pope *Urban* the VIIIth. The commission of the adventurers from the general company of the *American* islands left it optional to them to settle either *Martinico*, *Dominica*, or *Guadaloupe*.

and first
peopling.

MARTINICO, as being the most promising, was pitched on; but when the colonists landed on that island, nothing but mountains and precipices presented to them, and they found it full of those serpents and poisonous animals we have already mentioned, which determined them, after erecting a cross in sign of possession, to remove to *Guadaloupe*. The value of this island, by what has fallen from the *French* and *Spanish* writers, was, at this time, far from being unknown to the *Europeans*; for we are told that the *Dominicans* had obtained the mission of it, on the merit of eighteen of their order (*Spaniards* in all probability) having been put to death there in 1603 and 1604. The adventurers happened to make an unfortunate choice of the place on which they landed; for the soil, which was red, seemed to be proper only for making bricks. As an addition to this misfortune, their two conductors, *D'Olive* and *du Pleffis*, disagreed in the partition of their command, which afterwards proved very detrimental to the colony; and they had been guilty of an unpardonable oversight, in not carrying along with them provisions sufficient to subsist them for at least twelvemonths, without the assistance of the natives. On examining their stores, they found no more left than could maintain them for two months, and the two chiefs dividing them between them, as well as their men and ammunition, agreed to separate.

Distresses
of the colony,

D'Olive built fort *St. Peter*, so called, because he took possession of it on that saint's eve. At first, the natives were far from shewing any disgust or dislike towards them. On the contrary, they assisted them in rearing their huts, and furnished them with cassava-bread, with seed for raising tobacco, cotton and peas, and even taught them to catch turtle and other fish in canoes. It is probable, that the colonists made ungrateful returns for those acts of friendship, for otherwise we can scarcely account for the dreadful famine, with which

which, in a short time they were afflicted. This became so raging, after consuming their bread, that many of them died of bloody fluxes, others retired to *St. Christophers*, and those who remained, were reduced to the horrible necessity of even devouring dead bodies, which they pulled from the graves. A ship arriving from *Dieppe*, with 140 men, landed a month's provision, but that being spent, the famine and mortality raged as much as ever. Notwithstanding the horrors of this narrative, the miseries of the settlers must have been partially alleviated, either by the commiseration of the natives, or the produce of the grounds; as it is impossible to conceive they could subsist in such misery for near five years, which father *la Tetre* informs us they did. Their sufferings, however, were very great, and famine had reduced their bodies to such a state of weakness, that they were unable to clear the ground, so as to raise other plants, roots, fruits, or corn.

In the course of those calamities *du Pleffis* died, by which *through* the direction of the colony devolved upon *D' Olive*. *The the misman-*
French writers themselves observe, that the settlers were equally *nagements*
 afflicted by the insatiable avarice and cruelty of their com-
 manders as by the hand of Providence. *D' Olive*, at last broke *of its di-*
 with the savages, numbers of whom he massacred, as being *rectors*.
 the readiest way to procure subsistence. As usual, they ap-
 plied to the *Caribbeans* of the neighbouring islands, who attacked
 the *French* in such numbers, that so many of them were cut
 off, as scarcely to leave to the remainder the name of a co-
 lony. And indeed, when we consider the calamities they are
 said to have struggled with, it is surprising that any one
 among them was left alive. We are, therefore, reasonably
 to presume, that their sufferings were over-rated by them-
 selves or their historians; especially, as the war between them
 and the *Caribbeans* is said to have been carried on with great
 slaughter and cruelty on both sides, from *January* 1636
 1639. During this period, it appears even from the *French*
 accounts, that several reinforcements were sent them, both
 from *Europe* and *St. Christopher's*; but they tell us, that all
 their convoys of provisions miscarried, as if the hand of God
 had been upon the colony to blast it. We need not, however,
 search for extraordinary causes, when natural ones readily pre-
 sent themselves; for it is generally allowed, that the tyranny and
 rapaciousness of *D' Olive* were insupportable, and that the
 colonists resolved to undergo any extremity, rather than con-
 tinue under it. When the settlement was brought to its
 lowest ebb, *D' Olive* detached a party of his best men to bring
 provisions from *St. Christopher's*; but they either perished in

the

D'Olive,
one of
them, put
under ar-
rest.

the voyage, or carried away the ship, to rid themselves of D'Olive's tyranny; for they never were more heard of.

D'OLIVE's ambition for command was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of resigning even that of this miserable colony; and he sent over a *Dominican* to be his agent at the court of *France*, which he understood was filled with complaints against him, as well as to solicit speedy supplies from the company. The *Dominican* managed so well, by representing the colonists as heretics, and that all the outcries against D'Olive, were from his vigilance and strict discipline, that the company received a message, which was to them a law, from cardinal *Richelieu*, importing, that they should renew D'Olive's commission, and constitute him sole governor of the colony. The *Dominican* returned with this commission, and the governor immediately assembled his officers to hear it read; but while this ceremony was performing, the *Dominican* church, with all its rich furniture and plate, was consumed by fire; nor were the perpetrators ever discovered, a strong proof of the detestation in which this commission was held by the colonists. In the mean while, all *Richelieu's* authority could not prevail with the merchants of *Dieppe* to make any addition to the expences of men and money they had laid out upon the colony; and even the company turned a deaf ear to all D'Olive's repeated applications for fresh supplies; nor could such of the colonists as had served out their time, be prevailed upon, either by entreaties or threats, to remain longer in the island. The dreadful situation he found himself in, affected his brain, and becoming blind, he went to *St. Christopher's*, where he was put under arrest by M. de *Poincy*, governor-general of the *French* islands.

Guada-
lupe now
settled by
de Poincy.

DE POINCY knew the value of *Guadalupe*, and the reasons why the colony had miscarried. He immediately formed a plan for selling *St. Christopher's* to the *English*, and for carrying over all its inhabitants to settle *Guadalupe*. The bad success of the former colony probably prevented this proposal from being executed; but de *Poincy* was so thoroughly convinced of its expediency, and the advantages that must attend it, that, at the request of the company's agent, he sent over men and ammunition to *Guadalupe*, where the *Caribbeans* had again come to a great head; and he published advertisements or placarts through all the *French* part of *St. Christopher's*, offering to such of the inhabitants as inclined to remove to *Guadalupe*, their passage free, and to maintain them till their own plantations could subsist them. He even prohibited the *French* of *St. Christopher's* to cultivate tobacco in their mountains or higher grounds; and thus they were

put

put under a kind of necessity of complying with his proposals. On the 14th of *January*, 1640, a hundred and thirty-two *French* of *St. Christopher's* sailed for *Guadalupe*; but being driven back, and their ship in bad condition, they did not reach it before the last of the month. *Poincy* hearing of their arrival at *Guadalupe*, raised as many more, and, to encrease their number, he released all the civil debtors upon the island, whom he likewise sent over to *Guadalupe*, where he said the interest of the king and the company demanded their services. Two officers, *Vernade* and *Sabouilly*, were appointed by *de Poincy* to manage the affairs of the new colony; and their first measure was to make a partition among their settlers of all the estates and effects that had belonged to *D'Olive's* planters, and which the few remains of his colony thought ought to be appropriated to them. The misunderstanding this occasioned was of infinite disservice to the colony. The officers continued to exercise such tyranny over their inferiors, that many of them ran into the woods, where some of them joined the *Caribbeans*, who carried on incessant war against the *French*, while others occasionally plundered both parties. *Sabouilly* defeated the savages, and once more forced the greatest part of them to leave the island; but upon their departure, the fugitive *French* uniting in a body, *de Poincy* was obliged to send over 500 men from *St. Christopher's* to reduce them, and the colony thereby recovered some degree of tranquillity.

THE new settlers still laboured under vast disadvantages. The air of the island, which was not yet cleared, proved fatal to their constitutions, and carried numbers of them off. The survivors found, that without the assistance of the savages, it was impossible for them to procure subsistence while they were clearing their plantations. The *Caribbeans*, therefore, were once more admitted to a communication with the *French*, who furnished them with knives, scissars, nails, and the like articles, of small value; and received in return, hogs, turtles, and a great variety of other fish, which subsisted them while they were clearing their grounds. Before the end of the year 1640, *M. Aubert* was appointed by the *West-India* company their governor of *Guadalupe*; and while he continued in that station, he was, by his prudence, justice, and moderation, of vast service to the colony. He re-established a good understanding with the savages, and the terms being faithfully observed on both parts, sufficiently proved, that all the former misfortunes of the colony had been owing to the tyranny and rapaciousness of its governors and officers. The advantages of the new settlement became every day more and

Fresh calamities of the colonists,

more evident, by the revival of tranquillity and plenty, and many eminent planters were encouraged thereby to settle in the island. This desirable situation did not long continue. The members of the *West-India* company in *France* had but a very slender stock of credit, and most of them were men of ruined fortunes, desirous of repairing them by every practice of oppression and rapaciousness. The promising aspect of their colony at *Guadalupe* was too tempting to be resisted, and *M. Houel*, one of their own number, being sent over to inspect the affairs of the island, upon his return in 1642, made so favourable a report of it, that *Aubert* was displaced, and *Houel* sent over governor in his room. We know little of the history of this governor's administration, during his ten years residence upon the island, any farther than that dissention and animosity among the colonists again got footing under him; but, in the main, the colony acquired strength and riches, though, perhaps, not in so great a degree as it might have done, had it continued under its former governor. *Houel*, going over to *France*, left the government of *Guadalupe* in the hands of his brother and nephew; and when major-general *Penn*, in his expedition against *Hispaniola*, appeared before it with an *English* squadron, he found it in so good a posture of defence, that we are told^a, he did not think proper to attack it. This, however, is a ridiculous assertion, raised by the *French* themselves; for it must have cost *Penn* his head had he made any such attempt, there being then the strictest intimacy between *Cromwell* and the court of *France*.

*but at last
begin to
thrive.*

*Destructive hur-
ricanes in
the island.*

ABOUT this time, the colony upon the island of *Guadalupe* was threatened with utter ruin by three most dreadful hurricanes, which happened in the space of fifteen months, which destroyed most of their plantations, and almost all the live stock they had to subsist upon; so that a depopulation by famine must have ensued, had not the colonists been relieved from other islands. When the hurricanes ceased, the air was infected, and prodigious quantities of large caterpillars devoured the fruits of the ground: but those natural calamities were not the only misfortunes the colonists had to struggle with. *Houel*, who was naturally of a tyrannical and avaricious disposition, by his oppression often provoked the colonists into insurrections; and to quell them, he had recourse to the negroes and other slaves upon the island, into whose hands he put fire-arms. Fortunately for the colonists, these negroes were of two sorts, those from *Angola*, and those from

^a System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 734.

Cape Verde; but having been always at war with one another in *Africa*, they could not unite in *America*, so as to make their conspiracy against the *French* a common cause. They carried it, however, as far as it could go; for though they could not agree about uniting together, yet they were unanimous as to a conspiracy into which they entered against the *French*. Their plan was, to murder all their masters, but to preserve the females for a breed, and then to divide the island between them, under two kings, as they called themselves, the one to reign over *Basse Terre*, and the other over *Capesterre*, which was appointed for their general rendezvous. Before the day of execution arrived, the hearts of the *Cape Verde* negroes failed them, either though fear, or from the aversion they had to their brothers of *Angola*. The latter punctually observed their rendezvous, notwithstanding their disappointment. Having waited a whole day for their *Cape Verde* friends, they fell with great fury upon the *French* plantations at *Capesterre*, many of whom they destroyed, killing the planters, and carrying off their arms. They then sheltered themselves in the woods, from whence, for fifteen days, they made excursions, destroying all the *French* who fell into their hands. This obliging the *French* to unite, the savages were defeated; their two kings taken and put to death, as were many of their ring-leaders, while the inferior sort suffered different, but severe, punishments. The *Caribbeans* about *Capesterre* were accused by the *French* of having fomented this and another conspiracy, which was likewise defeated; and those savages, to clear themselves, entered into a compromise with the *French*, to renounce all farther connections with the negroes.

THOSE disturbances were not confined to slaves and savages; *Oppressions* for *Houel's* oppressions and exactions irritated the *French* of *Houel*, themselves into a revolt, which was appeased only by his promising to abolish their grievances. But his danger was no sooner over, than they were renewed, and he was so rapacious as to strip even his brother and nephew of their estates upon the island, and obliged them to come from *France* to *Guadeloupe* to reclaim them. The planters and merchants took their part, and *Houel* was forced again to patch up an accommodation, which he broke likewise; but at last, *de Poincy* interposed, and matters were once more seemingly accommodated. This reconciliation being soon broken, both parties had again recourse to arms, and the *French* king was daily pestered with remonstrances and petitions from both sides; so contradictory to each other, that in 1663^b, he gave a com-

^b CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 149.

mission to the marquis *de Tracy*, whom we have already mentioned in the history of *Canada*, to repair to the *French Windward-Islands*, with the new title of his majesty's viceroy of *America*; and, after settling every thing there, to take upon him the government of *Canada*. When *Tracy* arrived at *Guadaloupe*, he found the affairs of the island in vast disorder. The slaves had again deserted to the number of 400, and from their fastnesses in the woods, headed by a daring fellow of their own number, they committed great disorders. *Tracy* having with him a strong body of regulars, threw some of them into the forts of the island, and with the others he found little difficulty in reducing the slaves to their duty. At last he found means to establish a kind of a general peace over all the *Antilles*; in which the *English*, the *French*, and the *Caribbeans* were parties. During *Tracy's* residence in *Guadaloupe*, he was guilty of many shameful injustices towards the *French* of the reformed religion, on pretence of their having insulted the Roman catholics, and encouraged the disorders of the island.

Guada-
loupe
again
purchased.

By this time, the *French West-India* company were bankrupts, and sold to *Monf. de Boifferet*, *Houel*, and others, the islands of *Guadaloupe*, *Desseada*, *Maragalante*, *Xaintes*, and other small islands; nothing being reserved to the *French* crown more than the bare right of sovereignty; and then the company was dissolved. It could not have subsisted so long, had it not been for the spirit of colonizing that then possessed the *French*, and especially the protestants; for though it was established under the powerful patronage of cardinal *Richelieu*, yet its capital did not exceed 4000 *l.* sterling. The court of *France* looked upon the bargain they had made with the new proprietors, as a transaction they had no power to conclude, and as a nullity in itself. It was upon this presumption, that *Tracy* had been sent over to regulate the affairs of those islands; and in *July* 1664, a new *West-India* company was instituted, comprehending all the *French* possessions in *America*, on the continent as well as in the islands; but not till after the new proprietors of *Guadaloupe* had been reimbursed their purchase-money. The first governor of *Guadaloupe*, under this new company, was *Monf. de Lion*. The king was to be at the expence of its military establishments, and his troops accordingly continued to garrison the forts upon the island. The company, on the other hand, had vast funds and resources for carrying on their commerce; and one of the first of the royal instructions was, that they should use all means to recover the trade of the *French Antilles-Islands*, out of the hands of the *Dutch*,
who

who, during the troubles which happened in the *French* king's minority, had almost engrossed it. They likewise had it in charge to recover from the knights of *Malta*, and other private owners, all the smaller islands, which they had obtained by sham purchases from the late proprietors.

THE institution of this new *West-India* company was a bold and spirited undertaking, and every way worthy the genius of the great *Colbert*, who formed it; and who proposed, that it should defray half the military expence of the *French* nation; but he did not foresee, that the *French* had not stability enough in their nature for executing, to the full, so momentous a plan. Though the company, while it existed, did wonders in answering the expectation of the government; yet the services they performed were turned against themselves, and *Colbert* immediately concluded, that if private persons made such advantage by trade, the profits must be more than doubled should the crown resume into its own hands the property of those islands; but, as we have observed in the history of *Canada*, this was far from being the case of that and the other *French* settlements upon the continent. In consequence of this scheme, the new *French West-India* company was suppressed in 1674; and then their trade, and all their possessions, by means that are not material for this history to transmit, were resumed into the *French* king's hands, whose ministers, from that time, seemed to have adopted a commercial system that was entirely new. In imitation of the courts of *England* and *Spain*, their plan was to confine the trade of the *French Antilles* to *France* alone; but this, in a great measure, depended on the concurrence of their *Guinea* company, who, as it happened at *Barbados*, disputed their right of importing negroes from *Africa*; and of their farmers-general, to whom the late *West-India* company was greatly in arrears, without their having any prospect of being repaid, but from the profits of that trade.

THOSE different claims threw the *Antilles-Islands* into a state of indecision with regard to their trade, and they still admitted *Dutch* vessels to trade with them, five of which were burnt by the *English* in one of the harbours of *Guadalupe* in 1677; and some of the *French* plantations in *Grand Terre* were plundered at the same time. As to the other naval transactions which then passed between the *English* and *French* at *Guadalupe*, we must refer the reader to the history of *Barbados*. Upon the whole, the *French* saw, that through the mismanagement, pride, and avarice of their own governors, the *English* had got the start of them in their *West-India* trade; and that the same motives had induced their

settlers and officers to be guilty of the most flagrant breaches of justice and good faith against the *English* over all *America*. Had the resentment of the *English* been left in their own hands, they might easily have redressed themselves; but the *French* king, sensible of the ascendancy he had over *James II.* proposed a fresh negotiation between the two crowns for regulating their differences in *America*, and for preventing all future disputes between their subjects. *James* had great notions of trade; but he had attached himself chiefly to the *African*, whose interest, as he thought, the proposed treaty would serve; and therefore, after many preliminary discussions, the treaty proposed by the *French* was signed at *Whitehall*, *November* the 5th, 1686, by *Barillon*, its ambassador at *London*, on the one part, and by the *English* officers of state on the other.

A treaty of
neutrality
destructive
to the
English,

THE great points settled by this treaty, which was of the utmost prejudice to the *English* interest over all *America*, were, First, That the subjects of both crowns there, (upon the continent as well as in the islands) should live together in amity, and each be at liberty without interruption, to pursue their separate views, intentions, and improvements. The second article, which seems upon the main to have been copied from the treaty of *Westphalia*, forbade all manner of trade or correspondence between the subjects of the two crowns, in their several ports or harbours; and both were to enjoy their privileges, prerogatives, and jurisdictions in their utmost extent, with all their benefits of trade. But notwithstanding the above stipulations, 3dly, certain regulations were laid down, under which, in cases of necessity, the subjects of one nation might enter into the ports and harbours of the other; and all necessary assistance was to be given by either in case of shipwrecks, or other sea accidents. By the fourth article, the *English* were at liberty to load and bring salt from the ponds of *St. Christophers*, and the *French* were at liberty to water in the same island; but both in the daytime, upon the third firing of a gun, and with a flag flying. By the fifth article it was stipulated, that neither nation was to harbour the fugitives, whether white, black, or *Indian*, that had belonged to the other; or the goods that they had purloined. The sixth article provided against all depredations committed by the privateers of either nations, the masters of which ships were to give security in a thousand pound for their good behaviour; and likewise to subject their ships to the making good all acts of injustice they should commit. The seventh article bound up both the contracting parties from granting commissions, or letters of marque, to the ships

of

of any power with whom either might be at war, and that neither should assist or comfort the pirates or free-booters of either. The eighth article provided, that all *American* disputes between the two contracting parties, if they could not be settled in *America* within the space of a year, should be stated and sent home to their respective courts for discussion. The ninth, and last article we shall mention, was the most insidious of all on the part of *France*; for it provided, that whatever war might break out between the two crowns, a strict neutrality should be observed amongst their subjects in *America*.

SUCH are the heads of this treaty of neutrality, which, but during the short time it lasted, raised the *French* affairs in *America* from a despondent to a formidable state. Any one who has read the foregoing pages may easily conceive the vast advantages which the *French* derived from a neutrality in *America*, at a time when the *English* subjects there had not only provocation but power sufficient to have reduced all their settlements. The *French* lost no time in improving the happy crisis. They extirpated the *Caribbeans* from *Guadalupe*, as those poor savages had no longer the *English* to apply to for protection or assistance; but they invented a distinction between the savages they had thus destroyed, on pretext of their having been slaves or rebels, and those who had taken refuge in *Dominica* and *St. Vincent*; and whom, they said, they had received into their protection. They had even the effrontery to carry this infamous distinction to the court of *England*, and had formed a sketch of a treaty for maintaining the *Caribbeans* in those two islands, till they were in a condition of extirminating them from thence, as they had done their brethren from *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*.

It is admitted by *Labat*, that in the descent made by the *English* upon *Guadalupe*, under commodore *Walker* and colonel *Codrington*, had not the officers of the *English* troops differed among themselves, the like misunderstanding among the *French* officers must have put the island into the hands of the *English*. The truth is, this invasion, though in a manner recent, and at that time, of great importance to both nations, is so variously related by *French* as well as *English* writers, and most of them too upon the spot, pretending that they deliver nothing but what they saw, throws the utmost confusion and uncertainty upon the whole; so that all we know, is, that the *English* did infinite damage to the island: but upon the arrival of *M. Gabaret*, the governor of *Martinico*, they thought proper to reembark with a considerable loss of men, but chiefly by sickness. During the remainder of that war, as well as the two wars which broke

out between *France* and *England*, *Guadaloupe* became the great rendezvous of the privateers; and their chief exploits against the *English* were performed off that island; but as those transactions do not fall within the bounds of this history we omit them, to pass to matters of more general concern.

AFTER the *French* king took *Guadaloupe* under the immediate protection of his own government, it became incomparably the most profitable colony to his crown that he had. Many writers, and those mercantile ones of great credit, who were upon that island after its conquest by the *English*, have confidently affirmed, that *Guadaloupe* before that period produced more sugar than all the *British* sugar-islands put together; and some have raised the quantity exported from that and its dependencies to the incredible number of 150,000 hogheads yearly. More moderate calculations have fixed them at 100,000; not to mention its coffee, cinnamon, and other commodities. It was, therefore, no wonder that the *French*, during the negotiations that preceded the definitive treaty of 1763, insisted upon the restitution of *Guadaloupe* as an indispensable preliminary; for, besides the valuable commodities already specified, it is of itself a most desirable island, and well furnished with all the conveniencies of living. A narrow isthmus would join the two parts of the island, which the stream, we have already mentioned, divides, and which narrow as it is, laid the people of *Grand Terre* under such difficulties of being relieved from *Basse Terre*, that the inhabitants of *Grand Terre* in 1696, were obliged to abandon that division, on account of the frequent invasions and depredations of the *English*. The stream itself is said in some places not to be above ninety feet over, but its depth as well as breadth are so unequal, that in some parts it can carry a ship of 500 tons, and in others cannot admit one of 50. Its course is finely shaded with mangroves on both sides.

SINCE the *French*, by the treaty of 1763, re-entered into possession of *Guadaloupe*, they seem to be, more than ever, sensible of the importance of this island, and have brought it nearly to the constitution of a *Spanish* colony, as appears by the following ordinance of M. *Bourlemaque* governor-general, and M. *de Peineir*, its president and intendant; viz. First, That no foreign vessel shall navigate nearer those coasts than the distance of one league, or send any boat ashore without a written permission from the intendant, in which shall be specified the nature and quality of the effects they have on board. Secondly, That all such foreign vessels shall anchor in *Basse Terre* road, and at *Point-Peter* only. Thirdly, That they shall take in all their loading at the port they first anchor

150,000
hogheads
of sugar
made in
Guada-
loupe.

chor in. Fourthly, That permissions will be delivered by the intendant, to such *French* merchants as he shall think proper to send over to foreign ports and colonies; and no foreign vessel shall take on board any thing but melasses and rum. Fifthly, Enjoins masters of foreign vessels to make their report, and shew their permission upon their arrival; and obliges them to receive a waiter on board. Sixthly, Forbids the trespassing against this ordinance, under the penalties of confiscation of vessel and cargo, 3000 livres, and a year's imprisonment. Seventhly, Orders all gardes de cotes, from the first of *November* instant, to seize all foreign vessels that shall be found within a league of those coasts, without such permission as aforesaid. Eighthly, Only concerns the registry and publication of the ordinance."

THE air of *Guadaloupe* is preferable to that of *Martinico*, being more salubrious and less sultry. Such was the policy of the *French* government, that they did not encourage the population of *Guadaloupe* equally with that of *Martinico*, for this obvious reason, that they always were sure of settlers for the former, and that an over increase of planters might break the balance that was necessary to be kept up between it and their other islands. In short, it has been asserted, that *Guadaloupe*, if as well peopled and cultivated as *Barbados*, might produce as much sugar as would furnish all *Europe*. Among its remarkable productions of the vegetable kind, *Labat* mentions the valuable copau-tree, from whence is extracted a most excellent balsam, and which he could not find in any other of the *French* islands. It grows about twenty feet in height, and makes a fine appearance. Its leaf resembles that of the orange-tree, and is of an aromatic smell, as well as its bark when rubbed or squeezed. The wood is white and soft, and according to *Labat*, when its balm is carefully extracted, it is a most sovereign internal as well as external remedy. The milk-shrub, so called from its yielding a substance like milk when prest, is likewise found here. Its leaf resembles the laurel, as its blossoms do that of the jessamine. *Labat* says, that the juice of the shrub falls little or nothing short of the copau-balsam in its sanative virtues. The moubane-tree, which grows here, bears a yellow plum, with which the natives fatten their hogs; and the gum of the corbary-tree, when hardened in the sun, becomes so translucent, that the *Caribbeans* use to form it into ornaments and wear them as beads and bracelets. Many of the mountains with which *Guadaloupe* abounds, are loaded with wood, and nothing can be more verdant, or more beautifully variegated, than the large fruitful plains that lie at their bottom; but

The copau-tree.

The milk shrub.

Moubane and corbary-tree.

the

Volcano.

Hot
Springs.

the most extraordinary object that is found in *Guadaloupe*, or in any of the *French* islands, is a volcano (for so it appears to be by its continual smoaking) which communicates a sulphureous taste to the neighbouring streams. Near the little island of *Goyaves* are found springs that are boiling hot, and are said to contain many medicinal properties, particularly in the cure of dropsies. The culs de sacs, or gulphs, that lie on the coasts of *Guadaloupe*, contain turtle, sharks, land-crabs, and various other fishes. As to the fortifications of this island, the reader will be able to form a proper idea of them from reading the history of its conquest, which is comprised in that of *Barbados*. But it may be proper to give some account of other particulars.

IN the *Grand Terre* are several indentings made by the sea and the land, which are capacious enough to shelter vessels from the hurricanes, and are shaded by palmetto-trees, to which they may be fastened. The *Great Cul de Sac* affords excellent ridings for ships of all burdens; but the parish of the *Little Cul de Sac* is the most populous and best cultivated of any in the island. The town and fort of *Basse-Terre* stands two leagues north of the original fort, which was twice carried away by inundations; and, indeed, all the buildings upon the island have undergone various alterations since its first settlement, from inundations, hurricanes, and enemies. Among the other parishes of *Guadaloupe*, that of *The Inhabitants* is remarkable. It is so called, because it was peopled in the time of the first company by those who had fulfilled their contract of the three years service to the proprietors; and hither they retired, that they might be distinguished from those who were servants still.

Devil-
bird.

THE most remarkable bird found by *Labat* on *Guadaloupe*, was the devil-bird, which is peculiar to this island and *Dominica*. According to him, it is a bird of passage, of the size of a young pullet, and all its plumage coal-black. Its wings are long, its legs short, and its feet, which are like those of a duck, have strong claws; its beak is crooked, sharp, and hard, and in length about an inch and a half; its eyes are large, and serves it to distinguish fishes, which it catches at night out of the sea; but they are unable to bear the light in the day-time when flying, so that they often rush upon interposing objects and fall down. After their fish-hunting in the night, they repair to the *Devil's-Mountain*, so called from its lying near *Bailiff-River*, where they lodge by pairs in holes like rabbits. Their continuance here is during the months of *October* and *November*, though they are seen singly in other months; but all of them disappear in *May*, with-

without being seen again till *September*. The negroes of the island have a peculiar way of hunting those birds with dogs and hawks, but too long to be described here; and *Labar*, who attended four of them during this dangerous diversion, says, that by noon they had taken an hundred and ninety-eight. Their flesh, when carefully cleaned, and cured of its fishy taste, is good and nourishing food; and the negroes and poor of the island subsist upon it during the season.

THE bees of *Guadaloupe* are very different in every respect *Bees.* from those of *Europe*, being black, smaller, and without stings, or, at least, none that can be felt. They never hive but in the hollows of trees, and their wax, which is of a dark purple, approaching to black, besides its being too soft for candles, never can be blanched; so that it is made use of only for securing the corks of bottles. Those bees, instead of making combs, lay their honey in bladders of wax, about the form and size of a pigeon's egg; but by all accounts it never hardens, nor is of any other consistence than that of olive-oil.

This island is pestered by an insect called a raver, *The raver.* shaped like a may bug, or cockchaffer, of a stinking-smell, and preying upon paper, books, and furniture, and whatever they do not gnaw is discoloured by their ordure. These nasty insects, which are very numerous, and appear chiefly by night, would be intolerable, were it not for a large spider, some of them the length of a man's fist, which entangles them in its web, and otherwise surprises them, for which reason the inhabitants of the island are very careful not to do the least hurt to those animals. Having thus given the civil and natural history of *Guadaloupe*, as far as it imports an *English* or a curious reader to know, we shall now enter upon an account of the manners, dispositions, and religion of a people whom we have often mentioned, but never have had an opportunity of describing, though their history is of the utmost importance to this part of our work, we mean the *Caribbeans*; and in this we shall be directed by antient as well as modern authorities, to which last the *French* writers have too much attached themselves.

LERY, a *Frenchman*, who went to *Brazil* in 1556, and remained there for some time, mentions the *Caribbees*,^b who undoubtedly are the same with those we have called *Caribbeans*, as being the priests of the *Bresilians*, and very expert by their jugglings in imposing upon those barbarians, and making them believe whatever they pleased. *Lery* could scarcely be mistaken in the name; and his relation of them

^b His works, which is very scarce, is written in Latin, and was printed by *de Bry*, in 1592.

is very credible ; for though he endeavours to exaggerate those powers of imposture, as if they were effected by some supernatural cause, yet common experience teaches us, that enthusiasm and venality every day produce the like, and, indeed, much more wonderful effects than any he mentions. He observes, that those *Caribbees* had a much stronger aversion to *Europeans* than the rest of their nation had ; and this may very well account for those *Europeans* giving the name of *Caribbees*, or *Caribbeans*, to the inhabitants of those islands, who are, of all other savages, the most irreconcilable to our manners and government. Other writers pretend, that the *Caribbeans* were a people of *Guiana*, who being expelled from their own country took refuge in those islands ; and Mr. *Brigstock*, an *Englishman* says, that they are a nation of the *Apalachians*, and are still to be found at the back of *Georgia* and *Carolina*.

FROM all that we can learn with certainty, the manners of the *Caribbeans* have been greatly altered from the time of their first discovery ; and about 1625, those of *Guadaloupe* carried on a bartering-trade with the *Spaniards*, for the arrival of whose ships they impatiently waited. But this change appears to have been for the worse ; for we hear no more of their cotton manufactures and looms, which the *Spaniards* destroyed at their first arrival on the island. Mention is indeed made by *Gage* of their being in possession, at that time, of sugar-canes, which is a farther argument of their having come from *Brazil*, where that plant was then cultivated, and no where else in the *West-Indies* ; and *Lery* observes, that the *Brazilians* had looms, which their women managed with great dexterity, and that they made cups and vessels of earthen-ware neater than those that are manufactured in *Europe*. Among the *Brazilians*, the *Caribbees* or priests seem to have been the only people who did not go naked ; but they were covered only with robes made of feathers, very nicely joined together, the manufactures of the looms being kept for bed-cloaths, and other household-furniture. The *Antilles Caribbeans* have an olive complexion, little black piercing eyes, and their mothers are at great pains to flatten their foreheads and noses, so that the appearance of a *Caribbean* cannot be very pleasing. They suffer no beard to grow on their faces and chins, and they are of a strong, well-proportioned make. They kept their hair nicely combed and clean. The men sometimes wear feather-hats, but both sexes otherwise commonly go stark naked. Like other *American* savages, they bore their noses, ears, and lips, and hang

hang by them pieces of amber, chryſtal, tortoiſe-shell, gold, ſilver, or whatever trifling ornament they are moſt fond of, or can procure. On certain ſolemn days the men are dreſſed like the *Braſilian Caribbees*, in feather-ropes; but the nobleſt ornament their chief can have about him is a copper gorget, which is an infallible proof of his valour, as that metal can be found no where but in the country of their enemies. After riſing, which they do before the ſun, they waſh themſelves in a running water, and when the man is dry, the woman dreſſes his hair, and with feathers, inſtead of pencils, (but *Lery* ſays, the *Braſilian* women have pencils, and that they handle them very dexterouſly in painting themſelves and their huſbands) ſhe beſmears his body all over with a red compoſition. The women themſelves are painted in like manner. When the operation is over, the whole family ſit, without any ceremony, but in great ſilence, to eating. This ſilence continues after the meal is over for a conſiderable time, which ſome ſpend in ſleeping, others in playing upon their rude muſical inſtruments, and ſome in making their bows and other weapons. Their whole mode of life is unreſtrained, but modeſt: when they break ſilence, the ſpeaker is heard without interruption, and with applauſe, as is the ſucceeding ſpeaker, even though he contradicts the ſentiments of the former. Their original language is now degenerated, by their admitting into it a mixture of *European* words, to enable them to trade and converſe with Chriſtians. When they are by themſelves, they return to their ancient language, which is ſaid to be ſmooth and flowing; and ſo fond are the *Caribbeans* of it, that even ſuch of them as are converts to chriſtianity, make great difficulty of inſtructing *Europeans* in it.

THE *Caribbeans*, without all doubt, devoured the bodies of all whom they took or killed in war; and that too, if we are to believe credible eye-witneſſes, with the moſt ſhocking ^{Formerly man-eaters.} circumſtances of indelicacy and barbarity. The *French* pretend that they have reformed them from this indelicate cuſtom; but by their carrying off the dead bodies, there is too much reaſon for believing that they ſtill follow it, though they pretend that all they mean is, that they ſhould be evidences at home of their victory. In other reſpects, *Labat*, who was well acquainted with thoſe ſavages, gives them much the ſame character, as to their manners, cuſtoms, virtues, and vices, as *Lery* gives of the *Braſilians*. This is a ſtrong inducement for believing that the frightful colours in which the *Caribbeans* are drawn by former adventurers from *France* and *Spain*, was owing to the reſiſtance they met with from the generous

generous love which those barbarians had for liberty and their country.

Their humanity to captive women and children.

ACCORDING to the same author, the *Caribbeans* treat their female captives with the greatest decorum and tenderness, and have sometimes been known to marry them. As to their captive children, they either sell them to *Europeans*, or breed them up as their own. Their natural disposition leads them to be docile and compassionate, and they have a hearty contempt for that species of *European* avarice, which prefers gold to chrysal and glafs. Though naturally extremely curious, they are so rivetted to their own country, that they seldom or never can be prevailed on to leave it; and they often very pathetically reproach the *Europeans* for their injustice in seizing their islands. Though they are tenacious of their own property, and love to make good bargains, yet theft is so little known among them, that they often leave their houses open to every one; but those excellent qualities are not without an intermixture of vices. After receiving what they conceive to be an injury, they are to the last degree vindictive and implacable; and upon their losing the smallest trifle, they grieve immoderately, sometimes for a whole week.

THEY often make public entertainments, from which none are excluded; but their neighbours only are invited to be guests. On those occasions it is that they consult of peace, war, and matters of commerce; but they generally get intoxicated, and give a vent to their revenge, be their resentments of ever so old standing. They commonly execute their revenge in an unmanly manner, by stabbing the party, or knocking him down from behind. When such murders are committed, the assassin escapes generally unquestioned, unless the deceased has relations in the assembly, and then they cut him in pieces. Such assassins, however, before they strike the blow, if they see any relations present, defer it till another opportunity. Those barbarians, by all accounts, have not the smallest ideas of reconciliation or forgiveness; for if a friend, though no relation of the murdered party, is by, he never quits his resolution of revenge, but treasures it up till he can repay the murder in kind, which almost always happens, unless the assassin leaves the country. It is to this spirit of revenge that travellers attribute the want of population among the *Caribbeans*; whose numbers of men are very thin, though the women are plentiful, and the men indulge themselves in polygamy.

Their fare.

THE fare of the *Caribbeans* at their entertainments is far from being contemptible. They boil their venison and fish, and they have such plenty of swine and poultry, that they carry

carry them to the *English* and *French*, and exchange them for tools and necessaries. Wood-pigeons, parrots, and thrushes, which they kill with their arrows, always make a part of the feast, to which are added ignamas, potatoes, bananas, figs, and cassava. The manner in which they proceed, if they deliberate upon war, strongly characterizes their fury and inconstancy. On such occasions, an old woman becomes the trumpet of the assembly. She stands up in the middle; she recapitulates all the provocations, insults, and injuries, done to them by their enemy; and finding them sufficiently heated, she scatters among them the broiled limbs of those enemies which have been reserved for that purpose, which all the company hack and hew with the utmost fury. They then fix the day for opening their campaign with the loudest acclamations of approbation; but they take care never to stir from the entertainment while one drop of liquor remains; and when they grow sober, they very often think no more of the resolution they had taken.

THE *Caribbeans* have no compulsive power among themselves, nor any institution of government for punishing the most atrocious crimes; so that private resentments direct all their justice. But this is to be understood as happening between man and man; for every husband has so full and uncontrolled a power over his wife, that he can kill her on the slightest offence, or even on suspicion. The submission of the females to the tyranny of their husbands is admirable. After the husband has killed venison or fishes, the wife brings the lading from the boat, dresses it, and performs the most servile duties without repining; while the husband enjoys himself in all manner of indulgence. If the *Caribbeans* shew the smallest respect to each other, it is on account of old-age; but their old women are said to be the most spiteful wretches in the world, especially against young wives, whom they sometimes accuse of witchcraft, upon which the poor wretches are condemned and put to death unheard. They train their children up from their birth to archery, so that the *Caribbeans* are generally excellent marksmen.

THEY are fond of all *Europeans* who carry military, naval, *Names,* or civil commissions; and they look upon the richest merchants as being no better than their slaves. They commonly *and other* assume to themselves some officer's name, and this kind of *modes of* self-adoption is celebrated with great jollity. In their expeditions, they way-lay their enemies so artfully, that by covering themselves up with boughs and leaves of trees, they are not to be discerned. Their attacks are cowardly, and always from behind; and they have a particular *living.* dexte-

dexterity in discharging arrows that are pointed with flaming matches of cotton, that never fail to consume the houses on which they light, if they are covered, as they commonly are, with canes and palmettoes. When the wretched inhabitants fly out of the houses flaming about them, the *Caribbeans* wait for them in ambush, and shoot them dead, concealing themselves so artfully, that the survivors can find no object of revenge. It is surprising with what quickness and dexterity they discharge their arrows; and such of them as have fire-arms, handle them equally well. On account of those qualities, the *French* cares the *Caribbeans*, whom they cannot otherwise fear; for they never stand a fair engagement, but they may be mischievous to the last degree in the manner related. The water seems to be as much the element of a *Caribbean*, as the land is; for when one of their boats oversets, men, women, and children, swim about it, the women sometimes supporting one or more infants, till it is put to rights; and such is their dexterity, that they never lose the smallest parcel of their lading^c. The *Caribbeans*, barbarous as they are, are not without some rude ideas of two principles, the one benevolent, for which reason they think it quite superfluous to pray to it: the other, which they call *Manitou*, (a term which is common with the other savages of the *American* continent) that is, hurtful, and to which they pray with great fervour, but without having the smallest notion of what it is, or how it operates. They never marry in the first degree of consanguinity, but the female cousin-germans of a man claim a right to him; so that sometimes he has four or five sisters for his wives; and when any of them are too young for marriage, they are bred up to all the domestic duties, till they are old enough to become wives to their cousin-german. The master of a house, when dead, is buried in the middle of it, and his family then abandons that habitation.

*Whimsical
custom of
the Carib-
beans.*

FATHER *la Tertre* mentions a very whimsical custom of the *Caribbeans*; which is, that when a woman lays in of her first child, if it is a son, the father betakes himself to his bed, and without stirring for thirty or forty days, most ceremoniously acts the part of his lying-in wife. We shall not consume our reader's time in giving any further particulars of those savages. What we have given are extracted from *French* authors, who are not always consistent among themselves. It is certain, that since the time of their writing, which is about sixty years ago, the *Caribbeans* have been greatly humanized, and this has been owing to

^c *Lery* relates the same thing of the *Brazilians*.

the *English*; both the interests and principles of the *French* and *Spaniards* leading them to wish that they might continue in their native barbarity. They are now no longer fond of human banquets, and feed the same as all *Europeans* do, upon swine's flesh, and the other meats which they formerly abhorred. The tyranny of the husband over the wife is almost entirely abolished; and, about the time of the duke of *Montague's* attempt to settle *St. Vincent* and *St. Lucia*, they seem to have erected themselves into a species of government; and, by the best accounts, their connections with the *French* were formed only that they might be the better enabled to avoid all dependency upon the *English*. We have already seen, that the negroes, who had been wrecked upon *St. Vincent*, associated themselves with the *Caribbeans*; and the *French* inform us, that they served them with the same submission and respect, as if they had been *Europeans*. The *French*, in relating those matters, have assured us, with an air of triumph, that they were informed by the *Caribbeans*, the flesh of one of their countrymen eat much better than that of a *Spaniard*, and with a more delicate flavour. Some pretend, that the *Caribbeans* to this day indulge themselves in eating the flesh and drinking the blood of their enemies the *Arovages*: but to this we give little credit.

The islands of *Xaintes*, or *All-Saints*, lie within the government of *Guadaloupe*. They are three in number, and their soil is pretty much the same with that of *Guadaloupe*. The westernmost island, which is the best, is about three leagues in circumference; but none of those islands seem ever to have been properly inhabited, because destitute of fresh water, though producing all other necessaries of life. According to the *French* writers, the *Xaintes* were possessed by the *French* in 1648, but for want of water they were obliged to abandon them. In 1652 they returned, and dispossessing the *Caribbeans*, they built a fort on one of the islands, which was taken by the *English*; but the victors were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners to the *French*, who carried them to *Guadaloupe*. They add, that the expedition, in which lord *Willoughby*, governor of *Barbados* perished, was undertaken to recover this island, and that he was wrecked in the strait, between that and *Guadaloupe*, as he was proceeding against the *French* of *St. Christopher's*. The coasts of those islands abound in turtle and excellent shell-fish.

The island of *Defeada* lies in longitude 61. 20. and in lat. 16. 20. It is about twenty miles from *Guadaloupe*, and is about sixteen miles in length, and two in breadth. This island was discovered by the great *Columbus*, who gave

it the name of *Desiderata*, or *Desireable*. Some part of it deserves that epithet, the soil being proper for the cultivation of sugar and cotton; of which last, it produces the best of all the *French* islands. This island, as well as those of *Xaintes*, became of importance during the late war, on account of the very convenient shelter their ports afforded to privateers and free-booters; and by the definitive treaty of 1763, their inhabitants were admitted to the same capitulation that had been granted to *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe*.

Marigalante.

ABOUT twelve miles south-east from *Grand Terre*, and seventeen north from *Martinico*, lies the island of *Marygalante*, so called from the name of the ship of *Columbus*, who first discovered it in 1493. This island is of a circular form, and about fifty *English* miles in circumference. When the *French* first attempted to settle it, which was about the year 1647, its *Caribbean* inhabitants, as usual, manfully resisted them. Even after those savages were quelled, or forced to submit, the possession of the invaders was unquiet and precarious. Sometimes the natives attempted to throw off their yoke and massacre their masters, and sometimes it was plundered by the *Dutch*. In the year 1652, the *Caribbeans* of *Marigalante* were obliged to retire to *Dominica*; and, after that, the *French* remained sole possessors of the island. In 1691, general *Codrington* landed some men out of the fleet, commanded by commodore *Wright*, and without opposition, took the town and fort, making the governor and his lieutenant prisoners, and then, after ravaging the country, and ruining its plantations, he re embarked for *Guadaloupe*. Since that time, *Marigalante* could scarcely be called an object of military operations; and the *English* became twice masters of it, exclusive of its last submission, without resistance; and it received the benefit in the late definitive treaty of the capitulation of *Guadaloupe*. This island abounds with tobacco, and contains a great many grottos where large crabs are found, as also several rivers and ponds of fresh water. Along the eastern shore run high rocks, so perpendicular, that they seem to be planned by art, and which give shelter to vast numbers of tropic birds, they being as full of holes as a pigeon-house. The western shore is flat, and cinnamon-trees are found upon the island, which, besides the commodities that are produced in the other *French Caribbees*, manufactured at the time of its last reduction by the *British* arms, one thousand hogheads of sugar yearly.

St. Bartholomew.

THE island of *St. Bartholomew*, another of the *French Caribbees*, lies in the longitude of 62 and a half, latitude 18; about eighteen miles north of *St. Christopher's*, some say twenty-

twenty-five. It is about twenty-five miles in compass; and *Poincy*, the *French* governor of *St. Christopher's*, peopled it at his own expence in 1648. As its soil is but indifferent, tho' both that and the air are salubrious, the *French* were suffered to enjoy it without molestation, till the year 1689, when Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, landed upon it. The inhabitants had made use of their long tranquillity in fortifying their island with batteries, breast, and other works, to the extent of two acres of ground, doubly pallisadoed round with stakes six feet high; all which were taken by Sir *Timothy*, who after ravaging the island, carried off about 700 of its inhabitants, with their cattle and effects. The men were sent to *Nevis*, and the women to *St. Christopher's*. The *English* government thought this a severe proceeding, and suffered the inhabitants to repofsess their island, but as *English* subjects. At the peace of *Ryswick*, it was restored to the crown of *France*. During the first war with *France* which broke out under *George II.* this island was so convenient to the *French* for privateering, that above fifty *English* ships were carried into its harbour; and therefore, two privateers from *Antigua* attacked and reduced it, making prisoners 400 of its white inhabitants, of whom 140 were fit to bear arms, and 300 negroes. The *French* afterwards returned to the possession of it, which they have retained ever since. Though little of the soil of this island is fit for cultivation, yet it produces tobacco and cassava, with some excellent woods and lime-stone, with which the inhabitants furnish their neighbours. All the fresh water they have is saved in cisterns; and the island itself is encompassed by most formidable rocks, which render it dangerous for large ships to come near it. Its chief products for exportation are drugs and lignum vitæ, with which it abounds.

BESIDES the *English* and *French*, the *Dutch* and the *Danes* have islands among the *Caribbees*. The principal belonging to the former is *St. Eustatia*, which lies three leagues north-west of *St. Christopher's*, and is about fifteen miles in compass. Though *St. Eustatia* may be more properly termed a huge pyramidal rock, rising out of the waves, than an island, yet for its bigness, it is incomparably the most valuable of all the *Caribbees*. Its situation is so strong that it has but one landing-place; and that, though difficult of access, is fortified with all the art that can render it impregnable, and nothing has been wanting on the part of its masters to make every inch of the island equally so. Tobacco is its chief product, and it is cultivated on its sides to the very top of the pyramid, which terminates in a plain surrounded with woods; but having a hollow in the middle, which serves as a large

St. Eustatia.

den for wild beasts. No fewer than 5000 white people, and 15,000 negroes, subsist upon this spot, and rear hogs, kids, rabbits, and all kinds of poultry, in such abundance, that they can supply their neighbours after having served themselves. The policy of the *Dutch* in the government of this island, exceeds that of all the other *European* nations who hold any of the *Caribbees*. They are jealous of admitting any stranger whatsoever into their harbour; and few besides themselves know any thing of the internal government or riches of the island, any more than that it serves as a storehouse for all kinds of *European* commodities, which when returns fail from *Europe*, the neighbouring islanders must purchase upon whatever terms the *Dutch* are pleased to impose.

SAINT EUSTATIA became a *Dutch* island by their taking possession of it; and it was granted in property by the states-general to certain merchants of *Flushing*. Perhaps the *Dutch* were the only people in the world who could have rendered so unpromising a spot a flourishing settlement. The first colony sent to it consisted of about 1600; but during the wars between the *English* and *Dutch* in 1665, the latter were dispossessed of *St. Eustatia*, by the former from *Jamaica*. Soon after, the *Dutch* and the *French* becoming confederates, the *English* were dispossessed in their turn by their combined arms. The *French*, however, held a garrison in the island till it was restored to the *Dutch* by the treaty of *Breda*. Soon after the Revolution, the *French* dispossessed the *Dutch* of *St. Eustatia*, from whence they were in their turn driven by the *English*, under Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, with the loss of no more than eight men killed and wounded, though the fort which he took mounted sixteen guns, and was in every other respect very strong; a proof that the *French*, who defended it, must have been very raw in the exercise of arms. Sir *Timothy* found it necessary, for the protection of the *Dutch*, to leave a small *English* garrison in the fort: but he granted the *French* no terms of capitulation, but for their lives and their baggage. The peace of *Ryswick* restored the *Dutch* to the entire property of this island, of which they have remained the undisturbed possessors ever since; an uncommon instance of tranquillity! but improved by them in rendering their island, (as we have already mentioned) at once powerful and wealthy; for, besides tobacco, the inhabitants have of late years raised and exported incredible quantities of sugar. We shall but just mention the little island of *Saba*, which lies thirteen miles north-west of *St. Eustatia*, and thirty south-west of *St. Bartholomew*, and belonged formerly to the *Danes*, as it now does to the *Dutch*. This small island, which is but about
four

Saba.

four leagues in circumference, contains a delightful valley, which produces necessaries for the inhabitants, and materials for several manufactures, which they carry on there; but being destitute of any port, it is very inconsiderable. The access to it is by a road cut out of the rock, by which one man only can mount a-breast at a time; and this road is plentifully stored with magazines of stones, by which the inhabitants, by tumbling them down, can bid defiance to the greatest number of assailants. Those stones were the arms by which they beat off the desperate *French* buccaneers, who attacked them in 1688. The inhabitants raise some indigo and cotton, but their chief manufacture is shoes; and such is their œconomy and industry, that they live comfortably among themselves, are attended by slaves, and some of them even become rich.

THE island of *Santa Cruz*, the property of which is vested in the crown of *Denmark*, lies in longitude 65, and in latitude 18: it is about thirty leagues west from *St. Christopher's*, about ten or twelve leagues in length, and at the broadest, somewhat above three; though in one part it is so indented by a bay, that it is not above one. *Columbus*, though the most humane of all the *Spanish* adventurers, exterminated the natives, who manfully opposed him; but abandoned the island, which was afterwards visited by the *English* in 1587. They probably possessed it till 1635, when the *Dutch* putting in their claim, the island was divided by compromise between the two people, each of whom had a governor; but the whole being a private, rather than a national transaction, their names have not come to our hands. It is, however, certain, that about the year 1645, the *Dutch* governor surprized the *English* one in his house, and murdered him; and this produced a war upon the island, in which the *Dutch* were defeated, and their governor killed. The consequence was, that a short pacification ensued; but fresh broils happening, the new *Dutch* governor was killed by the *English*, and the *Dutch* themselves, among whom were 120 *French*, who, at their own request, were sent to *Guadalupe*, were driven off the island. The reader, from the complexion of this little history, may easily perceive, that those settlers were no better than lawless free-booters, acting without any legal authority; and soon after, *viz.* in 1649, or 1650, the *Spaniards* from *Porto Rico* attacked the *English*, and treated them as such, by putting to death all who fell into their hands. The *Dutch* of *St. Eustatia* hearing that their enemies the *English* had been exterminated, returned to take possession of *Santa Cruz*, and being ignorant that it was still in

The History of America.

the hands of the *Spaniards*, they were surrounded, and forced to surrender prisoners of war. Before the *Spaniards* could carry them to *Porto Rico*, the *French* general *de Poincy*, arriving with a superior force, obliged the *Spaniards* to relinquish their prisoners, and return to *Porto Rico*; but he carried the *Dutch*, who, in fact, had no right to the island, back to *Eustatia*. He there entered into treaty with those *Dutch* merchants who had advanced money towards the settlement of *St. Croix*; and after reimbursing them, he purchased the same, together with some other islands, in property for the order of *Malta*; which purchase was afterwards confirmed by the *French* king, who reserved the sovereignty of it, and a certain reddendo to his own crown by way of acknowledgment. When *Colbert*, the *French* minister, struck into a new system of commerce, he made no scruple of reducing this bargain, which indeed was of itself absurd and impracticable, by repaying the money which the order had advanced for the purchase in the year 1664, and the *French* then re-entered into possession of it. About the year 1695 or 1696, the court of *Denmark* thought of colonizing this island, and the *French* had their reasons, both pecuniary and political, for transmitting the property of it to the *Danes*, who were long considered as being its proprietors rather than settlers; for its chief profits went to the *English*. In later years their *Danish* majesties thought fit to be at considerable expences in improving this island to their own immediate emolument. As it is equally the interest of the *English* as of the *French*, that the *Danes* should be possessed of it preferably to any other *European* power, their right to it has hitherto been unquestioned. Some say, that the island of *Santa Cruz* is far more valuable than it is generally imagined to be. The soil, which is rich, and easily improveable, produces many excellent dying and other woods proper for house and ship-building. The progress of the inhabitants in cultivating the sugar-cane, under the protection and encouragement of the *Danish* court, has been of late years very considerable. Oranges, citrons, and the mandioca-root, with granates, lemons, and the papay-tree, the fruit of which makes a most excellent sweetmeat, grow here in abundance. The air is excellent, and the water, when filtrated or settled in earthen jars, becomes wholesome. Its chief port lies on the north side, where there is a large bay, on the west side of which stands the governor's house.

Anegada, } THE islands of *Anegada* and *Sombbrero* are at present with-
Sombbrero. } out any settled *European* inhabitants, and are only remarkable for the collibry or humming-bird, the smallest, but at the same time, one of the most beautiful of all the feathered creation,

creation, and for painted crabs of a delicate taste and a peculiar nature. The *Virgin Islands* are about twelve in number, *The Virgin* but are so inhospitable and unimprovable, that they properly belong to no *European* power. They lie to the east of *Porto Rico*, and to the west of *Anegada*. The chief of them is that of *St. Thomas*, which is divided between the *Danes* and the *Brandenburghers*, many of whose merchants and planters by opening their harbour, which is safe, strong, and commodious, to traders of all nations, become very rich. It naturally produces most of the *West-India* commodities, but is infested with musketoos. The *French* buccaneers destroyed the *Danish* factory in this island, but since that time, a large battery has been erected between the fort and the harbour; so that it is now made proof against all irregular attacks.

St. Thomas.

The other ENGLISH CARIBBEE ISLANDS.

ANGUILLA, so called from its snake-like form, is about ten leagues in length, and three in breadth, and is the most northerly of all the *English Caribbees*, lying twenty-six leagues north-east from *Santa Cruz*, and about fifteen north from *St. Christopher's*. It is, properly speaking, one of the *Virgin Islands* likewise. When the *English* discovered this island in 1650, it was filled with alligators, and other noxious animals; but they imported into it live cattle, which they have since multiplied exceedingly. They found the soil fruitful, proper for raising tobacco and corn; and in general the whole island agreeable. But not being settled here under any public encouragement, each planter laboured for himself, and the island became a prey to every rapacious invader, which disheartened the inhabitants so much, that all industry was lost among them; but their chief suffering was from a party of wild *Irish*, who landed here after the Revolution, and treated them more barbarously than any of the *French* pirates, who had attacked them before. The people of *Barbados*, and the other *English Caribbees*, knew the value of the soil, and several of them removed to *Anguilla*, where they remained for many years, and even carried on a profitable trade, but without any government, either civil or ecclesiastical. Though their militia in the year 1745, did not exceed 100 men, yet they defended a breast-work they had thrown up, against 1000 *French*, who came to attack them, and obliged them to retire with the loss of 150 men, besides carrying off some of their arms and colours, as trophies of their victory. Since that time, the inhabitants have subsisted

mostly by farming, though they still plant some sugar, and the island is in general said to be capable of vast improvements.

St. Martin.

THE island of *St. Martin* lies about fifteen miles distant from *Anguilla* on the north-west, and the like distance from *St. Bartholomew* on the south-east, and is about seven leagues in length, and four in breadth. This, for its bigness, is a most valuable island, and chiefly so by its salt-pits and salt-water lakes, which the *Spaniards* thought so considerable, that they built a fort upon the island to protect them, and to prevent other nations from settling on the island. In the year 1650, when the affairs of *Old Spain* were in a most miserable situation, the garrison of this fort being no longer able to maintain themselves, blew it up, and destroyed at the same time all their houses and cisterns. The *French*, upon their retiring, set up a claim of pre-occupancy, and endeavoured to get possession of the island, but were thwarted by the *Dutch*; and an accommodation being proposed, the island was divided between them; the *French* entering into possession of the most pleasant part of it, which looks towards *Anguilla*, but the *Dutch* into the most profitable, because it contained the salt-pits and ponds abovementioned. The *Dutch* quarter was soon filled with fine buildings and capacious storehouses, while that of the *French* was poor and unprovided; and in the year 1689, was plundered by Sir *Timothy Thornhill*. The *French* still continued in possession, and the *Dutch* upon this island might have been a thriving colony, had they been provided with a tolerable port, and did not the island lye too far to the leeward for conveniency of commerce, with the *Windward Islands*. In 1744, a handful of *English*, headed by the deputy-governor of *Anguilla*, with two *St. Christopher's* privateers, drove the *French* from the possession of their part of the island, and it has been ever since considered as belonging half to the *Dutch*, and half to the *English*.

Berbuda.

THE island of *Berbuda*, belonging to the *English*, is thirty-five miles north from *Antigua*, fifty-three north from *St. Christopher's*, and about ninety south-west from *Anguilla*; being in length twenty miles, and in breadth twelve. This island was planted soon after the *English* had settled upon *St. Christopher's*; for one Mr. *Littleton*, a planter, of *St. Christopher's*, obtained a grant of it from the earl of *Carlisle*, within whose charter it lay. The beautiful appearance of the island made the first settlers give it the appellation of *Dulcina*; and they removed to it in 1628. They soon had occasion to abate of their sanguine expectations. The island had no harbour; it was exposed to the descents of the merciless *Caribbeans*; and it was not yet discovered that it was capable of

of producing any staple commodity. All that invited the new settlers to persevere was its salubrious pleasant situation, and its readily affording all the necessaries of life. The *Caribbeans* from *Dominica*, in their nocturnal descents, proved so troublesome, that the *English* were several times obliged to forego their design of planting *Berbuda*; but after the resumption of lord *Carlisle's* patent, and after those barbarians had been a little chastized by other *English* colonists, colonel *Codrington* became sole proprietor of the same, and he well deserved to be so, by the many important services he did to the crown of *England* in the *West-Indies*. This island remains the property of the *Codrington* family to this day. Their possession of it, however, was attempted to be interrupted by *Park*, governor and captain-general of the *Leeward Islands*, an insolent ministerial governor, without the smallest qualification for his trust, but his having had the good fortune to carry to *England* the first news of the battle of *Blenheim*. *Codrington's* title was so well known, his family having been in unquestioned possession of *Berbuda* for thirty years before, that he despised *Park's* enmity so much, that he refused to produce his right, and his own friends advised the governor to drop his claim, which was only founded upon *Berbuda* being a *Caribbee Island*; and therefore, (as he pretended) within his government. In progress of time, as the numbers and savageness of the *Caribbeans* decreased, the inhabitants of *Berbuda* acquired comfortable livelihoods; and in 1708, no fewer than 1200 *English* were supposed to be upon the island. In its infant state it was harrassed by the *French*, merely out of spite to their capital enemy in the *West-Indies*, general *Codrington*, who had driven them from *St. Christopher's*. The appointment of a governor is in the *Codrington* family, and part of the estate arising from this island, amounting, as it is said, to 2000 *l.* a year, with two plantations in *Barbados*, was bequeathed by *Christopher Codrington, Esq;* to the society for propagating the gospel, towards the instruction of the negroes in the *Caribbee Islands* in the Christian religion, and the erecting a college at *Barbados* for teaching the liberal arts.

THE land of this island lies low, but it is fertile, and the inhabitants are chiefly employed in breeding up black cattle, sheep, kids, fowls, and all kind of domestic flock, which they dispose of to the neighbouring islands; so that their way of life differs little from that of an *English* farmer. The island, upon trial, has been found proper for the cultivation of many of the commodities with which the other *West-India* islands abound, such as citrons, pomegranates, oranges, raisins, *Indian-figs*, maiz, cocoa-nuts, cinnamon, pine-apples, and

and the sensitive-plant, with various kinds of wood and drugs, such as brasil, ebony, pepper, indigo, and the like. Some serpents, which are large upon this island, are so far from being poisonous, that they are salutiferous, for they destroy rats, toads, and frogs; but the stings or bites of others are mortal, unless an antidote is applied to them in two hours. On the west side of this island is a good well-sheltered road, clear from rocks and sands; but two shoals of sands run above two leagues into the sea, from the north-west and south-west points.

St. Christopher's. THE island of *St. Christopher's* affords more matter for history, and has undergone greater revolutions, than any other island in the *West-Indies*. When it was discovered by *Christopher Columbus* in his first voyage to *America*, the name given to it by the inhabitants was *Liamuiga*, which he changed to its present name, upon a fanciful resemblance of a large rock, bearing a little one upon its top, to the *Romish* legend of *St. Christopher* bearing upon his back the infant *Jesus*. It lies between lat. 17. 10. and 17. 40. and the middle of the island in long. 62. 40. west from *London*, and is about ten miles north of *Nevis*, and fourteen leagues from *Antigua*. Its length is twenty-five miles and a half, and its greatest breadth seven; yet at a particular spot at its south-east end, towards the salt-ponds, it is not above half a mile. The compass of the whole island is between seventy and seventy-five miles. Who were the original settlers upon this island, the *French* or the *English*, is a point of very little consequence in itself, had it not been magnified into importance by both nations. It is certain that soon after the discovery of *America*, societies were formed in *England* for establishments there; and after many successful essays had been made, some of the greatest and best subjects of the kingdom formed themselves into companies, every member bearing a proportionable share of the expence, and were to have the like in the profits, but still reserving those claimed by the crown. The settlement of *Guiana* by the *English* upon the river *Surinam*, seems to have given them the first notion of settling what are called their *West-Indian Islands*, whether under the denomination of the *Antilles* or *Caribbees*. It appears that before this scheme was ready for execution, several straggling *English* had found their way to those islands; and being so few in number as to give no umbrage to the *Caribbeans*, they lived on good terms with those savages. One Mr. *Thomas Warner*, who had attended captain *Roger North*, brother to lord *North*, to *Guiana*, had some conversation with one captain *Pointon*, who mentioned to him the preference of their settle-
ment

ment upon *St. Christophers*, or any other of the *Caribbean Islands*, which the *Spaniards* did not think worth possessing, to one upon the continent, where the *English* were always sure of being harrassed and disturbed by those jealous troublesome neighbours.

SOON after this conversation *Painton* died; but it made *Settlement* such an impression upon *Warner*, that in 1620 he sailed for *St. England*; where he took fourteen other gentlemen into the *Christo-* scheme, and having received a grant of the island from king *phers by* *James I.* they sailed from *England* to *Virginia*, and from *the Eng-* thence to *St. Christopher's*, where they arrived *January* 1623; *lish*, where they actually began their settlement, and by *Septem-* ber following, they must have had a tolerable good crop of tobacco, had it not been destroyed by a hurricane. The *French* writers have informed us of other particulars concerning the origin of this settlement. They tell us, that *Monf. Desnambuc*, whom we have already mentioned, having the same view with *Mr. Warner*, took possession of *St. Christopher's* on the very same day the latter did; that the *English* found three *Frenchman*, who had been shipwrecked settled upon it, who endeavoured to excite the *Caribbeans* against them, but in vain. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Warner* and *Desnambuc* understanding the intentions of each to be the same, instead of entering into any critical disputes about pre-occupancy, resolved to divide the island between them, but, upon all occasions to unite against the *Spaniards*, who had long known the island, but had never settled it, and were in so good correspondence with the natives, as to leave, from voyage to voyage, their sick in their hands.

THIS good agreement seems to have introduced a most *who mas-* unwarrantable act of cruelty that was perpetrated by the *sacre the* settlers of both nations. *Warner* and *Desnambuc* intending to *natives.* return to their respective courts in *Europe*, suspecting the practices of the *Spaniards* with the natives, whom, by this time, they had forced into a submission, resolved to get rid of them. For this purpose, pretending (for the whole seems to have been a pretence, and a very shameful one too) that they had received intelligence of the *Caribbean* magicians having instigated the natives to massacre the *French* and the *English*, they attacked those poor savages by night, and drove, from the island, all whom they did not murder. Though this massacre was committed under pretence of the natives being factious, yet no proofs have been brought in support of such a charge, and it is plain that the massacre of the savages was committed only on account of the dislike they might have expressed at the new settlers invading their land, and abridg-
ing

ing them of their liberties. The two *European* chiefs of the island returned to their respective countries, where their inhumanity was highly approved of. *Warner* was made a knight, and governor of the *English* part of the island, as *Desnambuc* was of the *French*. The latter pretended, that the settlers of both nations had pitched upon him for their governor, and he talked to *Richelieu* so plausibly, that a *French American* company was erected in the year 1626. It is not unlikely, that captain *Warner* talked to his court in pretty much the same strain, for an *English American* company was established the same year.

The savages invade the island.

IN the mean while, the expulsion of the *Caribbeans* had alarmed those of the neighbouring islands, and of the continent; and they made a descent upon *St. Christopher's* to the number of about 3 or 4000 in their canoes. The *English* and *French* were no strangers to their intention, and made a proper disposition to receive them. Part were suffered to land, but volleys of musketry from the settlers, who were planted in ambuscade, laid most of them dead, and forced the others to retire to their canoes, but not before the savages had killed 200 of the *Europeans*, besides many who afterwards died of wounds from poisoned arrows. This account, however, we are apt to believe, was invented to palliate the severities practised against them. Before we proceed in this history, it is highly proper to observe, that the *English* appear to have been far better acquainted than the *French* were with the state of the *West-Indies* at this time; and to prove this, we need but to lay before our readers, duplicates of the commission granted by both courts. That to *Desnambuc* ran in the following terms. “ Armand John du Plessis de Richlieu, cardinal, counsellor of the king in his councils; chief, grand-master, and sur-intendant of the commerce of *France*, To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: maketh known, that the sieur *Desnambuc* and *du Rossey*, captains, belonging to the western department of the marine, having given us to understand, that they have, within these fifteen years past, by licence from the king, and the said admiral of *France*, been at great expences in the equipping and arming ships and vessels, for the searching out of fertile lands in a good climate, capable of being possessed by the *French*, and therein had used such diligence, as that some time since they had discovered the islands of *St. Christopher's* and *Barbados*, the one of thirty-five, the other of forty-five leagues in circumference, and other neighbouring islands, all situated at the entry of *Peru*, from the eleventh to the eighteenth degree north from the equinoctial line, making part of the

West-Indies, which are not possessed by any king or christian prince. This commission is dated, *October 31, 1626.*" That granted to the earl of *Carlisle* was as follows. "Whereas our well-beloved and faithful cousin and counsellor, *James* lord *Hay*, baron of *Sawley*, viscount *Doncaster*; and earl of *Carlisle*, having a laudable and zealous care to increase the christian religion, and to enlarge the territories of our empire in certain lands, situated to the northward region of the world, which region, or islands, are hereafter described, which before were unknown, and by certain barbarous men, having no knowledge of the divine power, in some part possessed, commonly called *Caribbee-Islands*, containing in them these islands following, viz. *St. Christopher*, *Granada*, *St. Vincent*, *St. Lucia*, *Barbados*, *Mittalanea*, (that is what the *French* call *Martinique*) *Dominica*, *Marigalante*, *Defeada*, *Todosantes*, *Guadalupe*, *Antego*, *Monferrat*, *Redendo*, *Barbudo*, *Mevis*, (properly *Nevis*, by the *French* *Nieves*) *St. Bartholomew*, *St. Martin*, *Anguilla*, *Sembrera*, and *Enegada*, and other islands before found out, to his great cost and charges, and brought to that pass, to be a large and copious colony of *English*."

THOSE two charters when compared give a shrewd intimation, that the *French* were but very little acquainted with the islands thereby conveyed; whereas the *English* charter contains the proper names of all the *English* *Caribbees*. Each court was pleased with its own chief, and in the year 1626, both sailed back to *St. Christopher's*, where they landed, but the *English* first, in seeming good correspondence. Soon after the partition of the island was made by both parties, each consisting of about 300 in number, with greater precision and exactness than heretofore. In this new partition, which was signed by the two governors on the 13th of *May*, the boundaries of their several divisions were fixed, but with a special proviso, that fishing, hunting, the salt ponds, the most precious woods for dyers and joiners works, the havens, and the mines, should all of them be common to both nations. At the same time, a league against their common enemies, who, we are to suppose, were the *Spaniards* and the *Caribbeans*, was entered into by both nations. By this treaty, the *English* were settled on the south and north sides of the island, and the *French* on the east and west.

THE vast superiority for colonizing, which the *English* have always possessed over the *French* in the requisites of good understanding, spirit, and industry, were fully displayed on this occasion. The *English* company at *London* supplied their planters upon *St. Christopher's*, at once, so

The English better acquainted with it than the French,

who are driven off by the Spaniards,

so plentifully, that Sir *Thomas Warner* was at the head of a flourishing colony before the *French* had set about clearing their grounds; nay, so greatly did the *English* plantation flourish, that they had men to spare for settling *Nevis* on the like plan of partition. The flourishing state of *St. Christopher's*, which the *Spaniards* had always considered as the most valuable of the *Caribbee Islands*, awakened the jealousy of the court of *Madrid* so greatly, that don *Frederic de Toledo* took upon him the command of a formidable fleet, consisting, as we are told, of twenty-four great ships, and fifteen frigates, to drive the two nations from *St. Christopher's*, so as to prevent their disturbing the *Spanish* colonies either in the *West-Indies*, or upon the continent. Don *Frederic* having procured some *English* ships, which he seized at *Nevis*, anchored in the road of *Basse Terre*, below the cannon of that fort, which was in the *French* quarter, and commanded by *M. du Rossy*. Neither the *French* nor the *English* had conceived the smallest idea of being able to resist so powerful an armament; all their provisions being just sufficient to hold out against a small squadron. *Du Rossy* having made the best defence he could, abandoned *Basse Terre*, and retreated to *Capesterre*, in the opposite part of the island, where the *French* had another fort, which was commanded by *Desnambuc* in person. He knew that the main object of this great armament, was not the little island of *St. Christopher's*, which it was to attack only by the bye, but to carry home the flota. He represented this to his men, and likewise, how practicable it was for them to secure themselves in the fastnesses and morasses of the island, till don *Frederick* should re-imbark, which he absolutely must be obliged to do in a very few days. Nothing he said made any impression upon his colonists, who had been seized with a panic, on the report of the strength, numbers, and cruelty of the *Spaniards*. They insisted upon immediately leaving the island, (and indeed, every thing considered, they were, perhaps, in the right) which they accordingly did.

It does not appear how the *English* were employed during this catastrophe. It is most probable to suppose, that the *French* had been taken entirely unprovided by the *Spaniards*; and consequently, that they had not been able to advertise their *English* allies of their danger; otherwise from what afterwards fell out, had they been joined, they might have made such a stand against all the troops the *Spaniards* could land, as, if not successful, might, at least, have obtained for them an honourable capitulation. But the *English* hearing that *Desnambuc* and their allies had evacuated the island, fell into despondency likewise, and offered to treat with the *Spanish* admiral.

admiral. All they could obtain was liberty to evacuate the island, on pain of being put to the sword. The *English* were obliged to accept of this order, instead of a capitulation, and he was prevailed on to allow them the ships he had taken at *Nevis* for their transportation; and at last, to give liberty for those who could not be transported, to remain with their wives and families on the island till they could. Before his departure, he forced into his service, and carried along with him, 600 of the stoutest *English*.

As to the other part of this agreement, he left it to be *but returns* executed by itself, and the terror of the *Spanish* name; for we do not find that many of the *English* had actually left the island when he departed; so that their settlement went on as usual, after repairing the damages that had been done to their plantations by the *Spaniards*. The *French*, in like manner, who had gone no farther than *Antigua* and *Montserrat*, understanding that the *Spaniards* had departed, returned, and resumed the works of their plantation. But the situations of the two sets of planters were very different. The *English* applied themselves to population, had regular marriages, and lived in a comfortable manner within good houses. The habitations of the *French* were little better than the huts of the *Caribbeans* had been; and few or none of them having families to mind, they took no care for the future. *Desnambuc*, the *French* father of this colony, died about the year 1637. By this time, the active Sir *Thomas Warner* had rendered the *English* part of *St. Christopher's* a nursery of his countrymen for settling *Berbuda*, *Montserrat*, and *Antigua*; all which islands he planted and peopled; but he did not long survive his colleague *Desnambuc*. At the time of his death, *St. Christopher's* was said to contain 12 or 13,000 *English*, all of them in good condition; a most amazing entree to arise from the good conduct of a private gentleman. It is true he was assisted by the government at home; and the people of *St. Christopher's* were so sensible of the obligations they lay under to the crown of *England*, that after the murder of *Charles* the first, they refused to submit to the powers of usurpation.

ONE Mr. *Rich* succeeded Sir *Thomas Warner* in the go- *Rich, go-*
vernment of *St. Christopher's*; and proceeding upon the same *vernor.*
prudent wife plan, the island still increased in population and riches. Mean while, the *French* part of the island underwent a variety of alterations; but its military establishment was all that the inhabitants seemed to concern themselves about. Their property in the island passed from the *West-India* company, to the knights of *Malta*; from them to a second *West-*

West-India company, and was at last taken into the king's own hand. *Colbert* endeavoured to bring them to be good colonists. They were furnished, at the expence of the government, with frames of houses, tools, utensils, and household-furniture; and at last they began to live far less like the *Caribbeans* than they had done before, though in every respect greatly inferior to the *English*. But indeed, by this time, both parties had lost sight of their original compact, and instead of guarding against the *Spaniards*, they guarded against one another.

Everard,
governor.

ONE Mr. *Everard* succeeded Mr. *Rich* in the government of the *English* part of *St. Christopher's*, which, with other islands in the *West-Indies*, refused to acknowledge the authority of the *English* republic, and continued in their allegiance to *Charles* the II. The latter, as we have seen in the case of *Barbados*, was ridiculously persuaded that he might reap great advantages from this resistance; and about the time he sent over the lord *Willoughby* to *Barbados*, he sent over general *Pointz* to be his governor of *St. Christopher's*. Sir *George Ayscue*, after reducing *Barbados* to the power of the parliament, proceeded to *St. Christopher's*, which he found in possession of general *Pointz*. That gentleman being in no condition to resist the parliament's admiral, was obliged with his friends to retire to *Virginia*, very probably upon a compromise with *Ayscue*, who does not seem to have inflicted any punishment upon the inhabitants of *St. Christopher's*, or even to have forced them to acknowledge the authority of the parliament, or to have given them a governor. When *Cromwell* took upon him the reins of government, and sent *Penn* against *Hispaniola*, he gave it to that admiral in charge to reduce the *English* of *St. Christopher's* to his obedience. He likewise obtained an order from the *French* court for his being assisted by their subjects on the island. By virtue of this order, when *Penn* appeared before *St. Christopher's*, he landed on the *French* part of it, and he was permitted to march through their lands against his countrymen, whom he thereby reduced. During the first *Dutch* war under *Charles* the II, the *Dutch* and the *French* being on one side, both of them joined against the *English* of *St. Christopher's*; but the latter entered into repossession by the treaty of *Breda.*, in 1667. We are here to observe, that in the partition of the island, the *English* lying in the middle, had the advantage of a communication with their settlements, by means of a road they had cut out of a mountain; but the *French* lying at opposite angles of the island, could have no communication from the one extremity to the other, but through the *English* settlements;

ments; and this disposition of their quarters rendered every war that happened between them upon the island very bloody.

IN fact, a great many scuffles arose between some of the Stapleton, inhabitants of the two nations, but none of them of consequence enough to engage the whole in a general quarrel. The lord *Willoughby* acted as governor of *St. Christopher's*, which is one of the *Leeward Islands*, after the Restoration; and he seems to have been succeeded by Sir *William Stapleton*, who held it to the time of his death. Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* was appointed by king *James II.* governor of the *Leeward Islands*; but when the Revolution took place, he chose to retire to *Carolina*, and king *William* gave his government to colonel *Codrington*, who was by far the fittest *English* subject in the *West Indies* to fill it. Mean while, the *French*, who pretended to be the guardians of the house of *Stuart*, during its exile, attacked, without any previous declaration of war, the *English* part of *St. Christopher's*, and drove them a second time from their possessions; a proceeding so cruel and so treacherous, that it was enumerated by king *William* and queen *Mary* among the causes of their declaring war against the *French* king. The reader, however, from the foregoing part of this history may perceive, that this cause was not confined to the *English West-Indies* alone, but that it extended to many of their settlements on the continent of *America*. The violent dispossession of the *English* by the *French*, was owing, in a great measure, to the *Irish* papists, settled among them, who looked upon the cause of king *James* as their own. Their proceedings against the *English* with fire and sword, were carried on with more fury than those of the *French* ever had been; so that the *English* had no places of refuge left but in their forts, from whence they sent to the government of *Barbados* for succours. Before *The English* could arrive, they were so hard pressed, that they were obliged to capitulate, which they did on the 29th of *July*, 1689; but they could obtain no better terms than their being transported to *Nevis*. *St. Christopher's*.

THIS dispossession of the *English* from so valuable an island, occasioned infinite confusion among the *West-India* merchants in *England* as well as in *America*, and gave rise to the commission of a thousand commercial frauds. The state of affairs in *Barbados* and our other *Leeward Islands*, did not admit of their giving the sufferers that speedy relief which their circumstances required; so that the *French* remained for eight months the sole possessors of *St. Christopher's*. During this time, a most dreadful earthquake, which was felt in other

Leeward Islands, happened at *St. Christopher's*; and the openings of the earth, which attended it, to the extent, in many places, of nine feet, swallowed up sugar-mills, lumber, with other heavy materials; and threw down some of the strongest buildings on the island, and among them the jesuits college. The *French* being thus in possession of all *St. Christopher's*, fitted out fifteen vessels, with 4 or 500 men on board; who, as we have already seen, drove the *Dutch* out of *St. Eustatia*; and being supported from *Old France*, it was generally thought they would have attempted *Barbados* itself, and all the other *English Caribbee Islands*, had not advice come from *England*, of an armament sailing from thence, under commodore *Wright*; to their relief. Sir *Timothy Thornhill* was then at *Antigua*, and from thence he repaired to *Nevis*, where the general rendezvous of the *English* armament, both by sea and land, was held.

St. Christopher's reconquered by Col. Codrington. COLONEL *Codrington* took upon him the command of the whole, and on the 19th of *June* 1690, he sailed from *Nevis* for *St. Christopher's*, where the fleet that same evening anchored in *Frigate-Bay*. To favour the descent by amusing the enemy, eight of the *English* frigates fell down three leagues to the leeward, but returned in the morning, where they found the *English* ship, which was nearest land firing upon the *French* in their trenches, and warmly engaged with a battery of five guns. A general council of war being held by the sea as well as the land-officers, the result was, that Sir *Timothy* (called major-general *Thornhill*) should, at the head of 400 of his own regiment, and a detachment of 150, drawn from others, land at the foot of a hill near the little salt pits, which the *French* had left unguarded, as deeming it to be inaccessible. The *English* were too well acquainted with the island not to attempt to mount this hill, which, after infinite difficulties they did by day-break, and forced some of the *French* scouts, who had been planted there, and who fired upon them, to retire. *Thornhill*, leaving a sufficient guard upon the pass, led his main body down the hill; but, in his march, he was briskly fired upon by the *French*, who wounded him and several of his men. His command, consisting chiefly of creoles, most undauntedly ran down the remainder of the hill, and flanked the *French* in their trenches, while the duke of *Bolton's* regiment, and the marines landed from *Frigate-Bay*, but with the loss of colonel *Kegwin*, who was mortally wounded. This seemed to animate the *English* the more, and colonel *Holt*, who commanded the duke of *Bolton's* regiment, after a very brisk charge, drove the enemy in disorder from their post.

By this time, all the troops were landed, but were under an inexpressible loss from the wound of the brave Sir *Timothy Thornhill*; who, with several other disabled officers, were sent on board. At last, after some consultation, the general disposition for the conquest of the island was settled as follows; colonel *Holt* with his regiment was to march nearest to the shore; colonel *Thomas*, with the *Barbados* regiment, was to advance up the country, but to be supported by the *Antigua* regiment, under colonel *Williams*; while the other four regiments, of which the expedition consisted, were to remain in their encampment, and to act occasionally. This disposition does not appear to have been extremely judicious. Colonel *Holt*, indeed, about an hour after beginning his march, drove before him a party of the enemy. But the *French* made their strong attack upon the *Barbados* regiment, which seems to have advanced too incautiously, and must, after a very sharp dispute have been entirely cut off, had they not been relieved by the reserve under colonel *Williams*, by which the *Barbadians* taking fresh courage, obliged the enemy to a precipitate retreat; some of them flying to the mountains, and others to a fort formerly belonging to the *English*. The latter pretend, that on this occasion, the *French* not only had the advantage of the ground but were three to one in number; which may very possibly have been when we consider the vast number of the *Irish* who had joined them. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that general *Codrington* altered the plan of his operations; and the four regiments at *Frigate Bay* moving forwards, the whole army was drawn up in one line, and put under proper regulations against straggling for drink or other refreshments.

WHILE such were the dispositions by land, the *English* ships of war falling down to *Basse Terre*, began to cannonade it, upon which the *French*, after firing a round or two, abandoned and set on fire the town, which was saved from destruction by the *English* sailors, who came on shore from their frigates. When this news was brought to the general, he instantly set out for *Basse Terre*, as thinking it a proper place for refreshing his men, and intending that they should be quartered there that very night. Upon his arrival, he found, that the enemy, either through design or hurry, had left great quantities of wine, and other strong liquors in the fort and the town. He knew the consequences of intoxication to fatigued troops, with the dreadful disorders it always introduces. He concealed the liquors, or removed them to the mals-house, where he ordered his own company of guards to take post under colonel *Byam*. He then gave out the word for the army to rest all night under arms at the jesuits con-

vent, which was about a mile from *Basse Terre* fort. All this was effected chiefly by the prudence and spirit of the officers, who bore all the inconveniencies of their quarters, especially, those of a very wet night, equally with the meanest foldier. Plenty returned in the morning to the troops, by the good conduct of the general, who found abundance of cattle, and stores of every kind in their camp, and in the convent; only the commissary-general had it in charge to secure the strong liquors, which were distributed so as to refresh but not to intoxicate them. As to the town, the common soldiers had free liberty to plunder it; but the general found it mounted with sixteen guns, which, though they had been spiked, he found means again to render serviceable.

Operations
of the siege
of fort
Basse
Terre,

THE troops continued for two days at *Basse Terre*, during which time, major *Gunthorp*, with a detachment of 150 men, drove the *French* from an important post in the neighbourhood. Next day presented a most dreadful scene; for the *English* negroes, who had lurked in the mountains ever since their masters had been carried off the island, came down, and set all the sugar and other works of the enemy on fire; so that *St. Christopher's* seemed to be but one continued blaze; notwithstanding the almost incessant rains which fell, and laid the *English* under unspeakable discouragements and disadvantages. The general, however, continued to advance against the fort of *Basse Terre*, the strongest which the *French* had in the island; but, through the continual rains he was obliged to encamp within three miles of it. At last, he marched within a mile of it, while the men of war sent on shore all their wheel-barrows, shovels, pick-axes, and other utensils for a siege, and fell down to *Basse Terre* old road. The reader will, perhaps, be surprized, that unless the *English* have mistaken their journals, all this variety of operations did not take up above four and twenty-hours; for we find the *English* general and his army, on the 20th of *June*, encamped before the fort, under the covert of a high hill, the summit of which was secured by a detachment.

IT being resolved to batter the fort from this hill, great guns were accordingly landed next day; and, in two days after, captain *Kirby*, in the *Success* man of war, at the head of the marine regiment, cleared a path for the artillery, which was accordingly mounted on a platform, and well secured against the enemy's fire from the fort. On the 30th of *June* the cannonading began from this eminence with some effect, while the fort was battered at the same time by the frigates from the old road, and the army took place in a deep ravine, or ditch, within musket-shot of its walls. Next day, they began

began their entrenchments with great success; and colonel *Pym* surprized and made prisoners 50 *French*, who were in a fort three miles distant. Though the *English* had conceived great hopes from their hill-cannonading, and though they had mounted more guns, yet it proved but ineffectual, and they were obliged to have recourse to their entrenchments, and the regular finishing of their batteries, which were now advanced within pistol-shot of the fort. Whatever the *English* may pretend, the defence made by the *French* on this occasion, seems to have been very spirited and well-judged. But the truth is, their enemies were masters of the sea, and they had no prospect of relief, so that they must submit at last. They had all this while a free communication between the fort and the country, where they roved about in parties, the most considerable of which was headed by one *M. Pinello*. The *English* sent out others against them, and Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, with 200 men, though he could not come up with the enemy, on the 7th of *July* brought into the *English* camp some prisoners, negroes, and cattle.

Codrington seems to have been sensible at last of the small progress of the siege, and pursued a measure which answered his purpose better than arms. He sent proclamations and drums over all the island, offering to take into his protection such of the *French* subjects as were willing to surrender themselves and to live quietly; and this had so great an effect, that *Pinello* himself, though he said he could not surrender without the governor's orders, sent in a flag of truce, offering to remain inoffensive, and to give the *English* no opposition wherever he should meet them. The garrison, at last, thinking they had done enough for their own honour, and that of their country, and seeing the *English* works very far advanced, beat a parley, and four of their number appeared with a flag of truce, and were conducted to general *Codrington's* tent. The treaty was soon concluded, and the terms were the same which the *English* had when they delivered up the fort; and thus on the 12th of *July*, the island of *St. Christopher's* may be said to have again reverted to the *English* government. During the siege, and the other operations before the island was reduced, the *English* lost about an hundred men. Upon their taking possession of the fort, they were soon sensible that it could not have held out much longer. The only well it had was dried up by the firing of the cannon; and though the walls and other works of the fort were in tolerable condition, and the garrison well stored with provision and powder, yet they wanted bullets. The male white inhabitants upon the island were in number about

which is
taken.

1800; and with their women, and children, and some of their negroes, others being restored as plunder, they were sent partly to *Hispaniola*, and partly by way of favour, to *Martinico*. After the *English* had sufficiently refreshed themselves at *St Christopher's*, Sir *Timothy Thornbill*, with the marines and his own regiment sailed to *St. Eustatia*, which was then in possession of the *French*, and which he reduced with the loss of no more than eight men.

BEFORE this, the *French* inhabitants of *St. Bartholomew* who had been sent prisoners to *Nevis*, were carried to *St. Christopher's*; where, meeting with their wives and children, they desired to return to their own island, and live there as subjects of *Great Britain*. The general granted their request, and he sent them back to their own island, under captain *Le Grand*, one of its old inhabitants, who held it faithfully, during some years, for the crown of *England*. But notwithstanding the surrender of *St. Christopher's*, yet it was found necessary to keep a very strict eye over the *French*, who, with their slaves, still continued in the mountains, and often surprised the *English*, of whom they killed at one time no fewer than fifteen out of a single foot company. We have already mentioned the unsuccessful expedition against *Guadaloupe*, which general *Codrington* next undertook, the miscarriage of which was very justly attributed to commodore *Wright*. Soon after, general *Codrington* died with great reputation, and was succeeded in his government and large estates by his son the colonel, who was one of the finest gentlemen, and best scholars, notwithstanding his profession of arms, and colonizing, which those times, though fertile in great men, produced.

St. Chris- THE island of *St. Christopher's* continued in the hands of
topher's the *English* till the peace of *Ryswick*, without any material
restored to occurrence happening. In 1697, colonel *Collingwood* being
the French sent over to the *Leeward Islands* with his regiment, settled at
by the *St. Christopher's* with his wife and family, to whom the cli-
treaty of mate proved mortal. The peace of *Ryswick* restored *de*
Ryswick. *Geunes*, who had been governor of *St. Christopher's* at the
time it was last taken by the *English*, to the same government.
This gentleman had a daughter-in-law, who had been bred
up under her mother, a protestant; and he employed a young
jesuit to pervert her in her religion. The lady's charms
proved too strong for the jesuit's faith. He won her to com-
pliance, carried her to an *English* island, turned protestant,
and married her. In 1702, when war was declared between
England and *France*, colonel *Codrington* attacked the *French*
part of *St. Christopher's*, and reduced its chief fort after firing

a single round. In 1704, brigadier-general Sir *William Mathews*, Mathews, was appointed to succeed colonel *Codrington* in his government of the *Leeward-Islands*. About this time the court of *England* had undoubted intelligence of the *French* having adopted a very extensive plan of conquering all the *English* islands in the *West-Indies*. To prevent any surprize, six men of war, with twelve transports for land-forces, were fitted out under commodore *Walker*. On board this squadron *Mathews* embarked; but he, and 200 land-forces died in the passage. After this, colonel *Park*, whom we have already mentioned, was made governor of the *Leeward-Islands*, and Park's *governors*, which, at this time, were in a sorry situation, owing to the peace of *Ryswick*.

THE truth is, neither king *William*, nor his government, had true notions of the *English West-India* trade; nor did he think he could sacrifice enough to the *Spaniards*, who were much better pleased to see the *French* than the *English* powerful in *America*. Too little care, therefore, had been taken of *St. Christopher's* at the peace of *Ryswick*. In the year 1705, when the *French* began to carry their grand scheme into agitation under *Iberville*, whom we have so often mentioned in the *American* history, they landed on *St. Christopher's*, their armament consisting of five men of war, and twenty sloops. Being repulsed before the *English* fort, they wreaked their vengeance upon the defenceless inhabitants, whose plantations and houses they burned and plundered. It is hard to say, how far so enterprising an officer as *Iberville* was, might have carried matters against the whole island, had not the governor of *Barbados* sent intelligence to governor *Park* of a powerful squadron of men of war that were to be sent to his assistance. This taking air, *Iberville*, the primary object of whose instructions was *Nevis*, re-embarked his men, but carried off with him about 6 or 700 *English* negroes, whom he sold to the *Spaniards* at *Vera Cruz*.

IN 1710, *Park*, under whose government a great many abuses had crept in, endeavoured to redress them, by holding a general assembly of all the *Leeward Islands* at *St. Christopher's*. This expedient might have proved very healing, the island having, for some time, known no other government, than that of the governor, and a council of militia-officers. But when the assembly met at *Old Road*, the governor and they differed in every particular. The first point was, his refusing them the privilege of nominating their own clerk, and his sending messages to them by the deputy-marshal, who is not of so high a rank there, as a tipstaff is in *England*. The assembly wanted to appoint one of their own members

Treaty of
Utrecht
vindicated.

for their clerk; but the governor ridiculously gave a negative to this likewise, because the clerks of the house of commons in *England*, which, according to him, resembled in its constitution the assembly of *St. Christopher's*, never were appointed out of their own body; and so stiffly did he adhere to all his whims, that he even rejected an offer made by the council, to carry his messages to the assembly. Soon after this contest *Park* was murdered, and general *Hamilton* succeeded him. Nothing of any importance happened, after this, till the cession of this island to the crown of *Great Britain*, by the treaty of *Utrecht*; by which it was provided in the twelfth article, that the island of *St. Christopher's* is to be possessed alone by the *British* subjects. This article was brought as a charge against the ministers who concluded that treaty, as if the *French* had thereby got rid of an island, which was to them of very little significance, and strengthened their greater and far more important settlement at *Domingo*. But this objection is false and frivolous; the *French* having been settled at *Domingo* ten years before the conclusion of this treaty; and, indeed, nothing can be more absurd than to imagine, if the *French* government had thought it their interest that *St. Christopher's* should have been evacuated, they could not have easily brought about such a measure. In short, the entire cession of this island was a great and a solid acquisition to *Great Britain*, especially as the soil of the *French* part of it was by far the richest; but indeed the number of *French* settled upon it at the time of its cession, was but inconsiderable, being no more than 2000 whites, and 12,000 slaves, of whom many of the richest families remained still upon the island, and became *British* subjects.

Hamilton,
governor.

GENERAL *Hamilton* proceeded in the measures of his government upon his predecessor's principles; and, to say the truth, the administration at home seems to have been very remiss in the affairs of this island, and to have left the inhabitants too much under the power of their governors. They had represented this often, by petitions and memorials sent to *England*, especially after the death of colonel *Park*; but they were discouraged in all such applications by their new governor *Hamilton*. After the *French* had been driven off the island, the governors exercised a power of letting the *French* untenanted lands at arbitrary rates. This was considered by the *English* inhabitants as an oppressive privilege, especially as they had suffered greatly by the *French* depredations during the war; (though their losses were afterwards made good by debentures granted by parliament) and thought it at least reasonable that they should enjoy somewhat of that property,
which

which their enemies still claimed to be theirs. All those representations were disregarded, and Mr. *Hamilton* is said to have stretched the abuse of his power so far, as to turn out of their estates, so granted by lease, many chief inhabitants of the island, after they had laid out vast sums in improving them, and even to have displaced judges, who had offered to oppose his oppressions. In the year 1711, an act of parliament passed for raising two millions by a lottery, in which was the following clause: "And whereas the proprietors and inhabitants of the islands of *Nevis* and *St. Christopher's* in *America*, did sustain very great losses by a late invasion of the *French*, and it became necessary to give some encouragement to the sufferers, for resettling their plantations, the sum therefore of 103,003*l.* 1*1s.* 4*d.* shall be distributed amongst such proprietors only, as have re-settled, or shall re-settle in those two islands, in proportion to their losses, by debentures to be issued by the commissioners for trade, at six per cent. interest." By an act of the fifth of *George I.* for relief of such sufferers in those two islands, as had re-settled in either of them, "the distribution of the abovenamed sum is farther regulated; and by one of the eighth of that king, their principal sum unpaid, and the large arrears of interest thereon, joined together, has an interest of three per cent. settled thereon^c."

In 1715, the government of *St. Christopher's* committed a most flagrant breach of the royal proclamation, by raising the *French* crown, which was the current coin of that island, from six to seven shillings, and two minutes for that purpose were accordingly entered in the council-books, as well as an order to the same effect, affixed in the lieutenant-general's name, to the general towns of the island. This measure opened the mouths of all the enemies of the lieutenant-general and his council, who were publicly accused of having hoarded up *French* crowns at the rate of six shillings each, and obliging the inhabitants to receive them for a shilling more. This iniquitous proceeding was so glaring, that next year it startled the lieutenant-general himself, and he consulted his council, whether it was regular. Their answer was, "that *French* crowns having been current several years, in the other islands, for seven shillings, it could not be said that he altered the coin, but only followed the practice of the other islands." The secretary of state at last took up the matter, and wrote to the lieutenant-general, in the following terms; "that your

The people of St. Christopher's raise their coin.

^c Historical and chronological deduction of the origin of commerce, Vol. II. p. 252.

excellency will be pleased to issue your proclamation, requiring obedience to be paid to her late majesty's proclamation, relating to the coin, enforced by an act of parliament, that myself, as well as others of his majesty's subjects, may be no longer defrauded of the sixth part of their due, nor the royal proclamation, nor the act of parliament, suffer any longer that indignity they have hitherto been treated with in these parts." As the thing itself was indefensible, the lieutenant-general thought proper to make no answer to this letter, but repaired to *England* in person. Governor *Matthews*, Mr. *Hart*, and lord *Londonderry*, were severally lieutenant-governors of *St. Christopher's* and the *Leeward Islands*. Under the first, the council and the assembly settled upon him 800 *l.* a year currency in money, which was to be raised by a capitation on slaves, at that time reckoned about 17,000 in the *Leeward Islands*. A duty of three shillings a hoghead was laid as an additional salary to the succeeding governors. This tax was vigorously opposed by the planters, who urged, that the governor of the island, in imitation of those of the *French* islands, ought to be paid by the crown alone.

Governor's
salary
settled.

To speak the truth, very great inconveniencies had arisen from the smallness, or rather the unsettled state, of the governor's appointments, which had often rendered them liable to great temptations from presents, as we perceive from the following royal instruction. "Whereas several inconveniencies have arisen to our governors in the plantations by gifts and presents made our governors by the assemblies, It is our will and pleasure, that neither you, nor any governor or commander in chief of our *Leeward Islands* for the time being, respectively, do give your or their consent to the passing any law or act, for any gift or present to be made to you or any of them by the assembly or assemblies of all or any of our said islands, and that neither you nor they do receive any gift or present from any of the said assemblies, on any account or in any manner whatsoever, on pain of being recalled from that our government." The other parts of the civil and political history of *St. Christopher's*, to prevent repetition, will fall under the other *Leeward Islands*. We shall therefore proceed, as usual, to its natural history.

Order
against
his re-
ceiving
bribes.

THE first planters of *St. Christopher's*, both *English* and *French*, applied themselves chiefly to the cultivation of tobacco; but the large quantities they raised defeated the intention of their labour, by reducing the price of the commodity. They found their account much better in planting sugar, ginger, indigo, and cotton; for all which the soil is peculiarly adapted. The prospect from the mountains over
this

this island, however dreadful the mountains themselves are, is extremely beautiful. The island is stored with sulphureous springs towards its south-west part; and though its air in general is very salubrious, yet it is subject to violent hurricanes. The ridge of mountains that run along the island, and which, in many places, is interspersed by forests and thickets, is almost impassable, and must always continue so, till the industry of the inhabitants shall have cleared them. The parishes upon the island are five, and each has a handsome church, three on the south side, and two on the north side, being finished within with a variety of curious and beautiful woods. The *French*, while they held part of the island, resided mostly at *Basse Terre*, where they built a handsome town, town-house, church, and hospital, of brick, free-stone, and carpenter's work. But all this, together with the fine house of their governor, was done at the expence of the *French* king. The *English*, on the other hand, lived on detached spots, as the conveniency of their planting and commerce directed; and though they fell far short of the *French* in the magnificence of their public buildings, yet their houses, which were all raised at their own expence, were far more elegant, comfortable, and convenient; and to this day *St. Christopher's* boasts of better private houses, than are to be met with on any island in the *West-Indies*.

ON a mountain that lies about three miles north of *Fort A silver mine.* *Charles*, tradition informs us, there is a silver mine; but tho' many of the inhabitants are convinced of its reality, yet they wisely desist from working it, on account of its certain expence and precarious returns. All the improveable land lies at the feet of the mountains and the skirts of the island. Since *St. Christopher's* came into the sole possession of the *English*, they have added to it several forts. The chief is *Forts.* that upon *Brimstone-Hill*, which mounts 49 pieces of cannon, and has a magazine, containing 18,000 pounds of powder, 800 muskets, 600 bayonets, and other military stores in proportion. *Charles Fort* mounts 40 cannon, and has likewise a well-provided magazine. Besides those two forts, the town of *Basse Terre* is secured by *Londonderry Fort*, towards the east, and by six batteries, raised at different landing-places, and mounting 43 cannon. It is supposed that all the cultivable land of *St. Christopher's* does not exceed 24,000 acres, and those of a light sandy soil. About the year 1731, when an enquiry was set on foot by the *British* parliament concerning the state of sugar islands, the sugar trade upon *St. Christopher's* was estimated at 3000 hogheads yearly; but when the dispute about the preference between the *French* islands and

and *Canada* came to be agitated before the conclusion of the late peace, the produce of the island of *St. Christopher's* in sugar, was, by those who reduced it the lowest, admitted to be about 14,000 hogheads yearly. Some parts of *St. Christopher's* are ill-served with water. The island produces large quantities of maiz, pine-apples, tamarinds, prickle-pears, peas, apples, and the quality of its sugar is reckoned superior to that of *Barbados* itself. Two different kinds of pepper, and two of cotton, grow here, and the wild sugar-canes shoot up to four or five feet. Their gourds, water-melons, lettuce, parsley, and purslane, are said to be excellent, as is their papau-tree, with many others of the vegetable kind, too numerous to be inserted here, but unknown to the inhabitants of *Europe*.

Dominica. THE island of *Dominica*, which is now unalienably cedged to the crown of *Great Britain*, lies about half way between *Guadaloupe* on the north-west, and *Martinico* on the south-east, being about eight leagues distant from each; and therefore we may consider it as being in the bosom of the *French* islands. It stretches in the form of a bow, from south-east to north-west, and is in length twenty-eight *English* miles, and in breadth about thirteen, its whole circumference being about thirty leagues. The soil of *Dominica* not being intersected by the sea, as many other *West-Indian* islands are, it contains a great deal of improveable ground; some say double the quantity of *Barbados*; and the *French* suppose it to be half as large as *Martinico*. *Dominica* was discovered by the great *Columbus* on a Sunday, November the 3d, 1593, from whence it takes its name, which was all that the *Spaniards* bestowed upon it, excepting a few wild hogs. From a manuscript history before us of the house of *Clifford*, we perceive that on Monday the 22d of *May*, 1598^d, the famous navigator the earl of *Cumberland*, who was the head of that house, in pursuance of a commission granted him by queen *Elizabeth* against the *Spaniards*, came to anchor at the harbour of *Dominica*; upon which, the 4th of *June* following, being *Whitsunday*, he mustered his men upon the island, and left it, so far as we can perceive, without meeting with the least opposition from the inhabitants. After this, Mr. *George Percy*, who was brother to the earl of *Northumberland*, touched at *Dominica*, with some recruits, which he was conducting to *Virginia*. Those facts seem to establish the preoccupancy of this island entirely in favour of the *English*, at least preferably to the

Its discovery,

^d Our printed accounts say 1596; but the earl's commission is dated in 1597; nor did he sail till next year.

French;

French; and if the earl of *Cumberland* did not actually make a settlement here, it was owing to an oversight in his commission, into which, no clause for that purpose was inserted. *Charles I.* however, as the reader has seen, made no scruple to insert *Dominica* in the earl of *Carlisle's* original patent; and it has ever since stood as one of the islands included in the commission of the governor of *Barbados*.

It has been generally allowed that the island of *Dominica* and inhabitants was the rendezvous or fortress of the *Caribbeans*, when expelled from their other islands; and that the natives of this excelled all the other *Caribbeans*, not only in strength, courage, and activity, but in a form of government which they retained, introduced, (as the *French* pretend) by one *Baron*, a *Frenchman*, who lived upon the island, and conformed himself to the manners and customs of the natives. It is certain that the *French* were so sensible of the value of *Dominica*, that they endeavoured to mingle their accounts of the inhabitants with many strains of the marvellous, particularly, of its containing a most immense pit, which was stored with all kinds of poisonous animals, and was the residence of a most monstrous dragon. Those foolish reports, perhaps, had their effect, and the rather, as the *English*, who had been upon the island, appear to have neglected it, because they could find no harbour on its coast. It must not, however, be denied, that many of the *English* free-booters, and even some planters, of no inconsiderable rank, used to decoy those natives, and carry them into captivity; and that this gave them an invincible hatred to all the *English*, which was, on every occasion, improved by the *French*. The latter are said to have concluded a peace with those islanders in 1640! about which time, *Baron* made several expeditions at the head of the *Dominican Caribbeans* against the *English* upon the other islands. When lord *Willoughby* was appointed governor of *Barbados* by *Charles II.* he paid no regard to the *French* proceedings, and sent a number of men to settle *Dominica*, under the authority of a lieutenant-governor, of his own nomination. The *French* upon the island pretended that this settlement ought not to take effect, because it was in prejudice to their allies the *Caribbeans*; and they produced a sham treaty with them in 1640. The *English* produced other treaties, perhaps of the same kind, in support of their settlement; and matters remained pretty quiet for some years between the two nations, till in 1668, lord *Willoughby* was obliged to support his settlement by an armed force from *Barbados* against the injuries done it by the *French*. This vigorous measure had so good an effect, that the natives, by a solemn

Submit to
the Eng-
lish.

solemn instrument made a surrender of their island to the *English*, and according to a well-informed author,^e the instrument was lodged in the hands of Mr. *Littleton*, his lordship's secretary. In 1672, the *French*, under the title of the above sham treaty, disputed with the *English*, the possession of this island; but the council of trade and plantations at *London*, on the 11th of *December* that same year, informed the governor of *Barbados*, that no such treaty ever existed. Colonel *Thomas Warner*, the son of Sir *Thomas Warner*, by a *Caribbean* lady, whom *Labat* saw alive in 1700, aged above 100 years, was then the *English* lieutenant-governor of *Dominica*,^e and died in 1674.

AFTER this, little or no mention is made of *Dominica*, till the time of the shameful treaty of neutrality we have already mentioned between *James II.* and the *French* king. Colonel *Stede*, (afterwards Sir *Edward*) was then lieutenant-governor of *Barbados*; but he was so far from considering *Dominica* even as a neutral island, that he ordered the said treaty to be proclaimed in it, as comprehended within his commission. Next year, he set fire to some *French* huts that had been run up upon the coast, and seized one of their ships for having presumed to wood and water upon the island, without permission from himself. Another commission, for settling all debateable matters in the *West Indies*, was afterwards signed by *James II.* and in consequence of the same, colonel *Stede* had orders from *London* to transmit to the ministry, all the documents and proofs in favour of the *English* right to the island. This order was complied with, but so late as the 23d of *September*, 1688, when the Revolution was on the point of taking place. In this report, however, colonel *Stede* is said to have made out, beyond all dispute, the right of the *English* not only to *Dominica*, but to all the islands in his commission as governor of *Barbados*. During the war between the *French* and *English* which succeeded, this island could not properly have been said to be settled by either nation; but when the *English* resumed their claim after the peace of *Ryswick*, they burnt the *French* huts, and obliged them to leave the island.

Reflexions
on its neu-
tral state.

THUS, by an unaccountable concurrence of causes, this island, through its great value, remained of no consequence to any *European* power. In times of war, between the *French* and *English*, both were driven from it in their turns, and upon the conclusion of a peace, each people knew the importance

^e Candid and impartial Considerations on the nature of the Sugar-Trade, p. 83.

of it too well to suffer the other to become masters of it ; and both agreed in thinking, that it was of too little consequence to be made the object of a new war. In this state of neutrality it continued, by a kind of a tacit consent on both sides, till by the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* in 1648, it was formally declared to be neutral. The *French*, however, observed a most insidious neutrality ; for when towards the close of the late war, it was reduced by lord *Rollo* for the crown of *Great Britain*, he found almost the whole *Windward Coast* settled by the *French*. The definitive treaty of 1763, fixed the property of *Dominica* unalterably in his majesty and his successors, and next to the cession of *Canada* and *Louisiana*, it is by many considered as one of the most valuable acquisitions we have obtained by that peace.

WHEN all circumstances are considered, especially the industry of the *French* in settling *Dominica*, the cession of it may be deemed as an actual conquest from them. The essays which they made here sufficiently prove, that there is no commodity, or vegetable produced by the richest of our other islands, that may not be raised here in great abundance ; and the planters of this island, notwithstanding its situation, never can be destitute of a *British* force to support them. The *Indians*, either by years of mortality, epidemical distempers, or quarrels with their neighbours, or among themselves, (fomented no doubt by the *French*) are dwindled down to 3 or 400 ; and if properly employed, and a separate quarter allotted to them, may be of vast use to the *English* settlers. As to this island being destitute of a port, it is a rumour propagated by the *French* to discredit it in the eyes of the *English*. No regular port has indeed been yet discovered, but at the north-west end of the island, *Prince Rupert's-Bay* is deep, sandy, and spacious, and well secured from the winds by the mountains on all sides. Here the armament under lord *Cathcart*, destined against *Carthage*, lay securely for some time, as did *Moore's* squadron, during great part of the siege of *Guadaloupe* ; and during the whole war, the anchoring ground not only there, but all along the leeward coast of the island, was of the utmost conveniency to our men of war, merchantmen, and privateers.

THE salubrity of the island may be guessed at from the vast age to which the above Mrs. *Warner* lived upon it, and from its being far better peopled, when first discovered, than any other of the *Caribbees* were. In the mean while, it is allowed, that this island towards the sea, presents no inviting prospect, being rough and mountainous. Towards the land, the declivities of the hills may be cultivated to the very top,

*Natural
history of
the island.*

so gentle are their rise ; and they often terminate in beautiful well-watered fruitful vallies. The soil is of a black mold, and remarkably rich. It contains about thirty rivers ; one of them navigable up the country for some miles, and all of them well-fitted for the purpose of colonizing and improvement. In *Dominica*, as well as others of the *Caribbees*, there is a sulphur-mountain, and hot springs, equal in salubrity to those of *Bath* in *England* ; and the more exalted kinds of fruits here, particularly the pine-apples, are superior to any that grow upon the *French* islands, and the *French* have often owned, that no better timber of every kind is to be found than what grows in *Dominica*.

Nevis settled by Sir Thomas Warner. FROM the island of *Nevis*, in a clear day, may be discerned the islands of *St. Eustatia*, *Saba*, *St. Bartholomew*, *Antigua*, *Guadaloupe*, and *Montserrat* ; and it is but three or four miles due south-east from *St. Christopher's* ; so that both islands, probably, were discovered at the same time. *Nevis* lies in 17 deg. 19 min. north lat. and its whole circumference is not above six leagues. Sir *Thomas Warner*, whom we have mentioned as being the founder of the colony of *St. Christopher's*, founded that of *Nevis* likewise in 1628. Next year, as we have already seen, the *Spaniards* drove the inhabitants of *St. Christopher's* from that island, and that they put the *English* there on board the ships they had seized at *Nevis*, which are said to have been fifteen in number. The progress which the colony of *Nevis* made in population and improvements of all kinds is incredible ; for though it was but a subordinate colony, and we cannot suppose it originally consisted of above an hundred whites, yet in twenty years it contained near 4000, who subsisted genteelly upon making sugar. One *Mr. Lake* succeeded Sir *Thomas Warner*, and he is still held in remembrance for his piety and regularity of government ; so that under him those excesses which in other colonies were but too common, were either unknown at *Nevis*, or if committed, severely punished. The inhabitants had three decent churches for divine service, and encreasing in riches and number they built *Charles-Town*, which consisted of good houses and capacious warehouses, well furnished and well-stored. Here they likewise built a fort, which mounted nineteen guns ; and, during the infancy of their colony, they submitted to many regulations, which when it grew more extended, were laid aside as being inconvenient. *Nevis* was among the other *Caribbee-Islands*, which, after the death of *Charles I.* refused to acknowledge the parliament's authority ; but, after the reduction of *Barbados*, it submitted to Sir *George Ayscue*.

NEITHER

NEITHER the parliament nor *Cromwell* seem to have *infested* by given much attention or encouragement to those islands, *the Caribs* whom, in general, they looked upon to be disaffected to their cause; and the navigation-act itself, which was passed in the times of the usurpation, and was productive of so much good to *England*, was meant as a kind of a punishment to those planters, as it put an end to their gainful trade with the *Dutch*. We do not even find; that they regularly appointed governors for several of their *Caribbees*, the administration being left to their assemblies, whose choice was generally approved of, as few of the parliamentary party from *England* were fond of trusting their persons in those islands. At the same time, their affairs seem to have been well-administered; for at the time of the Restoration, *Nevis* was in a most flourishing condition; but according to some accounts, during the infancy of the colony, it had been pestered with several ruinous visits from the wild *Carribbeans*. In 1667, one *Langford*, the captain of a merchant-ship, trading in those parts, had learned from a *Caribbean* the certain prognostics of a hurricane, a calamity to which the island of *Nevis* is greatly subject, and informed captain *Barry*, of the *Coronation* man of war, and the other masters of the merchant-ships, that a hurricane or tornado would certainly happen in a few hours. As they had great dependence on his intelligence, they immediately put to sea; and had the good fortune to ride the hurricane out, while *Langford* himself, who had a considerable estate upon the island, secured his effects in such a manner, that he lost but one hogthead of sugar, while many of the other planters were almost ruined. This incident is mentioned, to shew, that it is not impossible to guard, by proper natural observations, even against that most impetuous of all natural calamities, a hurricane.

NEVIS, then called *Mevis*, as the reader may have seen; *Stapleton*, was one of the islands comprehended in the earl of *Carlisle's* governor's patent granted by *Charles I.* and though that, with the *Leeward-Islands*, was, upon the death of lord *Willoughby*, put under a separate general government, yet each particular island has its lieutenant-governor, council, and assembly; so that, upon the whole, their government is very regular. Sir *William Stapleton* was the first governor of the *Leeward-Islands* who, after the death of lord *Willoughby*, chose *Nevis* as the place of his residence and government; and under him *Nevis* seems to have been at the highest pitch of its prosperity. Upon the discovery of the *Rye-house* plot, under *Charles II.* this island sent over, by colonel *Netherway* and colonel *Jefferson*, a very loyal address; and upon the accession of his brother.

to the throne, he was proclaimed here by Sir *William Stapleton* with all the solemnity and pomp which the island could furnish out. When *Stapleton* left his government, he nominated Sir *James Ruffel* to be lieutenant-governor of *Nevis*; but this nomination was superseded by the arrival of Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, who resided upon *Nevis* likewise, and was nominated to the general government of the *Leeward-Islands*, of which *Nevis* was, at that time, computed to be by far the most flourishing. It is said, to have been then able to bring into the field 2000 fighting white men, and that this little spot did not contain a smaller number, negroes included, than 35000 souls. The mortality which broke out in 1689, and which so greatly affected the other *Caribbee-Islands*, swept off half the inhabitants of *Nevis*, and left the remainder, who were but sickly, in a most dreadful situation, on account of the neighbourhood of the *French*, who were at that time masters of *St. Christopher's*. During their danger, they implored the assistance of Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, who was then at *Antigua* with the *Barbados* regiment. Sir *Timothy's* strongest objection to his moving to their relief was, the danger of the infection; but understanding that it was in a great measure abated, he went in *November* with his regiment to *Nevis*, where he encamped upon a healthful spot, and his remaining there intimidated the *French* from making any attempts upon the island. Being joined about the beginning of *December* by general *Codrington*, a council of war was held, at which assisted the colonels *Pym* and *Earl*, who commanded two regiments that had been raised by the *St. Nevis* men; and it was resolved, that Sir *Timothy*, with a detachment of 300 *Barbadians* and 200 *Nevisians*, should attack *St. Martin's* and *St. Bartholomew's*. This detachment was on the 15th of *December* put on board a brigantine and sloops, and they bore away for *St. Bartholomew's*, which island they determined first to attack.

Johnson,
governor.

Nevis is
protected
by Sir *Timothy*
Thorn-
hill;

who at-
tacks and
conquers
St. Bar-
tholomew's.

MAJOR *Stanley*, an *Englishman*, on the 20th, landed eighty men, beat the enemy from their breast-works, and took a battery of two guns. Soon after, major-general *Thornhill* landed at the head of the rest of the detachment, which being formed, advanced into the island; where, after marching about a mile, they drove the enemy from a strong stockaded quadrangular fortification, well provided, and capable of having made a good defence. He likewise took another small battery of two guns without resistance. Having left some of his men in this fortification, he advanced farther up the island, colonel *Pym*, with the *Nevisians*, leading the van; but soon returning to the fortification he had taken, a flag of truce

truce arrived to him from the governor with proposals for a capitulation, which were rejected by Sir *Timothy*, and he would grant them no terms but those of surrendering with their arms in two days time; which if not complied with, they were to expect no quarter. This answer was communicated to the *French* governor by two *English* officers who spoke *French*; and he required four days to deliberate on it, as, he said, his people being dispersed through the woods, he could not sooner get them together. Mean-while, the *English* continued ravaging the island, but on the 4th day, the flag of truce appeared, and the governor with a friar, some of his officers, and between 6 and 700 of the inhabitants, was received by Sir *Timothy* in the *French* fortification. All that the *Frenchman* could obtain from Sir *Timothy* was, a permission to keep his own horse, arms, and apparel, with some of his negroes: but as to the other inhabitants, the men were sent prisoners to *Névis* with their negroes, live stock, and effects, and their women and children transported to *St. Christopher's*. Sir *Timothy* had but about ten men killed and wounded in this expedition.

BEFORE Sir *Timothy* left *St. Bartholomew*, he sent captain *Hamilton* with the brigantine and some sloops; to give a false alarm to the windward part of *St. Martin's* on the 19th of *January*, while he himself having received a reinforcement of other sloops that same day, landed without opposition on the leeward-side, the enemy's attention being employed to the windward. The enemy on this island was much better provided than Sir *Timothy* had foreseen: they burnt all the houses that could serve the *English* for shelter; and they did all they could to spoil or poison the springs of the island, by mixing in them large quantities of salt and tobacco. They lost no opportunity of laying ambushes for the *English*, and firing upon them; so that Sir *Timothy* found the reduction of this island a sharp service, though no enemy appeared; but the *French* at last abandoned all their works, and the *English* made some prisoners with a considerable booty in cattle. On the 23d of *January*, Sir *Timothy* having destroyed the chief fortification of the island, which mounted six great guns, understood that the governor and the inhabitants had fled to the mountains. This obstinacy of the inhabitants was owing to the intelligence they had received that *Monk du Cassé*, the *French* admiral, had embarked at *St. Christopher's* with 700 men, in three great ships, a brigantine, and a sloop, for the relief of the island of *St. Martin*. This armament accordingly appeared off that island, and *Thornhill*, from some prisoners, immediately understood that it was *French*.

He is at-
tacked by
the French,

THIS alarming intelligence was far from discouraging the *English* general. He immediately made such a disposition of his forces, as to oppose the enemies landing wherever they should attempt it; and sent off a sloop to inform general *Codrington*, who was still at *Antigua*, of what had happened. Notwithstanding all those precautions, it was, perhaps, very lucky for him and his detachment that *du Casse*, instead of immediately attempting to land, gave chase to the *English* shipping upon the island, who all of them escaped, excepting one sloop, which was so hard pressed, that the seamen abandoned it, and left it in the hands of the enemy. This was on the 25th of *January*; and on the morrow *Du Casse*, who had fired several guns during the night-time, to give the inhabitants of *St. Martin* intelligence of his arrival; about noon, next day, anchored, and hung out what are called bloody colours, before the windward part of the island; upon which the inhabitants returned from the mountains, and retook possession of the works from which they had been driven by the *English*, and refitted their artillery, which still remained upon them, while *Du Casse* landed all his soldiers in the night, of whom he had received a fresh reinforcement from *St. Christopher's*.

but makes a
gallant re-
treat.

Sir Timothy Thornhill was now obliged to contract his quarters; and, after placing strong guards at the chief passes of the island, he encamped on a plain with his artillery on his flanks. In this situation he lay the 27th, 28th, and 29th of *January*, and on the 30th, three ships from *Antigua* appeared in view. These had been sent under colonel *Hewetson*, to assist, or bring off, *Sir Timothy* and his detachment; and after engaging and beating the *French* squadron, took on board all the plunder made by the *English*, with their field-pieces; and then *Sir Timothy* ordered his tents to be struck, and his men to march down to the place of their embarkment. The enemy took this opportunity of attacking them upon their march; but, after a sharp dispute, in which they were very severely handled, they were beat back to their mountains and woods in great confusion, and *Sir Timothy*, with the loss of no more than ten men in the engagement, making a noble retreat, re-embarked his men, and arrived safe at *Nevis* on the 2d of *February*. Those two expeditions were conducted with so much courage and address, and founded upon such disinterested principles, that they did vast honour to the *West-Indians* in general, but in particular to general *Codrington* and *Sir Timothy Thornhill*.

The Eng-
lish and
their fleet
protect *Ne-
vis*.

THE people of *Nevis* were, at this time, more than ever apprehensive of a descent from the *French* at *St. Christopher's*, where

where five more of their men of war had arrived from *Europe*, and where they were assembling all the troops they could muster, with a declared intention to attack *Nevis*, which, indeed, was the only object they could then have in those parts. The public spirit of general *Codrington* and his officers alone saved that island; for they declared themselves willing to continue upon it, and to serve for its defence against the *French*. The people of *Nevis*, as a mark of their gratitude, in the month of *April*, 1690, allowed them six months pay extraordinary, which they were to receive till the arrival of the *English* fleet, and one month's pay after its arrival. The vigilance of *Codrington* was such, that he was at the head of 1200 men, excellently well armed, and well appointed; and all the forts, breast-works, and mines of the island were in fine order; so that the *English* there seemed rather to desire than to dread a descent from the *French*, against whom they swore an incessant animosity. It was not long before the *English* were in a condition to act offensively; for their fleet arrived in *June* following. On the 16th of that month, the general being now appointed by a commission from king *William* and queen *Mary*, to the government and captain-generalship of all the *Leeward-Islands*, ordered a muster to be held in *Nevis* of all the troops intended for the expedition against *St. Christopher's*; and we shall insert the numbers, as it may give our readers some idea of the state of our *Leeward-Islands* at this time, *viz.*

	Men.	Strength of
In the duke of <i>Bolton's</i> regiment, commanded by lieutenant-general <i>Holt</i> ,	700	Codrington's expedition.
In major-general <i>Thornhill's</i> , commanded by Sir <i>Timothy Thornhill</i> himself,	500	
In the <i>Antigua</i> regiment, commanded by colonel <i>Williams</i> , governor of that island,	400	
In the <i>Montserrat</i> regiment, commanded by colonel <i>Blackstone</i> , governor of that island,	300	
In the two <i>Nevis</i> regiments, commanded by colonel <i>Pym</i> and colonel <i>Earl</i> ,	600	
In the marine regiment, being a detachment out of the men of war, under the command of colonel <i>Kegwin</i> , captain of the <i>Assistance</i> ,	400	
In the captain-general's life-guard, under the command of colonel <i>Byam</i> ,	100	
	<hr/>	
	3000	
	<hr/>	

*Hurricane
in Nevis.*

ABOUT the same time, the inhabitants of *Nevis* were alarmed with a most dreadful noise, which seemed to proceed from the mountain which forms the middle of their island; and soon after, it was followed by a violent shock of an earthquake, which threw down all the brick and stone houses in *Charles-Town* in an instant, but those of timber stood the shock better. Large apertures broke out in several parts of the streets, and emitted hot stinking water. The sea retreated for above a quarter of a mile, and left fishes gasping on its shore, but soon returned; and the tremblings of the earth recommenced, though not in so violent a degree as before. Large plots of earth, with trees upon them, were turned topsy-turvy, and the trees seen no more; and the shocks of the earthquake even emptied the cisterns, that in this island every private house keeps as reservoirs for sweet water. This earthquake was felt by ships in all the neighbouring seas, attended with the most dreadful appearances; so that the consequences, for some time, retarded the expedition against *St. Christopher's*, which sailed on the 19th of *June*, under the convoy of commodore *Wright*, who commanded the *English* squadron. Having already given an account of this expedition in the history of *St. Christopher's*, we shall not repeat it here, but return to that of *Nevis*.

*Admiral
Bembow
arrives
shore.*

IN 1689, the famous rear-admiral *Bembow* arrived at *Nevis* on the 12th of *January*, with a squadron of ships under his command; and here he left part of colonel *Collingwood's* regiment of foot, which was thought proper to remain here, on account of the late sickly state of the island. Upon the death of king *William*, colonel *Codrington*, who succeeded his father, now dead, in the same government, proclaimed queen *Anne* under discharges of artillery and musketry, which resounded from island to island, and from ship to ship, for several leagues, in a manner never before known in *America*. Upon the breaking out of the war between *France* and *England* soon after, the people of *Nevis* distinguished themselves by fitting out privateers, who cruized to excellent purpose upon the enemy. This spirit procured them the honour of being the first object of the *French* fury under *Iberville* in 1705, during that famous expedition planned for the destruction of all the *English West-Indian* islands. The squadron to be employed for this momentous purpose, consisted of twelve or fourteen men of war, with 3000 land-troops on board.

*Nevis re-
duced by
the
French.*

IBERVILLE, as we have already seen, landed at *St. Christopher's*, from whence he proceed to *Nevis* on the 21st of *March*, where he landed his troops in the night-time. It is more than suspected that the *French* from *St. Christopher's*
(nothing

(nothing being more easy) had tampered with some of the *English* negroes upon *Nevis*, and made them believe that their servitude under the *French* would be far more delightful than under the *English*. This notion was propagated, and prevailed among the whole body; so that the inhabitants soon perceived that they could not trust arms in the hands of their slaves. The enemy's landing being effected, the inhabitants, not able to cope with so formidable an armed power of regulars, retired to the mountains, while the slaves submitted to the invaders. On the 24th of the month the inhabitants sent out a flag of truce, and a capitulation was concluded; but they were to remain prisoners of war upon the island, till they could be exchanged for an equal number of *French* prisoners, either in *America* or *Europe*. In the mean time, it was stipulated that they should be well treated, and that their houses, sugar-works, and effects, should remain unviolated. The *French* most infamously broke this part of the capitulation, by the barbarous usage they inflicted upon the inhabitants, and burning both their houses and sugar-works. They afterwards obliged them to sign an agreement on the 6th of *April*, 1706, by which they promised to furnish *Martinica* either with a certain number of negroes, or with money to purchase them. As to the negroes, to whom they had promised such mighty matters, they no sooner got 3 or 4000 of them into their vessels, than they clapped them under their hatches, and bore away with them to the *Spanish West Indies*, where they sold them to work in the mines, the most painful of all services. We are told that one of them, who escaped from his chains, returned afterwards to *Nevis*, where he apprized his countrymen of the *French* treachery; upon which they took arms, and cut the throats of all the *French* who remained upon the island.

In 1707, another hurricane attacked *Nevis*, and brought *Park*, governor, it to the verge of ruin. Colonel *Park*, whom we cannot look upon in a much better light than that of a commissioned madman, was then governor of the *Leeward Islands*, and entered upon his administration by no means to the satisfaction of the *Nevisians*, who seem to have had then a good interest at home on account of their sufferings, and where the representation of their losses had been very favourably received. The lieutenant-governor of *Nevis* at that time was *Walter Hamilton*, Esq; *William Burt*, Esq; was president of the council, and *Samuel Brown*, Esq; speaker of the assembly. Though the agreement between *Park* and the people of *Nevis* had been but very indifferent, yet no sooner was he killed (as he was in a popular assembly at *Antigua*) than the

Nevisians, recollecting the great claim they had depending before the government of *England* by their addresses to the queen, exculpated themselves from having any hand in his death, and expressed their abhorrence and detestation, in general terms, of all violent proceedings, murders, and rebellions.

Hamilton,
governor.

COLONEL *Hamilton*, who had married Sir *William Stapleton's* widow, and who, no doubt, expected the government of the *Leeward Islands* for himself, was pressed hard to sign this address. He had his reasons for declining this, and he even reproved the framers of it for their officiousness. The history of Mr. *Hamilton's* administration of the *Leeward Islands* will be found in that of *Antigua*, which island has of late years been the residence of the governor of the *Leeward Islands*. When governor *Matthews* touched at *Nevis* upon his being appointed to that government, the assembly, at his recommendation, took the affair of his salary into their consideration; and, after various debates, it was at last settled at 300 *l.* a year, to be paid in money, or at the country-produce at currency. This salary was to be raised on slaves, of whom they reckoned 7000 upon the island, and the surplus was to go to other public purposes, particularly in defraying the expence of a house for the governor during one year, at 100 *l.*

The government of *Nevis*, which some pretend is the most ancient of the *English Caribbees*, is vested in the governor, council, and assembly. They are directed by the common statute-law of *England*; but in cases of exigency, they can make a law, which continues in force for twelve months, but no longer, unless confirmed by the privy-council of *Great Britain*. The residence of the governor of the *Leeward Islands* is generally upon *Nevis*, *Antigua*, *Montserrat*, or *St. Christopher's*; but each of the three islands where he does not reside, has, as we have already mentioned, a deputy-governor of its own, who is appointed by the crown likewise, and who presides both over the assembly and the council. In case of his death, or absence through sickness, or any other cause, his place is supplied by the eldest member of the council, with the title of president: but the functions of this particular governor are superseded by the presence of the governor-general. Within the term of about twenty years, there commonly is a general assembly from the councils and assemblies, or their deputies, of all the four islands, for the common good of the whole. The council of each island is nominated by the governor-general; but the assembly consists of the representatives of the parishes, each sending two, chosen by its freeholders.

Salary of
the gover-
nor.

Govern-
ment of
Nevis.

THE soil of *Nevis*, towards the vallies, is said to exceed *Soil* in fertility that of *St. Christopher's*. The whole of the island that is cultivable, can be considered only as the skirts of a vast mountain, which the higher it is ascended becomes the more barren. Sugar, as in the other *Caribbees*, is the staple commodity of the island; and it is said that *Nevis* sends to *Europe*, freighted with it, fifty or sixty ships yearly; so that though the island is capable of producing tobacco, cotton, and ginger, yet little of them is now cultivated there. This island naturally produces purslain and other plants, with which it is said to have been formerly over-run; and also oranges, limes, and lemons. Though *Nevis* has several fresh *Water* water as well as mineral springs, the last of which are of great use in scorbutic distempers, yet the fresh water, it is said, does not keep, and is unfit for sea. The island is subject to violent tornadoes and rains. This island abounds *Animals* with lizards, some of them of a monstrous largeness, being *Lizards* about five feet long from the head to the tail, which is five feet likewise, and their bodies about a foot round. Their appearance is so varied, that they have been taken for a species of the cameleon. Some of them are very beautiful, though we hear of none that are venomous, and they are very easily shot. It is said that the female lays her eggs in the sand, and that they are hatched by the sun. There is on the island another sort of lizard, smaller, and of the *European* kind, and but seldom seen till it is dark.

THE land-pike, which is found here, is so called from *Land-pike* its resemblance to the fish of that name, and has been mistaken for a salamander by some virtuosi, who have reared them in their closets. Their length is about sixteen inches; their skin is of a silver-grey, and beautifully spangled, but in the night-time they make a most hideous noise in the rocks. The history of the snail called the soldier, from its *Soldier* taking up its quarters in any empty shell it can find, and *Snail* there making them good against all accidents, is very curious, but too minute to have a place here; and, indeed, too whimsical to be believed. We may say pretty much the same of the flying-tyger, the horn-fly, and the fly-catcher, which are all of them creatures of wonderful contextures and extraordinary properties; but it is said that those species of insects are now far from being common on the island; and therefore it is probable, that great part of the marvellous, which is related concerning them, is owing to the invention of *French* writers. Perhaps we are indebted to the same gentlemen for other wonderful particulars of the like kind. Mr. *Smith*, an *English* divine, who resided on the island, and wrote

wrote the natural history of the *Caribbees*, tells us of a wood, called dog-wood, that is to be found here, the juice of which, when properly prepared by the negroes, intoxicates the fish, and makes them swim on the surface of the water, where they are caught by those slaves, who are very expert in swimming, to the great diversion of their masters and their guests.

Foods.

THE *Nevis* wilk, which is said not to be found in the other *Caribbees*, is a rich and delicious food, as is the cavally, which is of the mackarel-kind, and weighs about four or five pounds; but the mud-fish is reported to be most in request. We are told that the lobsters at the east end of the island are rank poison, while those at the west end are fine eating. The land-crabs burrow in the mountain, but are caught in the night in coming down to the sea to shed their shells. Other crabs are likewise found here. Of turtle it is said that *Nevis* produces seven or eight kinds, but that the green alone is eatable; and that of two kinds of sprats which the island produces, one species is poisonous, probably from the same cause that the lobsters are so, their subsisting upon veins of coppers at the bottom of the water.

Garden-stuff.

NEVIS produces asparagus, but of a small kind; as also jessamine and sage, with other trees and shrubs not common in *Europe*. The liquorice-bush grows here like the vine. The butter of *Nevis* is very indifferent, and the inhabitants are obliged to supply themselves, at dear rates, from the *Bermudas*, *England*, and *Ireland*, with that commodity; as well as with cheese. They rear sheep, rams, and pigs, which are fine eating, with turkeys and other fowls; as also rabbits, veal, and other fresh food; and we are told, that of late they have begun to cultivate cucumbers, lettuce, and all kinds of fallading: so that they can furnish, out of their own product, a genteel table in the *English* way. They have horses for draught, burden, diversion, and grandeur. When Sir *Hans Sloane* was on the island, they were imported from *Berbuda*; but the inhabitants have now very good ones from *Old England*, *Rhode-Island*, and *New England*. As they make no hay upon the island, the chief subsistence of their cavalry is upon the grass, which is weeded out from among the sugar-canes, the tops of those sugar-canes themselves, and the swimmings of the coppers; but the more valuable cattle are indulged with the green blades of *Indian-corn*, *Guinea-corn*, and *New England* oats. The dogs upon this island, especially the bull and the cur-kind, are very fierce, and apt to fly upon the negroes, who make no scruple of eating their flesh.

THE inhabitants of this island are subject to fevers, especially in *October*, when the wind changes from east to north; but, indeed, its greatest calamities arise from hurricanes, which are here but too frequent. By the latest accounts, about 5000 white persons live upon the island, with about 16,000 negroes, besides a few regular troops, who are maintained at his majesty's expence; nor do we know of any insults offered to our chief *Caribbee Islands* during our two last wars with *France* and *Spain*. The governor's commission is worth about 3,500 *l.* a year, and the number of militia which the island raises, is casual, according to that of whites upon it, and the necessity of the occasion. The island is at a great loss in its not having a good harbour belonging to it; and the best riding for shipping is between rocks and shoals, where they are pretty safe; but in case of a hurricane, they are happy if they can get to sea. *Nevis* has likewise been subject to earthquakes, one of which threw down great part of the mountain that compasses the island. The perpendicular height of this mountain, from the bay of *Charles-Town*, is said to be a mile and a half; but we apprehend this calculation to be greatly exaggerated, though it is pretended to be taken by a quadrant. In the east part of the island there is a river, which, they say, affords very fine mullets, and other excellent fish.

Height of
its mountain.

THE care and choice of their negroes are main articles with the *Nevisians*. They are generally brought from *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Guinea*; but those from the *Gold Coast*, next to the negroes born upon the island, are most esteemed for their strength and hardiness. Great art is employed by the slave-merchants in setting them out for sale. A boy or girl of sixteen years of age, if healthy, commonly brings 20 *l.* and women and men from 30 to 50 *l.* and above, according to their strength and hardiness. Their food is salt-herrings, maize, and *Spanish* potatoes. They love to work in large companies, and the industry of some of them is incredible, especially when the product of it is to go into their own pockets. According to the authorities before us, some barbarous laws, with regard to negroes, prevail in *Nevis* and our other *Caribbee Islands*, which we wish, for the honour of the *British* government, were altered. It is said, that if a white man should kill a black there, he cannot be tried for his life for the murder, and all that he suffers, is the forfeiture of 30 *l.* currency to the master for the loss of his slave. This is a barbarity which we think no human institution has a right to authorize, though undoubtedly great management and precaution are to be observed in a colony, where the num-

num-

Treatment
of the ne-
groes.

numbers between the whites and the blacks, that is, between the masters and their slaves, are so disproportioned. It is therefore, perhaps, not unreasonable to punish a negro with the loss of his hand, if he strikes a white man, and, as is the case here, with death itself, if he should draw blood from him. A negro cannot be evidence against a white man; but we apprehend that the disability is too general; because it is well known, that many negroes have discovered a true sense of religion, and have, in all other respects, acted as good Christians, as well as with a strict discernment of what is right and wrong in judicial proceedings (U). The *Nevisians* are said to have three public annual fasts in the three first weeks of *July*, *August*, and *September*, to implore the Divine protection against hurricanes; and if none happen during those months, they have a public thanksgiving in *October*. We have already mentioned the relief given by the parliament of *Great Britain* to the *Nevisians*, on account of their losses by the *French* and the hurricanes. This relief, however, was not granted till the return of a clerk or agent, who was sent over by the board of trade and plantations to enquire into the losses both of this island and that of *St. Christopher's*, which he reported to amount to about 300,000 *l.* and the parliament granted 103,203 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* for their indemnification. The only town in the island is *Charles Town*, which is defended by a fort of the same name, and has a regular weekly market every *Sunday* morning, which day, we suppose, is fixed upon for the benefit and conveniency of the negroes. One of the greatest disadvantages *Nevis* labours under, is, that the inhabitants are obliged to purchase from the neighbouring islands their iron-wood and lignum vitæ, for the construction of their sugar-houses, mills, and other works.

Antigua
peopled by
the Eng-
lish.

ANTIGUA was early planted by the *English*, though at this distance of time, the history of those private adventurers is dark and uncertain. Were we to hazard a conjecture, we should be of opinion, that the antient natives of the *Caribbees* were far from being an inhospitable people to the *Europeans*, when they had nothing with regard to their own liberties, or the possession of their own country to apprehend

(U) Though we cannot, as historians, enter into any moral disquisition here, yet we must be of opinion, that if negroes are disqualified from giving evidence for want of knowledge, capacity, or information, that ought to be one of the strongest motives for mitigating, instead of aggravating their punishment; as, for the same reason, they cannot be supposed to be sensible of the nature of the crime they commit,

from

from them; and this conjecture may be strengthened by many instances. It is not, therefore, at all improbable, that those savages received the straggling *English* into their protection, and while they were but few in number, even suffered them to settle and plant upon their islands, and that too, long before any violent effort, in large bodies of *Europeans* or *English*, were made to dispossess them. *Antigua* itself lies about twenty leagues east from *St. Christopher's*, and ten north-east of *Montserrat*; and being above fifty miles in circumference, it is reckoned the largest of all our *Leeward-Islands*. It is certain, that while Sir *Thomas Warner* was governor of *St. Christopher's*, *Englishmen* were settled on *Antigua*; but the property of the island was so far from being ascertained, that the *French* who had been driven from *St. Christopher's*, had thoughts of making a settlement upon *Antigua*. The reasons why they did not, probably, were the vast difficulty of access to the island, and the general bad character it was under of having no fresh water. Notwithstanding this, several *English* families removed thither in Sir *Thomas Warner's* time; and lord *Willoughby*, governor of *Barbados*, was so sensible of the value of *Antigua*, and so clear as to the *English* right to the same, that he had its name inserted in his commission as governor of the *English Leeward-Islands*; and about the year 1663, he sent thither his brother, or rather his kinsman, Mr. *Henry Willoughby*, with proper people and accommodations for effecting a regular settlement upon it. According to *la Tertre*, and other *French* writers, so far back as the year 1640, the *English* were so numerous here as to become obnoxious to the savage natives, who killed fifty of them, and carried off the governor's lady; by which we suppose he means the wife of the chief *Englishman* upon the island. This barbarity appears to have been committed by the savages alone; for, long after this, both *French* and *English* lived in *Antigua* with great cordiality. Lord *Willoughby*, however, being resolved to make *Antigua* an *English* settlement, gave orders to Mr. *Willoughby* to oblige the *French* either to remove from the island, or to swear allegiance to the *English* government; and, upon their not immediately complying, he treated them with a severity that was, perhaps, both unjust and impolitic, for he obliged most of the *French* to retire to *Guadaloupe* or *Martinico*.

THOSE exiles (as might naturally have been supposed) dis- *Invasion by*
closed to their countrymen the weakness of the *English* settle- *the French.*
ment upon *Antigua*, and with what ease it might be dislodged. An expedition was accordingly fitted out by the *French*; the *English* were attacked in form, their forts were taken, their

gover-

governor made prisoner, and they themselves obliged to accept of a capitulation for surrendering the island. Before this capitulation could be carried into execution, a reinforcement came which prevented its taking place. The *French* governors of their *Caribbees* understanding this, mustered a large force from all their islands, and landing upon *Antigua* in 1667, the *English* governor, *Fish*, found himself obliged to ratify the former capitulation. Notwithstanding this, it nowhere appears that the *English* made a full cession of the island to their antagonists; and it seems as if *de la Barre*, the *French* lieutenant-general of their islands, had suffered many of them to retain the possession of their estates, though, possibly, under the *French* protection and allegiance. We are informed, that about this time a son of Sir *Thomas Warner's* wife, the *Caribbean* lady we have already mentioned, having learned *English* from his mother, and imagining that upon her account he was neglected by his *English* relations, made an elopement from *Antigua* to *St. Lucia*, where he erected himself into a kind of a chief of his countrymen the *Caribbeans*, and headed several expeditions against the *English*. This tradition is strongly countenanced by *Dampier*, the famous *English* voyager, who was in those parts in 1674; and gives us the following particulars. "About this time the *Caribbees* had done some spoil on our *English* plantations of *Antego*, and therefore governor *Warner's* son, by his wife, took a party of men, and went to suppress these *Indians*, and came to a place where his brother the *Indian Warner* lived. Great seeming joy there was at this meeting, but how far it was real, the event shewed; for the *English Warner* providing plenty of liquor, and inviting his half-brother to be merry with him, in the midst of his entertainment, ordered his men, upon a signal given, to murder him and all his *Indians*, which was accordingly performed. The reason of this inhuman action is diversely reported: some say, that this *Indian Warner* committed all the spoil that was done to the *English*, and for that reason his brother killed him and his men. Others, that he was a great friend to the *English*, and would not suffer his men to hurt them, but did all that lay in his power to draw them to an amicable commerce; and that his brother killed him, because he was ashamed to be related to an *Indian*. But be it how it will, he was called in question for the murder, and forced to come home and take his trial in *England*. Such perfidious doings as these, continues *Dampier*, besides the baseness of them, are great hindrances of our gaining interest among the *Indians*."

Dampier's account.

NOTWITHSTANDING this plausible story from *Dampier*, *Observations on its* who was a very candid and sensible voyager, we are somewhat suspicious that he has been misinformed with regard to the affinity between the two *Warners*; because, though the *English Warner* was indeed sent home to take his trial, yet we find no charge of murder lying against him; and all he was accused of, was a crime but too common in those times and places, both among the *French* and *English*, which was that of kidnapping the *Caribbeans* under the shew of friendship, and making them slaves, thereby rendering the whole nation irreconcilable enemies to all *Europeans*. The *French*, properly speaking, after this, were masters of *Antigua* till the year 1668, when it was restored to the *English* by the twelfth article of the treaty of *Breda*. The colony then began to flourish exceedingly, though their happiness was too often interrupted by the dreadful hurricanes which visited the island. Its chief prosperity was owing to the genius and cares of that great *English West-Indian* patriot and hero, colonel *Christopher Codrington*, who having been appointed captain-general and general governor of all the *Leeward-Islands*, removed from *Barbados* to *Antigua*, which he made the seat of his government; and where, by his great experience and knowledge of *West-Indian* plantations, he introduced a new and a better system of colonizing and improving. The effect was, that the sugars of *Antigua*, which were before but little esteemed, bore as good a price as those of any of our other *West-Indian* islands, and in a few years were made in double and treble quantities. It was not, however, in his power to prevent the effects of those dreadful hurricanes, which more than once rendered *Antigua* in his time a scene of desolation, particularly in the year 1681; and nine years *Earthquake.* after it was almost ruined by an earthquake.

THE *Indians*, instigated by the *French*, never failed to avail *French* themselves of those natural calamities, by making descents *vassons.* upon the island in their peruaugas; but after plundering some of the planters nearest the sea, they were generally driven off with loss. Another gentleman, one major *Byam*, whose descendants are said still to live upon *Antigua*, deserves likewise to have his name transmitted here. He was one of those deputies whom lord *Willoughby* appointed to treat with Sir *George Ayscue* about the pacification of *Barbados*; and, in lord *Willoughby's* time, he became an eminent planter in *Antigua*. Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* was governor-general of the *Leeward-Islands*, at the time of the Revolution; but not conforming to that government, he was succeeded by colonel *Codrington*, who appointed colonel *Rowland Williams* to be

deputy-governor of *Antigua*. When the war broke out between *England* and *France*, the people of *Antigua*, though they were but just recovering from the dreadful calamity of the earthquake we have already mentioned, shewed a becoming spirit against the *French*. They joined with the other inhabitants of the *Leeward-Islands* in their applications for protection from the government of *Barbados*; and accordingly, Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, after raising his *Barbados* regiment, landed on the 5th of *August* with it at *Antigua*, where he received the disagreeable news of the *French* having become masters of *St. Christopher's*. Being too weak immediately to attempt the reduction of the island, he quartered his regiment, or rather part of it, in the town of *Falmouth* upon *Antigua*, till the fleet for the relief of the *English Leeward-Islands* in general, which was every day expected, should arrive.

In the mean while, the active colonel, whom we are now to call general *Codrington*, gave the command of these sloop, manned with 80 men of Sir *Timothy's* regiment, to captain *Thorn*, who sailed from *Falmouth* to the island of *Anguilla*; from whence he brought off the *English* remains of that small colony, which had suffered extremely from the barbarity of the *French* and *Irish*. The general, at the same time, fitted out several sloops, by way of guarda costas, against the *French* and their *Caribbean* allies, who continued to pester the island in their perugas, and to murder the defenceless inhabitants lying near the sea. But this precaution proving ineffectual through the great skill of the savages in managing their little vessels, proper towers and watch-houses were erected all along the coast to give notice of such descents. Sometimes, however, the *French* made those descents with a greater force, and carried off negroes and other prey. One of their privateers, particularly about the middle of *September* this year, after plundering the coast, took an *English* ship, and gave chase to another, but was taken by two sloops, manned with a party of *Thornhill's* regiment, under the command of colonel *Hamilton*. On board this privateer were discovered no fewer than six *Irish* sailors, of whom four were hanged by order of a court-martial. This act of justice was judged to be the more necessary, as the *French* could not have manned their privateers without the *Irish* Roman Catholics, whom the *English* found the most barbarous enemies they had to deal with. The people of *Antigua*, to make themselves in some measure amends for the depredations they suffered from the *French*, raised 300 men under the command of one colonel *Hewetson*, who made a descent upon the *French* island

of

of *Marigalante*, where they took and burnt the chief town, demolished the fort, spiked up its guns, drove the inhabitants into their woods, and returned to *Antigua* with the plunder of the island.

UPON Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* returning to *Nevis*, general *Codrington* remained at *Antigua*; where he received an express from *Thornhill*, who was then on his expedition against *St. Bartholomew* and *St. Martin*, acquainting him with the arrival of *du Cassé* upon the latter island, with 700 men. The general immediately ordered colonel *Hewetson* to embark, with about 200 men in three sloops, and under the convoy of one sloop of war of 40, and two of 20 guns, to bear away to *St. Martin's*. This little armament was opposed by the *French* ships lying off the same island; but they were obliged to bear away, after a dispute of four hours, and *Hewetson* landed his men, to the great relief of *Thornhill*. Upon the arrival of admiral *Wright*, whom we have several times before mentioned, with a strong squadron of men of war for the relief of the *English Leeward Islands*, and the recovery of *St. Christopher's*, the people of *Antigua* raised a regiment of 400 men, commanded by colonel *Rowland Williams*, who, under *Codrington*, was deputy-governor of the island. Besides this force, many of the inhabitants served both as sailors and volunteers in the expeditions under *Codrington*; an account of which we have already given in the former parts of this work, and in the histories of the islands to which they were made. It is likewise mentioned for the honour of *Antigua*, that no part of the *English* dominions exceeded the zeal of its inhabitants; or, proportionable to its strength, contributed more to this and the succeeding war against *France*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the gross mismanagements of the *English* marine in the *West-Indies*, the trade of *Antigua* still flourished; and that island in 1696, sent, at one time, eleven ships laden to *England*, under convoy of the *Hastings* frigate. Upon the death of general *Codrington*, in 1696, his son, colonel *Christopher Codrington*, succeeded him as captain-general and commander in chief of the *Leeward-Islands*. He chose *Antigua* for the place of his residence, as being the most commodious spot for his government, and equally convenient for himself, he having the greatest property of any man upon the island. This colonel *Codrington*, before he received his commission, had distinguished himself equally in arms and the polite arts. He had his education at *All-Soul's-College* in *Oxford*, and was chosen by the University to return its publick thanks to king *William* for the honour of paying it

a visit. He was the friend and patron of several *English* ingenious poets, and having served with great distinction at the siege of *Namur*, he was made colonel of his majesty's foot-guards, in which rank he served till he was raised to his government.

Codrington's descent upon Guadeloupe,

HE had early formed the design of attacking the *French West-India-Islands*, and most of *Collingwood's* regiment, who arrived at *Antigua* with admiral *Bembow*, being dead, he was indefatigable in procuring others in their room from *England*. He, at the same time, encouraged the merchants and planters of *Antigua* to fit out privateers, to which he himself contributed largely likewise; and he raised a fresh regiment of soldiers in *Antigua*, the command of which was given to colonel *Byam*. We have already taken notice of colonel *Codrington's* descent upon *Guadaloupe*, where the *Antigua* men, with colonel *Byam* at their head, were the first who secured a post called *Les petits Habitans*, from whence they dislodged the enemy. About 800 more *English* landing under colonel *Wetham*, they boldly marched up to a town called the *Bayliffe*, where the *French* had manned a breast-work, which they vigorously defended, and killed three *English* captains at the head of their grenadiers; but the *English* soldiers, tho' so furiously plied from the breast-work, kept up their fire till they laid the muzzles of their pieces across its top, and gave the enemy so smart a fire, that they soon became masters of it. This was followed by the conquest of all the enemy's other breast-works of the town of *Bayliffe* itself, of the *Jacobine* church and plantation, both which the *French* had strongly fortified, and at last of the main town of *Basse-Terre*, the *French* retiring to the fort, and leaving all the open part of their island to be plundered and destroyed by the *English*. Nothing now remained to reduce the island, but the conquest of *Basse-Terre* fort and castle, to which the inhabitants had retired with their chief effects. The *English* had already advanced their works within pistol-shot of the fort, and musket-shot of the castle, against both which a battery of sixteen pieces of cannon was ready to be opened. In short, nothing could have prevented the entire reduction of the island, but a disagreement which arose between the sea and land-officers, the particulars of which were so little to the credit of either, that the public has never yet been acquainted with a true state of them. To save appearances, it was given out, that the reduction of the island was a matter of far greater difficulty than had been foreseen; and that, considering the vigorous defence made by the *French*, the *English* army, which was now both weak and sickly, was unable to

which proves unsuccessful.

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do duty longer, for which reason the men were re-imbarked, and the conquest of *Guadaloupe* abandoned.

COLONEL *Codrington* was succeeded, as governor of the *Leeward-Islands*, by Sir *William Matthews*, in the year 1704, and he likewise made *Antigua* the place of his residence. This gentleman, during the short time he lived in the *West-Indies*, gave universal satisfaction by his mild, moderate behaviour; and upon his death he was, as we have already mentioned, succeeded by colonel *Park*, who received the govern-^{History of}ment from the hands of *John Yeomans*, Esq; the president of ^{Col. Park's} the island and the council. All this time, notwithstanding ^{govern-}the repeated attacks of the *French* upon the other *English* ^{ment of} *West-India-Islands*, *Antigua* remained unmolested, and the ^{Antigua.} inhabitants grew rich by their privateering; in which they became so expert, that a vessel with no more than nine men and six boys on board, being attacked by a *French* sloop with 50 men, killed 40 of them, and brought the sloop itself a prize into *Antigua*. Colonel *Park*, upon his arrival on the island, began his administration in a manner the most unpopular and disagreeable that can be well imagined. He appointed a common foot-soldier to act as provost-marshal of the island, and that too without obliging him to give any security, though it is a post that in the *West-Indies*, in some particulars, resembles that of an *English* sheriff of a county, by his having the power of impanelling juries. When he was talked to on that head, he refused to give any other answer, than that a foot-soldier was a gentleman.

BUT the most exceptionable part of *Park's* conduct was, his wantonly provoking his predecessor colonel *Codrington*, and a merchant, one Mr. *Chester*, to oppose him. *Park* made so unmerciful a use of his power, as governor, that he obliged colonel *Codrington*, whom he took all occasions personally to affront, to retire to *Barbados*. Mr. *Chester* happened to have a quarrel with one *Sawyer*, a *Virginian*, *Park's* countryman; and some blows having passed, *Sawyer* in a short time, died, and *Chester* soon after, chiefly by the instigation of *Park*, must have undergone a severe prosecution for murder, had not the coroner's inquest returned their verdict, that the deceased died a natural death. Some motives which have been assigned for *Park's* keeness in this affair were most infamous, particularly his having a criminal correspondence with *Chester's* wife; a charge, which his leud, scandalous way of living upon the island too much countenanced. He was, however, supported at home by the heads of the whig-administration, who affected to despise all the charges brought against him by the people of his government.

His tyranny and intemperance.

NOTHING but the most intemperate behaviour could have provoked them into this opposition. The people of the island had, upon his arrival among them, voted him an appointment of 1000 *l.* a year; but he soon gave himself liberties, which sufficiently declared, that he was to be under no controul of law or justice; for he boasted, on all occasions, the great and unshaken interest he had with the government of *England*, and that, let him do what he would, he was sure of being protected by the lord-treasurer *Godolphin*, and the dutchess of *Marlborough*. *Park* acted in a manner as if he was resolved to push his interest with those great personages as far as it could go. The *Codrington* family had, for above thirty years before, been possessed in property of the whole island of *Berbuda*, which it had dearly earned by being at the expences of peopling, planting, and improving the island, for which they had obtained a proprietary patent, the validity of it, till the time of *Park's* government, never having been questioned. The foundation of this groundless attack was a clause in his commission as governor, comprehending all the *British Leeward Islands*, of which he pretended *Berbuda* was one; and he ordered Sir *William Codrington*, the colonel's representative, to produce his right to that island, before his council, as governor and captain-general. *Codrington* very properly refused to satisfy either the general or his council, as to his right to the island, and his council advised him to drop his claim; but all was to no purpose, for he prosecuted it with more vigour than ever, and with great personal scurrilities, against the *Codrington* family, which was deservedly one of the most popular, as well as wealthy, of any in the *English West-Indies*.

PARK's behaviour continued to be so intemperate, that at last, the whole island of *Antigua*, in a manner, became a party against him; and above eighty of the principal inhabitants transmitted to *England* an impeachment of his conduct, consisting of thirty articles; some of which were of a felonious nature. In those articles he was charged with altering the method of electing the members of the assembly, and with sending armed men to enter the houses of private gentlemen, on pretence of their holding meetings and cabals against his government, and afterwards committing them to jail, and all this in the most outrageous ruffian-like manner. He was farther charged with neglects in his government, and for suffering no assembly to be called for eleven months time, though the island was threatened with a *French* invasion; and that he often gave out in discourse, that he expected large pecuniary presents from the people of his government, against

whom he took all kinds of advantages, by even turning a private spy for himself, and strolling about the streets incognito. The governor would willingly have evaded taking any notice at all of those charges; but when they were carried home, he was obliged to defend himself under the extent of his commission, and his discretionary powers under the royal authority, which, as he pretended, justified him in all he had done, supposing the whole of the impeachment against him to be true.

THIS defence had greater weight than could have been well expected in a country governed by laws; and this provoked some of the islanders to send him private challenges as a gentleman, but he evaded them all, by pretending, that it was incompatible with his dignity to accept of them. At last, he was wounded by a negro from a musket; and this, with several other pretended attempts against his life, was, by him, charged upon some of the chief planters of the island. His antagonists, on the other hand, grew every day more and more sensible of the necessity they were under of carrying on their impeachment; and, for that purpose, they subscribed a large sum of money, which was lodged in the hands of their agent and solicitor at London, for carrying on the prosecution. The principal parties in the prosecution were, colonel *Christopher Codrington*, late general; *Barry Yankard*, Esq; *William Thomas*, Esq; *Edward Perry*, Esq; the reverend Mr. *James Field*; *Samuel Watkins*, Esq; chief-justice; *Nathaniel Crump*, Esq; speaker of the assembly; and Dr. *Daniel Mackennen*. Besides those gentlemen, all the assembly, excepting one member, were his enemies; nor had he for a friend a single planter or merchant of any note upon the island. All those untowardly circumstances made no impression upon *Park*, who still screened himself under the royal authority, and treated all his opponents as rebels and mutineers. This behaviour, in an *English* governor, was thought the more extraordinary, as about this time, the *French* inhabitants of *Martinico* had seized upon their governor and intendant, and sent them prisoners to *Old France*, where, though the insurgents were declared rebels, yet they met with no other punishment.

NOTWITHSTANDING the apparent unanimity of the island against *Park*, so great was the reverence paid to a royal commission, that he had still creatures and friends upon the island; and the inhabitants, in general, confined all their resentment to the legal regular method of complaining at the court of *England*. Their agents there had no great reason to encourage their constituents; for they found but very poor

encouragement at the council-table, where prerogative doctrines, about this time, began to be in great vogue. *Park* and his friends had interest enough, for a long time, to ward off an examination into his conduct, on pretence that all the opposition against him was merely the effect of a seditious tumultuous spirit. But the facts brought by his opponents were so flagrant, and urged with so much precision, that at last, Mr. *Nevin*, who was solicitor at *London* for the complainants, brought to *Antigua* her majesty's letter, directing the witnesses against governor *Park* to be examined upon the spot; and that the governor should come to *England* by the first man of war bound from *Antigua*.

He is ordered home.

PERHAPS the people of that island did not bear with a proper moderation their success against their governor; so that, for some time, he did not appear in public. Notwithstanding this, he still continued, as heretofore, the exercise of his government, and charged the inhabitants with rebellion, and conspiracies against his life. They still proceeded with great coolness, and though the governor did not chuse to be present, the depositions of the witnesses, in support of the charge against him, were taken before *Edward Byam*, Esq; one of the council, and *Nathaniel Crump*, Esq; speaker of the assembly, and transmitted to *England*, under the seal of the island. The governor, on his part, refused to send any thing in his own vindication, pretending that the examination of his witnesses were delayed by the justices, and suffered a ship, which was to have carried him to *England*, to sail without him; still justifying himself, by the necessity he was under of going through his evidence for his own vindication. But this had no influence upon the commissioners, to whom the queen's letter was delivered; for they sent to *England*, by their agent, all the affidavits and papers that were under their cognizance, without paying any regard to the governor's defence.

THE people of *Antigua* now looked upon themselves as being, in some measure, in a state of anarchy; and they were but too ready to adopt a notion, that their governor, by not returning, as he was ordered, to *England*, by the first ship that sailed from *Antigua*, was become an usurper; and that no regard was to be paid to his person or authority. The assembly itself was of this opinion; for it continued sitting, under pretence of taking measures against the *French* invasion, notwithstanding he had dissolved them. The governor, and such of the council, as still stuck by him, were then assembled at the court-house in *St. John's*; and *Park*, thinking himself sure of the military force that was on the island, continued to carry matters

matters with a very high hand. Thus the principle of government became a disputed point; it being doubtful, whether it resided in the governor, or with the council and assembly. The latter thought themselves unsafe in suffering the governor to act longer as such; and its members, attended by a good number of planters, and other inhabitants, resorted to the town-house, where they roundly questioned the governor as to the legality of his proceeding. His best defence was, to send one *Worthington*, an officer of the troops; then lying on the island, to the guard-house, from whence he immediately brought a party, the very appearance of which instantly dissipated the assembly, who adjourned themselves, and publicly gave out among all their constituents, that they were laid under terror and restraint by the army.

SOME of the leading men upon the island, particularly colonel *Byam*, thought it now high time that matters should come to a crisis; and written notices were sent to the inhabitants of the island, to come armed to *St. John's*, on the seventh of *September*, 1710, to protect their representatives in the assembly, who declared, that they had no design against the person or life of the governor, but to take him prisoner, and send him off the island. *Park* was, all this while, preparing for his defence against the islanders, who appeared early in the morning in arms, to the number of near 400 men. He had garrisoned his house with all the regulars he found upon the island, and was attended by four or five of his worthless creatures, whom he had raised to places of power and trust. After this, the proceedings on both sides were pretty regular. *Park*, acting still in the character of governor, sent his provost-marshal with a proclamation, requiring the inhabitants to disperse: but they treated it with the utmost contempt, their numbers being now 500; and they declared, that the governor's troops should not protect him from being seized and sent prisoner off the island. The cooler part of the assembly were still for compromising matters; and Mr. *Crumph*, its speaker, with one Mr. *Gamble*, a counsellor, carried their demands to the governor, requiring him to dismiss his guard, and to quit the government. *Park*, now for the first time, seemed to act as a rational creature; he pleaded, he was still their governor, and that he only waited for an opportunity of complying with the queen's letter, in returning to *England*; that if the assembly chose to sit at *Parham*, seven miles distant from *St. John's*, he was ready to pass any acts they should make for the good of the island, and that he was even ready to dismiss his soldiers, provided six of the prin-

principal inhabitants would remain with him as hostages for his safety.

The islanders rise upon him, and put him to death.

THOSE proposals carried with them such an appearance of moderation, that they startled many of the islanders, who had declared against the governor; and the two deputies themselves, upon their return, thought them so reasonable, that they offered to become two of the hostages. The insurgents thought that they had gone too far to stop where they were, and began to be apprehensive, that if they did not strike some bold stroke, in which the whole of their party should be involved, they might be deserted by numbers, and a few of them left to answer for all that had been done. They therefore divided themselves into two parties, in which all the members of the assembly served, commanded by two captains, one *Piggot*, and one *Painter*, and marched to attack an out-work upon an eminence that commanded the governor's house, where a party of the troops had taken post. According to our best information, neither colonel *Jones*, who was the commandant upon the island, nor captain *Rokesby*, whose company were in duty, were clear as to the propriety of their obeying either party; and both of them refused to command in person, leaving the whole to the conduct of their subalterns. The out-post was not defended, and the party retired to the governor's house, which was attacked by the insurgents with great fury. For some time their fire was returned with equal briskness; but the house being, in a manner, defenceless, the assailants at last broke into it, but were received with great bravery by the governor, who, as is said, killed captain *Piggot* with his own hand, but he himself received a shot in the thigh, which disabling him from farther resistance, the enraged populace put him to death, in a manner too shocking to be related; especially, as he fell into the hands of several of the islanders, who thought that the injuries he had done to their beds, warranted them in the most unmanly expressions of their resentment. On the governor's side, one ensign *Lyndon*, and about thirteen or fourteen soldiers, were killed; and captain *Newel*, lieutenant *Worthington*, and twenty-six soldiers, were wounded; besides many of his private friends, who were beaten and bruised. On the side of the assembly, besides captain *Piggot*, and two other gentlemen, about thirty were killed or wounded. By colonel *Park's* death, the government of *Antigua* devolved upon *Walter Hamilton*, Esq; who was then lieutenant-governor of *Nevis*, and lieutenant-general of the *Leeward Islands*. The people of *England* heard with astonishment of *Park's* untimely fate; but the public were divided in their

Hamilton, governor.

their

their sentiments, some looking upon his death as an act of rebellion against the crown, and others considering it only as a sacrifice to liberty. The flagrancy of the perpetration, and compassion for the man, at last got the better, even before the sentiments of the *English* government were known. Mr. *Hamilton* was cautious either of approving or disproving what had been done. Mr. *Yeomans*, who was lieutenant-governor of *Antigua*, sent a deputation to invite Mr. *Hamilton* to repair to that island, and take upon him the government, which he accordingly did; and immediately upon his arrival, he summoned a general council, consisting of deputies from all the islands within his government, to examine into the murder of colonel *Park*. Those deputies were in their private opinions enemies to the deceased and his conduct, and drew up a kind of vindication of his death, while the opponents signed an address, detesting the murder, and informing the queen, that they were in danger of their lives. Mr. *Hamilton*, the new governor, sided with neither party; but as his commission had not been confirmed in *England*, he was superseded by *Walter Douglas*, Esq; in 1712. This exasperated *Hamilton*, who then threw himself upon the faction that had put *Park* to death, and bade defiance to *Douglas*; upon which, the latter superseded him from all his offices in the *Leeward Islands*.

HAMILTON then embarked for *England* to seek his remedy; and though *Douglas* had himself brought over a proclamation for a general pardon, yet he issued his warrant against *Watkins*, the chief-justice, and one doctor *Mackennen*, who had been active men against *Park*, upon pretext of their being guilty of rebellious practices since his death. *Watkins* and *Mackennen* escaped to *England*, where they were apprehended, but discharged upon their pleading the proclamation, as no grounds appeared to justify their fresh commitment. One *Smith*, a militia-officer, was tried at the *Old Bailey*, but acquitted upon the same plea. Those proceedings soon rendered *Douglas* so unpopular, that he lost all authority in his government; and many complaints were sent over against him: nay, he was insulted upon the island itself in a most outrageous manner, but generously protected by the very gentlemen whom he had prosecuted for *Park's* death. *Hamilton*, the late governor, succeeded so well in *England*, that he was restored to the government of the *Leeward Islands*; and in 1715, he had interest enough to procure the dismissal of all whom he suspected to be his enemies, from their places and honours in the island; and introduced *Mackennen* and *Crump*, who had distinguished themselves against *Park*, to

seats

seats at the council-board. In return, the council voted him 1000 *l.* a year for his house-rent, in order to elude the royal instruction, by which he was tied up from receiving any gratuity or present. But, at this time, many abuses had crept into the government of *Antigua* and the *Leeward Islands*. The money-jobbers continued, in a manner, to monopolize the coin, upon which they put what value they pleased, in direct violation of the royal authority and instructions from *Great Britain*. The laws were likewise found to be greatly deficient with regard to the power of compelling debtors to do justice to their creditors, which introduced a kind of a bankruptcy amongst the merchants of the island, through their inability to recover their debts; and at last, about twenty-six of them were forced to have recourse to present the following petition, the words of which will give the reader a better idea, than any others can, of the hardships under which they lay.

*Petition
for recovering
debts.*

“YOUR petitioners being disabled by the ill-compliance of debtors to answer their correspondents expectations at home, in making their returns according to their respective promises and compacts, are, without any fault of their own, not only suspected of injustice, but wounded in their reputations, upon supposition, that they are paid here by the persons who deal with them; and that your petitioners detain their effects, or that at least, they are highly to be blamed for not prosecuting their debtors at law, and by that means, enable themselves to make better and more punctual remittances, and are deprived of making or improving their own private fortunes, the proceedings at law being so very dilatory.” This petition ended in a prayer for an act for the more speedy recovering of debts upon the island; but though several acts for that purpose passed, yet the evil is to this day far from being remedied.

MR. *Hamilton's* government seems to have been so wise and moderate, that he extinguished the violence of parties, and in the year 1721, he was succeeded in the government of the *Leeward Islands* by *John Hart*, Esq; late governor of *Maryland*, whose person and administration were so agreeable to the inhabitants of the *Leeward Islands*, and of *Antigua* in particular, that they made a very plentiful provision for his support. Mr. *Hart* distinguished his government by the humane reception he gave to captain *Vring*, and the settlers, whom the duke of *Montague* had sent to people the islands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*; in which he was greatly assisted by colonel *Matthews*, the lieutenant-governor. He was succeeded in his administration by lord *Londonderry*, who died in

*Hart, go-
vernor.*

*Lord Lon-
donderry,
governor.*

in that government, which was next conferred upon *William Matthews, Esq.* This gentleman arrived at *Antigua* in *October*, 1733, and took the first opportunity to present to the council and assembly of the island, the following additional royal instruction: "Whereas it has been represented to us, that the salary of 1200 *l.* sterling *per annum*, which we have hitherto thought fit to allow out of the duty of four and a half per cent. arising in our *Leeward Islands*, for our governor in chief of those islands, is not at present sufficient for his support, and the dignity of that our government, we have taken the same into our consideration, and are graciously pleased to permit and allow, that the respective assemblies of our said islands, may, by any act or acts, settle upon you such sum or sums, in addition to your salary of 1200 *l.* *per annum*, as they shall think proper; and you are hereby allowed to give your assent to any act or acts of assembly to that purpose. Provided sum or sums be settled on you and your successors in that government, at least on you during the whole time of your government there, and that the same be done by the first respective assemblies of our said islands after your arrival there." This instruction was not without its effect; for it procured to the governor from the council and the assembly a settlement of 1000 *l.* a year *Antigua* currency.

WE have forbore to mention the prodigious losses which this island sustained by earthquakes and hurricanes; which were too frequent to be particularized here. But, notwithstanding those dreadful calamities, the island still flourished in riches and commerce, and continues, to this day, to be the residence of the governor-general and his courts. In *October* 1736, all the commerce and business of the island was suddenly suspended by the discovery of a plot formed by the negroes, to murder all the white inhabitants of the island, and to make themselves masters of it. The 11th of *October*, which was the anniversary of the coronation of *George II.* was pitched upon for the execution of this detestable design. The death of the governor's son happening at that time, postponed the ball and the other rejoicings, which were usually made upon that occasion, and this accident obliged the conspirators to defer the execution of their plot to the 30th, on which day the ball was to be held, and all the principal people of the island were to assemble. The intention of the conspirators was of the same kind with the gunpowder-plot in *England*, in the reign of *James I.* which was to convey powder under the ball-room, and by one explosion to blow up the whole company. The contrivers of this infernal plot were, *Court*, *Tomboy*, and *Hercules*, three negroes be-

Plot of the
negroes,

longing

longing to different planters. *Court* was to be king of the island, and the other two his generals; and during the confusion which was expected to attend the explosion, *Court* and his two generals were to have headed three parties of 400 negroes each, from the east end of *St. John's* town, and two other places of rendezvous, called *Otter's* and *Morgan's* pastures; who were to be armed with cutlasses, and to cut in pieces, without distinction, all the whites they met with. Having proceeded thus far, they were, upon the explosion of the house, to light up beacons all over the island, as so many signals for the negroes to assemble, and to finish the destruction of the rest of the white inhabitants: but this conspiracy was too general, and too far extended to be kept long a secret; and the behaviour of the three principals giving great room for suspicion, they were secured and convicted on the 19th of the same month. After condemnation, they confessed the whole of the conspiracy as we have related it. The king and his two generals were broke upon the wheel, and four of the ringleaders were burnt alive at the same time, as were seven others the next day. Six were hung alive in chains and gibbets, and starved to death, and fifty-eight others were at several times burnt alive.

Discovered,
and the
ring-
leaders
punished.

Thomas,
governor.

GEORGE Thomas, Esq; succeeded *Mr. Matthews* in the government of the *Leeward-Islands*. His lieutenant-governor of *Antigua* and *Montserrat* was lord *Hawley*, as *Gilbert Fleming*, Esq; was of *St. Christopher's*, and likewise lieutenant-governor of all the *Leeward-Islands*; the governor of *Nevis* being major *Storey*. As to the topographical history of this island, it differs in some respect from that of the other *Leeward-Islands*. It was long thought to be uninhabitable, because no fresh springs were found upon the island; but this loss was supplied by the industry of the inhabitants, who discovered some springs, and provided proper reservoirs for saving the rain-water. *Antigua* is the best provided with harbours of all the *English Leeward-Islands*; but the approach to it is very dangerous to any but very skilful pilots, on account of the vast number of rocks that surround it. One of those harbours is called *Five-Isle-Harbour*, and, though difficult of access, it is of great service to ships in distress. *St. John's-Harbour*, which lies due north, would be the best in the island, were it not for an incommodious sandy-bar that runs across it. At the mouth of *St. John's-River* is a fort, which is mounted with 14 cannon; and several batteries, mounting in the whole 26 guns, are raised for the defence of as many landing-places. *Nonsuch-Harbour* lies on the west-end of the island, and in a spacious bay. *Willoughby-Bay* is almost
a league

a league over at the mouth, but is above two-thirds blocked up with a shoal, stretching from the north to the south-point; from whence lies *Sandy Point* with an island in it; but between the north and south-point there is an open channel, where ships may enter, and when entered have good riding. But the most convenient harbour in *Antigua*, or perhaps, in the *West-Indies*, is *English-Harbour*, which is proper for careening ships of war, and may be improved in such a manner, as to admit those of the largest burden. At the bottom of *Falmouth-Harbour* lies *Falmouth-Town*, which is defended by *Fort-Charles* and *Monkhill-Fort*. The latter contains a magazine of 410 muskets and 800 bayonets, and is mounted with 30 pieces of cannon.

THE climate of *Antigua* is hotter than that of *Barbados*, *Natural history of Antigua* and is so subject to hurricanes, that were it not for the vast conveniency of its situation and harbours, it must have lain a mere desert. Sugar and tobacco are its chief commodities; but the inhabitants formerly likewise cultivated indigo and ginger. *Antigua* formerly lay under great disadvantages through the want of skill in the planters to prepare their sugar; but at present they have the art of claying it, and the island produces as good muscovado sugar as any in the *West-Indies*. It is generally computed that the exports from the island amount to about 16,000 hogheads of sugar annually; but that the planters do not make rum in proportion, though it is universally allowed that both commodities, with proper encouragement, might be greatly increased and improved: Wild cinnamon grows in the low lands of *Antigua*; and this island is generally said to have greater plenty of venison upon it, than any other of the *Caribbees*; besides its affording abundance of fowl and black cattle.

THE number of white inhabitants on *Antigua* is uncertain, but thought to be about ten thousand; fifteen hundred of whom are able to bear arms; and the island in general has been unmolested during all the late wars with *France*. It is divided into five parishes, that of *St. John's-Town*, which is reckoned the capital of the north-west part, and consists of above 200 houses; and those of *Falmouth*, *Parham*, and *Bridge-Town* on the south-side; and *St. Peter's*, which is no town, but lies almost in the center of the island.

M O N T S E R R A T.

MONTSERRAT was discovered by *Columbus* in 1493. It lies 25 miles almost S. S. E. from *Nevis*, and 20 W. S. W. from *Antigua*, 40 N. W. from *Guadaloupe*, and 240 from *Barbados*, and *Antigua*. *Montserrat, its situation and history.*

bados. It is of an oval figure, and about three leagues in length, and the same in breadth, and about 18 miles in compass. This island receives its name from the superstition of the *Spaniards*, who imagined that there was a resemblance between its appearance and that of a mountain of the same name in *Catalonia*, near *Barcelona* in *Old Spain*, where there is a famous chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. We know of no settlement made upon this island till the year 1632, when Sir *Thomas Warner*, who was then governor of *St. Christopher's*, sent a small colony of *English* to inhabit it. When lord *Willoughby* became governor of the *Leeward-Islands*, *Montserrat* was a particular object of his attention, and he sent people to settle it in a regular manner, which had so good an effect, that for several years this island prospered more than that of *Antigua*; and sixteen years after its first settlement, its militia consisted of 360 white men. Though no regular history of the island has been preserved, yet it is certain, that it flourished in proportion as the other *English West-India* islands did; and exported sugar, ginger, cotton, and indigo. In a short time, the inhabitants were wealthy enough to build a very handsome church, and after that another, so that the island is divided into two parishes, and the number of militia which at this time it can raise, exclusive of negroes, is said to amount to above 500 men. In 1668, after the *French* had made themselves masters of *Antigua*, one *M. de la Barre* fell upon *Montserrat*; and, as is said, by the treachery of the savages became master of the island, and sixteen pieces of cannon, and a great number of negroes and cattle. This conquest is said to have cost the *French* so dear, by the loss of their best officers and men, that they set fire to all the principal buildings on the island, excepting those belonging to the *Irish* Roman Catholics, who readily submitted to their power, and took the oaths to their government. It is thought that on this occasion forty sugar-houses, besides several rich warehouses were destroyed, and so many of the *Irish* multiplied upon the island, that it was looked upon to be an *Irish* colony; but it afterwards reverted to the crown of *England*. This island (by means which are improper here to be enquired into) was a favourite settlement in the reigns of *Charles* and *James II.* and was chiefly planted by *Irish* Roman Catholics, several of whom got large estates. Under colonel *Codrington*, when he was governor of the *Leeward-Islands*, colonel *Blackstone* was governor of *Montserrat*, which was almost destroyed by the earthquake that happened in 1692. When general *Codrington* undertook his expedition against *St. Christopher's*, this island furnished

*It is almost
destroyed
by an
earth-
quake.*

nished him with 300 men, who were commanded by colonel *Blackstone*. Colonel *Hill* succeeded *Blackstone* as deputy-governor of *Montserrat*; but his health obliging him to remove to *England*, he died at *Pembroke* on the 21st of *August*, 1697.

It is thought that about this time the island of *Montserrat* contained between 4 and 5000 white inhabitants, and 8000 negroes, which discouraged the *French* from attempting to reduce it at the time they fell upon *Nevis*. During *Park's* government of the *Leeward-Islands*, *Anthony Hodges*, Esq; was lieutenant-governor of *Montserrat*, and, like the other lieutenant-governors, he was assisted by a council and an assembly regularly appointed and chosen, as well as by other officers civil and military. After *Park's* arrival in the *West-Indies*, intelligence being received that the *French* had a design upon *Montserrat*, a sloop was immediately sent to Mr. *Hodges* the lieutenant-governor, to put him upon his guard, and to inform him that upon the first appearance of the *French*, he should be assisted by the men of war, and the regiment that was then lying at *Antigua*. This sloop was intercepted by the *French*, who, upon reading the dispatches, did not think proper to proceed in their attempt against *Montserrat* at that time. Two years after, it was attacked by *Montf. Coffart* at the head of 3500 men, whom he landed in *Car's-Bay*. This was a force more than sufficient for such a conquest, and the inhabitants retired with their best effects to *Dodon's Fort*, which was very strongly situated, leaving the *French* for ten days in the possession of the rest of the island. They took and burnt all the shipping in the road, excepting one vessel, which made its escape, and then they returned to *Guadaloupe*. This violence happening at a time when the negotiations for peace were in dependence, the *British* plenipotentiaries at the treaty of *Utrecht* insisted upon the sufferers receiving an indemnification; and some stipulations of that kind were insisted in the eleventh article of that treaty: but the sufferers never received any satisfaction, but they afterwards obtained from the *British* parliament.

THE people of *Montserrat* seem by no means to have been so much exasperated, as those of *Antigua* were, against colonel *Park's* government; for they even drew up addresses in vindication of it; and *Park's* friends have industriously represented all the opposition he met with, to his discouraging the pernicious practice of smuggling in the islands under his government. Nothing remarkable happened relating to *Montserrat*, till general *Matthews* was governor of the *Leeward Islands*; when, on the 30th of *June*, 1733, *Montserrat* was almost desolated by one of the most dreadful hurricanes ever

Conquered
by the
French,

favour-
able to co-
lonel *Park*,

ever known in the *West-Indies*. The effects of this storm, as transmitted to *England*, are next to incredible; and the loss which the island sustained, exclusive of lives and the shipping, was, by a moderate computation, reckoned to be about 50,000*l*. Soon after this, the people of *Montserrat*, and some others of the *British Leeward Islands*, began to look with an evil eye upon the illicit trade carried on between some of their neighbours, the people of *Barbados* especially; and the *French* and *Spaniards*. As this trade was pernicious to all government, both the *British* and *French* courts, as well as that of *Spain*, had issued very severe orders for suppressing it; and Mr. *Matthews*, when in *Montserrat*, passed an act for the more effectual preventing all trade in these parts between his majesty's subjects and the *French*. The people of *Montserrat* exerted themselves with a laudable zeal, and to the great benefit of their mother-country, in carrying this act into execution; for they seized several *French* smuggling vessels, which were condemned in their courts of admiralty.

Its natural history.

THE island of *Montserrat*, as to its climate, soil, animals, commerce, and other particulars of that kind, is pretty much the same with the other *English Caribbean Islands*. The mountains upon it produce cedars, cypress-tree, the iron-tree, with other woods, and some odoriferous shrubs. It is well watered and fruitful, and the planters here formerly raised a great deal of indigo. The seas surrounding this island produce some hideous monsters, particularly two, which, from their remarkable ugliness, as well as the poisonous quality of their flesh, are called sea-devils. The lamantine, by some called the sea-cow, is found in this island, and generally at the entrance of fresh-water rivers. According to the accounts we have of it, it is an amphibious creature, and lives mostly upon herbage. Its flesh is reckoned very wholesome food when salted, and they are so large, that two or three of them loads a canoe. Some of the *West-Indians* are very fond of certain small stones, which are sometimes found in the head of this animal, and which they pretend, when powdered, dissolve stones in the kidneys.

T A B A G O.

Tabago, its situation.

TABAGO lies near forty leagues south by west from *Barbados*, about thirty-five leagues south-east from *St. Vincent*, forty leagues east from *Granada*, twelve leagues north-east from *Trinidad*, and between thirty and forty leagues north-east from the *Spanish Main*. It is thirty-two miles in length, from south-east to north-west, and about nine

nine broad from east to west ; the whole being above seventy miles in circumference ; so that it is rather larger than *Barbados*, or indeed any of our *Leeward Islands* ; and near the north-east extremity there lies a small island, called *Little Tabago*, which is two miles in length, and the half in breadth. *Tabago* was first discovered by *Columbus*, in 1498, but we know of no settlement that he or any of his countrymen made upon the island. When an adventurous spirit for discoveries of every kind prevailed in *England* under queen *Elizabeth*, *Sir Robert Dudley*, the lawful son of the famous earl of *Leicester*, in an expedition he made against *Trinidad*, gave the *English* government the first hint of peopling *Tabago*, which was then uninhabited by any *European* nation : but this proposal met with but small encouragement. *William* earl of *Pembroke*, in the year 1628, obtained a grant of this island, with that of *Berbuda* and *St. Bernard*. Being a great patron of new settlements, and considerably engaged in the discoveries and undertakings that were then on foot in *America*, there is little reason to doubt that he intended to people *Tabago* ; but his death happening in less than two years after, the design came to nothing. About the year 1632, some *Zealanders* having fitted out a small squadron for trading to those islands, took so great a liking to this island, that upon their return home, the company of merchants to which they belonged, undertook to settle it, and gave it the name of *New Walcheren*, one of the most considerable islands in *Zealand* ; and from the information of this company, that excellent *Dutch* geographer *de Laet*, has been enabled to give us a better account of *Tabago* than of any of the other *Caribbee Islands*. The new colony in a short time increased to about 200, who, finding themselves pestered by the visits of the *Caribbean Indians*, which they were unable to prevent, they began to erect a fort for their preservation. The barbarians, upon this, applied themselves for assistance to the *Spaniards*, who readily granted it ; for they sent a force upon the island, which demolished the rising fort, and exterminated the new colony.

It was probably from the resort of some *Dutch* merchants to *Courland*, that first gave the hint to *James* duke of *Courland* for settling *Tabago*. He was a prince of a stirring, active disposition, and finding that there was room for such a settlement, he sent over a colony of his own subjects, who settled upon what has been since called *Great Courland-Bay*, and erected a small regular fort, with a town, in the neighbourhood. To the fort they gave the name of *James*, in honour of their own sovereign, who was named after *James*

I. of *Great Britain*. Here they lived so inoffensively, that they remained unmolested, either by the *Caribbeans* or the *Spaniards*; and they found its soil so kindly, that the colony in a short time had an excellent appearance. They were supplied, from their own country, with all kinds of utensils, and they flourished to such a degree, as to awaken the jealousy of the *Dutch*, who revived their claim upon the island. In 1654, two wealthy *Dutch* merchants, Mess. *Adrian*, and *Cornelius Lampsius*, of *Flushing*, fitted out some ships, who landed a considerable number of their countrymen upon *Tabago*; but found the *Courlanders* in no disposition to yield them possession of the island, which, they said, they held under the authority of their own sovereign. The *Courlanders* were too powerful to be dispossessed; but the *Dutch* took possession of a different part of the island, which is now called *Rockley-Bay*, acknowledging themselves to be under the protection of the duke of *Courland*, who suffered a melancholy reverse of fortune in *Europe*.

The former obtain the island. THIS duke had obtained a neutrality in the war between *Poland* and *Sweden*; but having given umbrage to *Charles Gustavus* of *Sweden*, he was taken prisoner in 1658, and carried first to *Riga*, and next to *Ivanagorod*. The news of the duke's disaster, who had been indefatigable in improving his country and its marine, reaching *Tabago*, the *Dutch* immediately besieged *Fort James*, which by the mutiny of the garrison was given up to them, and thereby they claimed possession of the whole island; but still promising to restore *Fort James* as soon as the duke should recover his liberty. By this time, the court of *France*, by one of those arbitrary deeds which is founded on ambition only, had inserted *Tabago* among the other islands that were granted to their *West-India* company; and the *Dutch* planters of *Tabago* thought that to be a good opportunity for establishing themselves under so powerful a protection. *Lampsius*, accordingly, in *August* 1662, had so much interest at the court of *France*, as to procure letters patent from *Lewis XIV.* creating him baron of *Tabago*, and they were registred the year following in the parliament of *Paris*. *Lampsius*, soon after, prevailed upon the *Dutch West-India* company to resign to him all their right in *Tabago*, and becoming thus the proprietor of the island, under the crown of *France*, he sent over Mr. *Hubert de Beveren* as his governor of the same. The new governor projected many public works and buildings to put the island upon a respectable footing. He called the town which his countrymen had built *Lampsinburgh*, and he gave the same name to the harbour, as also to a regular fortress which he erected at the

same time. He likewise built *Fort Beveren*, and laid the foundation of a new town, which he intended to call *New-Flushing*; besides raising several other forts for the security of the colony. As to the planters, they proceeded with great spirit. They laid out fine cacao-walks, which served equally the purposes of beauty and profit; they erected indigo-works and sugar-mills; and in short, *Tabago* then seemed in a condition to rival the most flourishing of the *English West-Indian* settlements.

The treaty of *Oliva* having restored the duke of *Courland* to his liberty, he demanded of the States-General, the restitution of *Fort James* and his establishment at *Tabago*. This application was treated with great neglect, and the *Lampfins* sent orders to their governor in *Tabago* to be upon his guard, and to put the island in the best posture of defence he could. The duke finding himself thus injured, applied himself in 1664 to *Charles II.* of *England*; who, on *November* the 17th, that year, granted to him in property, the island of *Tobago*, on consideration of certain services reserved to the crown of *Great Britain*; and upon condition, that none shall inhabit the said island, save only the subjects of the king of *England*, and the duke of *Courland*, their heirs and successors. This grant was duly intimated to the States-General; but this intimation had no other effect than putting the *Dutch* of *Tobago* still more upon their guard; especially, as a war between them and *England* appeared at that time to be unavoidable. We are destitute of any regular information concerning the operations of the two powers in the *West-Indies*; because most of them were undertaken by private adventurers, either *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*, who have given us no account of their proceedings. All we know is in general, that in the first *Dutch* war, the *English* privateers destroyed the *Dutch* forts and colony upon *Tabago*. In the succeeding war, which the *French* and the *Dutch* carried on against *England*, the *English* were dispossessed in their turn of this island, and the *Dutch* reinstated in it by the *French* governor of *Grenada*. It afterwards served as a rendezvous for the combined fleets of the two nations, who thereby did prodigious damage to the *English* trade; insomuch, that it was thought our *West-Indian* possessions must have been ruined, had not the *English* admiral, *Sir John Harman*, before the end of the war, attacked and defeated their joint squadrons, and totally destroyed the remains of that of *France*, which he pursued to *St. Christopher's*.

WE are not here critically to examine the right which *Charles II.* had to grant the property of this island to the duke

It is conquered by the French.

duke of Courland; but it appears to have been more valid than the *French* grant, because it was founded upon prior rights, and particularly upon the deed made to the earl of *Pembroke*. Notwithstanding this, the *Dutch*, even after the defeat of their fleet, and that of their allies, not only kept possession of *Tabago*, but fortified it, in five years time, with three strong forts, and a numerous artillery, so that it was considered to be impregnable to all the force the *English* could bring against it. Sir *Tobias Bridges*, however, in 1673, made a descent upon *Tabago*, and not only plundered it, but carried of 400 of the inhabitants prisoners. The peace which succeeded between the *English* and the *Dutch* next year, left the latter once more in possession of *Tabago*, and they even conquered from the *French* the island of *Cayenne*. *Lewis XIV.* was then in the height of his glory, and the vice-admiral of *France* the count *D'Etrees*, sailing to the *West-Indies* with a large armament, reconquered *Cayenne*, and appeared before *Tabago*. *James Binkes*, the admiral of *Zealand*, was then lying in *Great Rockley-Harbour* with a stout squadron of *Dutch* ships, which were attacked by sea and land by the count on the 3d of *March*, 1677. The engagement was desperate, and the count's ship, called the *Glorieux*, of seventy guns, with several others being blown up, he was obliged to retire, but not before he had destroyed great part of the *Dutch* squadron in port. This action gave the count so much credit with his own court, that he was reinforced with a stronger squadron towards the end of the year, to complete the reduction of the island. Having landed his men, he regularly invested the chief fort of the island, which he found to be so strong, that he was obliged to bombard it. The third bomb he threw in fell upon a magazine of powder, which blew up the fortress, together with admiral *Binkes*, and the greatest part of the officers and garrison. The count then completed the reduction of the island, and on the 27th of *December* the same year, utterly destroyed the *Dutch* colony upon it; an event which was celebrated by his master on a pompous medal struck upon the occasion.

WE are at a loss to know what measures the court of *England* and the duke of *Courland* were taking all this time towards settling the island in terms of the duke's grant; but it is certain, that the duke was not idle, and that about the year 1682, he covenanted with one captain *John Poyntz*, for settling 120,000 acres of land with the subjects of *England* and *Courland* upon the following terms, the publication of which, as that island is now entirely ceded to *Great Britain*, cannot fail of being agreeable to our readers: " *Imprimis*,
That

Captain
Poyntz
undertakes
to settle it
under the
duke of
Courland.

His terms.

That 120,000 acres of land, in the said island of *Tabago*, is given and granted to myself and company, and our heirs for ever; and seven years to be free from the payment of any rent; and after the expiration of seven years, each for himself is to pay two-pence per acre every year, to the duke, his lawful heirs and successors. Secondly, That myself and company, and all the inhabitants, shall enjoy liberty of conscience without interruption, Roman catholics only excepted. Thirdly, That myself and company, &c. are to be governed by a governor, deputy-governor, and assembly, to be yearly chosen by the majority of freeholder's votes of the people in the island, to make good and wholesome laws for the good government and defence of the said island; and all controversies in the premises, to be decided by the majority of voices."

Mr. *Poyntz* afterwards published other proposals for the ^{and farther} encouragement of his intended colony, by which, ^{these propo-} every one who inclined to become a planter might have as ^{sals.} much land as he pleased, either by lease or purchase, provided he put one white man to every fifteen acres of land, and so in proportion to other quantities. Mr. *Poyntz* next proposed to give better encouragement to all servants upon the island than any that had yet been given in any *English* settlement in *America*. All planters, and others concerned, were to have credit given them from crop to crop for what they should stand in need of; for which purpose, the company was to erect a bank, or factory, of credit in the island, the debtor only allowing two and a half per cent. The fourth article of encouragement was as follows: "All merchants and others, that shall import any negroes, or other merchandize, into the said island, shall have their goods and debts insured, and disposed of for two and a half per cent. with factorage, storage, and wharfage; and exported again for two and a half per cent. more. And all tradesmen and others, that contract any debts against themselves, shall have credit given them out of the bank or factory, from crop to crop, for two and a half per cent: and the proprietors to engage their whole interest for the true performance of the foresaid premises." By the fifth article, such persons as contracted with the proprietors before the first shipping departed out of the river *Thames*, to ship off goods or people for the island, but had not ready money to purchase land, or to pay for their own and their servants passage, their goods were to be received as money.

ALL the mighty expectations of profit and advantage from ^{become in-} this island, was built upon the fertility of its soil in producing ^{effe&ual.} tobacco and cacao-nuts; and the vast profit which the *Spaniards*

niards at *Trinidad*, notwithstanding the heavy imposts they paid, made of those commodities. It was particularly asserted, that an *Englishman*, settled upon *Tabago*, could purchase, for fifteen pounds, a negroe, who must cost a *Spaniard* an hundred; and that a *Spaniard* pays sixpence or more, for every thing that an *Englishman* could have bought for a penny. All those, and many other considerations, even at this time, require attention. It is certain, that these proposals being published under the authority of the duke of *Courland's* grant from the crown of *England*, the same was quietly submitted to at that time by all the powers of *Europe*; and even the *French* king refused to give a new grant of the island, though he had conquered it; because, as he said, it belonged to a neutral prince who had given him no provocation: nor do we perceive, that the States-General themselves had any thing to object to Mr. *Poyntz's* proposals when he republished them, under the patronage of king *William*. The truth is, that monarch, as we have had occasion more than once to observe, was not fond of encouraging any commercial schemes that clashed with the interest of *Spain*.

Tabago
reverts to
the crown
of Eng-
land,

UPON the extinction of the *Kettler* family, dukes of *Courland*, in the person of *Ferdinand*, son to duke *James*, the chief of the island of *Tabago* reverted to the crown of *England* in 1737, and our government asserted its right to it. The *Dutch*, however, revived their claim to the island, and even suffered their *West-India* company to grant to one of their subjects a commission for the government of *Tabago*. As to the court of *France*, its conduct was unaccountable to absurdity; for though by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, *Tabago* was one of the four islands that were declared to be neutral, yet the marquis *de Caylus*, then governor of the *French* islands, maintained that it belonged to that crown, and even sent troops and men to fortify and settle it. The governor of *Barbados* receiving undoubted intelligence of this breach of the treaty, sent captain, now admiral, *Tyrrel*, in his majesty's ship the *Chesterfield*, to oppose so manifest a violation of all good faith; while the duke of *Bedford*, who was then secretary of state, and the earl of *Albemarle* the *British* ambassador at *Paris*, made such strenuous remonstrances on the same head, that the *French* court disavowed the proceedings of *de Caylus*, whom they ordered home, and commanded their settle-

to which it
is ceded by
the treaty
of Fon-
tainbleau.

ment of the island to be discontinued. In this state it remained till the definitive treaty concluded at *Paris*, by its ninth article gave *Tabago* in full right to *Great Britain*, after which the government of it was bestowed upon colonel *Mel-*

vil.

HAVING thus exhibited the civil and military history of *Tabago*, the reader will easily perceive from the various contests which it has occasioned, that it must in itself be of uncommon value, which renders it the more necessary for us to give a description of its natural and other advantages. A few *Indians*, while it was in its state of neutrality, were its only settled inhabitants, and they lived in huts on the sea-coast, towards the northern extremity of the island. Those *Indians* are by nature far more tractable than the other *Caribbeans*; and though they are distractedly fond of liberty, there is no doubt, but that very passion might prevail with them to enjoy it, under the mild protection of a *British* government. A short time, and good usage, will reconcile them to the more polished habits of life, and as they are delighted with toys and utensils, a few presents of that kind might in time render them extremely serviceable to the first *British* planters of the island. The climate of *Tabago* is far more temperate than could be expected in an island that is but 11 deg. 10 min. north from the equator; for the force of the sun is diminished by the sea-breezes. The *Dutch*, when they first settled the island, thought that it was unwholesome; but as they proceeded in clearing it, its salubrity increased, and this they partly attributed to the aromatic exhalations of the spice and gum-trees, with which the soil every where abounds. *Tabago* has another favourable circumstance to recommend it, by its lying out of the tract of those hurricanes that prove so fatal to the other *West-India* islands; and consequently, it is not liable to those blasts that sometimes destroy the most promising harvests upon them.

THE surface of the island is unequal, and agreeably diversified with risings and fallings; but no part of it is rugged or impassable, though its northwest extremity is mountainous. Its soil is of different kinds, but in general its mould is rich and black, and proper for producing in the greatest plenty, whatever is raised in other parts of the *West-Indies*. The abundance of springs upon the island contributes to its healthfulness, and its bays and creeks are so disposed as to be very commodious for all kind of shipping. It is, however, to be remarked, that its situation requires fortifications to render the island secure against the visits of savages and enemies. This is a most important consideration for the government of *Great-Britain*, as, without such fortifications, the natural richness of the island serves but to render it the more inviting to invaders. But the valuable timber which grows on *Tabago*, is, perhaps, the greatest riches; for, besides its producing the different kinds of wood that are to be found in

Trees.

the other *West-Indian* islands, the *Dutch* affirm, that both the true nutmeg-tree, and the cinnamon-tree, with that which produces the real gum copal, grows upon this island. Though the *Dutch* can scarcely be supposed to be deceived in the natural properties of those trees, which they acknowledge to be different in some respects from those in their *East Indies*, and their other *Asiatic* plantations; yet a great doubt remains whether they are the original productions of *Tabago*, or whether they had not been imported and planted there from the *East-Indies*. Though the latter is the most probable opinion, yet, as the fact itself, which is undisputed, evinces, that those rich spices may be cultivated upon the island, it renders it an object highly deserving the attention of the public; especially, as sugar itself was imported into the *West-Indies* from *Europe*; and the same may be said of other commodities that now become staple ones in *America*.

Mr. *Blome*, who in the year 1687, wrote the present state of our *American* islands, says, that the soil naturally produces *Indian* corn, such as grows in *Virginia*, *New-York*, and *Carolina*; but that no *English* grain, excepting peas, beans, and pulse, can be raised there; and that the island produces *Guinea* corn, *French* beans, and various kind of peas. He mentions the cushion-apple, which, he says, is both meat and drink, and that an excellent lamp-oil may be made out of its rind when green. The fig-trees upon *Tabago* are reckoned equal to those in *Spain* and *Portugal*. The prickle-apple, the banana, the pomegranate, the pine-apple, and several other rich fruits, grow here. The oranges which grow here are said, by our author^s, to be of three kinds, or rather to serve three purposes, the four or bitter one for sauce, their flowers for essences, and their sweet-ones, which here are excellent, for eating. Lemons and limes of both kinds, viz. four and sweet, are found in plenty upon this island; and the marmalade, which is made of its guavas, yields to none.

Plantanes.

Plantanes, that food which is so useful in supporting the negroes, to whom it is very agreeable, grow here of an excellent kind, as do tamarinds. Though the island produces great quantities of grapes, which are very delicious when eaten off the cluster, yet we know of no wine that ever was made here; and yet it is very probable, that a little culture and perseverance might raise wine equal to any in *Europe*. The custard-apple, the four-apple, the papaw-apple, the mamme-apple, and the yellow plum are plentiful here. The cherries that grow upon the island are but indifferent. The socoa-

^s Ibid, p. 248.

nut tree grows here to such perfection, that the *Indians* call it God's-tree, as producing both meat, drink, and cloathing. Musk, cucumbers, and water-melons thrive here, as do pomkins and gourds. The inhabitants make use of potatoes as bread. They likewise have yams, carrots, turnips, parsnips, onions, and cassada-root. The author last quoted ^h, though he wrote almost fourscore years ago, bears an ample testimony of all that is said at present in favour of this island; for he tells us, that besides cinnamon, it naturally produces tea, with five different sorts of pepper, the long, the cod, the bell, the round, and the *Jamaica*; all which grow upon the island, without culture. Notwithstanding this, we cannot think that those are natives of *Tabago*; but they sufficiently prove, that all the products of the *East-Indies* may be cultivated there.

ACCORDING to the same author, wild hogs abounded so much upon *Tabago*, that the people cut off at least 20,000 ^{wild hogs} of them every year, without their being sensibly diminished. The pickery of *Tabago* resembles a hog, and it contains numbers of armadilloes, guanoes, which are of the alligator-kind; *Indian-conies*, and badgers, which are particularly fond of and familiar with men. Horses, cows, asses, sheep, deer, goats, and rabbits, were probably introduced by the *Dutch*, and their breeds are still to be found upon the island. Its shores are stored with excellent fish, particularly with turtle of every kind, and mullets of a most delicious taste, with other kinds unknown in *England*. In short, no island, perhaps, in the world, can boast of such variety of fishes, both shell and others, as *Tabago* can; so that it would be too tedious to particularize them. The same may be said of their fowl, and, according to the above author, the "commodities ^{and other} which the country doth or may produce, are, cacao-nut, ^{commodi-} sugar, tobacco, indico, ginger, sarsaparilla, semper-vivum, ^{ties.} bees-wax, vinillioes, natural balsam, balm, silk-grass, green tar, soap-earth, with many curious shells, stones, markasites, and minerals, found up and down the island of *Tabago*, whose virtue and worth are yet unknown."

^h Ibid. p. 249

The BAHAMA ISLANDS.

Discovery
of the
Bahama
Islands,

THOSE islands lie the most easterly of all the *Antilles*, and to the north of the isle of *Cuba*, and east and south-east from the *Spanish Florida*, stretching from north-east to south-west, between the 21st and 28th degree of north-latitude, and between 72. and 81. of western-longitudeⁱ. By this situation, it is plain, they lie out of the course of ships bound for the *American* continent, which most probably was the reason why they were so lately taken notice of by the *English*. They were first discovered by the famous *Columbus*; and the island of *Guanaham*, now called the *Isle of Providence*, is laid down in *Bry's* map of the *West Indies*, published in 1594, as are likewise *Bahama* and *Lucaya*; but they are mentioned in such a manner, that it is plain the geographers had but very imperfect notions either of the situation of that, or any other of those islands. *Benzoni*, one of the first navigators to *America*, says, that the sailor, who first discovered land, and called out that he saw a fire, was denied the reward that was promised to the first discovery; and that he afterwards went to *Africa*, where he turned Mahometan (X). Whatever may be in this, it is pretty certain, that *Guanahani* was the first *American* land that was discovered by *Columbus*; who no sooner approached it, than he went into his boat, and landing^k, he fell upon his knees, and most devoutly thanked God for making him the instrument of publishing his gospel in the New World. He then ordered a tree to be cut down, and erected a cross in its place, and gave it the name of *San Salvadore*, taking possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty.

By Colum-
bus.

COLUMBUS perceiving that the island was small, and the islanders (who appeared to have no sensation but amazement

ⁱ System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 692.

(X) The pretext for this injustice, was, that *Salvedo*, a domestic of *Columbus*, affirmed, that his master, two hours before, had declared he had seen the same fire. As this declaration was not public, but communicated to a *Spanish* gentleman on board, the poor sailor

had a right to complain; so that we must conclude, it was either not in the power of *Columbus* (on account of the opposition he met with) to reward him, or that he himself was immeasurably fond of the honour of being the first discoverer.

^k *BENZONI*, p. 34. apud *DE BRY*. *PETER MARTYR*, *ibid*.

at the sight of the ships and their new guests) were but poor, and gathering from their signs, that the little gold they had among them, came from the westward, or the southward, he carried off with him some of the natives to assist him in his future discoveries; but it is certain, that he made no settlement upon *St. Salvador*, or as it is now called, *Providence*, or any of the *Babama Islands*. Though we cannot suppose those to have been long unknown to the *English*, yet one captain *Sayle*, who was bound for *Carolina*, in the year 1667, is the first *Englishman* mentioned to have landed upon it, which he was obliged to do by stress of weather. Upon his return to *England* that same year, he made so favourable a report of the *Babama Islands* in general to his employers, the proprietaries of *Carolina*, that six of them applied for, and obtained, a grant, for that of *Providence*, or as it is sometimes called, *New Providence*, and of the *Babama Islands* in general, between the latitudes of 22 and 27 degrees. The names of their first proprietaries were *George* duke of *Albemarle*, *William* lord *Craven*, *Sir George* *Carteret*, *John* lord *Berkley*, *Anthony* lord *Ashley*, and *Sir Peter* *Colliton*. But tho' this was the first legal settlement made of the *Babamas*, it appears from many evidences, that they had long before been (the island of *Providence* particularly) a shelter for pirates, and a disorderly set of people, who lived either upon the wrecks of the ships driven upon those dangerous coasts, or by supplying the mariners, who approached them, with liquors and other necessaries.

Settled by
English
proprietaries.

CAPTAIN Sayle, in a second visit he paid, or was obliged to pay, to the island of *Providence*, discovered the vast advantage the possession of those islands would be of to the people of *England*, and made the government so sensible of it, that they resolved, about the year 1672, to send a governor and some settlers thither; and the first governor pitched upon was one *Mr. Chillingworth*, a gentleman of character and capacity. By this time, the natives of the *Babamas*, though they were reckoned to be by far the most harmless of any in the *West-Indies*, had been either barbarously butchered or carried off by the *Spaniards* and pirates; but *Mr. Chillingworth* found a far more unruly set of men to deal with. *England* was at that time over-run by dissolute people of both sexes, many of whom embraced the encouragement given by the government, by shipping themselves for *New Providence*, which was represented as a perfect paradise. Those meeting with the pirates and coasters already settled there, the whole formed so ungovernable a colony, that *Mr. Chillingworth*, in endeavouring to reclaim them, was himself shipped off for *Jamaica* in *Jamaica*.

Chillingworth,
governor,

is forcibly
sent to
in Jamaica:

in a forcible tumultuous manner, and an unrestrained anarchy ensued among the settlers.

THOSE disorders continued for some years, neither the government nor the proprietaries being at the expence of checking them. At last, one Mr. *Clark* accepted of a proprietary commission to be governor. The *Spaniards*, who had fomented all the disorders of the former colony, no sooner understood that the *English* intended to resettle the island, than they invaded it, destroyed all the stock, and burnt the cottages of the inhabitants; and it is said, that having carried off the governor in chains, they afterwards cruelly put him to death. After this depopulation, this island, and all the other *Bahamas*, which are supposed to consist of near 500, but most of them barren rocks, were abandoned, the *English* removing to *Carolina* and other settlements. At the time this disaster happened, the chief town of the island, which has been since called *Nassau*, consisted of 150 houses. Nothing could have prevailed upon the *English* government to have been at any farther expence about the *Bahamas*, but the vast consequence of their situation, especially in war-time. This was so evident, that before the Revolution, a great many people, both from *England* and the continent of *America*, removed thither; and by the year 1690, *New Providence* became so populous, that the proprietaries thought it worth their while to appoint one *Cadwallader Jones* to be their governor; and he accordingly arrived there on the 19th of *June*.

Clark,
governor,

murdered
by the
Spaniards.

Jones,
governor,

THERE is one reason for believing that the new colonists retained the spirit of their predecessors. *Jones*, by all accounts, was of a rough, arbitrary disposition; and probably for that reason was made choice of by the proprietaries to manage so mutinous a set; and indeed it seems to be chiefly owing to him, that the government of the *Bahamas* was reduced into any form; for in his time, mention is made of counsellors and assembly-men, though we can say little as to their qualifications. If we are to believe the enemies of *Jones*, (especially one *Bulkley*) the whole of his government was oppressive, treasonable, and even sometimes frantic (Y). But, indeed, great allowances are to be made for the genius of the people he had to govern, which might oblige him to follow measures that were not strictly warrantable, and render him not very fond of assemblies. At first he was treated with great respect, but every day producing new quarrels between

(Y) This *Bulkley* wrote and published a most shocking account of his sufferings under *Jones*, which he entitled, An Appeal to *Cæsar*.

him and the people of the island, Mr. *Bulkley*, who was his capital enemy, exhibited (before the council we suppose) a charge of high-treason against him; upon which he was arrested, and thrown into prison. The council, upon this, published a proclamation, informing the inhabitants of the *Bahama Islands*, that the government was devolved upon them and their president, Mr. *Gilbert Ashley*, whom they were required to look upon as their governor. This proclamation, which was dated the 24th of *January*, was signed by two deputies of the proprietaries, and five of the assembly-men. *Jones*, who perhaps, knew his cause to be none of the best, applied to compromise matters with *Bulkley*, who, notwithstanding all the offers made him, remained inexorable, and entered into a recognizance of 500 *l.* to prosecute him. *Jones*, upon this, acted as a man of spirit; for he assembled the people of the island, and they delivered him by main force from his imprisonment, where they placed his accuser *Bulkley* in his room. It was no wonder if the latter, as he most grievously complains, met with very severe usage under his confinement; especially as it does not appear that he was backed by the council. He, however, at last, obtained his enlargement, upon his delivering up his books; but on the arrival of one Mr. *Graves*, with a proper commission from *England*, he was put in irons, under a charge of high-treason, for his proceedings against the governor. If we are to believe his own representation, several designs were laid to murder him; but those charges most probably were false or aggravated, for he remained in custody all the remaining time of *Jones's* government.

THE proprietaries by this time were sensible, that it would be highly improper to continue *Jones* longer in the government, and one Mr. *Trott* was appointed to succeed him. Under him Mr. *Bulkley* took his trial, and was acquitted; and, at the same time, *Jones* was suffered to depart without any censure. *Bulkley* afterwards applied to the *English* government for damages, which he laid at 4000 *l.* but though his papers were referred to the secretary of state, we do not find that he obtained any compensation. Under Mr. *Trott* the town of *Nassau* recovered its former figure, and its houses amounted to about 160, provided with a church, and a fort to protect the town, mounted with 28 guns, besides demi-culverins. Before this fort could be built, the ship of the famous pirate *Avery*, which carried 46 guns, and 100 stout men, arrived at *Providence*; and though, if he had landed, the governor could not have opposed him with more than 70 men, yet his crew paid for all the refreshments they called for,

for, as most of them very possibly were themselves *Bahama-men*. Soon after his leaving the island, both it and two other of the *Bahamas*, *Harbour-Island*, and *Eleuthera*, with a few other smaller ones, grew so populous, that they could muster above 200 men; and though the *French* paid them several unwelcome visits, yet, by the help of their fort, they made so good a countenance, that they suffered little, or no loss.

Webb,
governor.

IN 1697, the lords-proprietaries, with the approbation of his majesty king *William*, appointed *Nicholas Webb*, Esq; to the government of the *Bahama Islands*. *New Providence*, in this gentleman's time, enjoyed, for some time, a tolerable state of tranquillity; and it was reckoned to contain about 400 negroes. One Mr. *Lightwood*, who was afterwards governor, endeavoured to set up a sugar-work upon *New Providence*, the soil of the island being very proper for that commodity; but the very means employed by a good governor to improve this colony, served to weaken it; because the pirates, finding now no harbour in the *Bahamas*, no longer spent their money with the inhabitants, who being, at the same time, refrained from the cruel practice of plundering wrecks, their restless spirit grew with their poverty. Perpetual altercations happening between them and their governors, their differences were by the lords-proprietors generally referred to the government of *South-Carolina*, which gave matter of discontent equally to the people and the governor; for they complained, that they were treated only as a dependent province of that colony.

Hasket,
governor.

ABOUT the year 1700, while matters were in this untowardly state, one *Elias Hasket*, Esq; succeeded Mr. *Webb* in the government of the *Bahamas*; but he was scarcely settled in his government, when disagreeing with the inhabitants, they put him in irons, and sent him off the island; and by their own authority they chose *Ellis Lightwood*, Esq. We know of no resentment shewn on this occasion by the proprietaries. Mr. *Lightwood* seems to have remained in possession of the government till the year 1703, when the dissensions, that still prevailed on the island, encouraged the *French* and *Spaniards*, who were then at war with *Great Britain*, to make a descent upon it from *Petit Guaves*. The island was then completely ruined. The town of *Nassau* and its church were burnt down, the fort dismantled, its guns nailed up, and the governor, with half the negroes, were carried off prisoners. As to the white inhabitants, their enemies seem to have taken very little concern about them, and they retired to the woods till the danger was over. Returning from thence, and finding the island entirely ruined, they found means to remove themselves to other settlements. The proprietaries

Light-
wood,
governor.

prietaries had taken so little concern in the affairs of *New Providence*, that they did not even know of the catastrophe which had happened; and they named one *Birch* to the go- *Birch*, go-
 vernment of *New Providence*; but when he went thither, he *vernor*.
 found it entirely abandoned; so he was obliged to take up his habitation in the woods, and he returned home without opening his commission. The *Isle of Providence* after this became once more a residence for pirates and free-booters of all kinds and nations, especially *English* and *Irish*, who committed more depredations upon the *British* trade than both the *French* and *Spaniards*. The intelligent part of the nation saw and bewailed this; but the little care which was taken during queen *Anne's* time, to protect our *West-Indian* commerce, prevented any remedy being applied. At last, the house of lords in *March*, 1714, addressed the queen, to put the *Island of Providence* in a posture of defence, observing, at the same time, that "it would be of fatal consequence, if the *Bahama Islands* should fall into the hands of an enemy; and beseeching her majesty to take the said islands into her own hands, and give such order for their security, as to her royal wisdom she should think fit." No regard was paid to the address by the then tory ministry, on pretence of the proprietary right, though that right certainly was extinguished by the inattention of the proprietaries to the affairs of the colony. After the accession of king *George I.* the neglected state of the *Bahama Islands*, and the vast encrease of piracies in the *West-Indies*, became again matters of very serious consideration; and the lords, in another address, complained, that "there were not any the least means used in compliance with their advice, for securing the *Bahama Islands*; and that then the pirates had a lodgment with a battery on *Harbour-Island*, and that the usual retreat, and general receptacle for the pirates are at *Providence*." Upon this address, his majesty gave orders for fortifying and settling the island, and for dislodging the pirates.

THE execution of this plan was committed to captain *Wood Rogers*. *Rogers*, a celebrated navigator, who in the year 1718, sailed as *governor*.
 governor of *Providence* with a force sufficient to reduce the pirates. Before his arrival, governor *Bennet* of *Bermudas* had sent a sloop to *Providence*, requiring the pirates to surrender themselves, by which they were entitled to the benefit of a late proclamation for pardon. About an hundred and fifty of the pirates, among whom were several of their captains, gladly accepted of this summons, and surrendered themselves. Upon the arrival of *Rogers* at *Providence* in *July* 1718, *Vane* one of the outstanding captains of the pirates, converted one of his prizes

The island
cleared of
pirates,

prizes into a fire-ship; by which he attempted to burn the *Rose* frigate which narrowly escaped, while *Vane* and fifty of his men got off in a sloop. When *Rogers* landed, he found upon the island about 300 men capable of bearing arms; many of whom had been pirates themselves, and none of them under any apprehensions from that wicked fraternity; but all of them very determined to defend themselves against the *French* and *Spaniards*, which, by the assistance of an hundred regulars *Rogers* brought along with him, they were soon in a condition to do. The first measure of *Rogers's* government was to take possession of the ruined fort, and to read his majesty's commission to him, as governor, in the presence of all the inhabitants of the island. It must be acknowledged; that the plan upon which he acted was as moderate as it was wise; for he admitted to the benefit of the proclamation about 200 of the remaining pirates who surrendered themselves. In settling his council, that he might restore a form of government to the island, he nominated six adventurers who attended him from *England*, and had the good fortune to meet with six inhabitants of the island who pretended they never had been pirates, with whom he filled up the remaining number. He himself had been appointed captain of the independent company which came with him; and the judge of the admiralty, the collector of the customs, the chief justice, the secretary, the register, the provost-marshal, and the naval officers, had their commissions from *England*; and the colony throve so well that it soon amounted to about 1500 whites.

claimed by
the Spaniards.

As the *Spaniards* had but two years before delivered a memorial to the governor and council of *Jamaica*, claiming the property of the *Bahama Islands* as belonging to his catholic majesty; the chief care of the inhabitants was to prepare against a *Spanish* invasion, and this led them to work incessantly upon the new fortifications of the island, and to form themselves into three militia companies, who regularly did duty at *Nassau* guard-house. Another fort was erected at the harbour-mouth, a good guard-ship was provided for the road, and the ground all about *Nassau-Town* perfectly cleared. *Eleuthera* and *Harbour-Islands* were likewise peopled, and put in a posture of defence; and in a short time, the town of *Nassau* consisted of about 300 houses, the materials for building being there very plentiful. But the industry of the inhabitants was chiefly confined to military matters; for being bred up in habits of idleness, they paid too little attention to the cultivation of the excellent soil of their island, and were obliged to bring many of the necessaries of life from

England,

England, or the *American* continent. Mr. Rogers, about the year 1721, returned to *England*, to solicit some fresh supplies that had been promised him, but never had arrived. Having a thorough knowledge of the interests and importance of the islands he governed; the commissioners of trade received his representations very favourably, and the matter being brought before the privy-council, his majesty was pleased to give him a new commission as governor of the *Bahama-Islands*, with a salary of 400 *l.* a year, and to appoint him to the command of a free company in the island of *Providence*.

THE representations he gave in to the board of trade very *Memorial* justly observed, that the *Bahama-Islands* lying near to *Hispaniola*, and to the noted port of *Havanna*, in the island of *Cuba*, where the *Spanish* galleons and flota always rendezvous before they return to *Europe*; having the gulph of *Florida* to the west, and the *Windward-Passage* to the east of them; their situation in time of peace is capable of great improvement in trade, and has always been a good retreat for disabled ships, blown from various parts of the continent of *America*. It was farther observed, that in time of war, the *British* cruizers and privateers, stationed at the *Bahama Islands*, are more capable to obstruct and annoy the *Spanish* trade homeward-bound in time of war, than all that are stationed at the rest of the *British* colonies in *America*; and that they were very proper for the reception of small cruizers, not exceeding forty guns, while the harbour of *Port-Royal*, which was then the southernmost frontier of the *British* possessions on the continent, and lying on the other side of the gulph of *Florida*, was capable of receiving the largest ships; and those two stations were much more proper than that of *Jamaica*, either for annoying the enemy, or protecting our northern colonies and our sugar-islands.

THE *Spaniards* seemed to be fully sensible of all the truths *Fitzwilliam* contained in this representation; for according to the account *ams, gds* left us by Mr. Rogers himself, who suffered greatly in his *vernor.* private affairs, by exerting himself, as he did, for the interest of his government, they fitted out two expeditions against the *Bahamas* at the expence of 100,000 *l.* and attacked the *Bahamas* with 2000 men, whom Mr. Rogers defeated, and burnt two of their ships of war in their retreat, without having any support from the other colonies; but what he engaged on his own personal credit. He died within two or three years after his return to his government. He was succeeded by one captain *Fitzwilliams*; but in the year 1736, the independent company quartered at fort *Nassau* mutinied on

account of the smallness of their pay, they having no augmentation as the companies at *Jamaica* have. The mutineers at first were formidable, for they seized the fort, fired upon the governor and his attendants, broke open and plundered the storehouse, and would have made themselves masters of the magazine, had they not been prevented by the activity of the governor. At last they seized a small sloop in the harbour, and releasing a *French* sailor from prison to be their pilot, they set sail; but next morning being pursued, they were all taken and brought back to *Providence*, where they were tried and convicted, and twelve of their leaders, with the *Frenchman*, were hanged. Since that time, the history of *New Providence* affords us nothing remarkable, only that it continues still on the thriving hand, and was of great benefit to the *British* trade, during the late war between *France* and *Spain*. We shall now proceed to give some farther account of the *Bahama-Islands*, which is the more necessary, because it is universally agreed that a sufficient attention has not been paid to their importance and value.

Mr. *Tinney* superseded captain *Rogers* in the government of the *Bahama-Islands*; but he being replaced upon *Tinney's* death, *Rogers* succeeded him, but he died in 1733; and upon the resignation of *Fitzwilliams*, his successor, *John Tinker*, Esq; was appointed governor.

Natural
history of
the Baha-
mas.

THE largest of those islands is *Bahama*, which gives name to all the others. It is seated in lat. 26. 45. north, and is distant above fifteen leagues from the peninsula of *Florida*. According to the best accounts it is fifty miles in length, and in some parts sixteen in breadth. Though the island is well-watered, the soil fruitful, and the air serene, yet it was inhabited only by a few stragglers, who subsist by selling necessaries to the ships which the currents drive upon their coast. This island formerly produced guaiacum, sarsaparilla, and red wood; all which are said to have been entirely destroyed by the *Spaniards*; and the inhabitants are obliged to bring all their subsistence and necessaries from *Carolina*, excepting some white fowl, and a particular kind of rabbit which they rear. The straits of *Bahama*, which the *British* fleet so happily cleared in the last expedition against the *Havannah*, are well known to navigators for the dangers and difficulties that attend the passing them. We have already mentioned *Eleuthera* and *Harbour-Island*, and can say nothing particular as to the rest of them, though many of them are said to be large, fruitful, and well watered, especially those of *Lucayonequa*, *Andros*, *Cigateo*, *Yumeta*, *Samana*, *Mayaguana*, *Yuma*, or *Exuma*, *Ynagua*, *Caicos*, and *Triangulo*. Those islands, through the dangers

dangers attending the navigation to them, are so little known, that it is uncertain whether they are inhabited; some navigators affirming, that several of them are still peopled by the *Spaniards*; and others, that the descendants of the original natives are yet to be found upon them. We have little to add to the natural history of those Islands, only that it appears from some papers in the Philosophical Transactions, that whales have been found dead on the shore here, with sperm all over their bodies; but the writer says, that he never heard of one of those whales being killed, so fierce and active are they when alive. A sperm ceti whale when dead is computed to be worth several hundred pounds. Some ambergrease, of which our forefathers made so great account, has been found on the coast of the *Bahamas*; but many of the fishes taken on the same coasts, are either hurtful to the health or poisonous in themselves.

The BERMUDAS, or SUMMER-ISLANDS.

IT is uncertain, nor is it indeed material, whether one *John Bermudas* a *Spaniard*, or one *Henry May* an *Englishman*, was the first *European* discoverer of those islands, which, according to our best information, lay at such a distance from the continent of *America*, that they were out of the reach of the *Indian* navigation; and therefore, at their first discovery, they were found to be entirely uninhabited. It is certain, that the *Spaniards* never took possession of them, though the catholic king gave in 1572, a gift of them to one of his subjects. As to *May*, he was shipwrecked upon *St. George's*, one of the most considerable of those islands; and with the cedar which they felled there, assisted by the wreck of their own ship, he and his companions built a new one, which carried them to *Europe*, where they published their observations and accounts of the *Bermudas-Islands*. When lord *DeLawar* was made governor of *Virginia*, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Sommers*, and captain *Newport* were appointed to be his deputy-governors; but the ship in which they were being separated from the rest of their Squadron, was wrecked on the *Bermudas*; and the governors disagreeing among themselves, built each of them a new ship of the cedar growing upon the islands, in which they severally sailed to *Virginia*, where they arrived in about fourteen days, the crews of all the three ships consisting of about an hundred and fifty men. When they arrived at *Virginia*, that colony was in so great distress, that the lord *DeLawar*, upon the report which his deputy-governors made of

Discovery
of the Ber-
mudas-
Islands,

by the
English.

the plenty they found in the *Bermudas*, dispatched Sir *Georgt Sommers* to bring provisions from thence to *Virginia* in the same ship which carried him from *Bermudas*, and which had not one ounce of iron about it, excepting one bolt in its keel. Sir *George*, after a painful voyage, at last reached the *Bermudas*, where, soon after his arrival, he died, leaving his name to the islands, and his orders for his attendants to return with black hogs to the colony of *Virginia*. The crew neglected to fulfil this part of his will, and set sail in their cedar-ships for *England*, where they landed at *Whitchurch* in *Dorsetshire*.

NOTWITHSTANDING this dereliction of the *Bermudas*, it was not without *English* inhabitants. Two *Englishmen*, *Carter* and *Waters*, being apprehensive of punishment for their crimes, had secreted themselves in the woods from their fellows, when Sir *George* and his company were first shipwrecked on the island; and had lived upon the productions of the soil of *St. George's* island, where they had likewise built a hut. Upon the second arrival of Sir *George*, they enticed one *Chard* to remain with them; but differing about the sovereignty of the island, *Chard* and *Waters* were on the point of cutting one another's throats, when they were prevented by the prudence of *Carter*. Soon after, they had the good fortune to find on the coast the greatest piece of ambergrease ever known, weighing about eighty pounds, besides other pieces, which, in those days, were sufficient, if properly disposed of, to have made each of them master of a large estate. Where they were, this ambergrease was useless, and therefore they came to the desperate resolution of carrying themselves and it, in a boat, to *Virginia*, or to *Newfoundland*, in hopes of being able to sell it.

WE know not by what right the property of *Bermudas* was transmitted to the *Virginia* company; but it is certain that they claimed it, and sold it to 120 persons of their own society, who obtained a charter from king *James* for their possessing it. This new *Bermudas* company, as it was called, fitted out a ship with sixty planters on board, to settle upon the *Bermudas*, under the government of one Mr. *Richard Moor*, who was a plain sensible man, and by profession a carpenter, by which he was very well qualified for his trust. The new colony arrived upon *St. George's* island just at the time when the three mariners were ready to set sail in their boat with their ambergrease, which *Moor* having discovered, he immediately seized and disposed of it for the benefit of the company, though we cannot see what right they could have

to the poor men's fortunate acquisition. So valuable a booty gave vast spirit to the new company, and the adventurers settled themselves upon *St. George's* island, where they raised cabins. As to Mr. *Moor*, he was indefatigable in his duty, and carried on the fortifying and planting the island with incredible diligence; for we are told, that he not only built eight or nine forts, or rather blockhouses, but enured the settlers to martial discipline.

BEFORE the first year of his government was expired, Moore, *governor*, Mr. *Moore* received a new supply of provisions and planters from *England*; and he planned out the town of *St. George* as it now stands. In a short time, the plantation, by the reasonable supplies it received from *England*, was enabled to answer the company's expences, by returns in several sorts of drugs, ambergrease, cedar, tobacco, and other commodities. The fame of the settlement awakened the jealousy of the *Spaniards*, who appeared off *St. George's* with some vessels, which being fired upon by the *English*, they sheered off, though the *English*, at that time, were so unprovided for a defence, that they had not above one barrel of powder on the whole island. During *Moor's* government, the *Bermudas* islands were visited with the loathsome plague of rats; which had been imported into it in *European* ships. This vermin multiplied so much in *St. George's*, that they even covered the ground, and had nests in the trees. They destroyed all the fruits and corn within doors; and they encreased to such a degree, that *St. George's* at last was unable to maintain them, and they swam over to the neighbouring islands, where they committed the like havock. This calamity lasted, but we suppose not in the same degree, for five years, and at last it ceased all of a sudden.

UPON the expiration of *Moor's* term of government, Tucker, which was but for three years, he was succeeded by captain *governor*. *Daniel Tucker*, who improved all *Moor's* schemes for the benefit of the island, and particularly encouraged the culture of tobacco. Being a severe disciplinarian, he held those under him to such duty, that five of them planned the boldest enterprize that perhaps ever was carried into execution. Their names were, *Barker*, who is said to have been a gentleman; *Wonderful escape of five Englishmen in an open boat.* another *Barker*, a joiner; *Goodwin*, a ship-carpenter; *Patt*, a sailor, and *Saunders*, who planned the enterprize. Their management was as artful as their design was bold. Understanding that the governor was deterred from taking the pleasure of fishing in an open boat, on account of the dangers attending it, they proposed building for him one of a particular

cular construction (Z), which they accordingly did, in a secret part of the island; but when the governor came to view his boat, he understood that the builders had put to sea in it. The intelligence was true; for the adventurers having provided themselves with the few necessaries they wanted, sailed for *England*; and, notwithstanding the storms they encountered, their being plundered by a *French* privateer, and the incredible miseries they underwent, they landed in forty-two days-time, at *Cork*, in *Ireland*, where they were generously relieved and entertained by the earl of *Thomond*.

Butler,
governor.

IN 1619, captain *Tucker*, whose administration was of infinite service to those islands, resigned his government to captain *Butler*. By this time, the high character which the *Summer Islands* bore in *England*, rendered it fashionable for men of the highest rank to encourage their settlement; and several of the first nobility of *England* had purchased plantations among them. Captain *Butler* brought over with him 500 passengers, who became planters on the islands, and raised a monument to the memory of Sir *George Sommers*. The island was now so populous, (for it contained above 1000 whites) that captain *Butler* applied himself to give it a new constitution of government, by introducing an assembly; the government, till this time, being administered only in the name of the governor and council. A body of laws were likewise drawn up, as agreeable to the laws of *England*, as the situation of the island would admit of. One Mr. *Barnard* succeeded captain *Butler* as governor, but died six weeks after his arrival upon the island; upon which, the council made choice of Mr. *Harrison* to be governor, till a new one should be appointed. No fewer than 3000 *English* were now settled in the *Bermudas*, and several persons of distinction had curiosity enough to take short trips from *England* to visit it. Among those was Mr. *Waller*, the poet, a man of fortune, who being embroiled with the parliament, and the commonwealth of *England*, spent some months in the *Summer Islands*, which he has celebrated in one of his poems, as being the most delicious spot in the creation. Some have doubted, whether the poet ever was in the *Summer Islands*; but the fact seems now to be ascertained, and indeed the picture he gives of them, though none of the best of his works, is too characteristic not to be drawn from an original. The

(Z) In a Latin inscription upon *Blome's* map of the *Bermudas*, the boat is said to have been open above, and about

three tons burden, for so we understand the words, *Trium doliorum majorum capacitatis*.

dangers

dangers attending the navigation, notwithstanding the untowardly situation of the islands, through their distance from the *American* continent, seems to have been the chief, if not the only reason, why the *Bermudas* did not become the best peopled islands belonging to *England*; and we are told, that some years ago, they contained no fewer than 10,000 whites.

THE chief adventurers of distinction in settling the *Bermudas Islands*, were, the marquis of *Hamilton*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, the earls of *Devonshire*, *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, and *Southampton*, and Sir *Edwin Sands*. One Mr. *Norwood*, a surveyor, was sent from *England* to partition out the islands, which he did into eight districts, or, as he called them, tribes; each tribe bearing the name of one of those proprietors, and was divided into fifty shares; every share, one with another, consisted of about twenty-five acres, and the value of each share¹, is said to have been from 300 to 500 *l.* proclamation-money; but no beauty, or fertility of climate or soil, can compensate the want of trade. The *Summer Islands* dwindled in their population so much, that it is reckoned they do not now contain above 5000 whites; nor, indeed, did the inhabitants ever discover any great spirit of commerce. Some years after the Revolution took place, they sent over to king *William* a very loyal address, which was presented to him by Sir *William Trumbal*, one of his principal secretaries of state, together with the association, for the support of his government, signed by the governor, council, assembly and principal inhabitants. In 1698, *Samuel Day*, Esq; was, by the same Day, governing, appointed lieutenant-governor of the *Summer Islands*, where he arrived in the *Maidstone* man of war. Two years after, he was succeeded by captain *Bennet*. *Alured Popple*, Esq; formerly secretary to the board of trade and plantations, was appointed lieutenant-governor in 1737; and in 1747, he was succeeded by his brother, *William Popple*, Esq; who died in his passage to *England*, 1764.

IN the reign of king *George I.* the famous dean *Berkley*, afterwards bishop of *Cloyne*, the greatest metaphysical genius of his age, formed a plan for founding in *Bermudas* a college or seminary, for the education of the *British American* youth, which he himself proposed to superintend. As the neglect of education in *America* had been long complained of, and the dean's abilities, as well as virtues, were universally respected, his plan was espoused by the society for the propagation of the gospel; and they assisted him in obtaining a patent for it from the crown. In consequence of this patent,

¹ DOUGLAS'S Summary, Vol. I. p. 147.

the dean engaged three fellows of *Trinity College*, in *Dublin*, to accompany him, as did several other public-spirited persons of distinction, and at a very considerable expence of his private fortune, he purchased a noble library, and hired a ship, which was to carry him and his friends to the *Bermudas*. Nothing can give us a stronger proof than this project does, of the fallibility of human genius, when depending upon reading and information alone, without the assistance of experience, for the execution of a great project. The dean and his friends were enamoured with the Elysian descriptions of the *Summer Islands*, from which all luxury was debarred; where the air was pure; the manners of the inhabitants untainted, and where no objects could present themselves to divert the attention from study. After a tedious winter-passage, he was obliged to put in at *Rhode-Island*, in *New England*; where, upon a little cool reflection, he was convinced how impracticable his project was. People of great weight in *England* were, at the bottom, no friends to a plan, which they thought might engross too much of that time, and too many of those abilities, that ought to be dedicated to the pursuits of commerce. Besides this, he learned upon better information, that the island was often inaccessible through storms, and destitute of most of those good qualities for which it had been celebrated by the authors he consulted. Those, and a variety of other considerations, determined him to drop his plan; and, after generously bestowing a large part of his library upon the colleges of *Massachusetts-Bay* and *Connecticut*, he and his friends returned to *England*.

*Natural
history of
the Sum-
mer-
Islands.*

BERMUDAS is in 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude, about 65 deg. west from *London*, lies 200 to 300 leagues distance from the nearest lands, viz. *New England*, *Virginia*, *South Carolina*, and *Providence*, or the *Bahama Islands*. The tide flows five feet, in narrow channels and turnings, requiring a good pilot^m. The whole number of the islands, called the *Bermudas*, are said to be near 400, a few of which only are habitable. The principal is *St. George's*, which is not above sixteen miles in length, and three at most in breadth. It is universally agreed, that the nature of this and the other *Bermudas Islands* has undergone a most surprising alteration for the worse since they were first discovered, the air being now much more inclement, and the soil much more barren than formerly. This is ascribed to the cutting down those fine spreading cedar-trees, for which those islands were famous, and which sheltered them from the blasts of the north wind,

^m *Ibid.*

and at the same time protected the under-growth of the delicate plants and herbs. In short, the *Summer Islands* are now far from being desirable spots, and their natural productions are but just sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants, who chiefly, perhaps for that reason, are deemed to be temperate and lively, even to a proverb. The tobacco they raised was, upon experience, found to be inferior to that growing in the other *American Islands*, and therefore that trade is now almost at an end in the *Bermudas*. Their ambergrease trade has decreased in proportion, as likewise has their whale trade; though the perquisites upon it form part of the governor's revenue, he having about 10*l.* for every whale that is caught.

THE *Bermudas Islands*, however, might still produce some valuable commodities, were they properly cultivated. There is here found, about three or four feet below the surface, a white chalk-stone, which they export, and is easily chiseled, for building gentlemen's houses in the *West-Indies*. Their palmetto-leaves, if properly manufactured, might turn to excellent account in making hats for women, and their oranges are still valuable; but the chief resource of the inhabitants for subsistence, consists in their remains of the cedar-wood, of which they fabricate small sloops, with the assistance of *New England* white-pine; and they sell many of them in our *American* plantations, where they are highly prized. Their turtle-catching trade is of vast service for the subsistence of the inhabitants, and they are still able to rear great variety of tame-fowl, wild ones abounding in vast plenty. All the attempts to establish a regular whale-fishery in the *Summer Islands* have hitherto proved ineffectual; and even the black hog breed, which probably was left here by the *Spaniards*, is greatly diminished. The water on the island (excepting that which falls from the clouds, and is preserved in cisterns) is brackish; and at present the same diseases reign there as in the other *Antilles Islands*; so that an inhabitant of the *Bermudas* will find difficulty in bringing himself to believe that he is living upon the spot that *Waller* celebrates.

J A M A I C A.

WHEN *Columbus* returned to *Spain* from his first voyage, *Discovery* in which he discovered *America*, he was greatly caressed by that king, who gave him the command of a considerable squadron, on board of which, besides sailors, were 1500 men, most of them artizans, and proper for settling colonies.

lonies. He likewise carried along with him useful *European* quadrupeds of all kinds for breeding, with all manner of utensils. In his voyage he stopt at no island till he came to *Hispaniola*, where he found all the *Spaniards* he had left there dead; but, upon enquiry, he had reason for believing, that they had drawn their fates upon themselves from the natives, whom they most cruelly oppressed, even to the violation of their beds, and putting them to death when they offered to complain. Some of his attendants were for taking a severe revenge; but *Columbus*, who was naturally just and humane, suffered the matter to rest. *Columbus*, leaving his brother *Bartholomew* to command in *Hispaniola*, went on board three of his ships to make new discoveries; and among other islands, he landed upon *Jamaica**, which lies between the 75th and 79th degrees of west longitude from *London*, and is between 17 and 19 degrees distant from the equinoctial. In this navigation, he found the natives to be of so different dispositions, some receiving him friendly, and others opposing his landing, which was the case when he approached to *Jamaica*; but, upon a discharge of the *Spanish* cross-bows among them, they became tractable, and even brought them goods to barter. It does not appear, that at his first discovering *Jamaica*, he made any settlement upon it, because he was obliged to return to *Hispaniola*, where the *Spaniards* he had left on that island were guilty of the most abominable excesses; but we are told, that a young inhabitant of *Jamaica* became so fond of the *Spaniards*, that he accompanied *Columbus* when he first departed from the island, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his relations.

As to the word *Jamaica*, it is probably *Indian*, because *Oviedo* mentions a river in *Hispaniola* of that name: but the *Spanish*, as well as the *French* writers of voyages and *American* histories, are very inaccurate as to the etymologies. It is pretty certain that *Columbus* entertained so favourable an opinion of *Jamaica*, that he marked it out as an estate to his family. In 1504, as *Columbus* was returning from *Spain* to *America*, he found his ships in such distress, that he was obliged to run them into the island, after having been debarred by *Bobadilla*, whom he had left governor of *Hispaniola*, from landing on that island. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he had but two ships remaining of four; and their crews were thin and sickly. To add to his misfortunes, one *Francisco Porez*, who commanded one of his ships, formed a party against him; and having purchased some canoes of the na-

His difficulties upon the island, from which he escapes.

* BENZONI, apud DE BRY, p. 38.

tives^o, attempted to sail for *Hispaniola*. *Benzoni*^p says, *Perez* finding the *Indian* canoes he had provided too slight to carry him to *Hispaniola*, was obliged to return to *Jamaica*, where a battle ensued between him and *Columbus*, in which the latter was victorious, and *Perez* was made prisoner. From the whole complection of this affair, it is most likely, that the difference was compromised, and that *Columbus* suffered *Perez* and his friends to remove to *Hispaniola*. It is on all hands agreed, that *Columbus* was in the utmost distress; his ships were so worm-eaten, and so leaky, that they were filled with water to their very decks; so that he was obliged to lodge his men in sheds on their poops and forecastles. The natives hearing that he had been abandoned by the greatest part of his men, became very shy, so that *Columbus* was cautious of suffering any of the *Spaniards* to go on shore. Famine, however, obliged him to invite the *Indians* by all means to traffick, being utterly unable, through his weakness, to force them. *Benzoni* gives us, on this occasion^q, an instance of that admirable presence of mind which attended *Columbus* in all his undertakings: he says, that the natives having built a hut in the neighbourhood of the *Spanish* ships, *Columbus* called to them from on board, and informed them, that unless they furnished him and his men with provisions, they would be soon visited with a pestilence, that would destroy every soul of them; and as a sign of the truth of his declaration, which he pretended came from heaven, he told them, that in two days time, the moon (which he knew was then to suffer an eclipse) would wear a bloody visage, naming the very hour when this would happen. The thing fell out exactly as *Columbus* had foretold, and the *Indians* were so much astonished at the truth of the prediction, that they not only furnished him with all the provisions he wanted, but implored his pardon, and begged that he would not leave them with any marks of his resentment. The great difficulty, however, still remained, how to transport himself and his men to *Hispaniola*, none of his own ships being in a condition to undertake such a voyage. At last, he engaged *Diego Mendez*, his steward, to embark on board an *Indian* canoe, with ten of the natives, whom he hired for the service, by exorbitant rewards. Those savages, who were well acquainted with that navigation, carried *Mendez* to *Hispaniola*, where he bought one ship for the use of *Columbus*; and *Ovando*, the governor of the island, ordered another to be fitted out, to bring *Columbus* and his men from *Jamaica*, which

^o Ibid. p. 63.^p Ibid.^q Ibid.

they accordingly did. His Catholic majesty rewarded *Mendez* for his difficult and dangerous expedition, very nobly, and gave him leave to carry, in his armorial bearing, the canoe in which he failed.

Jamaica
peopled by
the Spaniards,

AFTER *Columbus* had refreshed himself and his men for some days at *Hispaniola*, he set sail for *Spain*, where he died soon after his arrival. Some authors, particularly *de Laet*, are of opinion, that while *Columbus* resided upon *Jamaica*, he built, or rather planned out, the town of *Metilla*, which is by no means unlikely, when we consider, that the natives were fully reconciled to him before he left the island. It is certain, that his son and family considering *Jamaica* as their own property, built upon it *St. Fago de la Vega*, and several other towns, which were abandoned, on account of the advantages attending the situation of *St. Fago*, which encreased in buildings and people so greatly, that it is said, in a short time, to have contained 1700 houses, 2 churches, 2 chapels, and an abbey. The court of *Spain*, notwithstanding its ingratitude to the father, granted both the government and property of *Jamaica* to his family, and his son *Diego Columbus* was its first *European* governor, with the magnificent title of duke of *la Vega*. But the descendants of the great *Columbus* degenerated from his virtues, and fell into all the vices and indolence of their countrymen. Having no idea of any *West-Indian* acquisition that did not produce gold and silver, they neglected all improvements upon *Jamaica*, and studied only to raise their rents, and oppress the planters. *Columbus* himself had preferred this island, on account of its situation, and its being the most populous of any he had met with in *America*; but his descendants, or their substitutes, murdered 60,000 of those natives, under tortures so exquisite, that the relation of them is unfit for Christian ears.

WE know little of the particulars of the *Spanish* traffick, while they held *Jamaica*. Some wealth, however, must have been among them, because, in 1596, Sir *Anthony Shirley*, who had the command of a squadron off the continent of *America*, landed upon *Jamaica*, where he took and plundered the town of *St. Fago*. In 1635, colonel *Jackson*, in his passage from the *Leeward Islands*, landed 500 men upon *Jamaica*: and after driving, as is said, 2000 *Spaniards* from their works at *Passage-Fort*, he took the town of *St. Fago*, with the loss of forty men, and divided its plunder with his soldiers. He received, at the same time, a considerable sum, to ransom it from being burnt down.

BUT

BUT the most considerable revolution that *Jamaica* under-^{invaded} went, was during *Cromwell's* usurpation in *England*. He had ^{by the} wrong and narrow notions concerning the interest of *Europe*, *English*; and he fell in with the vulgar way of thinking (to which he was indeed partly impelled by the necessities of his government) that the acquisition of treasure ought to be his great object; and as none was so ready as that of the *Spanish West-Indies*, he lived in a kind of perpetual warfare with that crown. But by this time, the object of the *English* national jealousy ought to have been changed from the house of *Austria* to that of *Bourbon*, which last, under the administrations of the cardinals *Richelieu* and *Mazarine*, had been attempting to lay, for many years, the foundations of universal monarchy. *Cromwell*, not attentive to this momentous consideration, was persuaded by *Mazarine*, to fit out, from *England*, an expedition, for the conquest of *Hispaniola*. This expedition was the more to his liking; as it was extremely popular in *England*; and even many of the royal party, who were disgusted at the treatment their king had received from the court of *Madrid*, embarked in it, to the number, some say, of 2000. The command of the expedition was given to colonel *Venables* and admiral *Penn*; and they sailed from *England* with at least 7000 land-troops on board, great part of whom was composed of *Cromwell's* veterans. This force was greatly augmented by the people of *Barbados*, and the other *Leeward Islands*; and on the 13th of *April*, the fleet landed upon *Hispaniola*, in sight of the town of *St. Domingo*. The numbers who landed under *Venables*, (who was suspected of a warm side towards the royal party) are said to have been 7000, besides a troop of horse; but by means of misfortunes, which are foreign to this part of our history, they were repulsed; and *Venables* re-imbarked his men. The shame of returning unsuccessful to *England*, rather than any regular plan that had been formed, put into the thoughts of the *English* officers, who still commanded 10,000 men, an expedition against *Jamaica*, which was instantaneously resolved on, before the *Spaniards* there could have any intelligence of the repulse of the *English* at *Hispaniola*.

ON the 2d of *May* the *English* landed on *Jamaica*, and it ^{who con-} being determined immediately to attack *St. Jago*, proclama-^{quer it,} tion was made that every man should shoot his neighbour ^{under} dead, if he should see him attempt to fly. The *Spaniards* at *St. Jago*, being in no condition to oppose the force that was advancing against them, after a very slight resistance, proposed to capitulate and to deliver up the city; and in the

mean

mean time, they furnished the *English* with fresh provisions, and the choicest productions of the island. *Venables* has been blamed for suffering the people of *St. Jago* to amuse him as they did, but we think, without foundation, considering the precariousness of the conquest, and how necessary it was for him to save his men; to omit mentioning that, as he had no commission to attack *Jamaica*, he must have answered with his head any ill success he met with. Those considerations more than probably determined him to treat with the *Spaniards*; and it is not at all unlikely, that the latter, during the time of the negotiation, secured, in the more inland parts, their best effects; so that when the *English* came to take possession of *St. Jago*, they found nothing there but bare walls.

NOTWITHSTANDING this disappointment, they were in possession of the capital of the island, and in fact of the island itself; for tho' the *Spaniards* in parties sometimes attempted to surprize them from the woods, yet they never appeared in a body, and at last found means to transport themselves and their effects to *Cuba*. The reduction of *Jamaica*, with so little loss on the part of the invaders, astonished the *Spanish* government. The viceroy of *Mexico*, understanding that the mulattoes and negroes belonging to the *Spaniards* of *Jamaica*, had been left in the woods there, sent orders to the governor of *Cuba*, to supply the exiles with whatever was necessary for taking repossesion of their island, and promised to support them with a proportionable land force. They accordingly returned thither, but lived dispersed in the woods, in so miserable a manner, that the 500 land troops which were sent to their assistance, refused to associate themselves with them, and fortified themselves in the northern part of the island at a place called *St. Chereras*, where they soon received very considerable reinforcements. In the mean while, the *English*, who have the best colonizing genius of any people in the world, had begun to plant the south and south-east parts of the island, of which colonel *Doyly* was left governor with 3000 men, and a large squadron of ships commanded by vice-admiral *Goodson*, while *Penn* and *Venables* returned to *England*.

Doyly,
governor;

THEIR success at *Jamaica* had not abated *Cromwell's* resentment for their failure at *Hispaniola*, and it was greatly increased by his being informed of the true principles of the two commanders, who were no sooner landed than they were committed prisoners to the tower of *London*; from which they were soon after delivered with abundance of honour, and without any trial; and *Venables* afterwards became eminently instrumental in restoring *Charles II.* *Cromwell* resolving to trust

truff no officer recommended by *Venables*, sent over major *Sedgewick* to supersede *Doyly* in his command, with a reinforcement of 1000 men. In the mean while, the *Spaniards*, who had fortified themselves at *St. Chereeras*, had been reinforced with thirty companies, besides artillery and provisions from *Cuba* and the continent, and had thrown up several formidable works at *Rio Nuevo*, in the precinct of *St. Mary*. *Doyly* attacked them in their fortifications, from whence he drove them in a few days with great loss, and he then demolished them. They next attempted to make a stand at *Point Pedro*, from which they were likewise driven; and thus the *English*, under *Doyly*, being far inferior in numbers to the *Spaniards*, re-established the character of their national valour which had suffered at *Hispaniola*. As to the *Spaniards*; being driven from place to place, they were obliged at last to embark on board their ships, and to return to *Cuba*, leaving the quiet possession of *Jamaica* to the *English*.

THE *Spanish* negroes and mulattoes, however, still kept the woods and mountains, where they subsisted by game and plunder. Part of them perceiving that they had been abandoned by the *Spanish* regulars, they murdered the governor who had been put over them, and chose one of their own number. All this while, they were hunted and cut off by the *English* like so many wild beasts. Finding that they could hold out no longer, they sent a deputation to governor *Doyly*, who received them into favour, upon their delivering up their arms; but another party of them still subsisted, and were headed by some of the old *Spanish* inhabitants. The submitting negroes, who were much sonder of their new masters than they had been of their old, were very useful in clearing the island of those remains of the *Spaniards*, who were entirely rooted out, and not above twenty or thirty of their negroes in a years time was left upon the island; but they knew the inland part of it so well that they could not be dislodged; and afterwards proved very dangerous enemies to the island. *Doyly*, though a declared royalist, still kept the command of the island, and acted with equal wisdom and resolution; major *Sedgewick* having died a few days after his arrival. But while the colony was improving beyond all example, being well supplied from their mother-country with all kind of necessaries, a spirit of mutiny, headed by one colonel *Raymond*, and lieutenant-colonel *Tyson*, got into the army. It is probable, that the mutineers were encouraged by their knowing how disagreeable *Doyley* was to *Cromwell*; but he had the courage to bring them both to a court-martial, where they were sentenced to be shot to death, which

was

and by
Brayne,
who dies
likewise.

was accordingly executed. *Cromwell*, by this time sent order to colonel *Brayne* in *Scotland*, to embark with 1000 men from *Port Patrick*, and to sail to *Jamaica*, where he was to supersede *Doyley* in the government, but that gentleman likewise died soon after his arrival at *Jamaica*; and it is very remarkable, that *Doyley* remained governor of the island at the time of the Restoration.

Vast im-
provement
of the co-
lony.

As the first *English* planters of *Jamaica* were composed of men of various sects, parties, and opinions, but most of them accustomed to a military life, either by sea or land, we are not to expect among them any uniform system of conduct. The example and authority of *Doyley* had, indeed, done wonders; and some of *Cromwell's* veterans, as well as the royalists, were become excellent planters; others, who never had been habituated to civil life, entered as cruizers and privateers against the *Spaniards*, whom, even while there was peace between the two crowns, they robbed of immense sums, which were all spent at *Jamaica*. This, together with the thriving state of the colony, raised its character in the *West-Indies* so greatly, that several eminent planters repaired thither from *Barbados*, as being the preferable island. Colonel *Doyley*, about the time of the Restoration, was succeeded by lord *Windfor* as governor of *Jamaica*. We know little of his lordship's administration; for in 1663, he was succeeded by Sir *Thomas Modiford*. This gentleman having made a great estate at *Barbados*, removed to *Jamaica* to better it, as did several other wealthy planters. *Jamaica* had, by this time, increased its inhabitants to the number of between 17 and 18,000 *English*; but its chief trade, as we have already hinted, consisted in their depredations upon the *Spaniards*, which, as there is too much reason to believe, were winked at by the governor.

Modiford,
governor.

As *Modiford* knew, perhaps, beyond any man of his time, the interests of the *English West-Indies*, he introduced into *Jamaica*, the art of making sugars, of planting cocoa-groves, and erecting salt-works; so that the arts of industry began to prevail over the antient habits of the planters, and the island wore a new face; but this reformation was not universal. Many of the old planters were too much in love with their old custom to abandon them; and hence sprung up that race of pirates, for they were no better, called buccaneers, whom it is necessary to give some account of, as their proceedings makes so great a figure in the history of the *English* and *Spanish West-Indies*. But we are to observe, that those buccaneers were not entirely of *Jamaica* breed; for they consisted of adventurers of all nations, and they resorted

to *Jamaica*, chiefly on account of the vast conveniency of its situation for robbing the *Spaniards*. *Barbados*, and our other islands, furnished their quotas for this desperate society; and when assembled, they bound themselves down to certain regulations and subordinances that would have done honour to a more virtuous institution.

A *Portuguese* pirate founded the fraternity; but being drowned as he was conducting his prize to *Jamaica*, he was succeeded by a *Dutchman* of *Brasil*, who is therefore called *Brasilliano*. This *Dutchman*, and his companion buccaneers, were at once profligate and prodigal. Being chosen the head of a mutiny, when but a private man, he ran away with a ship, and intercepted and took a rich *Spanish* vessel, homewardbound, the contents of which being mostly in ready money, they squandered at *Jamaica* in the most tasteless extravagance; and so ingenious were they in the arts of dissipation, that one of the common men is said to have spent 3000 pieces of eight in a month. When their treasure was gone, they again went to sea and took another prize; but they were mastered upon the coast of *Campeachy*, and being condemned to be hanged, they had address enough to get their sentence mitigated to their serving in the galleys, from whence they escaped, and returned to *Jamaica*, where they continued to pursue their former piratical practices. One *Scot*, a *Welchman*, who plundered *Campeachy*, and *Mansfield*, an *Englishman*, distinguished themselves in this depredatory war; and another *Englishman*, *Davis*, brought from the sack of *Nicaragua* above 50,000 pieces of eight to *Jamaica* for his own share of the plunder. He then formed an expedition against *St. Augustine*, and succeeded, though there was in the castle a garrison of 200 men. But the most distinguished of all the buccaneers was a *Welchman*, one *Henry* (afterwards *Sir Henry Morgan*). When young, being of a roving disposition, he went to *Barbados*, from whence he removed to *Jamaica*, where he commenced pirate, and was more than commonly successful in making prizes of *Spanish* vessels. He served as *Mansfield's* lieutenant in the expedition against *St. Catharine's*, which they attacked and took with fifteen ships and five hundred men. *Mansfield* and his companions considered this island as now being their property, and he left upon it one *Simon*, with an hundred men, to be its governor. The pirates were so elevated by this conquest, that they would have proceeded against *Panama* itself, had they not understood that the *Spaniards* were provided to receive them; upon which they retired to the island of *Tortuga*, in the gulph of *Mexico*, about fifteen miles from the continent.

Rise of the buccaneers of Jamaica.

their history.

History of Sir Henry Morgan.

The History of America.

By this time, *Modiford* was succeeded in the government of *Jamaica* by Sir *Thomas Lynch*, and the complaints entered by the court of *Spain* against the buccaneers being too flagrant to be stifled, *Modiford* had been sent for home in custody, and *Lynch* had orders to check them; but those freebooters not conceiving that any practices could be illegal that brought in money to themselves and *Jamaica*, had the confidence even to propose to *Lynch* to make a settlement upon the isle of *St. Catharine's*, which demand being refused them, *Mansfield* retired in discontent to *Tortuga*, where he died, and *Simon* was obliged to yield up his government by capitulation to the Spanish governor of *Costa Rica*. After this, *Morgan* became the head of all the pirates in the *West-Indies*, and shewed unparalleled boldness and courage in his profession. His first expedition was against *Puerto del Principe*, which he took, and divided 50,000 pieces of eight among his followers. But his men being composed of various nations, the *French* here abandoned him on account of one of their countrymen being killed.

Disputes
between
England
and Spain.

It must be acknowledged, that it is extremely difficult to reconcile the behaviour of the court of *England* towards that of *Spain* at this time to the principles of good faith, without supposing that the government of *England* and that of *Jamaica* had separate interests. It is true, the *Spaniards* had laid many claims to places, and to exclusive rights of commerce in *America*, which the *English* never had submitted to; but still a good correspondence had been always kept up between the two crowns, and each had mutually promised to the other a redress of its grievances. But this was no easy matter, as they were found to be so complicated, that many dispatches passed between *Jamaica* and *England*, before any one point could be settled. The *Spaniards*, for instance, as we have seen in our history of the other islands, claimed, and sometimes attacked several of them, that were the undoubted property of the crown of *England*, and the *English* laid claim to the right of cutting logwood in *Campeachy*, and upon the bay of *Honduras*, of which they said they were the first discoverers. This claim became a very serious affair, and the proofs and depositions on that head, which were sent over to *England* by the government of *Jamaica*, were so strong in favour of the *English*, that the affair then remained undecided. The *Spaniards*, however, still continued to make prize of all the *English* ships, and sometimes to cut off their crews, which touched at the bay of *Campeachy*, or upon *Honduras*, which the *English* considered as so many robberies and murders. In short, the matter remained in such a state of indecision, that it came before the *British* parliament, who referred it to the Board

Board of Trade and Plantations; and part of their report was, "That the bay of *Campeachy* might so far be called the property of *England*, that the *English* for some years before, as well as after the *American* treaty in 1670, enjoyed an uninterrupted liberty of cutting logwood in the *Laguna de Terminos*, (which lies at the bottom of the bay) and other places not inhabited by the *Spaniards* in the province of *Jucatan*; either through right, sufferance, or indulgence. That the said treaty even established a right in the *British* crown to the said *Laguna*, and parts adjacent, which had been for some years before, as well as at the time of the treaty, in the possession of the *English*; and that though the right of the *English* crown to the said *Laguna* should not be insisted on, the same liberty was actually granted and confirmed by the treaty of commerce at *Utrecht*."

WE have been the more explicit on this head, because, not only many foreign historians, but several of our own writers, have been very free in charging our government, in general, with authorizing acts of piracy against the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*. The tameness of the administration under *Charles* and *James II.* towards the *French* and *Spaniards*, in not refusing these accusations, gave them but too much countenance; though, upon the whole, the insolence and injustice of the *Spaniards* were, at least, equal to the irregularities and rapaciousness of our buccaneers. It is true, we cannot venture to say any thing with regard to the legality of that commission from the governor and council of *Jamaica*, under which *Morgan* is said to have acted; if our court was serious in its professions towards that of *Spain*. *Morgan's* next expedition was against *Puerto Velo*, a rich city in the district of *Panama*, which he likewise took and its plunder, besides other rich merchandize, amounted to 250,000 pieces of eight; all which centered in *Jamaica*, to the vast emolument of the industrious inhabitants, as well as of their mother-country. After this successful expedition, *Morgan* became a kind of an *American* naval power, so that in a little time he was at the head of fifteen ships and 900 men. He roved through the *Spanish* settlements, and even made an attempt upon *Hispaniola*, but with no success; but at last he attacked and took the town of *Maracaibo* upon the *Terra Firma*, where, besides destroying three *Spanish* men of war off the harbour, the booty he made was equal to what he got at *Puerto Velo*.

BUT *Morgan*, with all the habits of a pirate, was without that of a squandering disposition; and he more than once endangered his life by withholding from his men what they

Morgan
conquers
Panama,
and other
places in
the *Spanish*
West-
Indies.

conceived to be their just due. Notwithstanding this, the fame of his successes and good fortune was such, that at his rendezvous next year at *Tortuga*, he found his men encreased to 2000, and his ships to thirty-seven. Imagining himself to be invincible with such a force, he projected the conquest of *Panama* itself. To facilitate this enterprize he again took possession of *St. Catharine's Island*, while *Brodely* made himself master of *Fort Chagre*, to secure his retreat, and which *Brodely* held with a garrison of 500 men. *Morgan* then with the remainder, which consisted of about 1400, all of them stout, experienced, resolute free-booters, marched against *Panama*. The inhabitants of that city had never been famous for their courage, but they opposed *Morgan* with more spirit than was expected from them. Nothing could equal the discouragements that *Morgan* encountered in this expedition. Finding that the river, by which he was to approach the city, was impassable by his large ships, he was obliged to leave another detachment to take care of his fleet and artillery, and to embark part of his men on board canoes and small boats, while others marched by land under most inconceivable miseries from the heat of the climate, and want of provisions, for six days time. Being joined in one body, they were opposed by the governor of *Panama*, with four regiments of foot and two squadrons of horse, and a brisk action ensued, in which the *Spaniards* were defeated with the loss of 600 men. The victors, without giving their enemies time to recover, pressed towards the city, and after some dispute, without the assistance of artillery or scaling-ladders, they mounted the walls and became masters of *Panama*.

It must be acknowledged, that *Morgan* made use of his success with no great moderation; and some part of his conduct, on this occasion, seems to have been very black; for it is said, that after he was master of the town, he set it on fire without consulting any of his men; and this he probably did the better to conceal the true amount of the plunder he had secured for himself. The number of houses in *Panama*, which were generally built of cedar and very magnificent, are said to have been 7000, but this account is probably exaggerated, besides 200 warehouses. *Morgan* made war, not as a pirate, but as a lawful conqueror in one respect, which was, that he was in no hurry to abandon his conquest, for he remained four or five months in *Panama*, where he laid the adjacent country under contribution, and gave out his orders with the utmost coolness, in which he was punctually obeyed by his men. He did not leave *Panama* before the 24th of *February*, 1671; and it is said, that the gold, silver, and the

the precious spoils of the city, loaded 175 beasts of burden; and his prisoners amounted to 600, whom he obliged to ransom themselves. In his retreat he plundered the town of *Cruz*, and blew up the fortifications of *Chagre*. When he came to divide the immense booty he had made among his men, each share did not amount to above fifty pounds a man. This exasperated them afresh against their commander, whom they accused of having defrauded them. *Morgan*, perceiving that their discontent might end in a mutiny, made choice of four ships, whose crews he had secured to himself, and sailed with them to *Jamaica*, leaving the bulk of his companions at *Chagre*. The air of resolution and authority with which he acted on this occasion, disconcerted the other buccaneers so greatly, that they did not offer to pursue him; and it is said, that he carried into *Jamaica* 400,000 pieces of eight upon his own account.

It is impossible to say with any precision, at this distance of *His views.* time, and amidst the uncertainty of private information, what *Morgan's* real views were, had every thing succeeded with him as he could have wished; but, by the best authorities we have been able to collect, he seems to have had a notion of erecting the island of *St. Catharine's* into a settlement, of which he himself was to have been the proprietor, or rather the sovereign. The buccaneers were to have formed the chief strength of the island, and to have subsisted themselves, and, indeed, all the other *English West-Indies*, upon the spoils of the *Spanish* commerce, with whom they were to have had a perpetual war, as the *Algerines* have now with the state of *Malta*. *Morgan's* amazing success against *Panama*, and the weakness of the *Spanish* monarchy at home, may be easily supposed to have rendered this project very practicable in his eyes; but an event took place in *Europe*, which dashed all his hopes. Ever since the Restoration, the courts of *England* and *Spain* had laboured earnestly for fixing a treaty of commerce both in *Europe* and *America* that might remove all complaints on either side. The *English* ministers had struggled hard to establish a trade with *Campeachy* and *Buenos Ayres*, which might have opened a communication even with *Peru* and *Chili*. They likewise proposed, that three *English* ships should go with the flota from *Seville* to the *Indies*, and return with it to *Seville* again, and as many with the galleons. The *Spaniards* were deaf to all those and many other proposals, which the *English* firmly insisted upon, and would have obtained, had it not been for the interposition of the

* ARLINGTON'S Letters, Vol. II. p. 98.

† Ibid. p. 100.

French, who were jealous of our gaining such advantages, and had influence enough to prevail with *Charles II.* to withdraw his claims, to which it was thought he was even induced by a large sum paid him. A pacific system then took place, and in the year 1667, a general treaty of commerce was concluded between *Spain* and *England*, comprehending the interests of both crowns in *Europe* as well as in *America*. In 1670, the *Spaniards* finding that the exclusive stipulations against trading with their dominions in *America*, were not sufficiently strong by the late treaty, they obtained another, which they called the *American* treaty, because its articles were confined to *America* only. At the time this last treaty was concluded, *Charles* was entirely disposed to put a stop to the depredations of the buccaneers, and *John* lord *Vaughan* superseded *Sir Thomas Lynch* in the government of *Jamaica*, who was sent for home, to answer for his conduct in encouraging the pirates. There is some reason for believing that when *Morgan* was upon his expedition against *Panama*, he had intelligence of what had passed between the courts of *England* and *Spain*; for he no sooner landed on *Jamaica*, than he declared his intention to give over the profession of buccaneering.

He settles
in Jamai-
ca.

THOUGH *Vaughan* had brought over with him strict injunctions for putting a stop to the piracies against the *Spaniards*, yet he seems to have brought with him likewise a pardon for all that had passed, which had been embraced by *Morgan*; for we are told, that about this time, he received the honour of knighthood, on account of his incomparable valour; and he was made one of the commissioners of the admiralty at *Jamaica*, where he had purchased a large estate, and was carrying on very considerable improvements. But *Jamaica*, at this time, laboured under the same misfortune as *Barbados*, by the institution of the royal *African* company of *England*, whose ships, assisted by those of the crown, seized upon all *Jamaica* vessels which they found trading to *Guinea*, *Angola*, and *South Barbary*. This company, under pretence of their charter, committed terrible depredations upon the *Jamaica* trade; and as the importation of negroes was so capital a point with all our sugar-islands, it must have ruined them, had not the *African* company been laid open by parliament. The measure itself was a mere strain of prerogative, by which the court pretended to establish exclusive rights; but the *English* sugar-planters had the spirit to oppose them; and in some cases that were tried before the *West-Indian* judicatories, they got the better.

AN incident, which happened at this time, was of great service to *Jamaica*, and is thought to have been prejudicial to our *West-India* trade in general. A compromise had been entered into between *England* and *Holland*, that the former should cede to the latter a very flourishing establishment, which its subjects had in *Surinam*, in consideration of certain cessions made by the *Dutch* in *New England* and *New York*. This measure seems likewise to have been dictated by the duke of *York*, for the benefit of his *North American* friends. Three *English* commissioners, Mr. *Cranfield*, Mr. *Dukenfield*, and Mr. *Brent*, were sent over to execute the treaty, and to put the *Dutch* in possession. The *English* settlement at *Surinam*, consisted of above 1500 planters, besides their families, who carried on a very considerable trade in sugar, and other *West-Indian* commodities. The evacuation was accordingly performed, not more to the detriment of the *English*, than to the advantage of the *Dutch*, who thereby acquired a most gainful sugar-trade. The *Surinam English* were received by lord *Vaughan*, governor of *Jamaica*, and settled in *St. Elizabeth's* precinct, where lands were assigned them to cultivate. But though this exchange might be of no detriment to certain individuals, yet it was of general prejudice to the *English* sugar-trade; great part of which fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, who, in a short time, improved their new colony to an amazing degree.

LORD *Vaughan* left the government of *Jamaica* with no great credit, for his generosity and public spirit; and was succeeded in 1678, by *Charles* earl of *Carlisle*. During this nobleman's administration, the people of *Jamaica* were infected with the same apprehensions that then filled all *England*, as if the *French*, the *Irish* Roman catholics, and the *English* papists, had entered into a conspiracy for exterminating the protestants. The neighbourhood of M. *D'Esfrées* to *Jamaica* with a strong *French* squadron, did not a little encrease their alarms; and the chief employment of lord *Carlisle*, during his government, was in preparing to receive the enemy, or in endeavouring to remove the apprehensions of the islanders. Lord *Carlisle's* health disagreeing with the air of *Jamaica*, he returned to *England* in 1680, leaving Sir *Henry Morgan* to be his deputy-governor. This gentleman, to make amends for his former conduct, was extremely vigilant against the pirates; and surprized, in *Cow-Bay*, a pirate sloop, commanded by a noted pirate, one *Everson*, a *Dutchman*, but manned by *English*. The captain was killed, but the crew being taken, were sent to *Carthage*, there to be tried, and punished by the *Spanish* governor, for the depredations

Evacuation of *Surinam* by the *English*.

Lord *Carlisle*, governor, and Sir *Henry Morgan* his deputy.

tions against his countrymen ; no full proof of which could be obtained in *Jamaica*.

Lynch,
governor.

IN 1682, Sir *Thomas Lynch*, who, with all his faults, was a warm loyalist, was again appointed to the government of *Jamaica*. About this time, the panic of the popish plot had worn off in *England*, where the court-party had got an entire ascendancy ; and a presbyterian plot, equally ridiculous, was introduced in its room. Sir *Thomas* did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to celebrate the triumphs of the royal party ; and the assembly of the island gave a still more substantial proof of their loyalty, by continuing his majesty's revenue in the island for twenty one years. Sir *Thomas* was not in other respects wanting in the duties of a good governor ; and to wipe off the suspicions he had formerly incurred, of encouraging pirates, he exerted himself the more remarkably in suppressing them. All the great services that had been performed by Sir *Henry Morgan*, could not prevent his being sent home prisoner, though it is evident, that the money he had acquired was his chief crime. He pleaded the commission of the governor and council of *Jamaica*, and the public thanks they had returned to him, in defence of what he had done ; but this did not prevent his undergoing a long ministerial prosecution, without being brought to a trial, to the ruin of his health, and the prejudice of his private fortune.

UNDER Sir *Thomas Lynch*, several excellent laws passed for the good of the island ; all which were printed and published. But notwithstanding all the cares of Sir *Thomas*, the *French*, *Dutch*, and some *English* pirates, still continued to infest those seas ; many of them being provided with commissions from the *French* king, who was then at war with the *Spaniards*. The *Ruby* and the *Guernsey*, *English* men of war, were perpetually cruising to the windward to suppress them ; and the governor fitted out for the same purpose, a galley of fifty-four oars, of a curious construction, which was of vast service in scouring the coast. The *English* commanders, however, were greatly diffculted how to behave towards such of the pirates, though they knew them to be so, who carried *French* commissions, and who never offered any violence to the subjects of *England*. One *Laurens*, and one *Michael Tankers*, a *Dutchman*, headed them ; and on the 14th of *December*, 1683, they came to a regular engagement with the *Spaniards*, who had fitted out three ships of war against them at *Carthagena* ; one of 40, one of 36, and the other of 20 guns. The event was, that the pirates, with the loss of no more than 14 men, took all the three ships, and killed 400 of the *Spaniards*. The *French* king soon found that no benefit

The pirates
continue
their prac-
tices.

neft accrued to himfelf, or his fubjects, by his granting commiffions to thofe pirates, who, whenever they had an opportunity, robbed all nations equally; and therefore he difpatched orders for all his governors in *America*, to recall all *French* commiffions that had been granted to thofe freebooters, who, after that, were to be deemed as common pirates.

CHARLES II. fome time before his death, appointed colonel *Hender Molefworth* to fucceed Sir *Thomas Lynch* in the government of *Jamaica*; and it fell to this colonel to proclaim king *James's* acceffion in that ifland, which he did with great folemnity, and, at the fame time, tranfmitted to him a moft loyal congratulatory addrefs. Soon after, a poft-office was erected in *Jamaica*, and the duke of *Albemarle* being appointed governor of that ifland by king *James*, he fet fail with his dutchefs on board, on the 12th of *September*, 1687. This nobleman, who was fon to the reftoring duke, had diffipated, or mortgaged, a large fortune, by his intemperance and extravagance; but having received a confiderable recruit of treafure, by employing Sir *William Phipps* in fifhing up the *Spanifh* wrecks, which we have mentioned in the hiftory of *New England*, he was in great hopes of purfuing the like difcoveries to vaft advantage, and is faid to have follicited this government from the king, who the more readily granted his request, as his grace was known to be averfe to the eftablifhment of popery. The prevailing reports of vaft numbers of rich *Spanifh* fhips having been wrecked in thofe feas, and whose treafures were recoverable, made his appointment to this government very agreeable to all the adventurers of thofe iflands; and he landed, with his dutchefs, from on board the *Affiance* man of war in *November*, 1687. This year a moft dreadful earthquake happened at *Jamaica*, and was felt over all the ifland. Though it lafted but about a minute, yet it damaged a vaft number of houfes, and ruined many works; but the memory of it was effaced by a more dreadful calamity of the fame nature, which happened a few years after. The bad confequences of thofe earthquakes had been frequent fince the *Englifh* took poffeffion of this ifland; because they had neglected the wife precautions of the *Spaniards*, who built their houfes very low, with light roofs, and of piles driven deep into the ground, fo as to prevent the inhabitants from being buried in the ruins; but the *Englifh*, on the other hand, built their houfes ftrong and fubftantial.

THE connections which *James II.* had formed with all the Roman catholic powers on the continent, rendered him very pliable as to any confeffions demanded of him, with regard to his *American* dominions. He, therefore, during the go-

vernment

vernment of the earl of *Albemarle* in *Jamaica*, granted a commission to Sir *Robert Holmes*, for the suppression of piracies in *America*; and Sir *Robert* carried over with him a proclamation to the same effect, which was published by his agent Mr. *Lynch*, not only at *Jamaica*, but in all the *Spanish* ports of *South America*, with permission of that court. It is certain, that at this time, and for several years before, the vast ignorance of the court of *Madrid* in commercial affairs, gave great advantages to the *English West-Indies*. Those were engrossed partly by freebooters, and partly by private subjects; and this had given king *James*, when duke of *York*, the first idea of forming an *African* company, which was alone to reap all the benefit arising from the importation of negroes. The benefits arising from this trade to the *English*, were derived from the immense duties imposed upon the importation of negroes by the *Spanish* court, and which amounted to 120 pieces of eight for every slave imported, from 15 to 25 years of age, and other ages in proportion. The assentists, who entered into this contract with the *Spanish* government, were under no obligation to bring those negroes from *Africa*, of which trade they had little or no notion; but were allowed to purchase them from the subjects of any power not at war with the crown of *Spain*; and in those days, the *African* company had an immense profit when they sold to the *Spaniards* for 20 *l.* a slave, whom the assentists could dispose of for double the money, besides the vast duty paid for such slave to the Catholic king.

ON the other hand, the *English* merchants and planters thought it unjust in the highest degree, that they should be excluded from the privilege of importing negroes; and such importations had, ever since the royal *African* charter passed, been deemed at the court of *England* as so many acts of piracy, which *Holmes* was now sent over to suppress. According to a dispatch from Sir *William Godolphin* to secretary *Coventry*, this introduction of negroes to *Barbados* and *Jamaica*, must have brought into the *English African* company, a neat gain of four hundred and twenty thousand pieces of eight yearly. While this affair was in agitation, the duke of *Albemarle*, governor of *Jamaica*, died in that island, as is given out, by the effects of his intemperance in drinking *Madeira* wine. Upon his death, colonel *Hender Moleworth* was, by the council and assembly of *Jamaica*, again appointed governor. After the Revolution, the maxims of king *William's* government in favour of the *Spanish* interest in *America*, went

dated *Madrid*, May 15, 1678.

² ARLINGTON'S Letters, Vol. II. p. 398.

even beyond those of the family of *Stuart*; and a convention was actually entered into by don *Santiago del Castillo*, (who was afterwards knighted by king *William*) on the part of *Spain* and the *English*, for the latter supplying the *Spaniards* with negroes; and don *Santiago* was appointed the *Spanish* commissary at *Jamaica* for the execution of the treaty.

IN 1690, king *William* appointed the earl of *Inchiquin* to Lord In-
the government of *Jamaica*, for which he embarked in *May* chiquin,
that year. On the 29th of *June* following, a dangerous con- governor.

piracy broke out amongst the negroes of the island. One Mr. *Sutton* had a large plantation in the mountains, where the old natives of the island, with the remains of the *Spanish* slaves, still continued to reside, as all means to reduce them had proved ineffectual. Those having debauched Mr. *Sutton's* negroes, they attacked his house, to the number of 400, seized upon twenty muskets, with other arms in proportion, and a large quantity of powder and ball, and killed the house-keeper. They are likewise said to have made themselves masters of four small field-pieces. This large magazine of arms was certainly very improperly lodged, unless it had been better guarded, in so dangerous a neighbourhood. The rebellious negroes now thought to carry all before them, and they marched to an adjoining plantation, where they were disappointed in being joined by their countrymen, who all of them fled to the woods. By this time, the white inhabitants were alarmed, and about fifty of them, horse and foot, getting under arms, checked the progress of the rebels, while other parties taking the field, they were surrounded and attacked next day both in front and rear. The rebels at first endeavoured to defend themselves, and set fire to the sugar-canes, to favour their retreat; but they were so briskly pursued, that they were either killed, or forced to throw down their arms; so that very few of them escaped perishing, either by the sword or the halter. This and the like insurrections were

*A rebellion
of the ne-
groes sup-
pressed.*

the more dangerous, as at this time the war was raging with great violence between *France* and *England*. In 1691, intelligence was received, that a vast number of *French* were attempting a settlement upon *Hispaniola*, where they had several ships. This intelligence was not without foundation. The remains of the freebooters of all nations, perceiving that they had now no longer access to *Jamaica*, or any of the *English* settlements, cast their eyes upon *Hispaniola*, as the most inviting place in all the *West-Indies* for their reception. Nothing could be more agreeable to the secret views of the court of *France*, than such a design; and they were favoured in it beyond their expectations, by the indolence and cowardice

dice

dice of the *Spaniards*, who had abandoned one half of the island, in hopes of securing to themselves the possession of the other. Many of the *French* inhabitants of the *Lesser Antilles* joined in the same scheme, and attended the adventures, who now lost the names of buccaneers and pirates in that of *French* privateers, acting under a commission from his most Christian majesty.

LORD *Inchiquin* had orders, if possible, to dislodge the *French* from this new settlement. With that view, he sent the *Swan* and *Guernsey* men of war, the *Quaker* ketch, and a large transport, with 900 men, commanded by captain *O'Brian*, to *Hispaniola*. Great expectations were raised from this armament, but they were far from being answered. All that the *English* could do, was to destroy or take a few inconsiderable ships at sea, and a few still more inconsiderable works at land; the *French* having foreseen and prepared for their

Account of
a dreadful
earth-
quake.

reception. On the 7th of *June*, 1692, *Jamaica* was visited with one of the most dreadful scourges that any island ever suffered, an earthquake. The town of *Port-Royal* there was incomparably the finest and the most populous of any in the *West-Indies*, but was destroyed by this earthquake, which it is impossible to describe to well as in the words of the sufferers themselves, who were present, and who transmitted their accounts of it to the Royal Society, who published them in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

Philosoph.
Transf.
Vol. II.
p. 402.

“ I lost, says one of them, all my people and goods, my wife, and two men, *Mrs. B.* and her daughter. One white maid escaped, who gave me an account, that her mistress was in her closet, two pair of stairs high, and she was sent into the garret, where was *Mrs. B.* and her daughter, when she felt the earthquake, and bid her take up the child and run down; but turning about, met the water at the top of the garret-stairs, for the house sunk downright, and is now near thirty feet under water. My son and I went that morning to *Liguania*: the earthquake took us in the mid-way between that and *Port-Royal*, where we were near being overwhelmed by a swift rolling sea, six feet above the surface, without any wind. Being forced back to *Liguania*, we found all the houses even with the ground, not a place to put our heads in but negroes butts. The earth continues to shake (*June* 20th) five or six times in twenty-four hours; and, often trembling, great part of the mountains fell down, and falls down daily.” Another writer, in the same collection, gives us a still more lively description of the earthquake: “ Before eleven and twelve, says he, we felt the tavern where I then was shake, and saw the bricks begin to rise in the

the floor. At the same time we heard a noise in the streets cry, an earthquake, and immediately we ran out of the house, where we saw all people with lifted-up hands, begging God's assistance. We continued running up the street, while on either side of us we saw the houses, some swallowed up, others thrown on heaps; the sand in the street rising like the waves of the sea, lifting up all persons that stood upon it, and immediately dropping down into pits. At the same time, a flood of water broke in, and rolled these poor souls over and over, some catching hold of beams and rafters of houses; others were found in the sand that appeared when the water was drained away, with their legs and arms out. Sixteen or eighteen of us, who beheld this dismal sight, stood on a small piece of ground, which, thanks be to God, did not sink. As soon as the violent shake was over, every man was desirous to know if any part of his family was left alive. I endeavoured to go towards my house upon the ruins of the houses that were floating upon the water, but could not. At length I got a canoe, and rowed up the great sea-side towards my house, where I saw several men and women floating upon the wreck out at sea; and as many of them as I could, I took into the boat, and still rowed on till I came where I thought my house stood, but could hear of neither my wife nor family. Next morning, I went from one ship to another, till at last it pleased God I met with my wife and two of my negroes. She told me, when she felt the house shake, she ran out, and called all the house to do the same. She was no sooner out, but the sand lifted up, and her negro-woman grasping about her, they both dropt into the earth together, when at the very instant the water came in, rolled them over and over, till at length they caught hold of a beam, where they hung till a boat came from a *Spanish* vessel and took them up."

THE other particulars of this dreadful calamity were, that the wharfs of *Port-Royal* sunk down at once with the loss of many of the most eminent merchants; and water, to the depth of several fathom, filled the space where the street had stood. According to some credible accounts, the earth in its openings swallowed up people, and threw out their bodies in other parts of the town, and this, with such rapidity, that some of them lived after. About 1000 acres, to the north of the town, sunk, mountains were split, and plantations removed half a mile from the places where they formerly stood; and all this, with such loss of lives, that no fewer than 2000 blacks and whites are said to have perished in the town. The ships in the harbour had their share in this disaster, for several

several of them were overfet and loft; and the motion of the sea even carried the *Swan* frigate over the tops of houses, but without overfetting, by which she was the instrument of faving many lives. The rest of the island suffered in proportion; and scarce a house in it was left undemolished, or undamaged. In short, it entirely changed, not only its improved, but natural appearance; scarce a mountain, or piece of ground standing where it formerly did. Upon the whole, this earthquake was a mere wreck of nature, and its horrors were such as cannot be described.

and pestilence.

WHEN the first shock was over at *Port-Royal*, the clergyman desired the people to assemble with him, and implore the Divine forgiveness, which they did. Some miscreant sailors, and others of the island, took that opportunity of robbing the houses of the wretched inhabitants, when a second shock happened, by which many of those villains were swallowed up; but the earthquake itself, calamitous as it was, was far less ruinous to the island than its consequences were. The whole system of the air and soil was changed, and such putrid smells issued from the apertures that had been made, that it is thought no fewer than 3000 white inhabitants died of pestilential diseases. As to the loss in goods and property which this earthquake occasioned to the merchants and planters, it is not to be calculated; but the assembly humanely passed an act, exempting some of the chief sufferers from paying large sums as customs for wine that had been destroyed. Before the people of *Jamaica* had time to recover themselves, the *French* landed 300 men on the north side of the island; but the *Guernsey* man of war, and some other sloops, who had done notable service in saving the inhabitants during the earthquake, being apprized of the descent, burnt their ships, and destroyed or took all the men they had landed, excepting 18, who were carried off in a sloop.

The French invade Jamaica.

Death of lord Inchiquin.

In the year 1692, lord *Inchiquin* died in *Jamaica*, where an annual fast was instituted in commemoration of the late dreadful earthquake. King *William* appointed colonel *William Beeston* to succeed him in his government, and gave him the honour of knighthood. Upon his arrival on the island, he endeavoured to prove himself worthy of his government, by enquiring into, and remedying a number of abuses that had prevailed during that of his predecessor. Next year, the people of *Jamaica*, notwithstanding the incredible damage they sustained by the late earthquake, had been so industrious as to send a fleet of merchantmen from thence to *England*, under the convoy of the *Mordaunt* man of war; but they were unfor-

unfortunately cast away on the rocks near *Cuba*. There are few instances in history of a set of private merchants who had sustained so many losses as those of *Jamaica* had done, supporting themselves so well as they did without any public retribution, which it does not appear they ever had solicited. They knew of what vast importance their island was to the mother-country; and therefore, they believed, with reason, that their friends would support them. They chose three agents in *England*, Mr. *Gilbert* (afterwards Sir *Gilbert*) *Heathcot*, Mr. *Bartholomew Gracedieu*, and Mr. *John Tutt*, merchants in *London*; and a sum of money was immediately remitted to them, as a consideration for their soliciting the public affairs of *Jamaica*. At the same time, a committee of the gentlemen of the island was chosen to manage the correspondence with them. Their names were, *Samuel Bernard*, *Nicholas Ldw*, *James Bradshaw*, *William Hutchinson*, *Thomas Clark*, *James Banister*, and *Modiford Freeman*, Esqrs.

WHILE *Jamaica* was thus in a manner emerging from its calamities, the *French* were meditating to reduce it by one blow. They received no small encouragement for this from certain persons, *Irish* especially, who being friends of the abdicated government in *England*, persuaded them that the people of the island longed for a revolution, and to return to their obedience to the *Stuart* family. Though nothing could be more distant from the views of *France* than this suggestion, yet it was encouraged by *M. du Cassé*, who was at this time appointed governor of the *French* part of *Hispaniola*. He had some time before taken the *Falcon* frigate, and carried it into *Petit Guâves*, from whence captain *Elliot* making his escape in a canoe, arrived at *Port-Royal* in 1694, and informed Sir *William Beeston* of the storm impending against *Jamaica*; and that three men of war, of fifty guns each, had arrived, a little time before, from *Old France*, where the government did not doubt of making a complete conquest of an island that had lately suffered so much. Sir *William* immediately assembled the council, who passed the proper resolutions for putting the island in a posture of defence, and that the principal forces of the island should be assembled for the defence of *Port-Royal*, where it was understood the *French* were to make their first attempt.

THE intelligence proved true; for on the 17th of *June* The following, the three *French* men of war we have already *French* de-mentioned, attended by about seventeen sail of privateer sloops seated in and transports, appeared off the island. Of those, eight re- their def- remained about *Port Morant*, and the rest anchored at *Cow-cent upon* Bay, about seven leagues to the windward of *Port Royal*. *Jamaica*.

Du

Du Casse having landed his troops, proceeded in a manner that would have disgraced their predecessors, the buccaneers; for they made war upon cattle. After plundering and burning all the open part of the country eastward, they butchered all the sheep and cows they could meet with, and as a more compendious manner of destruction, many of them being driven into houses, were sacrificed in the flames. Some *Englishmen* who fell into their hands were tortured, that they might discover their effects, and they exercised even the diabolical spirit of drawing the dead from their graves, and obliging women to submit to the lusts of their negroes. Both divisions of their fleet were guilty of the same inhumanities, and would have continued them in *St. Mary's* and *St. George's*, where they landed, had they not been deterred by the appearance of some *English* forces, upon which they retreated to their ships.

Two days after they landed, the *French* admiral's ship, commanded by *M. Rollon*, parted from her anchors, as did another of their fleet; and they landed some men in *Blackfield-Bay*. Here a sharp skirmish ensued between them, and an *English* officer, major *Ardrufs*, who killed a number of their men, and forced the remainder, without carrying off with them the provisions they had landed, to retreat to their ships. Finding it in vain to attempt any thing farther in the open part of the island, all their ships rendezvoused at *Port Morant*; from whence they sailed on the 16th of *July*. On the 17th, they came in sight of *Port-Royal*, and landing their men, they filled all the neighbourhood with their fires, that they might strike the *English* with the greater terror of their numbers. Returning, however, in the night to their ships, they were seen on the 18th standing to the west of *Port-Royal*, by which it was conjectured that they intended to land from *Carlisle-Bay* in *Vere Parish*. Upon this, two troops of horse; two regiments of *St. Catherine's*, and part of those of *Clarendon* and *St. Elizabeth*, were ordered to observe their motions, and to curb the excesses they had been guilty of in other parts of the island. The *French* that very afternoon anchored in *Carlisle-Bay*; and landing about 1500 men, they attacked an *English* breast-work defended by about 200 men. A very sharp action ensued, in which the *English*, after losing a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, and lieutenant, besides having some of their best officers wounded, being overpowered by numbers, retreated, but not till after they had killed more of their enemies than they themselves lost. The *English*, upon their retreat, which was across a river, found themselves reinforced by some companies of foot, and a few horse,
who

who had marched thirty miles the day before, renewed the charge, and not only checked the pursuit of the *French*, but drove them back with very considerable loss, though not without some to themselves, for several more of their men and officers were wounded, and some of both were killed.

THE two following days those actions passed in skirmishes; but the day after, which was the 22d of *July*, the *French* attacked a house belonging to one Mr. *Hubbard*, a post of some consequence. The place had no more than twenty-five people to defend it, who beat off the *French*, but next day they brought against it a greater number of men and some cannon. In the mean while, major *Lloyd*, the *English* commandant in that quarter, after reinforcing the garrison of the house, made such dispositions on the flanks of the *French* with the rest of his men, that had they advanced to assault the place, they must have been cut off. The *French* either saw and re-imbark. or suspected this, and finding they had already suffered considerably in their numbers, and that the *Jamaicans* behaved with far more spirit and courage than they expected, came to a resolution to re-imbark, and to abandon the island, which they did on the 24th. *Du Cassé* sailed with three of his capital ships to *France*, where he magnified the importance of his services in *Jamaica*, while seventeen others completed their wooding and watering with great hurry at *Port Morant*, where they even set on shore the few prisoners they had made. In this expedition, it was computed that the *French* had about 350 men killed, and that at least an equal number died of diseases. Of the *English* not above 100, Jews and negroes included, were killed or wounded. King *William* was so sensible of the importance of captain *Elliot's* early intelligence, that he presented him with a medal and chain of 100 *l.* value, besides 500 *l.* in money; and recommended him for preferment to the lords of the admiralty. Each of the people who escaped with him were presented with 50 *l.* Capt. Elliot rewarded.

As it was of the utmost importance to king *William's* government that *Jamaica* should not fall into the hands of the *French*, the administration at home had taken great care that the island should be properly reinforced, which drew from the council and assembly an address to his majesty, most gratefully acknowledging his majesty's royal care of them, "in ordering a speedy relief and assistance to be sent thither, for the defence and security of their persons and estates against a cruel and barbarous enemy; who, in their late attempt upon that island, had no other advantage over them, but what was owing to the inequality of their numbers, and not to the valour of their men, which chiefly shewed itself in burning de-

ferred plantations, murdering prisoners in cold blood, and offering indignity to women." By this specimen, the reader may form some idea of the inhuman manner in which the *French* have always made war. As it was well known they were perpetually forming new schemes against the *English West-Indies*, *Jamaica* in particular, his majesty ordered a force of 1200 men, under colonel *Lilliston*, to be sent to that island in 1694. This was thought to be a bold measure, at a time when the nation itself was every day expecting an invasion from *France*; but the king was intent not only upon protecting *Jamaica*, but upon dispossessing the *French* of the quarter they had usurped in *Hispaniola*. No sooner was *Lilliston* landed, than the governor of *Jamaica* sent off the *Swan* frigate to *Hispaniola* to inform the *Spaniards*, and to concert measures for supporting the descent that was to be made upon the *French* part of the island. It was agreed, that the governor of *St. Domingo*, the capital of the island, should march with the *Spaniards* to *Manchaneel-Bay*, on the north-side of the island, where ships were to wait for them.

THE marine part of the expedition was committed to captain *Wilmot*, who was commodore of a Squadron of *English* ships at *Jamaica*; and he sailed, with *Lilliston* and the land-forces on board, for *St. Domingo*, where the abovementioned plan was confirmed, and from thence to *Cape François*, the chief settlement which the *French* had in *Hispaniola*. *Lilliston* landed some men within three leagues of the *Cape*, while *Wilmot* bore up within cannon shot of the fort. This was on the 18th of *June*, and the enemy kept a brisk fire upon all the *English*, who approached the shore, both from their cannon and musketry. Three attacks were then formed against the fort, one by the land-forces, another by a body of seamen, who were to land likewise, and another by the ships who were to batter it. *Wilmot*, in endeavouring to find a place for landing his men, narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade of the *French*, who were placed at the corner of a bay, and who fired smartly upon him, but without doing any execution. Next night, he returned to the same place with an additional strength, which daunted the *French* so much, that they immediately blew up their fort, set fire to their town, and without carrying off, or spoiling forty pieces of cannon, with which their works were mounted, they marched off in the dark. Next day the *English* entered the town and plundered it.

PORT *Paix*, the strongest settlement the *French* had in *Hispaniola*, was the next object of the *English*, and it proved a matter of more difficulty than the reduction of *Cape François*.

ents. From the several narratives that have been published of this expedition, it appears, as if neither the *Spaniards* nor the *English* land-forces contributed much to its success. *Wilmot* waited for some days expecting their arrival; but being disappointed, he landed a party of his seamen about five miles to the eastward of *Port Paix*; where, driving before him the *French* who opposed his landing, and who retired to their fort, he destroyed their plantations to its very walls. This fort was situated at the bottom of a bay, on a flat rocky hill, which sloped towards the sea, but was steep on the land-side. It had four bastions, its walls were very strong, and built in form of a square, mounting fourteen pieces of cannon. From this description it appears, that the place could not be taken without a regular siege. Intelligence coming that the land-forces were at hand, *Wilmot* put ashore 400 seamen, and four days were employed in landing the heavy artillery. On the 21st, some cannon and mortars were landed on the west side of the castle; and by the 27th, the *English* played upon it most furiously from the batteries; so that the *French* themselves soon saw that it was untenable. This intelligence coming on the third of *July* to the knowledge of colonel *Lilliston* and captain *Wilmot*, they resolved to intercept the fugitives. The *French* who marched out of the fort amounted to 310, exclusive of 200 negroes armed, and 150 unarmed. Having left the fort, they were attacked by the ambuscade of *English* and *Spaniards*, who killed all who did not surrender themselves prisoners, who were not above the number of 150, both *French* and negroes, and amongst the slain were almost the whole of the *French* officers. The *English*, after this, entered and demolished the castle, but carried off the stores, provisions, and artillery, to the number of 80 pieces of cannon, besides other considerable plunder.

SUCH, in general, is the account of this expedition against *against the French of Hispaniola*; but particulars have been so variously related, and with such seeming evidences of truth on *French in Hispaniola* both sides, that we have not ventured to descend much into them. *Wilmot* accused the *Spaniards* and the *English* soldiers for not doing their duty; and they recriminated upon him by charging him with treachery and avarice, with exposing them wantonly to danger on all occasions, and withholding from them even their necessary allowances. Perhaps, both parties were to blame from that spirit of disagreement that then subsisted between the land and sea-services; but it was on all hands agreed, that the *English* officers acquitted themselves with great honour, and that the expedition itself terminated highly to the interest of *England*. It must, how-

ever, be acknowledged, that it might have been much more so, had *Wilmot* literally followed his instructions, which were to proceed against *Petit Guaves*, and to destroy in his return the *French* fisheries on the banks of *Newfoundland*; but, it is said, that the prospect of plunder induced him to proceed as he did. He died in his return to *England*, where his fleet arrived in a most miserable condition.

Negroes
made free.

THE island of *Jamaica* continued still to be pestered by the rebellious negroes, in concert with the original negroes and inhabitants of the woods. Several attempts had been made to suppress them; and this very year the inhabitants fitted out two sloops of war, and raised 260 men for that service, at the expence of 4300 *l.* of which 750 *l.* was cheerfully given by the Jews, who had by this time acquired great property in the island. Garrisons were likewise put into *Fort William* and *Port Morant*; and gentlemen of credit on the island were appointed by an act of assembly to collect and receive the money, and to superintend the disposal of it. The same year five gentlemen, viz. *Richard Lloyd*, *Francis Rose*, *James Banister*, *Thomas Bindles*, and *John Walters*, Esqrs. were appointed commissioners to execute an act of the assembly for giving freedom to all negro-slaves who could prove that they had done any remarkable service against the *French*. This was a very wise and generous measure, and for the more ready execution of it, sub-commissioners were appointed all over the island.

Pointis ap-
pears be-
fore Ja-
maica.

By those wise and many other, regulations, *Jamaica* prospered so greatly, that in the year 1696, when the *French* admiral, *Monf. Pointis*, was on his famous expedition against *Carthagena*, he appeared off *Jamaica*, where the sight of his powerful squadron, far from intimidating the inhabitants, made them wish he would attempt a landing. In an instant, all the posts of the island were manned; and though *Pointis* had on board 2000 buccaneers, all of them used to desperate services, yet the *Jamaicans* made so good a shew, that he passed by without attempting any thing against their island. This was the more extraordinary, as most of the men whom *Liliston* had brought were now dead, either by the hardships they had suffered in the expedition, or the diseases they had contracted. By this time, the court of *England* hearing of *Pointis's* destination, had ordered admiral *Nevil*, who was joined by a *Dutch* squadron, to follow him; but *Pointis* had then succeeded against *Carthagena*, where he found a booty of eight millions of crowns; and all that *Nevil* could do in his voyage to *Jamaica*, where he was to go ashore for intelligence, was to take a *French* privateer. He arrived at that

island on the 16th of *May*, and sailed again on the 25th: *Pointis* receiving intelligence of his being in those seas, after finishing his business at *Carthagena*, bore away for the *Bahama Islands*; but on the 22d of *May*, he fell in with the combined squadron. *Pointis* made the best of his way to escape, which he did, with wonderful good fortune; but the *English* took and carried into *Jamaica* one of his richest ships, being valued at 200,000 *l.* During the chase, both the *English* and *Dutch* rear-admirals sprang their fore-top-masts, which disabled them from proceeding. *Nevil* then directed his course for *Carthagena*; but before his arrival there, it had been a second time plundered by the *French* buccaneers, who alledged, what indeed was true, that *Pointis* and his officers had defrauded them of their due, though the success of the expedition had been chiefly owing to them.

NEVIL thus finding *Carthagena* in a manner abandoned, ^{is pursued} again directed his course for *Jamaica*. In a few days he discovered eight sail of *French* ships, of which he ran two aground, took two others, and the rest escaped. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he was prevailed upon by Sir *William Beeston*, to form a plan for attacking *Petit Guaves*, under rear-admiral *Meese*, which was accordingly taken, plundered, and reduced to ashes. *Nevil*, at the same time, set sail for the *Havannah*, in consequence of his master's instructions, to take the *Spanish* galleons under his convoy, and to bring them safe to *Europe*; but king *William* had a much better opinion of the *Spaniards*, than they had of the *English*, or of himself; for both the governor of the *Havannah*, and the general of the plate-fleet, were so far from trusting it to his care, that they refused to admit him into the harbour. Upon this, *Nevil* made the best of his way through the gulph of ^{but in} *Florida* to *Virginia*, where he died of heart-break. He was succeeded by captain *Dilkes*, who, on the 24th of *October*, brought back his shattered squadron to *Portsmouth*, to the small disappointment and mortification of the people of *England*. As to *Pointis*, he was far more fortunate; he escaped a second time from an *English* squadron, commanded by captain (afterwards Sir *John*) *Norris*, which he found lying at anchor in the bay of *St. John's*, in *Newfoundland*; and a third time, from a squadron under captain *Harlow*, which he out-failed, though his ships were foul and leaky, and those of his enemies had just put to sea. But we are now upon the eve of an event, the most critical, not only to the *English*, but the *Spanish* empire in *America*; and which having hitherto been but little understood by *English* writers, and misrepresented

sented by others, we shall endeavour to explain with all possible succinctness.

An account
of the
Scots colony
at
Darien.

THE Scots, during the reign of king *William*, not only considered themselves as an independent people, but as being entitled to the highest favours which that monarch could grant them, by their early and ready joining in the Revolution. As they were not destitute of a spirit of enterprize, various methods had been proposed for raising themselves by trade; and one *Paterfon*, a visionary projector, and a *Scotchman*, but settled in *England*, having become acquainted with *Dampier*, and other *West-Indian* adventurers in *London*, was by them informed, that the isthmus of *Darien*, the most important spot in *America*, was possessed by an independent people, who were irreconcilable to the persons and government of the *Spaniards*, and who would most undoubtedly grant a settlement in their country to any *European* people, who would assist them against the encroachments of that nation. *Paterfon*, though a low-bred man, found means to discourse with several people of rank upon the same subject; and making himself master of every particular concerning it, he immediately formed a project, not only for peopling this precious spot with his countrymen, but for raising in *Holland*, *Hamburg*, and other states, more than sufficient subscriptions for carrying it into execution. We are to inform our readers at the same time, that upon this project was grafted another, for a trade between *Scotland* and *Africa*, notwithstanding the charter of the royal *African* company in *England*.

An act of
parliament
passed for
erecting it.

THOUGH nothing could be more chimerical or impracticable than the plan of this undertaking, yet the encouragement that it met with is incredible; the whole being founded on the independency of the *Scots* and that of the *Darien* *Indians*. The marquis of *Tweeddale* was, at that time, the royal commissioner or viceroy for *Scotland*; and he and his friends were actually surpris'd into passing, with all requisite formalities, an act, "for erecting a company, to be called the company of *Scotland*, trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*, with great immunities, viz. of being custom-free for above twenty years; and that all ships, which should be taken or damaged by any other nation, to be made good at his majesty's charge." By those two great encouragements, the *Scots*, who were embarked in this project, were enabled to undersell their neighbours, and the adventurers were always sure of public protection, and even indemnification. The reader may perceive, that the title of this act comprehended three quarters of the globe, *Africa*, and the *East*, as well as the *West*, *Indies*. This was a shallow device for enlarging their scheme, and inviting

adventurers; but, at the same time, it multiplied their enemies, among whom the chief were the old and new *East-India* companies in *England*. The act of parliament, however, having passed for this extraordinary establishment, it became a very serious matter; and king *William*, when he heard the uses that were to be made of it, was so astonished, that he publickly said, with unusual warmth, that “ he had been ill-served in *Scotland*.”

THE ferment, which the act itself occasioned in *England*, became universal: and his majesty was applied to by petitions and remonstrances from all nations, who complained of the *Scotch* project, as being utterly inconsistent with their commercial rights. The *English*, especially the *East-India* company, insisted upon their being preserved in the possession of those privileges for which they had paid so dear. The *Dutch* were alarmed, lest the *Scots* should supplant them in their gainful, but illicit, trade with the *Spanish West-Indies*. Even the *French* king, notwithstanding his enmity to *England*, offered his fleet for dislodging the *Scots* from any settlement they should make in the *East* or *West-Indies*; but of all complaints on this occasion, the loudest came from the *Spaniards*, who were well acquainted with the design of the *Scots*. All those remonstrances did not invalidate the act of parliament, and the *Scots* met with uncommon success in raising subscriptions, particularly in *Hamburgh*, where 100,000 *l.* sterling was supposed to be subscribed. This alarmed the *English* parliament itself, and on the 14th of *December*, both houses joined in a very strong address on that subject, remonstrating that the late *Scotch* act of parliament, if carried into execution, must absolutely destroy the most valuable branches of the *English* commerce.

*It alarms
the king
and parli-
ament of
England.*

HIS majesty was at this time in a most undesirable situation; he could not disown the act, and if he did not, he must break with the *English*, with whom he then stood upon very indifferent terms. In answer to the address, he repeated what he had said before, “ that he had been ill-served in *Scotland*, but he hoped some remedies might be found, to prevent the inconveniencies that might arise from the act.” Though by those expressions, and by his majesty’s turning out of their posts all who had been instrumental in procuring the act, the *Scots* might have easily foreseen its fate; yet they went madly on, as if no method, if it could not be repealed, could have been found out to evade it. The king perceiving they were resolved to proceed, shewed his disapprobation, by sending orders to Sir *Paul Rycart*, the *English* resident at *Hamburgh*, and his envoy at the court of *Lunenburgh*, to join

in a memorial, which was to be delivered to the senate of *Hamburgh*, threatening them with his majesty's highest displeasure, if they joined with the senate in any treaty of commerce whatever. This memorial was presented at the very time when the hopes of the *Scots* were at the highest; and it produced an address to the king from the council of the *Scotch* company, in pretty severe terms. This address farther embarrassed his majesty, who ordered the two *Scotch* secretaries of state to signify to the company, that he would give orders to his envoy at the court of *Lunenburgh*, and his resident at *Hamburgh*, not to make use of his majesty's name or authority, for obstructing the company in the prosecution of their trade with the inhabitants of the city. But those inhabitants dared to do nothing, but by the approbation of the senate; and thus the *Scots* all of a sudden failed in their great expectations at *Hamburgh*, as well as in *England*. Some of the *Hamburgh* merchants, indeed, seemed inclined to continue their subscriptions, but were soon obliged to desist. This produced addresses upon addresses from the company, and even from the parliament of *Scotland*, (where the whole nation seemed to be unanimous in support of the project) to the king, but without their receiving any satisfactory answers. Their disappointment was far from damping their zeal; they subscribed 400,000 *l.* sterling to the company, no rank or degree of men among them being free from the infection. Noble offices and warehouses were erected, and four ships, the smallest carrying sixty guns, were built at an immense expence for the use of the colony, besides tenders and transports.

The Scots
land at
Darien.

TILL those ships were built, their destination had never been published by the directors of the company, and *Pater-son's* scheme for the *Scots* settling the isthmus of *Darien*, was now first openly avowed. Three of their ships, and two tenders, with about 1200 choice men on board, sailed from the *Frith*, and about the middle of *November*, 1698, they landed safe with the loss of but few of their men, in the bay of *Darien*, where they immediately took possession of *St. Catharine's Island*, which we have already mentioned, then called the *Golden Island*. This they fortified to great advantage, its port being large and capacious enough for ships of the greatest burden, and at the same time extremely secure. The fort built here mounted fifty guns, and its garrison consisted of 600 men. To do the *Scots* justice, they proceeded in a regular manner in their settlement. The first thing they did, was, to enter into an alliance with the inhabitants, and the king (as he is called) of *Darien*, who disclaimed all de-

dependence upon, or league with, the *Spaniards*. Intelligence of this arriving in *Scotland*, the council-general of the company there laid before his majesty the proceedings of their colony; and, to induce him to protect it, informed him, that they had undoubted intelligence of the *French* designing to settle the same country, had they not been prevented by the *Scots*; and that they had in every thing acted according to the conditions required in the act of parliament, and by their letters-patents.

At the time this representation was laid before the king, a very pressing memorial was presented by the *Spanish* ambassador (who was personally obnoxious to his majesty) upon the same head. Though it must be acknowledged, that the proceedings of the *Scotch* company, as founded on their act of parliament, (supposing them to be an independent people, as they certainly were) were irreproachable; yet the united interest of all *Europe* required their being crushed. The king, who was entirely of that opinion, complained of his not having been made acquainted with the destination of the *Scotch* ships, and refused, by the earl of *Seafield*, the secretary of state for that kingdom, to give them any countenance or protection, till the place of their settlement was fully known. The people of *Jamaica*, of all the *English West-Indians*, had the greatest reason to be alarmed at the progress of the *Scots*; for though both were under the same king, yet the opposition the latter had met with at *London*, had exasperated them greatly at their *English* brethren. It was evident, from the situation of the *Scotch* colony, that if properly supported, it would, some time or other, be in a condition to give law to all *America*, especially as their new harbour was declared a free-port; and this must not only thin *Jamaica*, and the other *English* islands, of their inhabitants, but drain them of their money. The *Jamaicans* were soon delivered from their apprehensions by the following proclamation, which was very secretly sent over, being published in their island.

“By the honourable Sir *William Beeston*, knight, governor and commander in chief for his majesty in the island of *Jamaica*, and of the territories and dependencies of the same, and admiral thereof.”

Proclamation
against the
Scotch

“Whereas I have received orders from his majesty, by the right honourable *James Vernon*, one of the principal secretaries of state, importing, that his majesty was not informed of the intentions and designs of the *Scots*, in peopling *Darien*, which is contrary to the peace between his majesty and his allies, commanding me not to afford them any assistance: in compliance therewith, in his majesty’s name, and by his order,

adventurers,

order, I do strictly charge and require all and every his majesty's subjects, that upon no pretence whatsoever, they hold any correspondence with the *Scots* aforesaid, or give them any assistance with arms, ammunition, provision, or any thing whatsoever, either by themselves, or any other for them; nor assist them with any of their shipping, or of the *English* nation's, upon pain of his majesty's displeasure, and suffering the severest punishment. Given under my hand and seal of arms, the 9th of *April*, 1699, and in the 11th year of the reign of *William III.* king of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland,* and lord of *Jamaica,* defender of the faith."

THE like proclamation was published by the governors of *Barbados, New York, and New England.* In the mean while, the new settlement of *Darien* had been attacked by the *Spanish* governor of *Santa Maria,* whom they defeated with the loss of 100 of his men, and made himself prisoner. But an enemy, of a much more powerful nature, began then to invade the new colonists. Great part of their provisions had been consumed before they left their native country, so that they were now threatened with famine; and when they applied for relief to the *English* colonies, the proclamation was produced as their answer; though, before the proclamation was published, the people of *Jamaica* were ready enough in supplying the colony with provisions and turtle, and others, perhaps, would have traded clandestinely with them, even after the proclamation. But the colonists were either unable or unwilling to answer their exorbitant demands. Thus, in fact, this ill-concerted expedition, after filling the mother-country with the most unbounded hopes, came to nothing, because it was not properly supplied and supported; and the settlers were obliged to abandon the spot, which had promised them such immense riches. Their miseries, even after quitting *Darien,* were inexpressible. Such of them as came on shore at *Jamaica,* were considered in little better light than that of hostile pirates; and, though famine was painted in their faces, they received no other relief but what they paid for in the goods which still remained in their hands, at above fifty per cent. discount (A). In the mean time, scarcely had the first settlers abandoned *Darien,* when they were succeeded by a fresh recruit; but the chief ship, which carried their provisions, being burnt by accident, and having no place on the globe, from whence they could draw subsistence, but

(A) The new cloathing of their soldiers, which was of red cloth, was sold for half a crown a coat, and all other wearing apparel in proportion.

from their native country, they too were obliged to quit the settlement. A third embarkation, better provided than any of the two former had been, for colonizing, landed soon after; but that also miscarried, through the factions and divisions of those who had the management of it; so that they were not able to resist even the feeble force of the Spaniards, and they too, under the protection of a capitulation, abandoned the colony. whose
scheme
miscarries.

It is foreign for us to particularize the prodigious ferment which the miscarriage of this colony occasioned all over Scotland. Perhaps, the capital misfortune of the whole lay in the danger of the court of Spain confiscating all the English effects in that country, which, at that time, were far more considerable than ever they have been since; and therefore the English mercantile interest in general engaged to oppose it. But even this obstacle, strong as it was, might not have defeated the scheme, had it not been for the particular situation of the affairs of Europe at that time, which soon after took a turn very different from what had been foreseen by his majesty or his English ministers, who little thought that a branch of the house of Bourbon was to succeed to the Spanish monarchy in America as well as in Europe. Jamaica seems to have been the only English colony, who gained by the miscarriage of the Scotch settlement. Many of the adventurers chose to settle there, rather than be exposed to farther troubles, which contributed to the population of the island; and being in general a strong hardy race, they were very useful in their sugar-works, and other manufactures, while not a few of them served as overseers and tutors to young planters. Reflection.

THE French still continued their preparations against the English, and during the Scotch settlement at Darien, they had fourteen men of war at Petit Guaves, some of them 70 gun ships, with which they gave out they intended a descent upon the Havannah; but that their views were defeated by the unforeseen preparations of the Spaniards. By this time Port-Royal had been rebuilt as well as the late devastation of the earthquake, could admit of, and the assembly passed an act for fortifying it, which obliged the governor to remove thither from Spanish-Town, that he might superintend the works. The government of England being of opinion, that the French still had an eye upon Jamaica, in 1699 sent thither admiral Bembow with a considerable squadron of men of war, but during his passage, infectious distempers made great havock among his crews and officers. Upon their arrival at Jamaica, the survivors recovered their health, and the island was then considered as being in a high pitch of prosperity, PortRoyal
rebuilt.

not-

Death of
Sir Wil-
liam Bee-
stun.

Selwyn,
governor.

Beckford,
governor.

notwithstanding two *English* men of war were cast away near *Hispaniola*, and *Fort Charles* in *Port-Royal* was blown up by accident. *Sir William Beeston* died upon the island in 1700, and was succeeded in April 1701, as governor, by major-general *Selwyn*.

THE succession of the duke of *Anjou* to the undivided monarchy of *Spain* now taking place, it was naturally concluded that a war between *Great-Britain* and the two branches of the *Bourbon* family must soon ensue, and this made admiral *Bembow*, who was then upon the island, extremely active and solicitous upon every measure that could contribute to its security by sea. *Selwyn* died soon after his arrival at *Port Royal*. Upon his death, *Peter Beckford*, Esq; was appointed by the council to be lieutenant-governor; and he celebrated in a signal manner the sad obsequies of king *William*, and the joyful accession of queen *Anne* to the throne. No sooner did the expected war between *England* and *France* break out, than *Bembow* exerted himself to the utmost, by making dispositions of his cruisers and men of war for the annoyance of the *French* and their trade. He dispatched some of his ships towards *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, where they made a very rich prize; while he himself sailed with the rest of his squadron to intercept a *French* fleet, which had been fitted out under *M. Du Cassé* against the *English West-Indian* islands. One of the *English* men of war had the good fortune to send the *Gloriana*, a *Spanish* man of war, bound for *St. Domingo* and *Carthagena*, a prize into *Port-Royal*. In the mean while, the admiral, with seven of his best ships, put the *French* and *Spaniards* into dreadful consternation by cruising off *Leogane* and *Petit Guaves*. Here the enemy was obliged to blow up one of their 40 gun ships, which he had driven ashore; he burnt two of their best merchant-ships; and the *Colchester*, on the 14th of *August* 1702, brought into *Port Royal* several rich prizes. The address sent over by the council and assembly of *Jamaica*, which was transmitted to her majesty, and presented by *Sir Gilbert Heathcote*, and *Sir Bartholomeiw Gracedieu*, seems to have put her majesty in mind, that a governor was still wanting for *Jamaica*, and the appointment fell upon the earl of *Peterborough*, who was invested with fuller powers than any other governor had ever been. The reputation of this nobleman made his appointment highly acceptable to the inhabitants of *Jamaica*.

History of
Bembow's
engage-
ment with
Du Cassé,

THE brave vice-admiral *Bembow* still continued stationed at *Jamaica*, and on the 11th of *July* 1702, he sailed from *Port-Royal*, to join rear admiral *Weston*; but on the 14th, having undoubted intelligence that *Du Cassé*, with the *French* squa-

squadron, was expected in those seas, he failed to fight him. In his voyage thither, he destroyed a *French* 50 gun ship, and took eight or ten merchantmen. On the 15th of *August* he came in fight of *Du Cassé*, who was bearing towards *Carthagena*. *Bembow's* force was as follows; the *Breda*, captain *Fog*, of 70 guns, on board of which he was himself; the *Defiance*, captain *Richard Kirby*, commander, of 64 guns; the *Windsor*, captain *John Constable*, of 60 guns; the *Greenwich*, captain *Cooper Wade*, of 54 guns; the *Ruby*, captain *George Walton*, of 48 guns; the *Pendennis*, captain *Thomas Hudson*, of 48 guns; and the *Falmouth*, captain *Samuel Vincent*, of 48 guns. *Du Cassé* had under him four large ships of war, from 66 to 70 guns, with a *Dutch* fly-boat of about 30 guns, a transport full of soldiers, a sloop, and three smaller vessels; and the engagement which ensued happened near *St. Martha*, on the 19th of the same month. The disposition which *Bembow* had ordered for the engagement being formed, he was extremely uneasy at seeing the *Defiance* and the *Windsor* so backward in answering the signals for their falling into the line of battle; but all the succeeding night he kept up with the enemy, in expectation of the *Defiance* coming into its station, which was a-breast of the headmost ship. At last, the *Falmouth*, the *Windsor*, and the *Defiance* engaged, and the *Breda* was obliged to do the same. The *Defiance* and the *Windsor*, after receiving some broadsides from the enemy, broke out of the line, and consequently out of danger, and left the admiral to bear all the fire of the sternmost ships of the *French*. Night coming on, he perceived that the *French* wanted to escape, but he resolved to pursue them, and himself to lead the chase; for which purpose he formed a new line of battle, in hopes that his cowardly captains might be prevailed upon to second him. The *French* continued still retreating; but on the 20th, the admiral was within gun-shot of the enemy, seconded by the *Ruby* only, his other ships being from three to five miles a-stern of him. A kind of a running fight in this manner continued for two or three days, till the *Ruby* was so much shattered that she was towed off, while the *Defiance* and *Windsor*, though within point-blank of the enemy's rear-ship, never fired a gun. The admiral, however, continued to maintain the fight most gallantly, and the *French* as industriously endeavoured to avoid it. This running engagement continued till the 24th, the *Ruby* being ordered for *Port Royal*, and the admiral being then seconded only by the *Falmouth*. The engagement then recommenced with great fury, till *Bembow's* right leg was, by a chain-shot, shivered into pieces; so that he

was

Cowardice
of his
officers ;

was carried to his cabin ; but he immediately ordered himself to be brought upon deck, in a cradle, and gallantly maintained the fight. By this time, one of the largest *French* ships was rendered a wreck, and four sail of the *English* squadron poured their broadsides into her ; but then retreated without the least regard to the signal of battle. The enemy upon this took heart, and attacked the admiral so briskly, that he was obliged to lay by and refit his ship, and he took that opportunity of expostulating with his cowardly captains, whom he sent for on board, upon their behaviour. Though nothing could be more certain, than that the whole of the *French* fleet must have been destroyed or taken, had the courage of the *English* admiral been seconded ; and though it was evident, that the *French* made their utmost efforts to escape, yet the other captains concurred with *Kirby* in advising him to desist from engaging farther, on account of the superiority of the *French*. *Bembow* easily perceived from this concerted piece of cowardice, that he was to expect no assistance from his captains, while his own and another ship could not continue the engagement against all the *French* squadron, especially as he himself had not only lost a leg, but had been wounded in the face and arm, in an attempt made by the *French* admiral to board him ; and therefore, with the utmost reluctance, he returned to *Jamaica*.

two of
whom are
punished
with
death.

FULL of rage and just resentment, *Bembow* on the 6th of *October* issued a commission to rear admiral *Whetstone*, and some captains, for trying *Kirby*, *Constable*, *Wade*, and *Hudson*, for cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty. The court, upon the fullest proof, after sitting four days, condemned *Kirby* and *Wade* to be shot to death ; but their sentence was respited till her majesty's pleasure should be known. They were accordingly sent home to *England* in the *Bristol* man of war ; and the queen not only confirmed the sentence, but sent orders to the sea-ports, that whenever they should arrive their sentence should be executed without their being suffered to come on shore, which was accordingly done. *Hudson* had died before the trial. *Constable* was cleared of cowardice, but was cashiered the service, as being guilty of the other crimes, and sentenced to be imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure. It appeared in the course of those trials, that *Bembow's* haughty behaviour had produced a general confederacy of his captains against him, in which even the gallant captain *Walton*, who afterwards distinguished himself so bravely in the service, concurred during an hour of intoxication ; but, upon sober reflection, renouncing the engagement, he fought with a courage equal to that of *Bembow* himself, till
his

his ship was disabled. *Fog* and *Vincent* were convicted of having signed a paper not to serve under *Bembow*; but all other circumstances appearing highly in their favour, they were only provisionally suspended.

It must be acknowledged, that the *English* never lost a fairer opportunity than they did, by the cowardice of those captains, of disabling the *French* in the *West-Indies*; and, consequently, of cutting them off from all the nerves of war, by preventing the transportation of the *Spanish* treasure to *Europe*. *Bembow* was sensible of this, especially when he received the following billet, dispatched from *Du Cassé* after his arrival at *Carthage*na: “ Sir, I had little hope on *Monday* Du Cassé's letter to Bembow. last but to have supped in your cabin; but, it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by God, they deserve it. Yours, *Du Cassé*.” In his letter to his wife, he told her, that “ the loss of his leg did not trouble him half so much, as the villainous treachery of some of the captains under him, which hindered him from totally destroying the *French* squadron.” Melancholy at last co-operated with the wounds of this brave admiral, and he died when he was but fifty years of age; during which, he had raised himself from the lowest to the highest offices in the navy, on the 4th of *November* 1702. Upon his death, rear admiral *Whetstone* took upon him the command of the squadron at *Jamaica*, Jamaica privateers. where the spirit of privateering was now very strong among the inhabitants. A small squadron from thence attacked a place about twelve leagues from *Carthage*na, called *Toulon*, which they plundered and burnt. They then sailed to *Caledonia* the late *Scotch* settlement, and going up the river *Darien*, they found all to be true that the *Scots* had reported concerning the aversion of the *Indians* of that isthmus to the *Spaniards*; for they joined the *English* in their search of the mines of *Santa Cruz*, near *Santa Maria*. On the 9th day of their march, the whole of the *English* being 400, they surprized an out-guard of ten *Spaniards*, and though they took nine of them, yet the tenth escaping, alarmed the inhabitants of *Santa Maria*, who retired from thence with all their treasure and best effects. Though this was a disappointment to the *English*, yet they attacked and took the fort and the mine, and set seventy negroes, whom they found there, to work upon the same; by which in twenty-one days time, they got above eighty pounds weight of gold-dust, besides discovering some parcels of plate, which had been buried by the inhabitants. When they departed, they burnt the town all but the church, and they carried off the negroes. As gold was the

the sole object of the adventurers, some of them went farther up the river, in search of another mine, while two of their sloops landed near *Trinidad*, which they took, plundered, and burnt, after making a very considerable booty.

Lord Peterborough, governor, and Handiside, lieutenant-governor. Port-Royal burnt.

LORD *Peterborough*, who, upon the death of major-general *Selwyn*, had been appointed governor of *Jamaica*, never went to that island, for reasons, which do not fall under our consideration. But in 1703, colonel *Handiside* was appointed lieutenant-governor of *Jamaica* by the crown. It was, during his time, that the town of *Port-Royal*, in *January*, 1703-4, was burnt to the ground. It was then in very flourishing circumstances: but being built on a narrow neck of land, surrounded by the sea, the houses crowded, and the streets narrow, no assistance could be given to stop the conflagration; so that the inhabitants lost some of their effects, but the merchants saved their warehouses and magazines, by the help of boats, together with their books and money, and of the shipping, only one brigantine and sloop, which were at anchor in the harbour, were burnt. The lieutenant-governor lost no time in relieving the sufferers; and calling the assembly, they approved of all he had done, and reimbursed his expences, but at the same time they voted, that *Port-Royal* should not be rebuilt, and that the inhabitants should remove to *Kingston*, which was laid out in a more advantageous manner, and was soon inhabited to the full.

THE island of *Jamaica* lost at this time, through mismanagement at home, the fairest opportunity that it ever had of enriching itself. All restraints were now taken off from the *Spanish West-Indies*, which the inhabitants were at liberty to attack and to plunder; but this could not be done without over-awing the *French* marine. Prince *George* of *Denmark* was then lord-high-admiral of *England*, and being totally unacquainted with maritime affairs, he acted by the advice of a council, who were as interested as he was ignorant. Vice-admiral *Graydon*, a man unskilled in his profession, and brutal in his manners, was one of their favourites, and it was resolved to send him with a squadron of men of war to *Jamaica*. The true design of his expedition was to dispossess the *French* of *Placentia*, and the *Newfoundland* trade; but for that purpose, he was to collect all the force he could upon *Jamaica* and the other *West-Indian* islands. It seems to be pretty certain, that the *French* at this time had their agents in the *English* admiralty, and that *Graydon*, who was more than a tory, was backward in provoking them. He set sail from *Plymouth* on the 13th of *March*, with the *Resolution*,
the

the *Montague*, the *Nonfuch*, and the *Blackwall*, with transports, storehips and merchantmen, and the regiment of brigadier *Columbine*, who died in his passage, on board. The fifth day after he sailed, he fell in with *Du Cassé's* Squadron, which had just escaped from that of *Bembow*, and was very foul and leaky. Captain *Cleland*, of the *Montague*, attacked the sternmost of the *French* ships; but, upon the first firing, the vice-admiral threw out a signal to call him off, by which *Admiral Du Cassé's* Squadron got safe into *Brest* with all his treasure. *Graydon's* pretended the urgency of his orders, and the necessity he was under to proceed, to excuse this shameful conduct, and in this he was publicly justified by the admiralty. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he disgusted all the inhabitants both of that and the other *West-India* islands by his conduct, of which they sent over complaints to *England*. Having collected all the strength he could there, he sailed for *Placentia*, but his fleet was dispersed for thirty days in a fog, and when it re-assembled, it was concluded, in a council of war, that the *French* were too well prepared at *Placentia* to be attacked; upon which he returned to *England*. By this time, the house of peers had voted, "That his behaviour, in letting the four *French* ships escape, was a prejudice to her majesty's service, and a great dishonour to the nation; and that his proceedings in *Jamaica* had been a great discouragement to the inhabitants of that island, and prejudicial to her majesty's service." They likewise "made an humble address to her majesty, that Mr. *Graydon* might not be employed any more in her service; but, having been acquainted, since the report made to them from their committee, that Mr. *Graydon* was discharged, they besought her majesty that he might be employed no more in her service."

ADMIRAL Whetstone, at this time, had cruised for five weeks on the coasts of *Hispaniola*, in hopes of intercepting a large fleet of merchant-ships coming under a convoy from *Old France*. Being disappointed in this expectation, he sent captain *Vincent*, who had behaved so bravely in *Bembow's* engagement with *Du Cassé*, with one half of his ships to the southward, while he himself, with the other half, kept to the northward. Three *French* privateers, in endeavouring to avoid captain *Vincent*, fell in with the admiral, who sunk two of them, and took the third; while captain *Vincent* was equally successful upon another part of the coast, where he destroyed four *French* privateers. The destruction of those privateers was a fortunate circumstance for *Jamaica*; for they were appointed to carry 500 men to land upon some part of that island, and to plunder it. The loss of the *French*, upon this

occasion, was very considerable; and the more so, as they had no more privateers in those seas, the *English* carrying off 120 prisoners. Those and other successes against the *French* went far towards clearing the *English West-Indies* of their privateers. This facilitated a clandestine commerce between the *Jamaicans* and the *Spaniards*, to the great enriching of the former; and on the 7th of *May*, 1704, admiral *Wheftone*, who had returned to *England*, arrived at *Jamaica* with six ships of war, for the protection of the island, having a convoy of merchantmen under him. While he remained in those seas, he was very successful against the *French*; and besides the privateers he took, he destroyed an enemy's ship of 46 guns. The privateers of *Jamaica* were equally successful, by taking several very rich prizes, *Spanish* as well as *French*. In *January*, 1705-6, two *English* men of war, the *Bristol* and *Folkstone*, fell in with two *French* men of war, which had, under their convoy, ten sail of merchant-ships, all of them richly laden. *Anderson*, who was the *English* commodore, attacked the convoy, but suffered the men of war to escape, and arrived at *Jamaica* with six of the *French* merchantmen, his prizes. The flagrancy of this conduct brought *Anderson* and his officers to a trial, and they were adjudged by the admiral to lose their commissions.

Success of
the *Jamaica*
privateers.

THE mismanagements in the marine which still prevailed at the *English* admiralty-board, undoubtedly gave great handles for oppressing the people of *Jamaica*. Though *Graydon* had been dismissed for his misconduct and brutal behaviour in that island, yet his punishment was not adequate to his offences, and this encouraged others to imitate his example. Captain *Kerr*, who had been left to command the squadron at *Jamaica*, when *Wheftone* returned to *England*, was suspected of being in a correspondence with the *French*, by the vast number of rich *Spanish* prizes which he let slip, and by his tyranny over all the sea-faring part of the island. The *Jamaicans*, however, had the spirit to employ a solicitor to prosecute him in *England*, which he did with such effect that his commission was taken from him, and the instruments of his tyranny were punished. The *Jamaicans*, at this time, were not much better pleased with the conduct of their governor *Handside*, whom they accused of being entirely under the direction of one *Rigby*, who set the governor and the assembly at variance in 1711. This *Rigby* had monopolized into his own hands several of the most lucrative employments in the island. This had produced a bill against such engrossments, which passed the assembly, but was disallowed of in *England*; but at last it was confirmed, after some alterations

had

had been made in it. *Peter Beckford*, junior, was then speaker of the assembly; but it was in so ill a humour with the governor, that several motions were made, which he disliked so much, that he more than once attempted to leave the chair; but he was held forcibly in it by some members, who drew their swords, and shut the doors of the assembly-house. *Peter Beckford* the elder, father to the speaker, hearing of this, went to the governor, and told him they were murdering his son. The governor, upon this, took along with him the two centinels that stood at his gate, forced open the doors of the house, and dissolved the assembly, in the queen's name. This act of resolution prevented the continuance of the riot; but the fright is said to have had a fatal effect on old *Mr. Beckford*, whom it killed either that, or the next, day. The differences between the governor and the assembly still continuing, it was resolved at court to send over a new governor to *Jamaica*, and the appointment fell upon the lord *Archibald Hamilton*, brother to duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*.

As the last mentioned nobleman was extremely obnoxious to the whigs, on account of his supposed attachment to the Pretender's interest, his brother's appointment to the government of *Jamaica* was very disagreeable to that party. He arrived at *Jamaica* in *July 1711*; but found the people in so bad a humour, that he was obliged to put off the meeting of the assembly. To this it is said, he was advised by *Rigby*, and by one *Broderick* the attorney-general, who had been imported into *Jamaica* from *Montserrat*, and other violent Tories, particularly one *Stewart*, a physician. Though the peace between *France* and *England* was, by this time, far advanced, yet hostilities still continued between the two nations in the *West-Indies*; and *Coffart*, a *French* admiral, after making a descent upon *Montserrat*, threatened the same upon *Jamaica*. The universal consternation which this spread, for some time suspended party-heats. The *London* merchant-ships were detained for the defence of the island, and an embargo was laid on all other shipping. This proved fatal to many of them; for the apprehensions of *Coffart* were scarcely blown over, when the island was invaded by a most dreadful hurricane of wind, lightning, and rain. This happened on the 28th of *August, 1712*; and though the storm lasted but six hours, yet several ships belonging to *London* and *Bristol*, were destroyed, as were fourteen belonging to the island. Even the king's ships at *Kingston* and *Port-Royal*, were greatly damaged: vast numbers of houses and warehouses were blown down or shattered, past repair. Many valuable goods were spoiled by the deluges of rain which fell, and the rest of the

Lord Archibald Hamilton, governor.

A hurricane.

mischief that was done, was beyond estimation. Trees were blown down by the roots, and the canes and provisions for the negroes, were, in general, destroyed all over the island; but the greatest loss consisted in that of 400 sailors, who were drowned in the harbours of *Port-Royal* and *Kingston*, and numbers of persons, who were killed by the fall of houses and sugar-works.

THE calamity which this hurricane occasioned made the inhabitants of *Jamaica* apprehensive that the *French* would take advantage of it to invade their island; and on the 1st of *September*, 1712, martial law was proclaimed, and all the inhabitants were mustered under arms. On the 18th of the same month, another hurricane happened, which lasted from eight at night till noon next day. The *Jamaicans* had so often felt the dreadful effects of those hurricanes, that they were equally alarmed for the safety of their own ships of war, as at the destination of the *French*. The *Defiance* or the *Centurion* man of war was then cruising off *St. Martha* and *Carthagena*, and the *Jamaicans* soon had the consolation to know, not only that they had rid out the storm, but that the *French* ships had been so shattered by it, as to be obliged to quit those seas. The great numbers of *Scotch* and *Irish* gentlemen, who expected to make their fortunes under the new governor, and who attended him to *Jamaica*, gave disgust to the inhabitants, as indeed their political principles did to all who wished well to the house of *Hanover*. It was no wonder, if to supply so many hungry adventurers, some arbitrary acts of government were committed, particularly by seizing lands and tenements of the owners, under pretext of their not having a legal title to them, and that they had escheated to the crown. This practice was the more oppressive, as several families thereby lost their estates, which they had purchased upon the faith of their having a valid title to them, and had laid out their whole substance upon their improvement. *Rigby*, whom we have already mentioned, and *Broderick*, the attorney-general, were accused as being the promoters of those iniquitous proceedings. That they were flagrant, appears by a letter, complaining of the government of the island, published in 1714, in the following terms: "The mal-practices of Mr. *Rigby*, his confederates, abettors, and tools, have been so grossly fraudulent and oppressive, to the manifest prejudice both of the queen and the subject, that in the escheating of estates, whether justly escheatable or not, the private composition given to the governors, besides what these escheat-parties have got themselves, has oftener than once amounted to near three hundred times

Oppres-
sions,

as much as the pretended trifling value, though upon oath of such estates brought to the queen's account." Those practices at last became so crying, that the assembly interposed, and passed three acts; the first was chiefly levelled at Mr. *Rigby*, and was for preventing any one person holding two or more offices and posts in the island: the second was for regulating exorbitant fees; and the third for quieting men's possessions, and preventing vexatious suits at law.

RIGBY being secretary of state, as well as provost-marshal, and abuses of the government of *Jamaica*, it was his office to transmit to the government of *England*, under the broad seal of the island, all the acts that were sent home for ratification. So secure was this officer of his interest at court, that when he transmitted those acts he affixed no broad seal to them; by which omission, the ratifications of them were delayed, and in danger of being entirely lost. The truth is, the island, at this time, was in a most deplorable condition. Its governors, who for many years before, had been bred either in the army or to the sea, presided in chancery, where their will was their law. The chief justice, who presided in their law-courts, had a few years before been a cabin-boy, and having lost the ship he afterwards got the command of, he married a planter's widow, and became a judge; and all the other judges and justices in the island were of the same cast. It was to make way for such, that colonel *Haywood* was removed from being chief justice, and a member of the council, though a person of great interest in the island; as were Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair*. A dispute about money advanced for the maintenance of colonel *Handside's* regiment, and two independent companies of foot on the island, having been referred by the assembly to a committee, of which Mr. *Chaplin* was chairmain; they reported their opinion, that the said money had been raised without law, and without the public faith having been given for it; and the assembly in consequence resolved, that the same was no public debt. This proceeding, though the assembly thereby did no more than assert their own undoubted right of granting money, cost Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair*, who was strenuous on the same side, their seats at the council-board.

THE inhabitants of *Jamaica* had more reason than any other *British* subjects to complain of the peace of *Utrecht*, injured by and the *Assiento* contract that followed, with the *Spaniards*; the peace which, in fact, established a new interest in *Great Britain*, of *Utrecht*, incompatible with that of our *West-Indies*, and of *Jamaica* in particular. Though it is evident, that the *Spaniards* and the *French*, at that time, would have granted almost any concessions in point of trade to their *West-Indies*, in favour

The History of America.

of *Great Britain*; yet our ministers were in so violent a hurry to make peace, that all stipulations of that kind were overlooked, and the whole of that trade was suffered to remain on the footing of the *American* treaty in 1670; by which all commerce between the *English* and the *Spanish* settlements in *America* was entirely prohibited. This, together with the suspension of arms between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, created an inexpressible trouble to the people of *Jamaica*. Their privateers became now no better than pirates; and were treated as such by the *French* and *Spaniards*, who charged them with carrying off from *Hispaniola*, negroes, indigo, and other goods to a very considerable amount. A complaint of this was made by the *Spanish* governor of *St. Domingo*, while the people of *Jamaica*, with equal justice complained, that they had been robbed by the *French* and *Spaniards* to the amount of 200,000 pieces of eight, after the said suspension had taken place.

It happened unfortunately, both for the island and the governor, soon after the conclusion of the peace of *Utrecht*, that the ships of war which had been stationed at *Jamaica* for its preservation, had been called home; and this rendered it necessary for the *Jamaicans* to apply for some safeguard against the vast swarms of *French* and *Spanish* privateers, not to mention their own, that were then cruising about, and indiscriminately made prize of whatever came in their way. The merchants, therefore, and the chief inhabitants of the island, applied to lord *Archibald Hamilton*, to grant commissions to certain commanders of ships, in the nature of letters of marque, for the security of the island against those free-booters; which he accordingly did. Some of those commissions being abused, and made use of for robbing the *Spaniards*, and other wicked purposes, a great clamour was raised against lord *Archibald*, which was encreased when several of the inhabitants of *Jamaica* fitted out sloops for fishing upon the wrecks of some rich *Spanish* ships that had been lost upon the coast of *Florida* and the *Babama-Islands*.

*Piracies
frequent.*

THOUGH this last had been a common practice, and great estates had been raised from it, not only by Sir *William Phipps*, whom we have often mentioned, but by other persons; yet the *Spanish* governor of *Cuba* complained of it as an infraction of the treaties between the two crowns; and sent one captain *Juan de la Vallee*, deputy of the *Spanish* council of commerce, to demand satisfaction. His complaint consisted of two parts: the first was, that the *British* subjects had robbed the *Spaniards* of part of the wreck, while it was in possession of the latter; and the second reclaimed the money which had been al-

ready

ready fished up. This affair was for some time in agitation; and, in the beginning of the year 1715, while lord *Archibald Hamilton* was still governor, it came before the council, whose opinion was, "that as to such part of the *flota ships*, wrecked on the coast of *Florida*, as remained in the possession of the subjects of his Most Catholic majesty, of which it is pretended they were dispossessed, it is the opinion of his excellency and the council, that the dispossessors are robbers, and ought to be punished; but concerning such part of the said *flotas*, if any, lying derelict, the subjects of his Catholic Majesty were not drove and forced out of possession, but it belonged to the first occupant." Though this report is possibly not without its difficulties, yet it was agreeable to the practice of the *West-Indies*; nor do we know of any satisfaction the *Spaniards* ever received as to the last article, though they did as to the first. The *English*, in the mean while, complained with equal justice of the *Spaniards*, whom they accused of having robbed them of far greater sums than the *Spaniards* had pretended they lost; though their losses upon the island of *Cuba* itself, had been admitted and liquidated by the *English* government to the sum of 200,000 pieces of eight; but the *English* claims were disregarded.

THE accession of the *Hanover* family to the throne of *Lord Archibald Great Britain*, gave a new turn to the government and politics of *Jamaica*. The gentlemen there, who were in the Revolution interest, heartily joined in the solemnity of king *George the First's* proclamation, and they resolved to raise a joint purse of 1000 *l.* to be employed on agency in *England*, for obtaining redress of their grievances. Those were of so vague a nature, that many of lord *Archibald Hamilton's* friends concurred in the subscription; and one *Mr. Bendish* was appointed agent. As to the governor himself, he certainly had been guilty of no irregularities, because he had always acted according to the advice of his council, and had done nothing in which he was not warranted by the practices of the most unexceptionable of his predecessors; but he was, by the prevailing party at home, superseded in his government by colonel *Haywood*; though several of his friends had still great credit both in the council and the assembly. At the time of colonel *Haywood's* appointment, *Mr. Chaplin* and *Mr. Blair* were restored to their seats in the council, and a new council was named, who, though only by a majority of one member, put the late governor lord *Archibald Hamilton* under arrest, upon a charge of having encouraged piracy. This, undoubtedly, was a most infamous abuse of power, and the chief manager against lord *Archibald* was one *Dr. Samuel*

Page, an ignorant, illiterate, quack, but clerk of the council, though he could scarcely write a sentence of common *English*. Lord *Archibald* was sent prisoner to *England*. Besides the forementioned charge, another was brought against him, of his having permitted the council to amend money-bills. But he was fully cleared from this charge by the testimony of the Board of Trade, who acknowledged, that they had recommended to him to take care that the council should not be denied any right of amending money-bills. As to the charge against him of encouraging piracy, it turned out greatly to his lordship's honour, for he proved that his conduct had directly the contrary tendency. Upon which he was first admitted to bail, and then fully acquitted.

It appears, as if colonel *Haywood* had been appointed only as an occasional governor; for even before lord *Archibald Hamilton* was put under arrest, his majesty had conferred the government of *Jamaica* upon *Nicholas Lawes*, Esq; an eminent planter of that island, whom he knighted at the same time. This nomination was extremely agreeable not only to the people of the island, but to all the friends of our *West-Indian* settlements, as it was looked upon as a kind of omen, that those colonies would no longer serve as retreats, where broken gamesters, and spendthrift courtiers, were sent to repair their shattered fortunes. When Sir *Nicholas Lawes* arrived at his government, the remains of the pirates and buccaneers had done infinite prejudice to the *English* trade, and always found a ready asylum in the *Spanish* settlements as soon as they professed themselves to be of the Roman Catholic religion. The chief of those villains was one *Toutch*, commonly called *Blackbeard*, a native of *Jamaica*, who was killed in an engagement upon the coast of *Virginia*, one *Nicholas Brown*, and one *Christopher Winter*, which two last took refuge under the *Spanish* governor of *Trinidad*. When *Lawes* came to *Jamaica*, he found three *English* men of war of forty guns each, upon that station, viz. the *Diamond*, the *Adventure*, and the *Ludlow-Castle*; but as we had then a war with *Spain*, it was necessary to revive the execution of martial law, and to consider the military state of the island. For this purpose he summoned an assembly, whom he informed that he had taken care to repair the fortifications of *Port-Royal*; and added, "I think the rock-line, and the decayed port of *Carlisle-Bay*, worth your immediate consideration. I have addressed the minister at home, for an engineer to be sent upon the establishment, to oversee the works, and direct where to raise new ones." Soon after this, the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the peace that had been lately concluded, not only

Martial
law re-
vived.

only refused to give any satisfaction for their former depredations upon *British* subjects, but every day committed fresh ones. This occasioned Sir *Nicholas Lawes* to apply to commodore *Vernon* for an officer to be sent to the governor of *Trinidad* in *Cuba*, to demand satisfaction from the alcaides of that place; and captain *Chamberlain* was appointed to that commission, whom the governor charged with the following letter.

Pirates re-claimed by the English.

Gentlemen,

“ The frequent depredations, robberies, and other acts of violence, which are daily committed on the king my royal master’s subjects, by banditti’s, who pretend to have a commission from you, and in reality are sheltered by you, is the occasion of my sending the bearer, captain *Chamberlain*, commander of his majesty’s snow, *Happy*, to demand satisfaction for the robberies your people have committed on the king’s subjects of this island, by those traitors *Nicholas Brown*, and *Christopher Winter*, to whom you have given protection. These proceedings are not only a breach of the law of nations, but must appear to the world of a very extraordinary nature, when considered that the subjects of a prince in amity with another, should encourage such vile practices. I have had long patience, and declined using any violent measures to obtain satisfaction, hoping, the cessation of arms so happily concluded between our sovereigns would have put a stop to these disorders; but I find the port of *Trinidad* a receptacle for villains of all nations.

“ I therefore assure you, in the king my master’s name, if I meet with any of your rogues upon the coasts of this island, they shall be hanged without mercy. I demand of you to make ample satisfaction to captain *Chamberlain*, for all the negroes which the said *Brown* and *Winter* have taken from these islands since the suspension of arms, and that you will deliver up to the bearer such *Englishmen* as are detained at *Trinidad*; and that you forbear granting commissions to, or suffer any such notorious villains to be equipped from your port, otherwise those I can meet with shall be treated as pirates.”

The letter from Mr. *Joseph Lawes*, was as follows :

Gentlemen,

“ I am sent by commodore *Vernon*, commander in chief of all his majesty’s ships in the *West-Indies*, to demand, in the king our master’s name, all the vessels, with their effects; and also the negroes taken from *Jamaica* since the suspension of arms; likewise all *Englishmen* now detained, or otherwise

re-

remaining in your port of *Trinidado*, particularly *Nicholas Brown* and *Christopher Winter*, both of them being traitors, pirates, and common enemies to all nations. And the said commodore hath ordered me to acquaint you, that he is surprized that the subjects of a prince, in amity with another, should give countenance to such notorious villains."

*but refused
by the Spaniards.*

THE answer of the alcaides to this last letter is a most excellent picture of their haughty bigotted manners; "Gentlemen, say they, in answer to yours, this serves to acquaint you, that neither in this city, nor port, are there any negroes or vessels, which have been taken at your island of *Jamaica*, nor on that coast, since the cessation of arms; and what vessels have been taken since that time have been for trading, in an unlawful commerce, on this coast; and as for these *English* fugitives you mention, they are here as the other subjects of our lord the king, being brought voluntarily to our holy catholic church, and have received the water of baptism; but if they should prove rogues, and should not comply with their duty in which they are bound at present, then they shall be chastised according to the ordinance of our king. And we beg you will weigh anchor as soon as possible, and leave this port and its coasts, because on no account you shall be suffered to trade, or any thing else; for we are resolved not to admit thereof." Off of the river of *Trinidado*, Feb. 8, 1720.

THIS much may suffice for a specimen of the *Spanish* stile; *Laves* answered, that his orders were to make reprisals, and that he would treat as pirates all the subjects of *Spain* who should fall in his hands. This was a menace, which, had he executed, must have been indefensible, as the persons he claimed were under the protection of the *Spanish* government, and so far as we know, never had been legally convicted of any crime; and therefore, the alcaide dared him to do his worst; but threatened to treat every *Englishman* he could take in the same manner as he did the *Spaniards*. The governor of *Jamaica*, finding all his menaces were in vain, did not proceed to the execution of them, but published a proclamation, by the advice of his council, promising 500 *l.* for apprehending each of the two pirates, *Brown* and *Winter*; but without mentioning any treaty subsisting between the two crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, that could oblige the governor of the *Havannah*, or the alcaides of *Trinidado*, to give them up. But those rough proceedings against the *Spaniards* were far from being agreeable to the people of *Jamaica* in general, because of their favourite trade with the *Spanish West-Indies*; while the ministry in *England* being on very bad

bad terms with the court of *Spain*, as industriously discouraged it. This difference in sentiments and interest produced a coldness, if not a breach between the governor and the assembly; and four days after the late proclamation, the governor called the members together, and upbraided them soundly for their refractoriness and obstinacy, not without some very severe threatenings, that if they did not comply, the government at home would take advantage of the precariousness of their tempers, and fall upon a way, without their assistance, to secure his majesty's interest.

THOUGH this speech was certainly both provoking and unconstitutional, yet it was as much approved of at home, as it gave disgust upon the spot, where it was well known that Sir *Nicholas* had, in a manner, purchased the government of *Jamaica* from Mr. *Pitt*, formerly governor of *Fort St. George* in the *East-Indies*. But another most terrible hurricane soon suspended, for a time, all those political differences. The inhabitants had some presentation of it by the unsettledness of the weather, the shifting of the wind, but, above all, by a prodigious swell and uncommon working of the sea. On the 28th of *August*, 1722, it began at *Kingston* by eight in the morning. Half of *Kingston* was ruined; *Port-Royal* was reduced to the same condition; but it was observed all over the island, that the old houses built by the *Spaniards* received but little damage. About 400 persons were reckoned to have lost their lives at *Port Royal*, where the sea broke over the town-wall, though it was nine feet above the surface of the water, and carried with it such a number of stones as employed an hundred negroes for six weeks, in throwing them back into the sea. Of twenty-six sail of vessels and ten sloops in the harbour, only ten were to be seen after the hurricane, and half of those were damaged without repair. It would take up too much room here to specify all the particulars of this tremendous calamity. We shall therefore lay before the reader the general representation of it, sent over by the council, in an address to his majesty, which was as follows: "We beg leave humbly to represent to your majesty the deplorable circumstances we are reduced to by a dreadful storm, which happened on the 28th of *August* last. The violence of it is inexpressible. It has thrown down and shattered all our houses to such a degree, that for some time we were exposed to the extremity of the weather; it has blown down part of your majesty's fortifications, dismounted the guns, destroyed the carriages, and damaged most of the powder in the magazines and the fire-arms, and the calamity has been so general, and the loss sustained so great throughout the

Breach between the governor and assembly.

Another dreadful hurricane.

Address to the king on the same.

the island, that the poor inhabitants are utterly unable to put themselves in a posture of defence without some aid. We humbly beseech your majesty to send us such aids of guns, fire-arms, carriages, and ammunition, and such a number of ships of war, as your majesty in your wisdom shall think necessary." It is incredible, that during this hurricane (which though perhaps less violent than some preceding ones, did more damage to the island on account of its additional works and riches) many wretches plied about the scenes of public calamity, to pilfer whatever they could lay hold of belonging to the sufferers; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the governor could recover any part of the embezzled goods, by ordering the provost-general to seize them for the use of the right owners.

Relief ordered to the island.

UPON the representation contained in the address from *Jamaica*, the government of *England* ordered twelve ships of war to be put in commission for the *West-Indies*, and on board of them all kinds of necessaries and provisions for the supply and relief of that and the other *British* islands which had suffered by the late hurricane. During that calamity, some of the *British* ships, particularly the *Launceston* man of war, captain *Chandler* commander, the *Adventure*, and the *Mermaid* had been at sea, by which they escaped the storm;

Spanish pirates taken and hanged.

and in the beginning of *May*, the *Launceston* took one of those *Spanish* pirate ships which were then called guarda costas, with fifty-eight *Spaniards* on board, who had taken a snow belonging to *Jamaica*, six leagues off *Hispaniola*. As such captures were undoubtedly contraventions of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, the governor and council of *Jamaica* ventured to proceed against the prisoners as pirates; and the governor, in conjunction with the council, and the captains of the king's ships at *Jamaica*, held a council of war to try them; Mr. *Kelly* being attorney-general, and one Mr. *Norris* register of the court of admiralty. Of the fifty-eight *Spaniards*, no fewer than forty-three were convicted of piracy and robbery, and executed in consequence of their sentence. This severity was far from closing the breach between the governor and the assembly, so that he desired to be recalled, but not till after the militia of *Jamaica* had been disposed into one regiment of horse, and eight regiments of foot. This regulation became the more necessary, as the negroes whom we have so often mentioned had been suffered, through the dissensions that prevailed between the governors and the inhabitants of the island, to live unmolested in the mountains, where they acquired such strength as to grow formidable; and they had, upon an almost inaccessible pass, erected

erected a kind of a fort that bid defiance to all the force that the *Jamaicans* could bring against it; for their parties who attacked it always returned home with loss, and without success. Those negroes were not even contented with remaining on the defensive, for they often made excursions as far as *Spanish Town*, alarming the inhabitants wherever they came. Such was the situation of affairs when the *Jamaicans* thought proper to employ in their defence the *Musquito Indians*, who, as they are dependent on the governor of *Jamaica*, require to be described here

Rebellion of the mountainous negroes, and an account of the Musquito Indians.

THE *Musquetoes* are a nation on the continent, lying between *Truxillo* and *Honduras*, on a sandy bay, beyond *Cape Gracia de Dios*, near the bay of *Campeachy*, to which uncomfortable situation they were driven by the tyranny of the *Spaniards* from *Honduras*. When the duke of *Albemarle* was governor of *Jamaica*, the *Musquetoes* put themselves under the protection of the crown of *England*; and though their government was monarchical, their head king (for they have several subordinate ones) deigned to receive a commission from his grace. Ever since that time, when a vacancy in the sovereignty happens, the next heir repairs to *Jamaica*, where he proves his propinquity of blood; nor will his subjects acknowledge themselves to be such, till that is submitted at *Jamaica*, and he receives his commission from the governor. Their affection for the *English*, ever since their first admission, has been surprizing; for they have been known even to spare such of their enemies as could speak *English*; and several *Englishmen*, before the time we treat of, were encouraged to settle and to make fortunes among them. Their country is so well defended by mountains and morasses, that the *Spaniards*, for whom they have an invincible aversion, never could penetrate into it; but the *Musquetoes*, towards all but them and their *Indians*, who helped to drive them out of their old habitations, are a quiet, inoffensive people. They are by nature moral, and so void of vice, that they have no magistrature among them. They have the greatest veneration for matrimony, which they confine to a single man and woman, and shew signs of devotion, by worshipping the sun, and burying their dead, with their faces towards the east, upright on their feet.

Enemies to the Spaniards,

As to their king, his revenues are so small, that in time of peace, he is obliged to fish and fowl to maintain himself and his family; but sometimes in time of war, he receives for his good offices presents from the governor of *Jamaica* and the *English* traders. The numbers of the *Musquetoes* are

not

and their
Indians.

not known (B), being variously dispersed; but the whole of them might be easily united to serve under the *English*. They take all opportunities of surprising the *Spanish Indians*, men, women, and children, whom they either detain as slaves among themselves, or sell them upon the island of *Jamaica*. About the year 1690, those *Musquitoes* obtained what they thought to be a considerable victory over the *Spanish Indians*, of whom they killed a great number. After this, the *English* invited them to come to live in their island of *Jamaica*; but the *Musquitoes* loved their independency better than they did even the *English*. It was thought they were in some measure influenced to this by their sockeys or priests, whom they held in such veneration, that some dissolute *Englishmen* have been known to take up the profession, that they might live in indolence and affluence. No people in *America* are supposed to be more expert hunters and fishers than the *Musquitoes*; and they are so useful at sea, that the master of a *Jamaica* sloop, if possible, procures one of them to be of his crew, and treats him with particular distinction, and with larger wages, than he gives to a common seaman. Upon the arrival of every new governor, the *Musquitoes* always pay their compliments to him, either by their king, or some of their capital men; and he never fails to treat them with great civility.

Their ser-
vices a-
gainst the
negroes.

THE measure of taking a number of these *Musquitoes* into pay, to serve against the negroes in the *Blue Mountains*, as their habitations were called, being concluded upon by the assembly of *Jamaica*, 200 of them arrived in the island, and were formed into companies, with regular pay, under their own officers, but with white guides to conduct them to the fastnesses of the rebels. In this service, they shewed great sagacity; and they often used to check the *Jamaicans* for firing at game during their excursions, because the noise served only to put the rebels upon their guard. It is agreed on all hands, that during their stay upon the island, which was but for a few months, they did very considerable service against the negroes; but it is not so clear, why they were dismissed, unless, which is not improbable, their affection to their own country made them desirous of returning home.

EVERY day now produced fresh altercations between the governor and the assembly, who indeed seem to have been disaffected towards the establishment at home, and to have

(B) Sir *Charles Wager*, when lord commissioner of the admiralty, thought them to be very considerable; and while

admiral *Vernon* was upon his expedition, he had formed a scheme for arming them against the *Spaniards*.

assumed

assumed an independency incompatible with the principles of the *British* government. The calamity of the *South-Sea*, which hurt so many *English* noble families, happening about this time, the duke of *Portland*, who was a great sufferer by *Duke of* that iniquitous scheme, was appointed to succeed Sir *Nicholas* *Portland*, *Laues* in the government of *Jamaica*. His majesty, by giving this employment to his grace, seems to have intended to root out all the seeds of differences and discontent in the island, as no subject was better qualified than the duke was, both by his prudence, virtue, and good temper, to reconcile all parties. As it could not be supposed that his grace was thoroughly conversant in the practical part of business, and the ministry at home, perhaps, thinking it proper that a military-man should reside upon the island on the part of the government, one colonel *Dubourgay*, was appointed to be his grace's lieutenant-governor, and to be assistant to him in the management of affairs. *Dubourgay* of whom the ministry seem to have had a great opinion, had been nominated to the same place under Sir *Nicholas Laues*; but he never exercised any part of his functions, as well knowing it would be disagreeable to the *Jamaicans* to be burdened with a governor and a lieutenant-governor at the same time; but the high quality and great reputation of the duke of *Portland* made them imagine that no such objections could be to his having a substitute. His grace carried over with him his dutchess; and, after touching at *Barbados*, where they were magnificently received and entertained, they arrived at *Jamaica* the 22d of *December*, 1722.

THE *Jamaicans*, before his grace came upon their island, had never known a governor of true taste, magnificence, and politeness. His grace, without departing from his dignity, was far more affable and easy of access, than any of their former governors. His house had all the appearance of a polite court, and he introduced among the islanders new and more elegant modes of living: they, on the other hand, were not wanting in gratitude, for they settled no less than 5000*l.* a year upon his grace, being double what they had ever allowed to any former governor. It soon appeared, however, that the ministry at home had entirely mistaken their measures with regard to colonel *Dubourgay*. The *Jamaicans* looked upon his appointment as being no better than imposing upon them a burden which the government at home ought to bear, and as establishing upon their island a new and an expensive officer. The manner in which his grace, in his first speech to the islanders, introduced the mention of the colonel, heightened their jealousy. "I am, said the duke, farther

farther to signify to you, gentlemen, that his majesty has been pleased to appoint colonel *Charles Dubourgay*, a person of great merit and honour, to be your lieutenant-governor. His long and earnest services in war, and his sincere attachment to his majesty, have prepared his way to this particular mark of the royal favour; and I am commanded to let you know, that it is expected from you, that you receive him with the honour due to his commission, and provide him the support which his credentials will acquaint you with."

Dubourgay sent back.

IT must be acknowledged, that this was a very improper stile to be made use of to the *Jamaicans*, who objected to the creation of new officers, and considered this part of his grace's speech, as having been entirely dictated by the *English* ministry, for their own ends; and, indeed, this appeared the more likely, as they had no intimation from their agents in *England*, of the provision that was expected to be made for the colonel. They therefore made the latter a handsome present of 1000*l.* to defray his expences in coming over, and he reimarked in the *Kingston* man of war, which had brought the duke to *Jamaica*. His grace could scarcely be said to have been settled in his government, when he perceived that great intestine divisions subsisted among the islanders, some of whom were upon very bad terms with the assembly and the council; but his grace, in answer to all applications made to him on that account, always most obligingly promised to do his utmost in restoring peace to the island, by reconciling all their differences. Soon after his arrival, the king of the *Musquetoes*, whom we have already mentioned, came to pay him his compliments, and was most graciously received; but his manners and behaviour soon discovered that he was very ill-qualified for polite company.

ONE of the most difficult parts of his grace's administration related to an old claim, which had been set up and prosecuted by the *Jamaicans*, but had always been discouraged by their governors, of having their laws rendered perpetual. The *British* ministry thought that this was inconsistent with their dependence upon their mother-country; nor could they foresee the consequences of such a privilege; but they were in hopes that the generous provision which they had made for the duke would befriend them on this occasion; and, soon after his arrival upon their island, they passed a law for that purpose, to which his grace gave a negative, telling the assembly, at the same time, that the matter had been thoroughly considered at home, and that the objections made to such a law were of such weight, that it would be deceiving them,

them, should he give them the least room to expect that that bill would receive his majesty's approbation.

ANOTHER great difficulty his grace had to encounter with in his government, was, the settlement of the silver coin; the value of which had been fixed by proclamation in the reign of queen *Anne*, according to the table inserted in the note (C). The people of *Jamaica*, pretending to be ignorant of the obedience due to a proclamation on so important a point, disregarded it so far, that they raised their money threepence upon a piece of eight. This produced a representation from the principal *West-India* merchants both at *Jamaica* and *London*, which being laid before the lord *Carteret*, then one of the principal secretaries of state, his lordship, in a letter to his grace, written immediately after he had left *England*, acquainted him, "that the articles of complaint, in the representation, deserve his grace's most serious consideration; and the king directs his grace to use his utmost care to see proper remedies applied. That the trade and credit of the island will be lost, if the valuation of the coin be not rectified. It is, adds his lordship, a bold attempt, that those who advised have undertaken it, being expressly contrary to the act of the 6th of queen *Anne*, and your 47th instruction, which I am commanded to repeat to you, should be strictly obeyed." Upon the authority of this letter, his grace undertook to remedy the evil, which never had been attempted in *Barbados*, and succeeded so well, that it was not afterwards complained of.

Value of the coin altered.

Settled.

It must be confessed, that many other abuses prevailed, about this time, in *Jamaica*, most of which were owing to the disrepute in which the government of the island was held before his grace's arrival. The great quantity of uncultivated lands, contrary to the spirit and tenour of the original grants, had been long a subject of complaint in *England*; because, had they been properly improved, the sugar-trade,

Other abuses.

	l.	s.	d.
(C) Seville pieces of eight old plate, to pass for	0	6	0
Ditto, new plate	0	4	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mexico pieces of eight	0	6	0
Pillar pieces of eight	0	6	0
Peru pieces of eight	0	5	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cross dollars	0	5	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ducatoons of Flanders	0	7	0
Louis of France, silver Louis	0	6	0
Cruzdados of Portugal	0	3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rixdollars of the Empire	0	6	0
Three guilden pieces of Holland	0	6	10 $\frac{3}{4}$

in all its branches, must have been extended, their products must have come cheaper to *England*, and the *French* must have been checked in the vast sales they found, for those commodities, in the *European* markets. This evil was apparently owing to the selfish views of the great engrossing planters, who, though they had vast tracts of improveable sugar-land, did not chuse to break them up, while they found that the scarcity of sugars kept their prices high enough to answer all their purposes, without being at any farther expence. His grace strongly recommended the removal of this abuse to the consideration of the council and assembly; but from what afterwards appeared, without much effect. The state of the high roads, in *Jamaica* was, at this time, highly deplorable; and was another object, which his grace recommended to the legislature of the island. The occasion of this neglect was the vast conveniencies of water-carriage, which the great planters had for conveying their goods and cargoes to the shipping. But, as his grace represented to them, they did not consider, that in case of any sudden commotion or invasion, the impassible condition of the roads cut off all inland communication, and prevented one part of the island from receiving the least assistance from the other. "One would think, said his grace in his speech on this head, the inconveniencies which their impassible state bring upon the inhabitants daily, should be a sufficient motive to repair them; but the danger which the public are from thence exposed to in the case of any unexpected alarm, which does render it very difficult, if not always impracticable, for the forces of the island to join in its defence, will accuse and condemn you, should any unhappy consequences result from it. Will it be of any avail to plead, that the parishes to which these roads belong, were obliged to keep them in a good condition? The late dreadful hurricane has made the expence too great for the parishes." This important matter was accordingly taken into consideration, and the nuisances removed; so that there are now convenient communications between all the principal parts of the island; a law having passed for that purpose.

*Provisions
for cler-
gymen.*

THE neglect of supplying the *English West-Indies* with clergymen of piety, morals, and reputation, had been long complained of. This was owing chiefly to the uncertain provisions made for them there, especially at *Jamaica*; so that few but men of abandoned principles, and desperate lives, cared to serve the cures upon the island. Hence arose a shameful neglect of all parochial duties; for, excepting a very few, two or three at most, no churches were regularly open for divine service. But this abuse was now remedied so far,

far, as that an ample provision was made for the regular clergy in *Jamaica*. The endowment of the minister of *St. Catharines*, was fixed at 300 *l.* a year; that of *Port Royal*, at 250 *l.* three others at 200 *l.* a year; and all the rest at 150 *l.* which, with the large perquisites the incumbents enjoyed, may be justly considered as comfortable provisions. But though the people of *Jamaica* were, at this time, remarkably well-affected towards the church of *England*, yet serious people observed with regret, that even those provisions did not remove the evil complained of, and that the clergy sent upon the island, were oftentimes so far from reclaiming the inhabitants, that the latter debauched the clergy. Others, with far greater reason, thought that the defect lay at home, and that too little attention was paid to so important a matter by those whose station in the church placed them over the spiritual concerns of *Jamaica*. But the history of that island becomes now more important than ever.

IN the year 1726, and for some time before, the growing connections between the Imperial and *Spanish* courts, had given great umbrage to that of *England*, for reasons that are foreign to this part of our history; and after various political operations, it was resolved, that admiral *Hofier* should sail with a squadron of seven ships of war, which was to be augmented with all the *British* men of war he could meet with in his voyage, to the *Spanish West-Indies*. The pretext for this armament was, the continual depredations committed by the *Spaniards* on the *British* trade in those seas; their having seized the *South-Sea* company's ship the *Royal George*, and detained it at *Porto Bello*; besides committing many other gross violations of treaties both in *Europe* and *America*. The true motive, however, of this expedition, was to prevent, for that year, the arrival of the *Spanish* treasures in *Europe*, that the court of *Madrid* might be disabled from executing the important schemes it had formed against *Great Britain* in favour of the pretender. The duke of *Portland* did not live to see the event of this expedition; for, being taken ill of a fever, he died on the 4th of *July*, 1726. His death was most sincerely lamented by the people he governed, as appears by an extract of a letter from *Jamaica*, which contained the sense of the whole island on that mournful occasion. "A melancholy and universal misfortune has befallen us here, which has thrown us into the utmost grief and confusion. My lord duke of *Portland* is dead! This may be remote and unaffecting to you, at a distance of almost half the globe; but it is impossible for us, who lived under his mild government, and participated of the gentleness of his nature, the complacency of his

*Expedition
of admiral
Hofier.*

*Death of
the duke of
Portland.*

his temper, the refinement of his manners, the generosity of his living, the tranquillity, lenity, and equity of his delightful administration, not to be forcibly touched, and grievously afflicted."

THE gentlemen of this island shewed so affectionate a regard for his grace's memory, that they not only went into deep mourning, but three members of the council, by order of the board, waited upon her grace, with the following address, which is here inserted for their honour. "May it please your grace; we are directed by the honourable the president and council to wait upon your grace, to condole with you upon the late unhappy occasion, and to assure your grace, that as we have a very sensible share in the loss, so likewise in the affliction. The council, may it please your grace, will do every thing in their power that may contribute to your ease. They are informed of your grace's intentions of quitting speedily this island; and as there is no ship of war in harbour to convoy your grace through these seas, they will readily embrace the opportunity, and upon every occasion endeavour to shew their gratitude, and the value and regard they have for your grace's person and character." About seven weeks after his grace's death, the dutchess dowager sailed on board the *Effex* for *England*, with her three daughters and her husband's corpse; and, after a very fatiguing passage, arrived at *Dover*.

Hofier
lies before
the basti-
mentos.

THE insolence of the *Spaniards*, and the injuries they had done to the *Jamaica* trade, afforded a considerable handle for war; and *Hofier* arrived with his squadron before *Porto Bello*, where he immediately demanded the restitution of the *South-Sea* company's ship the *Royal George*, which was instantly sent to him. The *Spanish* governor of *Porto Bello* then required him to leave that station, which he was so far from complying with, that he lay before the bastimentos, and even stationed one of his ships within gun-shot of *Porto Bello*. It is doubtless that the secrets of the *British* councils, at this time, were very ill kept, and that the court of *Spain*, even before *Hofier* sailed for the *West-Indies*, knew his instructions, which were, that if he met the *Spanish* galleons, he should bring them to *England*; and if he did not, that he should block them up, by lying off the bastimentos at *Porto Bello*. Had this scheme been conducted with tolerable secrecy, he must have met at sea with all the *Spanish* treasure, which amounted to above six millions sterling, and which actually was embarked on board the galleons. Ten days before the arrival of *Hofier* at *Porto Bello*, an account of his intention arrived there from

Old

Old Spain by an advice-boat; upon which all the treasure was re-landed, and carried back to *Panama*.

THIS was no small disappointment to the people of *Jamaica*, who were in great hopes of being indemnified for all their losses out of the *Spanish* treasure. But the expedition itself was fatal only to the crews of *Hofier's* ships. As the government at home had no intention, could they have prevented it, to go to war with *Spain*, unless they could have done it with *Spanish* money, *Hofier* was instructed, if he could not make himself master of the galleons, to hinder them from sailing for *Europe*; but he was tied up from committing any other hostilities, and therefore he was obliged to lie off that sickly coast, till diseases swept away so many of his seamen, that he scarcely had hands remaining for manning his ships. In this terrible distress he became the object of ridicule to the *Spaniards*, and of compassion to his countrymen, especially those of *Jamaica*, to whom he was often obliged to apply, and who generously afforded him supplies and succours of all kinds.

THE government of *Jamaica*, after the death of the duke *President* of *Portland*, had devolved upon *John Ayscough*, Esq; as *pre-* *Ayscough,* sident of the council, a gentleman of unexceptionable *cha-* *governor.* racter and fortune; and he held the administration till the arrival of major-general *Hunter*, who was appointed by his majesty *Hunter,* governor of *Jamaica*. This gentleman had been *governor,* pitched upon for this post for the great knowledge he had acquired of *American* affairs, while he had been governor of *New-York* and *Virginia*, and for his having made himself thorough master of the respective interests of our continental and insular colonies. Add to this, that he was a person of great sagacity, knowledge, and resolution, and a firm friend to the protestant establishment, which was at that time thought to have many enemies in that island. He arrived in the *Lark* man of war, commanded by captain *John Grey*, on the 29th of *January*, 1728; and the very day after his arrival he summoned together the council, to whom he made a short, but very nervous, speech, of which the following is a part. "You, Gentlemen, (said he) lie under the same obligation with me, to give all attention to the interest and ease of his majesty's government here, as you are also deeply interested in preserving the peace and promoting the prosperity of your country, which are so far from being incompatible, that whoever sets about to separate them, even in his thoughts, must do it upon the odious supposition of lawless power on the one hand, or a spirit of sedition on the other." He then

promised to lay before them the instructions which he brought from *England*.

THE assembly, in their answer, seem to have thought that this speech contained a tacit reflection upon their past conduct, in not being so pliable as they ought to have been to the views of their former governors; but after paying great compliments to Mr. *Hunter's* person, both parties departed satisfied; and writs were issued for the meeting of the assembly on the 21st of *March*. When they met, they laid some duties upon the exportation and importation of negroes; but the members would by no means agree to continue the duke of *Portland's* salary of 5000 *l.* a year to governor *Hunter*.

Present salary to the governor.

They made him a present, however, of 6000 *l.* which he accepted of, to the surprize of many, who remembered the general instructions given to the *West-Indian* governors not to accept of presents; and some were of opinion, that it was offered him only with a view of his refusing it. Notwithstanding he pressed hard, yet he could bring the assembly to no other terms than that of granting him 2500 *l.* a year. During Mr. *Hunter's* administration, he had a very difficult province to manage, on account of the growing differences between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, which terminated in a state neither of war nor peace. About the beginning of *February*, vice-admiral *Hopson*, in the *Lion* man of war, took upon him the command of the king's ships that were lying at *Jamaica*, and put to sea to cruise off the *Spanish* coast. This seemed rather to exasperate, than intimidate, the *Spaniards*, who took the *Anne* galley, a *Jamaica* ship, with 254 negroes on board, and carried her to *St. Jago de Cuba*, where she was condemned. This was thought the more extraordinary, as the court of *Madrid*, but a little before, had declared that they had sent orders to their *American* governors, to discontinue all such captures, which orders the latter declared they never received. A man of war was dispatched from *Jamaica* to reclaim the *Anne* galley; but the *English* commander met only with scurrilities and insults, and was obliged to return without any satisfaction. By this time, the *Spaniards* had sent to the coasts of *New Spain* five men of war to join their other ships there; and the whole, consisting of twenty-one sail, arrived at *Porto Bello*, and there took in their treasure.

Spanish captures.

To enumerate all the depredations committed by the *Spaniards* during governor *Hunter's* administration, would be endless; it is sufficient to say, that the passive behaviour of the court of *England* on that occasion, rendered the nation every where contemptible; but the people of *Jamaica* were not wanting to themselves. They transmitted to *England* particu-

cular

culars of all their losses in the most aggravating terms; and the gentlemen who were in the opposition to the ministry took care to improve them; so that an universal spirit of detestation was raised against the *Spaniards* all over the kingdom, which at last ended in a war between the two crowns, to the great mortification of the *English* ministry. Governor *Hunter*, while he was in *Jamaica*, had not the good fortune to reconcile all ranks of men there in his favour. Upon some surmise of the designs of the *Spaniards*, he laid an embargo upon all the shipping in the island, which was by many considered as being oppressive and detrimental to trade, though he did nothing but in consequence of his instructions. He imputed the dissatisfaction which he found among the islanders to concealed papists, and therefore he promoted with all his credit an act of assembly, by which all persons from sixteen to sixty were obliged to abjure popery. Some of the members thought that this act was not only ineffectual, but prejudicial to the protestant interest; because no true papist could be at a loss for a dispensation to appear a protestant. It met with a warm, and perhaps, indiscreet, opposition, but the governor's interest prevailed, and it was carried through. His death happened in the year 1734, when the *Spanish* depredations were at their height, and therefore it was looked upon as an irretrievable loss to the island.

Death of
governor
Hunter.

GOVERNOR *Hunter* before his death, among many excellent plans which he had drawn up for the benefit of the *West-Indies*, had laid one before the government for sending six independent companies to *Jamaica* for the protection of the island. This measure was the more necessary, as the rebellious negroes were now very numerous, and had arrived at a most alarming height. They had inveigled great numbers of their countrymen to join them, and had pitched upon a pass in the mountains, which they had fortified in such a manner as to render it a very strong post, at a place called *Nawny*. Here they erected their chief town, which was well supplied with provisions from the grounds which they themselves had cultivated; and what is still more extraordinary, they were supplied with powder and fire-arms by certain Jews upon the island, who no doubt were employed for that purpose by the *French* and *Spaniards*, who at the same time were every day threatening a descent upon the island.

SUCH was the undesirable state of *Jamaica* at the time of general *Hunter's* death; who was succeeded by Mr. *Ayscough*, whom we have already mentioned in the same capacity. He soon saw the necessity of immediately suppressing the negroes; and martial law being again established in the island, by which

Ayscough
again go-
vernor.

every man was to become a soldier, both the militia and the regular forces were drawn out. One captain *Stoddart*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the haunts of the negroes, undertook at the head of a strong party, assisted by three field-pieces, to dislodge them from their fortification at *Nawny*. Had the vigilance of the rebels been equal to their obstinacy, he must have been unsuccessful; but he prevailed through the great caution and silence which he and his men observed in approaching the pass. They mounted the narrow passage leading to it without being observed by the negroes, and pulling up their field-pieces after them with great difficulty, he planted them so, that they bore with cartridge-shot and musket-balls directly upon the negroes, who had drawn out for the defence of their town. A great number of the rebels were killed or wounded, and the island troops falling in upon them during their disorder, completed their rout, in which they suffered more than they had done for twenty years before.

The negroes defeated.

BUT the islanders were not equally fortunate in all their attacks upon those savages. Two officers of the island, colonel *Charlton* and captain *Ivy*, being at the head of a considerable party, advanced against them as far as a place called *Bagnals*. The rebels had notice of their approach, and likewise, that they marched in so irregular a manner, that the van might easily be cut off from the main body, and the main body from the rear. Upon this intelligence, the rebels formed ambuscades, and rushing upon the advanced body of the islanders, killed some of them before those who were nearest could come up to support them; and though the rebels were repulsed, yet the islanders were so surprized and disheartened, that they made no attempts to pursue them. Their escape filled all the neighbouring towns and plantations with terror, and the alarm even reached *Spanish-Town*, though thirty miles distant, where it was given out, that the negroes were in full march to massacre all the inhabitants. Governor *Ayscough* immediately assembled a body of foot, and a troop of horse, who marched to support colonel *Charlton*, or to favour his retreat; but they marched two days before they came to a place where the unextinguished fires which the rebels had lighted, gave them intelligence of their having been there the night before. They followed their tracks, and got up with them so unexpectedly, that the rebels, not venturing to stand an engagement, fled, and were pursued with very considerable execution for some miles. This disabled the survivors for many years from again appearing in open rebellion. But the *Jamaicans*, at this time, were on
such

such terms with the *Spaniards*, that they were daily plundered by them, without having it in their power, through the aversion which the government at home had for war, to make any reprisals. This put them to an extraordinary expence, as they every day expected a descent upon their island; and they gave additional pay to the six independent companies, which, by this time, were arrived from *Britain*, and were very useful in garrisoning the several posts of the island, particularly *Port Antonio*, on the northside, which was fortified by the advice of admiral *Stewart*, who then commanded a squadron of ships lying at *Jamaica*.

Port Antonio fortified.

UPON the death of general *Hunter*, *Henry Cunningham*, Cunningham Esq; a *Scotch* member of parliament, was appointed to the government of *Jamaica*. He was a man of honour and courage, and had been instrumental in saving the person of Sir *Robert Walpole*, the then minister, from the fury of the *London* mob, when the famous excise-scheme was depending in parliament. He was totally unqualified, either by experience or abilities, for the discharge of such a trust as the government of *Jamaica*, and he owed his preferment to it entirely to the partiality of the minister in his favour. Before he arrived upon the island Mr. *Ayscough* was dead, and the administration devolved upon Mr. *Gregory*, who had been chief justice. Mr. *Cunningham*, upon his arrival, had several altercations with the planters, and it was thought he was instructed by the minister to endeavour to allay the spirit of resentment against the *Spaniards*, which was every day discovering itself more and more by the strong representations sent over from the island to the *British* ministry. But *Cunningham*, who had been habitually intemperate, died of a fever contracted at an entertainment six weeks after his arrival upon the island. Upon his death, Sir *Orlando Bridgman* was nominated to the government of *Jamaica*; but, for some private reasons unnecessary to be mentioned here, he never left *Great-Britain*.

Cunningham, governor.

His death.

MR. *Gregory*, as president of the council upon *Cunningham's* death, resumed the administration of the island, and the clamour against *Spain* became, at this time, so outrageous in *England*, that the minister found himself under a necessity of appointing to that government, some man of character and resolution, and the choice fell upon *Edward Trelawney*, Trelawney Esq. As a war between *Great Britain* and *Spain* was, at this time, looked upon as being inevitable, therefore Mr. *Trelawney's* first care was to put the island in a proper state of defence, and to restore it to tranquillity within itself. Engineers were sent from *England* to survey the fortifications, and to give directions

Trelawney, governor.

directions

rections for repairing them. The few troops that were in this island, as well as the militia, were put under the command of experienced resolute officers. The natural turn which the *Jamaicans* have for arms, was improved by daily discipline, and in a short time, their militia was thought to be little inferior to the best regulars. All this time, the rebellious negroes, though they had been defeated, were far from being subdued, and miserable as their lives were, they still not only kept possession of their woods and fastnesses, but were a terror to all the islanders who lay near their habitations; so that great tracts of the most useful ground in *Jamaica* remained entirely uncultivated. To have attempted to reduce them by arms, at that time, would have been highly impolitic, and would have been attended with bloodshed; nor was it to be doubted, that the *Spaniards* would have found means to have furnished them with supplies of all kinds. Mr. *Trelawney*, therefore, wisely offered them pardon and security, which all of them readily embraced, on condition of their being under the government of one of their own number, but subject to the controul of the governor of *Jamaica*, and to the inspection of certain white men, who were to reside among them. Though great objections may be justly made to this pacification, which proved ineffectual, yet it served in the mean time the purpose of restoring internal peace to the island.

The negroes pacified.

Orders for reprisals published in Jamaica.

WHEN the war with *Spain* was resolved upon in the year 1739, it was at first privately resolved to issue an order for making reprisals; and the *Shoreham* man of war was dispatched with the same to the *West-Indies*, where they were received with the greatest joy; but more especially at *Jamaica*, where great numbers of privateers, were, as it were, instantaneously fitted out. Commodore *Brown* then commanded the king's ships lying there, and the *Shoreham* arriving on the 5th of *August*, he put to sea with five sail of men of war on the 14th, and proceeded directly against the *Havannah*, which he approached so near, that he exchanged several shot with its forts, but without doing or receiving any damage. It was thought, at that time, that the government was too tame in not proceeding farther than issuing an order for reprisals, which the captains of *British* men of war did not think sufficiently authorized them to attack their settlements. Fault was likewise found with publishing those orders in the *West-Indies*, because the publication of them served only to put the *Spaniards* upon their guard. Commodore *Brown*, upon this occasion, undoubtedly lost, through his timidity least he should transgress his orders, more than one oppor-

opportunity of distressing the enemy ; for he cruized all through the gulph of *Mexico* towards *Porto Bello*, and returned to *Jamaica* without making any attempt upon the *Spanish* settlements on land. Soon after he left *Jamaica*, he had sent the *Sheerness* man of war, captain *Stapleton*, to observe the strength and situation of the *Spaniards* at *Carthagena*. The *Sheerness* approached the harbour under the appearance of a merchant-ship ; upon which, don *Blasi*, the *Spanish* admiral there, sent out a pinnace, with his lieutenant, to conduct her in ; but this officer with his crew, were made prisoners by captain *Stapleton*, and carried off. The house of commons in *England*, had, at this time, scarce any other employment than receiving addresses and petitions concerning the *Spanish* depredations ; and a bill had been brought in for the more effectual securing the trade of his majesty's subjects in *America*, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was vested in the captors ; and his majesty was impowered to grant commissions, or charters, to any persons or societies, for taking any ships, goods, harbours, lands, or fortifications of the enemy in *America*, and for holding and enjoying the same as their own property and estate for ever. Had this bill passed when it was first brought in, it must have had a great effect upon the operations of the war, because the *Jamaicans* undoubtedly would have exerted themselves to the utmost against their enemies, and that too before they were provided to receive them. But this opportunity was lost, and the nation was obliged to depend on its fleet alone for redress.

It is certain, that the arts and great influence of the minister would have continued to defeat the voice of the nation, and all the independent part of the parliament that called for war, had not the court of *Spain* imagined, that the divisions in the kingdom were such, that the crown never would venture upon hostilities, or, at least never make war in good earnest. In this persuasion, they baffled all the complying arts made use of by the *British* minister, who would have put off the war, had the court of *Madrid* condescended even to save common appearances, by seeming willing to grant satisfaction to the *British* nation ; but the *Spaniards* disdained this ; and at last, the uninfluenced part of the administration found means to convince his majesty, how absolutely necessary it was to pursue vigorous measures. The nation, at this time, was not destitute of able admirals, and naval commanders ; but they unfortunately were all of them in the interest of the minister, to whom they knew that a vigorous prosecution of the war would be disagreeable ; and all, or most of them being members of parliament, they had gene- rally

rally voted on his side. Captain *Vernon*, who was not at that time in parliament, was mentioned and approved of as a fit person to command an expedition against the *Spanish West-Indies*.

*Account of
admiral
Vernon.*

HE had formerly been a commodore in those seas, with which he was extremely well-acquainted; and while he sat in the house of commons, he had constantly opposed the minister and his pacific schemes; expressing an equal contempt for him and the *Spaniards*. He had often declared that he could take *Porto Bello* itself with six ships of war, and the declaration being now called to mind, he was sent for to court, and he accepted of the command of the expedition. The minister could not decently oppose this nomination of a man, whose courage and abilities, as a seaman, were unquestionable; and perhaps, he expected, that his failure of success, which he looked upon as certain, would cure the people of their passion for a war with *Spain*. *Vernon* was created vice-admiral of the blue, a squadron was equipped at *Portsmouth*, and on the 19th of *July* 1739, he was appointed commander in chief of all his majesty's ships in the *West-Indies*; and repairing to *Portsmouth*, he took under his command the following ships; the *Burford*, captain *Watson*, 500 men, 70 guns; the *Princess Louisa*, captain *Waterhouse*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Worcester*, captain *P. Mayne*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Stafford*, captain *Trevor*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Norwich*, captain *Herbert*, 300 men, 50 guns; besides two other ships, which were to join him in the *West-Indies*. *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica* was appointed to be the place of rendezvous in case of separation, and on the 22d of *August*, the squadron arrived at *Madeira*, where they took in their stores, and, especially, provisions of wine for the hospital at *Jamaica*. From *Madeira* the admiral sent dispatches to commodore *Brown* at *Jamaica*, to give out his orders immediately for having all his majesty's ships at that island, put in a condition to proceed to sea with the admiral as soon as possible.

*His arrival in the
West-Indies.*

UPON the arrival of admiral *Vernon* and his squadron on the 28th of *September* at *Antigua*, he there found the *Anglesea*, captain *Reddish*, the *Lowestoffe*, captain *Drummond*, and *Saltash* sloop, captain *Swanton*, stationed; and of those, he only ordered the *Anglesea* to attend him to *Jamaica*. On the 2d of *October*, he arrived at *St. Christopher's*, where he was met by captain *Herbert* of the *Norwich*, who had been sent express to the president of *Barbados*, to get all the intelligence he could concerning the trade of the *Spaniards*, and their situation at the *Caraccas*; and he learned from him, that

that the *Spanish* trade on the *Caracca* coast was limited to *Laguira* and *Porto Casallo*. Upon this intelligence, captain *Waterhouse*, in the *Princess Louisa*, with the *Norwich* and the *Stafford* under his command, was dispatched by the admiral, with orders, "to make the best of his way for the coast of *Caraccas*, taking particular care to fall in with that coast to windward of the port of *Laguira*; and if he should perceive any ships to be riding there, he was, before his coming near in, to make the signal for the captains, and form his scheme for attacking them, that every one might know how he was to execute his part of it before their coming into the road, where they were to use their best endeavours to take, sink, burn, and destroy, all such *Spanish* ships and vessels, as they should find there; and they were farther ordered to range that coast as far as *Porto Cavallo* afterwards, and endeavour to do the same with all *Spanish* ships and vessels that they should meet with, and then to make the best of their way for *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*." When *Waterhouse* came to *Laguira*, a considerable port and a little town on the *Caracca* coast, he saw seventeen ships in the harbour, which was defended by three forts, and they played vigorously upon the *English* shipping, which steered almost up to the forts. A brisk cannonading ensued, by which the fortifications, churches, and houses of the *Spaniards*, suffered greatly; and it is said, that the lieutenants and sailors of the squadron offered to have landed and stormed the works; but they were countermanded by the commodore, on pretence that his ships were already too much damaged; that the weather was beginning to grow boisterous, and that the undertaking was too hazardous; upon which he left the place, and proceeded to *Jamaica*.

By this time, captain *Knowles*, in the *Diamond* man of *Knowles* war, had taken and carried into *Jamaica*, a *Spanish* ship, with 74,000 pieces of eight, and cloathing for the garrison of *Augustine*; and on the 15th of *October*, admiral *Vernon*, in the *Burford*, with the *Worcester*, arrived at *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*, where he was joined by the *Hampton-Court*; so that besides the ships already mentioned, his force consisted of the *Hampton-Court*, commodore *Brown*, captain *Dent*; the *Sbeerness*, *Stapylton*; *Windsor*, *Berkley*; *Falmouth*, *Douglas*; and *Fraternity* tender, *Trnewith*. The admiral, mindful of his engagement to take *Porto Bello* with six ships only, detached the *Worcester*, to cruise off *Cape Tiberon*, and the *Blandford*, to cruise to windward, for the safety of some ships, expected with stores, from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and sent other ships on different cruizes. The failure of *Waterhouse* at *Laguira*, put him under various difficulties, as he

Proceed-
ings of ad-
miral Ver-
non.

was furnished with no precise information with regard to the strength or situation of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he found that governor *Trelawney* had issued out letters of marque and reprisal against the *Spaniards*, and that the numerous privateers already fitted out by the *Jamaicans* had made several considerable captures. But *Vernon* began now to suspect that his six ships alone might be in danger of miscarrying in his favourite enterprize, the attack of *Porto Bello*, unless he had along with him some land-troops, he having brought none from *England*. He was therefore obliged to apply to Mr. *Trelawney*, who furnished him with 240 soldiers, though they could be but ill-spared, from the defence of the island. This seasonable supply enabled the admiral to put to sea. Here it may be proper to inform our readers, in order to obviate a common mistake, which has prevailed, as if *Vernon* had been cramped in his operations by the ministry, that he had a discretionary power of proceeding against any part of the *Spanish West-Indies* he thought proper, only he was, by all means, to make himself, if possible, master of the plate-fleet. *Vernon* knew the great value of time, and having communicated his intentions to his captains, on the 5th of *November*, he sailed from *Port-Royal* harbour in *Jamaica*, with the following ships, the *Burford*, *Hampton Court*, *Princess Louisa*, *Worcester*, *Stafford*, *Norwich*, and *Sheerness*, the last of which he ordered to cruize off *Carthagena*. The number of sailors on board this squadron was 2495.

Porto
Bello de-
scribed and
taken.

ON the 7th of *November*, admiral *Vernon* delivered his orders, for the attack of *Porto Bello*, to the commodore and his captains, which were drawn up with a clearness and precision, which do great honour to his character as a seaman, and with so much foresight, that they admitted of little alteration, when they were carried into execution. Those given to captain *Stapylton*, were to look in on the back of the town of *Carthagena*, and see whether the galleons were still in that harbour, and to carefully observe their motions; and if he found them already at, or in a disposition for coming to, sea, or that any men of war were to come to join them, then to make the best of his way for *Porto Bello*, to give the earliest advice of it he could, to prevent the admiral's being surpris'd." The winds proving contrary, the squadron did not come in sight of *Porto Bello* till the 20th of *November*, and anchored six leagues off the shore, and next day he made dispositions for the attack. The strength of *Porto Bello* lay in three forts, one on the north entrance of a bay, which is about a mile deep, and which, from its strength, was called

Iron-

Iron Castle, mounted 78 guns, and had a battery with 22 guns, parallel with the water, with a garrison of 300 men. The *Gloria Castle* lay a mile farther up the bay, besides many other fortifications, mounted 90 guns; and a little above that, near the other end of the town, which lay at the bottom of the harbour, lay the strong fort of *St. Jeronimo*, which, with *Gloria Castle*, protected the shipping; so that upon the whole, the *Spaniards* looked upon *Porto Bello* as being next to impregnable. Commodore *Brown*, in the *Hampton-Court*, led the attack upon the *Iron Fort*, to which the squadron was piloted by captain *Renton*, being well seconded by captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, and captain *Mayne* in the *Worcester*, while the admiral lay behind to observe the effect of their operations. This excellent disposition had the desired effect; for the fire from the shipping was so hot, that the admiral perceived that some of the *Spaniards* fled from several parts of the fort; upon which he made the signal for the boats in which the soldiers were, to make the best of their way in order to their landing, whilst he was coming up to the fort to batter it. The admiral luffing-up as near to the fort as he could, the fire of his small-arms commanded the enemy's lower batteries, and had a good effect in driving them from those batteries, from which they could do most harm; and by this means, the men were also secured at landing. They chiefly depended upon those lower batteries for defence; but the admiral, though no breach was made, ordered the boats, as they came up with the soldiers, to land their men under the walls of the fort in the front of their lower batteries. The sailors and soldiers were no sooner landed from the boats, than they scaled the fort-walls and mounted, assisted by one another, to the embrasures, under the mouth of their great guns. The *Spaniards* had no idea of such daring, or, as they thought it, madness; but seeing it take effect, they abandoned their lower batteries, and ran to the upper part of the fort, where they hung out a white flag for capitulating, which was soon answered with another by the admiral, who had some difficulty in preventing his own crew, and those of the *Stafford*, from continuing their fire. By this time, the *English* sailors had struck the *Spanish* colours, and no more than thirty-five men, who surrendered at discretion, of all the garrison, were left; all who were not killed or disabled, having made their escape in a most cowardly manner.

THE admiral next proceeded to the attack of *Gloria Castle*, which he battered with his lower tier of guns with great effect. Next day, being the 22d, while the admiral

and his officers were consulting about their future operations; the castle hung out a white flag, and sent a flag of truce in a boat to the admiral, who drew up the terms upon which he was willing to grant a capitulation, allowing the *Spaniards*. only a few hours to take their resolution, and they agreed to them within the time, which were as follow.

Articles of capitulation.

“Articles of capitulation granted by *Edward Vernon*, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue, and commander in chief of his majesty’s ships and vessels in the *West-Indies*, and commodore *Brown*, to don *Francisco Marlines de Retez*, governor of *Porto Bello*, and don *Francisco de Abarao*, commandant of the guarda *ciudad* at the same place, the 22d of *November 1739*, O. S. Article 1. That the garrison be allowed to march out as desired, upon condition the king of *Great Britain’s* troops be put in possession of the *Glory-Castle* before four o’clock this evening, and the garrison to march out by ten o’clock to-morrow morning: that the inhabitants may either remove or remain, under a promise of security for themselves and their effects. 2. That the *Spanish* soldiers may have a guard if they think it necessary. 3. That they may carry off two cannon mounted, with ten charges of powder for each, and their match lighted. 4. The gates of the *Glory Castle* must absolutely be in possession of the king our master’s troops, by four o’clock, and the *Spanish* garrison shall remain in all safety for their persons and effects till the appointed time for their marching out, and to carry with them the provisions and ammunition necessary for their safety. 5. That the ships, with their apparel and arms, be absolutely delivered up to the use of his *Britannic* majesty, but that all the officers, soldiers, and crew, shall have three days allowed them to retire with all their powerful effects; only one officer being admitted on board each ship and vessel, to take possession for the king our master, and to see the article strictly complied with. 6. That provided the articles abovementioned are strictly complied with, and that possession be given of the castle of *St. Jeronimo*, in the same manner as is stipulated for the castle *Gloria*, then the clergy, the churches, and town, shall be protected and preserved in all their immunities and properties. And that all prisoners, already taken, shall be set at liberty before our leaving the port.” Given under our hands on board his majesty’s ship *Burford*, in *Porto Bello* harbour, this 22d day of *November, 1739*, O. S.

E. Vernon.

Cba. Brown.”

THE *Spaniards* having signified their intentions to comply with those articles, the admiral sent captain *Newton*, who commanded the *Jamaica* detachment, with 120 of his soldiers,

to

to take possession of *Gloria-Castle*. The *Spanish* commanders had pleaded earnestly for their retaining the ships in the harbour, which consisted of two men of war of twenty guns each, and a snow; but this was refused by the admiral, who well knew how active those ships had been in distressing the *British* trade, and he immediately took possession of the ships, the crews of which, like true freebooters, had been busied all the preceding night in plundering the defenceless inhabitants of the town. The admiral found more danger and difficulty in destroying, than he did in taking, the fortifications of *Porto Bello*. He rendered useless about fourscore iron cannon which *Wife* *con-* he found upon them, and he took on board his own ship, of *dust* of ad- their great artillery, forty pieces of brass cannon, ten brass *miral* *Ver-* field-pieces, four brass mortars, and eighteen brass patteringoes. non. He reserved 122 barrels of powder to be employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications; but he distributed among the men 10,000 dollars of the *Spanish* government's money which fell into his hands. In all other respects he most inviolably observed the capitulation, and dispersed among the squadron the following orders, "Punctually and religiously, inviolably to preserve to the *Spaniards* the conditions of their capitulation, and the other humane concessions granted to them since, as agreeable to the inclinations of his royal master, and the nature of an *Englishman*."

On the 27th, captain *Knowles* in the *Diamond*, joined the admiral at *Porto Bello*, as did on the 29th, captain *Berkeley* in the *Windsor*, and captain *Reddish* in the *Anglesea*; nor are we to forget that captain, afterwards the famous admiral, *Boscawen*, acted in this expedition as a volunteer, his own ship the *Shoreham* being not fit for service; and was assisting as an engineer to captain *Knowles* in demolishing the *Iron Castle*. The opposition at home found great fault with the ministry, because the admiral had carried out with him no land troops; but they excused themselves on account of the threatening state of affairs in *Great Britain* when the admiral sailed. The *Jamaicans*, as they had been greatly conducive to the success of the expedition against *Porto Bello*, reaped the chief benefit from it by the vast number of captures which their privateers made, and by a trade being opened for them to the very heart of the *Spanish* dominions in *America*. Before the admiral left *Porto Bello*, he sent a messenger with a letter to the governor of *Panama*, which lies but eighteen leagues distant on the southward of the isthmus of *Darien*, demanding that the servants and factors of the *English South-Sea* company, who had been confined there on the commencement of hostilities, should be released, which was accordingly complied with.

Great po- THE news of *Vernon's* success was brought to *Great Bri-*
*paniarly of*tain by captain *Renton*, who, in reward for his good services,
Vernon. was appointed to the command of the *Spanish* snow; and the
 fame was received with unparalleled transports of joy by all
 ranks of people, who were now united in supporting the ad-
 miral to the utmost; for which purpose, six regiments of ma-
 rines were proposed to be raised, as they afterwards actually
 were. The duke of *Newcastle*, who was then one of the
 principal secretaries of state, in a letter to admiral *Vernon*,
 dated *March* 26, 1740, took off both from his master and
 himself all suspicion of cramping the admiral's operations.
 He informed him, "That the king did not think proper to
 prescribe any particular service to be undertaken by him, but
 left it entirely to his direction to act against the *Spaniards* in
 such manner, and in such places, as should appear to him
 best to answer the ends proposed by his majesty's orders to
 him, which were, to distress and annoy the *Spaniards* in the
 most effectual manner, by taking their ships, and possessing
 himself of such of their places and settlements, as he should
 think practicable to attempt."

BUT, by this time, the admiral had resolved upon his plan
 of operations, which terminated in the conquest of *Cartha-*
gena itself, an object of still more importance than *Porto*
Bello. For this purpose, the six regiments of marines we have
 mentioned, besides a considerable body of land troops, were
 raised with surprising expedition, and lord *Cathcart*, a noble-
 man of unexceptionable abilities, was appointed to the com-
 mand of the land-troops. As *Vernon* had with him no force
 adequate to any attempt upon *Carthagena*, all he could do was
 to make such a disposition of his ships as to prevent any sup-
 plies that might be thrown into the place; and for that pur-
 pose, he ordered captain *Knowles*, in the *Diamond*, to accom-
 pany his squadron from *Porto Bello* till their arrival as far to
 windward as *Carthagena*, and to cruize there for observing the
 galleons, as well as for intercepting any relief from *Europe*.
 On the 13th, he sailed with his squadron for *Port-Royal* in
Jamaica, which he again appointed to be the rendezvous;
 and having some suspicion that the *Spanish* squadron from
Port-Royal might be in those seas, he issued out the strictest
 orders for all his ships to keep him company. A storm arose
 which dispersed them; but they at last arrived safe at *Ja-*
maica. Here *Vernon* wrote over to *England* the most bitter
 complaints of the government's conduct in not supporting him,
 either by sending over a body of land forces, which he in-
 sisted should be under his own direction, or by giving him
 the

He returns
to Jamaica
with his
fleet.

the command of those that were already raised, or might be raised, in *America*. The government thought fit to disagree to this proposal, and great doubts were entertained as to the propriety of attacking *Carthagena*, there being a strong party in the council of opinion, that the conquest of the *Havannah* itself ought first to be attempted, and the rather, as it was well known, that the *Spaniards* had a large fleet ready to sail from *Ferrol*; that it was to be joined by a *French* squadron; and that the *Dutch* themselves seemed inclined to enter into very unnatural connexions with those two powers, to favour the safe arrival of the galleons in the ports of *Spain*. Several cabinet councils were held on this subject; but it being deemed too dangerous, and indeed, impolitic, to attempt the conquest of a place like the *Havannah*, which, according to the evidences that were examined, was impregnable by sea, and which, if taken by land, must make the greatest powers in *Europe* enemies to *Great Britain*, it was judged proper, by consent of the lord *Cathcart* himself, not to name in his instructions any particular destination for the great armament that was fitting out, but that a consultation should be held at *Jamaica*, where his lordship, admiral *Vernon*, and governor *Trelawney*, with other proper officers, were to determine upon the object of the operations.

It is but doing justice to *Vernon* to acknowledge, that while he lay at *Jamaica*, he lost no time in refitting his ships and preparing for a fresh expedition against the enemy. He left the *Hampton-Court*, the *Worcester*, the *Diamond*, and *Torrington*, under commodore *Brown*, for the defence of the island. He ordered the *Burford* to be repaired, and to follow himself; and, on the 25th of *February*, he sailed from *Port-Royal* in the *Stafford*, with the *Princess Louisa*, *Windsor*, *Norwich*, *Falmouth*, and *Greenwich* men of war, the *Succes*, *Cumberland*, *Eleanor*, *Alderney*, *Terrible* brig, *Pompey* and *Goadly* frigates, fireships, bombs and tenders. On the 3d of *March*, he anchored in an open bay, called *Playa Grande*, before *Carthagena* in the evening, and next morning he began a brisk bombardment against the town, which did it great damage; while his own fleet received little from the enemy. But this was all he could do: his force was unequal to any farther attempt; and on the 9th he drew off his bomb-ketches and small craft, coasting along the shore of *Boca Chica*, from whence he received no damage, and marking the proper places for a future descent. Having intelligence of a large *Spanish* man of war, expected at *Carthagena*, he left captain *Berkley* in the *Windsor*, and captain *Windham*

Resolutions
of the Bri-
tish coun-
cil.

Vernon
bombards
Carthage-
na.

in the *Greenwich*, to cruize for twenty days off that port, and principally to watch the motions of the galleons. The admiral then bore away towards *Porto Bello*, but sent captain *Knowles* in the *Diamond*, to reconnoitre the fort at the mouth of the *Chagre*. *Knowles* was followed by the *Success* and the *Eleanor*, with orders to cruize off the mouth of the river *Chagre* for seven days, or till the Squadron should sooner appear off there, for preventing the *Spanish* privateer sloops from putting to sea from thence, or intercepting any thing that might be coming or going there. An accident happening to his own ship, which retarded their progress, he ordered captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, to make all the sail he could, and enter the harbour of *Chagre* before him, with the bomb-ketches, and all the fire-ships and tenders, under his orders, and captain *Knowles*, as engineer, on board the bomb-ketches, for placing them to play on the castle of *St. Lorenzo*, at the mouth of the river *Chagre*; and to cover them with his own ship and the rest.

Fort Lorenzo *bombarded and taken.* MR. *Knowles* began the cannonading the same day he got to anchor, and it continued till the 24th, when the *Spaniards* hung out a flag of truce, which was answered by the admiral, who was now come up in the *Stafford*. The capitulation was soon settled. The garrison of the fort were at liberty to retire to the castle of *Chagre*, where all the inhabitants and clergy were to enjoy full security for themselves and effects; but the fort of *Chagre*, with the guard-sloops, and the king of *Spain's* custom-house, were to be delivered up to the admiral. Captain *Knowles* was made governor of fort *St. Lorenzo*, where the custom house was found full of very valuable goods; but having no land-forces with him to garrison the place, it was totally demolished; and, by the first of *April*, his ships off *Carthagena* having rejoined him at the mouth of the harbour of *Porto Bello*, he returned to *Jamaica*, having in vain endeavoured to intercept two *Spanish* men of war, who got safe to *Carthagena*, with 600 soldiers on board. The demolition of fort *St. Lorenzo*, upon the river *Chagre*, was thought at that time to be an important service, as the *Spaniards* could carry goods up that river within fifteen miles of *Panama*. But we are now to attend the affairs of *Jamaica*.

Affairs of
Jamaica.

THE establishment of the *South-Sea* company, and the assiento contract, gave a severe blow to the prosperity of that island, which in a great measure consisted in the trade carried on by the inhabitants with the *Spaniards*, and which therefore being incompatible with the interests of that company,

was discouraged at home. But this was not the worst part of the evil, for the company complained in such terms to the court of *Spain*, of the illicit trade carried on by the *Jamaicans*, that the *Spaniards*, under pretext of suppressing it, had by their guarda costas committed all the depredations which gave rise to the war. When it was known that the *French* squadrons were failed to assist the *Spaniards* in bringing home their treasure from *America*, and after the court of *Versailles* had declared, that they would not suffer the *British* armaments to make any conquests in the *West-Indies*, the plan of operations, under lord *Catcart*, was entirely altered, and it was resolved to encrease both the sea and land-forces under him, so as that, when joined with those already in the *West-Indies*, they might be equal to the conquest of all the *French* and *Spanish America*. This could not be done without greatly hurting the trade of *Jamaica*, by the vast number of hands that were pressed in *England* for manning so large a fleet; so that the seamen's wages upon that island arose to the extravagant rate of twenty guineas a man, besides other advantages, for the run home; and few were to be got even at that rate, because of the dread they were under of being pressed in *England*. This scarcity of hands was the more fatal to *Jamaica*, as the inhabitants there were both able and ready to have fitted out squadrons of privateers for making attempts and settlements upon *Cuba*, and other parts of the *Spanish* dominions, which must have turned out greatly to the advantage of the adventurers, and have saved vast sums to the public. That the island might be as free as possible from all domestic commotions, while it was engaged in a foreign war, some of the principal inhabitants put the governor in mind of the rebellious negroes, who still continued in the mountains, and were more numerous than ever, and that it would be proper to make sure of them by a treaty, since it would be highly impolitic to attempt, at that time, to reduce them by force. This advice seemed to be the better grounded, as those rebels had formed themselves into an independent society, under certain regulations, which carried in them no marks of barbarism.

THEY had chosen to themselves five captains, *Cudjoe*, *Pacifico-Acompong*, *Johny*, *Cuffoe*, and *Quacow*; and letters patent of the were granted to *John Guthrie*, and *Francis Sadler*, Esqrs. with negroes. full powers to negotiate a peace with *Cudjoe*, and the other captains, with their adherents. Articles were accordingly drawn up, but they are of such a kind, as nothing but the particular situation the island was in at the time, could vindicate;

The History of America.

cate; and the reader in the notes (D) will meet with the whole of the treaty. By its sixth article, *Cudjoe*, who appears

(D) By order of *Edward Trelawney*, Esq; governor of the said island. At the camp near *Trelawney*, *March 1, 1738-9*,

In the name of God, Amen.

Whereas captain *Cudjoe*, captain *Acompong*, captain *Jobny*, captain *Cuffoe*, and captain *Quacow*, and several other negroes, their defendants and adherents, have been in a state of war and hostility for several years past, against our sovereign 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, has by his letters-patent, *February the 24th, 1738*, in the 12th year of his reign, granted full power and authority to *John Guthrie*, and *Francis Sadler*, Esqrs. to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid captain *Cudjoe*, the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles.

I. That hostilities shall cease on both sides for ever.

II. 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 or fled to them within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said

masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from 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 us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty.

III. That they shall enjoy and possess for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands situate and lying between *Trelawney Town* and the *Cockpits*, to the amount of 1500 acres, bearing north west from the said *Trelawney Town*.

IV. That they shall have liberty to plant the said land 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.

V. That captain *Cudjoe*, and all the captains, adherents, and people, now in subjection to him, shall all live together within the bounds of *Trelawney Town*; and that they have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit, except within three miles

in fact to have been the king of one set of the rebels, obliged himself to be assistant to the *English*, in subduing all the other

miles of any settlement, crawl, or penn; 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.

VI. That the said captain *Cudjoe* and his successors do use their 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, where-soever they be, throughout this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation, granted to captain *Cudjoe*, and his successors.

VII. That in case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy, the said captain *Cudjoe* and his successors, herein after-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.

VIII. 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 deli-

ver such offenders to justice.

IX. That if any negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into captain *Cudjoe's* hands, they shall be immediately sent back to the chief magistrates 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.

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

XI. That captain *Cudjoe* and his successors shall wait on his excellency, or the commanders in chief for the time being, once every year, if required.

XII. 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 a justice of peace, who shall order proceedings on their trial equal to those of free negroes.

XIII. That captain *Cudjoe* with his people shall cut, cleave, and keep open, large and convenient roads, from *Trelawney Town* to *Westmoreland* and *St. James*, and, if possible, to *St. Elizabeth's*.

XIV. 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

rebels on the island, who did not accept of the same capitulation. This article was so far well judged, as another part of the negroes, distinct from that of *Cudjoe*, subsisted in another part of the island; but being now destitute of *Cudjoe's* assistance they accepted of his capitulation; but were allowed another town to settle in, under another chief.

Scheme for arming the Musqueto Indians against the Spaniards reviewed. WE have already been pretty full in our account of the *Musqueto Indians*, and have hinted at a proposal that had been laid before Sir *Charles Wager*, for employing them against the *Spaniards* in *Guatemala*. This project being laid before the governor of *Jamaica*, he took it into very serious consideration, and he employed proper agents to examine it. Upon farther enquiry, it was discovered that the *Creole Spaniard* and *Indian* inhabitants near *La Vera Paz*, on the borders of *Honduras*, had, about four years ago, to the number of 30,000, endeavoured to throw off the *Spanish* yoke, and that they had been unsuccessful, only because they were unsupported, and destitute of arms. The governor, at the same time, founded the *Musqueto Indians*, whom he found ready for any enterprize against the *Spaniards*; and in *October*, 1740, he sent thither lieutenant *Hodgson*, with arms and ammunition for 500 of them, who immediately put themselves under his command. This expedition, however, seems to have been improperly conducted, because it reached no farther than the arming the *Musqueto*s, who, as we have before observed, are extremely fond of their own country. *Hodgson*, with his 500 *Musqueto*s, proceeded to a *Spanish* settlement at *Carpenter's River*, 120 leagues west of *Porto Bello*, where the *Spaniards* lived in such security, that he easily carried off a large booty in silver and cocoa. This success encouraged *Hodgson* to propose proceeding, but the *Indians* flatly refused to attend him; upon which, *Hodgson* was obliged to return to *Jamaica*, after alarming the *Spaniards* in those parts, and

Its success.

captain *Cudjoe* and his successors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island.

XV. That captain *Cudjoe*, during his life, shall be chief commander in *Trelawney Town*, after his decease the command to devolve on his brother *Acompong*; and in case of his decease, on his next brother captain *Jobny*; and failing him,

captain *Cuffoe* shall succeed, who is to be succeeded by captain *Quacow*; and after all their demises, the governor or commander in chief for the time being, shall appoint from that time whom he shall think fit for that command.

In testimony of the above presents, they hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and date abovementioned.

put-

putting them more upon their guard than they had been before.

ADMIRAL *Vernon*, all this while, was extremely vigilant in his station at *America*, where he was in hopes of intercepting some of the *French* and *Spanish* ships who had sailed from *Europe*; but the former were very ill victualled, and otherwise ill provided, through the precautions taken by the *English* government in laying an embargo upon all provisions at *Carke*. *Vernon*, at the same time, was chagrined at receiving none of the supplies which he expected from *England*. The two ships he had left cruizing off *Cuba*, had taken a valuable prize, and two *Dutch* ships trading for the *Spaniards*; and he had disposed of his squadron to great advantage for watching the arrival of the *Spanish* ships, and the motions of the galleons. On the 5th of *September*, the storeships from *England* arrived at *Jamaica*, under convoy of the *Defiance* and *Tilbury* men of war. On the 3d of *October*, he sailed with his squadron from *Port-Royal* to cruize off the coast of *Hispaniola*, in hopes of meeting with the grand fleet from *England*, under the command of *Sir Chaloner Ogle*; but he received intelligence at sea, that it was detained by contrary winds at *Spithead*; that the *Ferrol* squadron, under *de Torres*, arrived at *Porto Rico* on the 9th of *September*, and that they sailed from thence on the 25th for *Carthagena*. On the 20th, while he was cruizing off cape *Donna Maria*, he was joined by eight transports-ships, under the convoy of the *Wolf*, having on board part of the land troops, commanded by colonel *Goach*, that had been ordered to be raised in *North America*. With those, the admiral proceeded to *Jamaica*, where he found the other *Americans* already mentioned.

UPON the admiral's return to *Jamaica*, matters wore a melancholy aspect for that island. Besides *de Torres* arrival at *Carthagena* with a strong squadron, undoubted intelligence came that the *Brest* and *Toulon* squadrons under the marquis *d'Antin* had taken in 1100 men at *Martinico*, who were lying to the windward of *Jamaica*, a disposition which left the admiral and governor *Trelawney* no room to doubt that they intended to make a descent upon *Jamaica*, as soon as the *British* fleet should sail from thence upon any expedition against the *Spaniards*. Upon this, the admiral and the governor exerted themselves in disposing of their force in such a manner, as that any attempts against that island might be repelled; and for that purpose, having no opinion of the natural strength of *Port-Royal*, they applied themselves to secure the harbour of *Kingston*; and in the mean while, the *Jamaican* privateers, being properly protected by the fleet, made great

havoc

returns to
Jamaica.

havoc of the *Spanish* trade, and brought in many valuable prizes into the island.

The grand fleet sails from England. THE addition of the armament by land and sea under the lord *Catbcart* and Sir *Chalmer Ogle*, was far from compensating for the delay in not supporting *Vernon* in time. Lord *Catbcart* had been at great pains, by letters, to keep *Vernon* in

good humour: but it was the 31st of *October* before the grand fleet could sail; a season so advanced, that it made many prognosticate what afterwards happened. Without entering into particulars, the whole fleet consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, tenders, store-ships, and transports. The land-forces consisted of some detachments from old corps, who were destined to be incorporated with the three raw *American* battalions, then at *Jamaica*, and six regiments of marines of 1000 men each, and nothing was wanting on the part of the government to supply both land and sea-forces with whatever could contribute to render the expedition successful, which was done at a most immense expence. The ardour both of soldiers and sailors to come to blows was incredible, and lord *Catbcart* wrote to *Vernon* in the following terms: "In the corps of troops I bring you, there is spirit, there is good will, which, when properly conducted, will, I hope, produce what the nation expects from us, and will make us the glorious instruments for finishing the war with all the advantages to the public that we can promise, from the happy beginning of it; and with this distinguishing circumstance, that those effects have been owing to a perfect agreement between the land and sea-officers."

Dated
June 22,
1740.

The chief officers under lord *Catbcart* were the brigadiers *Wentworth*, *Guise*, and *Blakeney*, and the majors of brigade *Harman* and *Rufane*; and the inferior officers were the most experienced of any that could be, at that time, found in *England*. Sir *Charles Wager*, who kept up a close correspondence with *Vernon*, among other apologies which he urged for the late sailing of this armament, said, that the *French* having sailed sooner, by two months, than the *Spanish* treasures were ready to be taken on board, they must suffer considerably through the inclemency of the climate; and in this he was not mistaken, for above 3000 of *d'Antin's* squadron died soon after its arrival in the *West-Indies*. No war was as yet declared between *Great Britain* and *France*, and therefore *Vernon* was at liberty to keep up a correspondence with the *French* governors in *America*, from whom he could learn nothing, not even that *d'Antin* was arrived in those seas, notwithstanding the notoriety of the thing. But lord *Catbcart* carried

ried from *England* a declaration which sufficiently evinced, that the real design of the *British* court was to shake the very foundations of the *Spanish* government in *America*. He was instructed to disperse it upon his landing on any part of the *Spanish West-Indies*. It promised indemnity and protection in all their effects and possessions, and the free exercise of their religion, to all the *Spaniards*, who should quietly submit to the *English* government, as if they were the natural born subjects of *England*; and that they should be free from all the taxes and oppressions of the *Spanish* government. The *Indians* in particular, continued the declaration, (which was greatly calculated to conciliate the affections of the natives) shall be exempted from the royal tributes and services which they are subjected to; they shall have the privilege and right of trading directly with *Great Britain*, and all the *British* colonies in *America*; and, in fine, upon all occasions, and in all respects, they shall be considered, assisted, favoured, and treated as the natives of *Great Britain*.

THIS manifesto, as might have been reasonably foreseen, drew from the court of *France*, a declaration, accusing that of *Great Britain* with a breach of public faith, particularly, in the treaty of *Utrecht*, by making any attempt against the *Spanish West Indies*. The fleet which sailed with Sir *Chaloner Ogle* consisted of no fewer than 170 sail, and after meeting with very bad weather, they arrived at *Dominica*, where the commander in chief, lord *Cathcart*, died of a bloody flux, to the inexpressible grief, as well as loss, of the public. The ministry was severely reflected upon, and indeed, not without justice, in not having provided him a successor in any degree adequate to the importance of the expedition. His command fell upon brigadier-general *Wentworth*, an officer without experience, a man without abilities, but artful and plausible; having nothing in common with *Vernon* but his obstinacy, and as great a contempt for the sea, as the other had for the land, service. *Ogle* arrived at *St. Christopher's*, the place of general rendezvous, where his ships that had been scattered joined him; but so much time had been lost, that sixteen sail of *Spanish* men of war had arrived at *Porto Bello*, and were then protecting the inhabitants in repairing their fortifications. In proceeding to *Jamaica*, four of Sir *Chaloner's* squadron fell in with as many *French* men of war off cape *Tiberon* in the dark, and a blind engagement followed, which lasted till day-light, when both sides ridiculouſly departed, with mutual compliments and condolances upon what had passed, there being, at that time, no declared war between *Great Britain* and *France*.

A council
of war
held on Ja-
nuary the
10th.

SOON after the arrival of *Ogle* at *Jamaica*, a council of war was held at *Port Royal*, concerning their future operations. It was composed of admiral *Vernon*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, general *Wentworth*, general *Guise*, and governor *Trelawney*. *Vernon*, upon the arrival of *Ogle*, had received discretionary powers to act offensively against the *French*, if they should continue in those seas. But this, in fact, was needless. Their fleet, which consisted of about twenty ships of the line, was lying at *Port Lewis*, but in such distress for want of provisions, that above half of their ships crews were dead, and the survivors were reduced to three ounces of bread a day each man, and that half worms and dirt; nor was the *Spanish* fleet at *Carthagena* and *Porto Bello* in a much better condition. All this having been foreseen, and foretold, by Sir *Charles Wager*, and the best heads in *England*, as well as the opposition, the government were in hopes that advantage would be taken of the distressful condition of both fleets to attack the *Havannah*. But *Vernon* had an antipathy against the *French*, whom he considered as being far more powerful than they really were, and he was, at that time, in such credit both with the ministry and the people, that the other members of the council did not venture to controul him; and therefore, it was unanimously resolved, that the whole fleet should proceed to windward, to observe the motions of the Squadron under the command of the marquis *d'Antin*, which had been for some time at *Hispaniola*, and that captain *Dandridge* should be sent before in the *Wolf* sloop to get intelligence.

Expedition
against
Carthage-
na.

THE fleet being thirty sail of the line, a third division was found necessary, and captain *Lestock*, an officer of great experience, was appointed to command it. The dispatch employed in refitting the ships that had been damaged in their passage to *Jamaica*, as well as in watering and victualling them, was incredible; and every means was made use of for preserving the health of the sailors and the soldiers; the numbers of the former amounting to 15,000, and those of the latter to 12,000, including the *American* battalions, and a body of negroes, that had been fitted out and furnished by the zeal of the inhabitants of *Jamaica*. When this mighty armament, the greatest by far that *America* had ever beheld, rendezvoused off *Cape Tiberon* on the 8th of *February*, they were rejoined by captain *Dandridge*, who reported that having looked into *Port Louis*, he had seen there nineteen sail of large ships, one having a flag at the main-top-mast-head, and another a broad pendant flying. This was a false alarm, for before this time the marquis *d'Antin* had sailed for *France*

with the miserable remains of his squadron, after the most ruinous and ill-concerted expedition that the *French* ever undertook. *Dandridge's* report, however, was believed, and in a council of war, it was immediately resolved to steer to the isle of *Vache*, the admiral being resolved to act offensively. Soon after, it was discovered, to his great disappointment, that captain *Dandridge* had been deceived by the haziness of the weather, and that the ships he had seen in *Port Lewis* were only merchantmen unrigged, excepting one frigate of forty guns. For the more certainty, however, the captains *Boscawen* and *Knawles* were sent to desire leave of the governor of *Fort Lewis* to wood and water in the bay; and upon their return, with a very polite answer, the departure of *d'Antin* for *Europe* was confirmed, and that above 3000 of his men had died while he lay at *Port Lewis*. Another council of war being assembled on the 16th of *February*, it was unanimously resolved, that the fleet, after having taken in wood and water at *Iros*, *Tiberon*, and *Donna Maria Bays*, should thence proceed directly to *Carthagena*. On the 23d following, captain, afterwards admiral, *Warren*, having joined the fleet, it was resolved next day by the four principal commanders of the fleet and army, vigorously to attack *Carthagena* by land and sea. On the 4th of *March*, in the evening, the whole fleet, which now consisted of 124 ships, anchored in the *Playa Grande*, to windward of the town of *Carthagena*, which stands on the *Spanish* continent, almost directly south of *Jamaica*, and about 110 leagues north east of *Panama*.

By this time, *Vernon* was soured with the disappointment of *Disfention* his favourite passion to attack the *French* fleet. In all the *between* councils of war, he had rather dictated to, than consulted *Vernon* with, the other members; and though he was generally right *and Went-* in his measures, yet the manner, in which he carried them *worth*. through, was extremely disgusting. *Wentworth*, considering himself as general of the land-forces, thought he had a right to direct them in their operations; but *Vernon* treated this with such an air of superiority, as determined *Wentworth* to assert it to the utmost whenever an opportunity should present. Each had too soon an occasion to gratify his resentment, to the irreparable damage of his country. As no care had been taken since the commencement of hostilities between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, to conceal that *Carthagena* would be the main object of the former in the *West-Indies*, the *Spaniards* there, under de *Torres* and don *Blas de Lefo*, had omitted nothing that could render it impregnable, having 4000 regular troops in garrison, besides armed negroes and *Indians*, so that *Carthagena* was, at this time, supposed to be the

the strongest, as well as the most important town the *Spaniards* had upon their continent of *America*. Its riches, at the same time, were immense, by the conveniency of its port for the reception of the *Spanish* fleets, and by the confluence of the great rivers *St. Martha* and *Magdalen*, which brought down to it immense quantities of treasures and rich merchandizes.

See Vol.
XXXIX.
p. 160.

WE shall not, in this place, amuse our readers with any particular description of *Carthagena*, farther than is necessary for their understanding the operations of the siege now undertaken. It is sufficient to say, that though the walls of the town were washed by the sea, yet it was unassailable on that side, on account of a vast surf and ridge of rocks; so that it was necessary to force the entrance of *Boca Chica*, which opened into the harbour, and which was so strongly fortified, that it was deemed to be impregnable; a range of redoubts, castles, and batteries, lining it on each side, besides a strong bomb, which ran across, within which were moored four *Spanish* men of war, one of seventy, and three of sixty guns, at the mouth of the harbour, which formed a kind of lake, the town of *Carthagena* itself lying about three miles farther up. Admiral *Vernon* had exact intelligence from his officers of all those particulars, and of the new works that were running up by the *Spaniards*. The demolition of the forts and batteries was committed to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, who was directed "to proceed with his whole division of ships of the line of battle for demolishing the said forts and batteries, and scouring all the country between them, so as to secure a descent for the forces in the most convenient parts of it between fort *St. Philip* and *Chamba* battery, which might divide the *Spaniards*, the better to make a descent at both places at once, and expose them the more to the fire of the ships; he was also particularly directed, not to suffer any imprudent or hasty firing from the ships, and to endeavour to convince the men, that such folly only serves to embolden an enemy instead of discouraging them. And the rear-admiral was likewise, in his orders in writing, to assign to each particular captain the post he was to take, and the orders he was to execute; and also to order his respective captains, to acquaint their respective ships companies, that the whole of all booty to be made by land, was graciously granted by his *Britannic* majesty to be distributed among his sea and land forces, as should be agreed on by a council of war of sea and land-officers, which had accordingly met, and regulated the distribution thereof, and had allotted a double share to any non-commission or warrant-officer, or private man, that might happen to be wounded in the service; and the rear-

admi-

Instructi-
ons to Sir
Chaloner
Ogle.

admiral was further directed to assure of a further reward from the vice-admiral, out of his share, all who should eminently distinguish themselves by any extraordinary actions of prudence and bravery, besides a secured advancement proportionable to the zeal and resolution exerted on so signal an occasion, for the honour of the crown, and future prosperity of their country."

OGLE, who was a very brave officer, punctually observed his orders. He fell down next morning with his division to the mouth of the harbour, and sent three eighty gun ships, the *Norfolk*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Russel*, to batter the forts of *St. Philip* and *St. Jago*, while the *Princess Amelia* was to play against the fascine battery, and the *Litchfield* upon the battery of *Chamba*. The attack began on the 9th of *February* by Sir *Chaloner*, who was seconded by *Vernon* and the transports, commodore *Lestock* being left with his division at anchor. The enemy was driven from the forts of *St. Jago* and *St. Philip*, which colonel *Cochran* immediately took possession of with 500 grenadiers, while general *Wentworth*, brigadier *Guise*, and colonel *Wolfe*, without opposition, landed the regiments of *Harrison* and *Wentworth*, and soon after were landed all the artillery, tents, stores, and baggage. The fort of *Chamba* was deserted on the first fire, and the fascine battery was found to be without artillery. All this was performed with very little loss to the *English*, excepting what happened on board the *Shrewsbury*, captain *Townshend*, which was exposed to a most dreadful fire from *Boca Chica*; but the antipathy between *Vernon* and *Wentworth* began now to break forth with the most fatal effects. *Vernon* and *Ogle* pressed *Wentworth* to lose no time, but to advance and take post on the upper grounds, and to go across to the inside of the harbour: *Wentworth* despised this advice, because perhaps he did not understand its importance. He remained inactive and indolent for three days, slowly forming their encampment; but numbers of the soldiers either dropping down dead, or falling sick through the intenseness of the heat, and the inclemency of the night-dews; misfortunes which exertion and labour would have prevented. To complete the misery of the *British* armament, it was discovered that its engineers had neither activity nor abilities, and were so far from being of any assistance in annoying the enemy, that *Wentworth* himself complained to the admiral of a fascine battery on the barradera side of the harbour, which greatly annoyed his men.

ADMIRAL *Vernon* applied himself to remove this nuisance (if it may be so called) and in a council of war held on the

17th, it was resolved to attack it with 300 sailors and 200 foldiers, detached from those remaining on board the fleet; the sailors to be commanded by captain *Boscawen*, and the foldiers by the captains *Washington* and *Murray*. This service was performed with an intrepidity that *British* forces alone could have exerted, notwithstanding the dangers and difficulties attending it. The battery was carried and destroyed with very little loss, and thereby the engineers under *Wentworth* were left at liberty to proceed in their grand battery against *Boca Chica*. This went so heavily on, notwithstanding the important service performed from the foldiers and seamen from on board the ships, besides eight days having been consumed upon it, that *Vernon* could no longer bridle his indignation, but gave loose to it in a torrent of invectives against the general and engineers, whom he accused of knowing nothing of their business. This produced recriminations, and the whole contributed to retard the service. The battery itself was constructed in a wood, to conceal it from the enemy, and 500 seamen with 200 blacks, assisted the engineers and foldiers in raising it, but all to no purpose, the castle of *Boca Chica* still continuing to fire upon the besiegers on the 20th. At last, on the 22d, the grand battery, after clearing the wood from before it, began to play upon the castle, and the fire was hotly returned, both from that and the barradera battery, which the enemy had repaired. In a council of war on board the fleet, it had been resolved to make a general attack upon all the forts and batteries, to be put in execution as soon as the wind would permit the ships to move to their proper stations. Accordingly, on the 23d, commodore *Lestock* in the *Boyne*, with the *Prince Frederic*, *Hampton-Court*, *Suffolk*, and *Tilbury*, went in to batter *Boca Chica* castle, and the ships which were posted under it to great advantage, *Lestock* being supported by Sir *Chaloner Ogle's* division. This service proved to be very hot, the *Spaniards* keeping up a most dreadful fire; but at last, with the loss of many brave men, particularly the lord *Aubrey Beauclerc*, captain of the *Prince Frederic*, a breach was made in the castle, and the seamen landing again, demolished the barradera-battery.

Boca Chica castle and It now fell to general *Wentworth* to storm the breach that had been made, in which he was assisted by the shipping, and the *British* foldiers, supplying by courage the want of experience, and the *Spanish* garrison out of that fort and that of *St. Joseph*, which captain *Knowles* took possession of. Don *Blas*, the *Spanish* admiral, was at that time on board the *Galicia*, under *Boca Chica*, and gave orders for sinking all the *Spanish* ships there, but could not prevent the *Galicia* from

from falling into the hands of the *English*, with the captain, and about sixty of the *Spaniards*, don *Blas* himself escaping. The taking of this castle, the strength of which was much greater than the *English* themselves apprehended, cost the latter 400 of their best men, among whom were the colonels *Douglafs* and *Watson*, lieutenant-colonel *Sandford*, and Mr. *Moor*, the chief and best engineer the *English* had, which rendered the loss irreparable. Though the firing from the castle and the *Spanish* shipping had now ceased, the mouth of the harbour was so very narrow, that it was with the utmost difficulty the *English* ships could enter it, so as to keep themselves clear of a *Spanish* ship which continued burning; and it was on all hands agreed, that had the castle and harbour been but tolerably well defended, they must have been impregnable to the *English* fleet. All difficulties at last were surmounted, the enemies batteries were silenced, nailed up, or abandoned, and captain *Knowles*, without opposition, took possession of *Castillo Grande*, where a vigorous resistance was expected, and by the taking of which, the troops were landed within a league of the town. Castillo Grande, taken.

THE *English*, after surmounting such incredible difficulties, thought that little remained but to take possession of *Carthagena*, of which they thought themselves so well assured, that captain *Lawes* was sent express to *London* with dispatches, importing, that the taking *Boca Chica*, and the other castles and batteries, was the same as the taking *Carthagena* itself; and rejoicings were made accordingly, not only at *Jamaica*, but all over the *West Indies*. On the 30th, in a council of war, held by the vice-admiral and naval-officers, it was resolved to use all possible expedition to cut off the communication of the town on the land side, and to make a descent at the most convenient place nearest the city. Proper dispositions were made, in consequence of this resolution, by the shipping; but the cutting off the communication between the city and the country, belonging properly to the land-troops, the latter took possession of *La Popa*, a convent, situated on a hill, and overlooking the city and the neighbouring country, and encamped within a short mile of fort *St. Lazare*, the taking of which was indispensable for their future progress; and here the irretrievable oversights, which ruined the expedition, seem to have been committed.

EVERY day had added to the now declared animosity between the admiral and the general. The brave seamen had cleared their way through seven ships, that had been sunk by the *Spaniards*, across the mouth of the upper harbour, above *Castillo Grande*; and they had succeeded even beyond Errors committed by general Wentworth.

their hopes in all their other operations; while the army, ever since the attack of *Boca Chica* castle, had done little or nothing. *Vernon* was always putting *Wentworth* in mind, that the communication between the city and the country ought immediately to be cut off, and fort *St. Lazare* attacked. Resolutions in a council of war, consisting of land-officers, were taken for that purpose; but nothing was done in consequence of them, and a most unaccountable languor seems to have possessed the troops. The general threw the blame upon the admiral, for not landing their tents, stores, and artillery; tho' it is probable, that if he had immediately attacked the *Spaniards*, who were at work upon some fortifications at the foot of the hill, where fort *St. Lazare* stood, before their panic was over, the *English* must have become masters of the place; but the unaccountable delays of the army gave them time to recover their spirits, and to complete a very strong fortification; and to take other precautions for their defence. All this while, the army was working on a bomb-battery, for making a breach in the castle of *St. Lazare*; but, at last, the chief engineer gave it as his opinion, that the place might be rendered much stronger than it was, if the besiegers would wait for the arrival of the artillery; and that cutting through the woods for perfecting the grand battery, would take up a great deal of time. The admiral, in the mean time, was incessantly pressing the general, but without any effect, to cut off the communication, by which the city was supplied with all kinds of necessaries from the country, and immediately to fort *St. Lazare*; and for that purpose, he sent ashore a detachment of lord *James Cavendish* and colonel *Bland*, who joined the general on the 8th of *April*, together with all the *Americans* that were fit for service. Upon receiving this reinforcement, it was resolved in a council of war, held that same evening by the general and his field-officers, to attack the castle and trenches of *St. Lazare*, without waiting for the raising of a battery to make a breach. This has been generally looked upon as a most unsoldierlike resolution, and indeed, two of the best field-officers dissented from it; nor could it admit of any excuse, but the dismal situation of the troops, among whom contagious diseases began now to make great havoc.

Fort St.
Lazare
attacked,

BUT unpromising as this resolution appeared, it might have been successful, had the execution of it been managed with common prudence. Three deserters offered to serve as guides to the troops in mounting the hill to the attack, which was to be made on two quarters. But the general lost the opportunity; for, instead of having every thing ready to sur-
prize

prize the enemy by night, it was almost daylight next morning before the 1200 men, under the command of brigadier *Guise*, began to mount the hill; and to complete their misfortune, the scaling-ladders and woolpacks were left in the rear, with all the grenado-shells. Notwithstanding this, the troops mounted the ascent with the utmost intrepidity, but one of their guides being killed, one of the divisions, which was commanded by colonel *Grant*, was misled from a plain, practicable, road, by which they were to have ascended, to a steep difficult part of the hill, which the colonel, the most forward of them, actually gained, and they were pushing on towards the enemy's entrenchments, when the colonel and some of his officers were killed; and the rest of the division not being able to come up in time, the enemy securely finished the destruction of that brave handful; for it being now broad daylight, a mere carnage ensued, without the *English* having the satisfaction of making the least effort towards annoying their enemy; and they discovered, that had they not been opposed, they could not, for want of scaling-ladders, have mounted the entrenchments. The more rational part of the officers, at last, seeing above 600 of their best men cut off by the grape-shot, musketry, and grenadoes, with which they were incessantly plied, persuaded the troops to retreat; leaving in the hands of their enemies their useless scaling-ladders, woolpacks, and shovels.

*with great
loss to the
English;
and with-
out success.*

VARIOUS opinions were formed concerning this unsuccessful attempt; nor is the public yet agreed, whether its miscarriage was chiefly owing to the malice of the admiral, or the inexperience of the general. The former, it is certain, behaved with so much caution, that no legal advantage could be taken of his conduct. He blamed the general for not apprising him of his intention to storm the fort, that he might have sent a body of sailors to his assistance, and, at the same time, he most ungenerously blamed the officers for desisting from the attack; while, to save appearances, after the carnage was over, and the attempt had miscarried, he sent a number of men, well-armed, in boats, to the general's assistance. The officers of the land-forces knew not whether to accuse their general or the admiral; but foreseeing that all farther attempts for reducing the place must be ineffectual, they marched with their men into their camp, where they were visited by more dreadful enemies than the *Spaniards*, contagious diseases, which swept them off in such numbers, that in a few days, a sufficiency of able men did not remain to do the duties of the camp.

THE operations by sea, though less fatal, were not more successful. *Vernon* had again and again represented, that it was impossible for his shipping to succeed against *Carthagena*, unless fort *St. Lazare* was taken. *Wentworth*, on the other hand, maintained, that the place might be battered from the harbour; and *Vernon*, to preserve his conduct irreproachable, had fitted up the *Galicia* as a floating battery, and given the command of her to captain *Hore*, to play upon the town. Upon trial, it was found, that she could not approach so near the walls, as to make any impression upon them; but her shot, and the bombs from the tenders, did considerable damage to the houses and churches; and it was with difficulty that the *Spaniards* prevented their principal powder-magazine from being blown up by a bomb, which fell into a church, where it was lodged. Many conjectures, very unfavourable to the memory of *Vernon*, were formed, upon the reasons that could determine him to desist, as he did, from this kind of bombardment, which in the end might have rendered the city untenable by the inhabitants. But what still created greater speculation in his prejudice, was, that many sea-officers, under his own command, affirmed, that the *Galicia* did not lie in the proper station for battering the walls of *Carthagena*, the water there being too shallow for her approaching near enough; but that a little towards the left there was a depth of water sufficient for four or five of his largest ships to have lain with their broadsides against the town, within pistol-shot of the walls. Whatever truth may be in those allegations, it is certain, that the admiral ordered the *Galicia*, after she had continued her cannonading for some time, to be drawn off; and on the 23d and 24th, it was resolved in a general council of war, to return to *Jamaica*, on account of the sickness in the army. Before this resolution was put in execution, the demolition of *Castille Grande* was completed by captain *Knowles*, with great difficulty, on account of the vast thickness of its walls. *Boca Chica*, fort *St. Joseph*, and the other *Spanish* forts, the *English* had taken, were likewise demolished, under the direction of captain *Boscawen*, and other officers, as were likewise all the lime-kilns; and proper dispositions being made for cruising upon the enemy, and preventing supplies coming by sea to *Carthagena*, the whole fleet returned safe to *Port-Royal* harbour in *Jamaica*, on the 19th of *May*.

Siege of
Cartha-
gena a-
bandoned.

THE momentous expedition was far more ruinous to the *British* forces, by the diseases that attacked them, than by the power or resistance of the enemy; about 2500 land-forces died before the walls of the city, among whom were

two colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, four majors, the chief engineer, twenty-nine captains, fifty-one first and second lieutenants, five ensigns, and *Martin*, the chief physician. The loss of the *Spaniards*, by the demolition of their forts, castles, and guns, together with their men of war, galleons, and other vessels, were estimated at a million of money. But all those were secondary considerations, compared to the vast disappointment which attended the ill success of the expedition, which was the most expensive that ever had been fitted out by *England*. It had filled not only the *Spaniards*, but the *French* with such apprehensions, that they ordered their minister at the *Hague* to preach up a kind of a crusade of all the *European* powers against *England*, whose progress in the *West-Indies*, he said, was incompatible with their interests or safety. On the other hand, the people of *Great Britain*, the more they had been elevated by the former glorious accounts of the expedition, were the more dejected by a miscarriage that was so unexpected and so fatal. Before the return of the fleet to *Jamaica*, the epidemical sickness, that had been so ruinous to the troops, got into the ships, and carried off great numbers of the seamen whom Sir *Chaloner Ogle* brought with him from *England*.

It was thought by the impartial part of the public, that the misfortunes which the *British* armament met with, might have been prevented, and that *Carthagena*, with all its province, might have been reduced, if *Vernon* could have overlooked, or made up, his differences with *Wentworth*. But, after taking care to secure his own conduct from all impeachment, he seemed to enjoy, with a malicious pleasure, all the blunders that his antagonist's inexperience made him commit, while the other was too proud to ask either for his advice or assistance. *Vernon's* disgust at the management of the war not being entirely left to himself, seems to have been invincible; for even when he dispatched *Lawes* with the news of his success at *Boca Chica*, he intimated in a letter to the duke of *Newcastle*, then secretary of state, his desire to be recalled from that service; which drew from his grace, who had a very high opinion of his courage and zeal for the public service, the following answer. "May I wish, for the honour of my country, for the success of his majesty's arms, and for the perfecting the great work you have so gloriously begun, of reducing the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, that you would not think of coming home, and leaving your command there; which, without the least imputation upon any body, cannot be supplied by any one, on whom his majesty, the nation,

tion, and all the king's friends and servants, can have an equal dependance."

THE misfortunes of the *British* fleet and army did not terminate in their abandoning the siege of *Carthagera*. Their infectious distempers acquired new strength every day, and great numbers were swept off even after their arrival at *Jamaica*. It is but doing justice to *Vernon's* memory to acknowledge, that this mortality must have been far greater, had he not exerted himself in the preservation of the health of his crews, by distributing among them wholesome, proper, provisions, and diluting their spirituous liquors, so as to prevent the distempers that attend the too free use of them in that hot climate. His pride was hurt by the miscarriage at *Carthagera*, though he and his friends threw the whole blame of it upon *Wentworth* and the land troops; and therefore he resolved to continue some time longer in the *West-Indies*, that he might have an opportunity, by some signal expedition, to retrieve his popularity. By this time, the greatest part of the *Spanish* and *French* ships of war had returned to *Europe*, and the large unsheathed *English* ships were exposed to great danger, by lying at *Jamaica*, where a numerous fleet of merchantmen was likewise lying, waiting for a convoy to *England*. Commodore *Lestock* therefore took under his command seven of the eighty-gun ships, the *Princess Carolina*, *Russel*, *Norfolk*, *Shrewsbury*, *Princess Amelia*, *Torbay*, and *Chichester*, together with the *Hampton-Court*, *Burford*, *Windsor*, and *Falmouth*; the *Success*, *Eleanor*, *Cumberland*, *Terrible*, and *Goodley* frigates, which were all unsheathed, with the fleet of merchantmen, and all the officers and soldiers that were sick or disabled.

*Expedition
against St.
Jago de
Cuba pro-
posed.*

DON *Roderigo de Torres*, the *Spanish* admiral, while *Vernon* remained at *Jamaica*, was lying with a powerful squadron at the *Havannah*, for the protection of that important harbour; and *Monf. Roqueville* was stationed with a *French* squadron at *Hispaniola*: but neither of them thought proper to act offensively; though the squadron under *de Torres* was equal to that under *Vernon*, after commodore *Lestock's* departure for *England*. The instructions that had been sent to *Vernon*, left it optional to him, and the council of war, to attack the *Havannah*, *la Vera Cruz*, *Mexico*, *Carthagera*, or *Panama*. Even after the miscarriage before *Carthagera* was known in *England*, the government was so intent upon striking some important blow in the *West-Indies*, that 2000 fresh troops were sent to *Jamaica*, together with additional stores and ammunition. But the force under *Vernon* and *Wentworth* was far unequal to an attempt upon any of the places mentioned in his instruc-

tions,

tions, and Sir Charles Wager had always been of opinion, that an attempt ought to be made against *St. Jago de Cuba*, which, if successful, might have been attended with the conquest of the *Havannah* itself upon the same island. In all events, an English settlement upon *Cuba* must alarm the *Spaniards* so much, that they would speedily sue for peace without the intervention of *France*. Not only Sir Charles Wager, but the *British* ministry in general, thought that such an attempt was practicable, but the making it, in a great measure, was left to *Vernon's* discretion. The people of *Jamaica* were much bent upon some signal expedition against the *Spaniards*, and the council there had voted, that the admiral should receive a supply of a thousand of the most serviceable blacks upon the island; but it is probable, that when this vote passed, they did not foresee that the storm was to fall upon *St. Jago*. In the mean while, *Vernon* was most indefatigably employed in refitting his ships, and in every measure for recovering the health of his seamen, in which he was very successful.

EVERY thing being now ready for sailing, a council of *And re-* war was held at *St. Jago de la Vega*, on the 26th of *May*, *solved on* 1741, at which were present, vice-admiral *Vernon*, Sir *Cha-* in a coun- loner *Ogle*, general *Wentworth*, general *Guise*, and governor *Trelawney*; when the following resolution was agreed to. "The council, after maturely deliberating upon their instructions, orders, letters, intercepted intelligences, and advices; and having regard to the great reduction of their forces, were of opinion, That in regard to the diminution of the forces, the security *Jamaica*, the *British* trade, and of all supplies coming to them; and also the preserving a communication with *Jamaica* for their supplies; the only expedition that could be thought adviseable to be undertaken, was against *St. Jago de Cuba*, a port of great importance to the security of the *British* trade, and cutting off the baneful correspondence between the *Spaniards* and *Hispaniola*. And though in regard to the general sickness, that spreads itself through fleet and army, they were not in very good condition for undertaking any new expedition: yet, on the assurance given the council by governor *Trelawney*, that they might rely on a supply from *Jamaica* of 1000 of the most serviceable blacks they could raise in the island, to be all chosen men, and to have proper officers; and through a sincere zeal for doing the utmost in their power, to answer the expectations of their royal master from the great expence of this expedition; it was the resolution of the council to undertake this expedition against *St. Jago*, and to push it forward with all the dispatch the situation of their affairs would admit of."

Opposed by
Trelaw-
ney.

THOUGH the two admirals and the two generals signed this resolution, yet it was dissented from by governor *Trelawney*, whose opinion was, "That since the forces had been so reduced by sickness, the remaining number ought not to be hazarded, but on a service, that, if it succeeded, might be of great benefit and importance to *Great Britain*. He could not think *St. Jago de Cuba* of consequence, while the *English* were masters at sea; and took it for an inviolable maxim to be superiors, as they might be, at sea in the *West-Indies*; or else, possessions there would be a detriment, instead of a benefit, to *Great Britain*; and no possessions, but such as are useful in commerce, are for the benefit of *England*. *Panama* is of that nature, as it would command the isthmus of *Darien*; and therefore, if there was force enough, with the help of the *Musqueta Indians*, and negroes, under proper officers from *Jamaica*, an attempt upon that place would be, in his opinion, most adviseable." It is thought, that the governor was not a little influenced in this opposition, not only by personal resentment, but the apprehensions he was under, lest a settlement upon *Cuba*, if effected, might reduce the importance of his own government; but this was far from being the opinion of the people of *Jamaica* in general, who most ardently wished that *St. Jago* might be reduced. The question being carried in the council of war, all measures were put in execution for sailing, but with a force disproportioned to the enterprize, the land troops being now reduced from 12,000 to 3000. Such was the zeal of the *Jamaicans* for the success of this expedition, that instead of 1000, they offered 5000 negroes to serve in it; but the smaller number was judged sufficient. On the 28th of *June*, a strong squadron being left under commodore *Davers* to protect the island of *Jamaica*, the armament sailed, and on the 18th of *July*, the whole fleet got into *Waltheham* harbour, one of the finest and most capacious in all the *West-Indies*; and the admiral gave it the name of *Cumberland* harbour, in honour of his royal highness the duke.

The fleet
sails.

St. Jago is the capital of the island of *Cuba*, though far inferior in populousness, strength, and riches to the *Havannah*, where the *Spanish* squadron, under *de Torres*, still continued to lie. The knowledge of the island of *Cuba* itself, especially in its inland parts, had been so carefully concealed by the *Spaniards*, that the accounts of it are various, and sometimes contradictory. But, upon the whole, it is unequal as to its soil and produce; some spots of it being as rich and delightful as any in the world, and others bleak and barren. *St. Jago* city was far from being strong towards the

land, but it lay conveniently for privateers, which did infinite damage to the *Jamaica* trade. An *English* mariner, who said he had resided there for thirteen years, represented the march from *Cumberland* harbour to *St. Jago* as being very practicable, by means of a fresh-water river, which could carry boats a considerable way up the country. Other mariners, who had been prisoners there, and worked upon the fortifications, gave accounts of the strength of the place; but it was judged on all hands impracticable to attack it by sea; and therefore, though *Cumberland* harbour was at a considerable distance, it was resolved to march the troops by land, especially, as it was judged the *Spaniards* would be unprovided to receive them, and the roads very passable. On the 20th of *July*, was held a council of war, composed of vice-admiral *Vernon*, general *Wentworth*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, general *Blakeney*, colonel *Lowther*, colonel *Cochran*, captain *Mayne*, and captain *Cotterel*. Here captain *Watson*, and lieutenant *Lowther*, who had been sent to reconnoitre as far as the approaches to a village called *Catalina*, where there was a battery, reported, that they had found every thing exactly to agree with the information of *Drake*, the mariner abovementioned, while captain *Renton* gave his opinion, that it was impracticable to attack the harbour of *St. Jago* immediately by sea; but it was found, that before they could possess themselves of the harbour of *St. Jago*, they must become masters of the strong castle of *Moro*, and the batteries erected for its defence.

UPON the whole, it was unanimously resolved, "Immediately to set about doing every thing in their power, to comply with the principal view of his majesty's instructions, that of possessing themselves of the island of *Cuba*; and for advancing to attempt to surprize and take the batteries above the *Moro* castle, if the approaches to them were found practicable for the forces; to get up to the village of *Catalina* with the utmost expedition, and, at all events, to secure that, and a communication with *Walthenam* harbour, as a probable foundation to acquire a footing in the island of *Cuba*, and waiting for further succours, to enable them to complete the reduction of it. And resolved, that the general be desired to acquaint the respective governors of the northern colonies, with their resolution to establish themselves on *Cuba*, and wait for his majesty's further instructions, and desire them to send what recruits they could raise; and to assure the inhabitants of their respective colonies that were willing to endeavour to settle themselves in *Cuba*, that they should be sure to meet with all possible encouragement; unanimously resolving.

solving, to do all jointly in their power, to secure a footing in this island, till they received his majesty's further instructions."

The English reconnoitre Cuba.

THE forces being landed without any difficulty, a fine camp was formed on the side of a fresh water river, in a most wholesome situation, which afforded every thing that could contribute to the health and refreshment of the troops, and about three leagues from the mouth of the harbour. It is uncertain what the event might have been, if the forces, instead of enjoying this delightful spot, had immediately marched to the object of their destination. But while they lay encamped, the *Spaniards* took the alarm, and sent out flying parties to observe the *English*. *Wentworth*, on the other hand, thought it was unsoldierlike to enter upon a march, in an unknown country, before the ground was reconnoitred, and sent out a considerable detachment for that purpose. They discovered some of the flying parties of the *Spaniards*, who retired before them, and having advanced a good way up the country, major *Dunster*, who commanded the detachment, thought proper to return to a village called *Guantanamo*, where he found the colonels *Cochran* and *Whitford*, with 250 soldiers, and 100 negroes; but upon consultation, though the whole detachment was now 500 strong, they resolved to return to the camp, where they made such a report of the country as determined general *Wentworth* against the enterprize.

Wentworth declines the attack of St. Jago.

THE state of this expedition was now pretty much the same with that of the fatal attempt upon *Carthagena*. The admiral had made an excellent disposition of his ships to prevent any surprize from *de Torres*, and was every hour representing by messages to the general, the necessity of putting the troops in motion. In answer to those admonitions, the general, on the 5th of *August*, informed the admiral by a letter, that being dissident of the success of the enterprize against *St. Jago*, and finding it impossible for the troops to subsist much longer where they were, he intended to call a council of war to come to a final resolution. It appeared by this letter, and by others sent from the camp, that the general, and his principal officers, were determined against attacking *St. Jago*; and this opinion was confirmed by a council of war of the land-service, which assembled on the 9th, where it was resolved, "That they could not march any body of their troops further into the country, without exposing them to certain ruin; and that they were firmly of opinion, that their advancing with the army to *St. Jago*, in their present circumstances, was impracticable." It would

be

be hard to express the indignation of *Vernon*, when he received those accounts. He had offered to cruize off the mouth of the harbour of *St. Jago* to favour the attempts of the army. The country between the camp and the city was entirely deserted by the inhabitants, and it was said, upon the strength of intercepted letters, (which, however, might have been written with design) that the governor, and the principal officers in *St. Jago*, gave the place up for lost, and were ready to abandon it, and that the city itself was in great want of ammunition. The general, on the other hand, represented that he could not be answerable to march without artillery for attacking the place, which it was impossible to bring up; and that, notwithstanding all the endeavours that had been used, he was still destitute of information as to the country through which he was to march; and that he had no reason to lay any stress on what was reported concerning the despondency and inability of the *Spaniards*. The truth is, that *Vernon*, and the sea-officers, had always proposed that the land troops should attempt to surprize the batteries without heavy artillery; a method of proceeding which *Wentworth*, and the land-officers, considered as being contrary to all the rules of war.

IN the meanwhile, the unhealthy season now began, by which the troops suffered more than, perhaps, they would have done by an unsuccessful attack; and animosities between the admiral and general had risen to such a height, that it was plain each would have rather fought the other than the enemy; nor were those differences confined to them, for they grew general between the land and sea-service. The soldiers were dissatisfied at seeing the rich prizes which were every day brought in by the sailors, without their having any share in them; and some quarrels had happened between the *European* and *American* troops employed in the expedition. As the last tentative, another council of war was held, consisting of the officers of the navy and army, in which the latter plainly declared, that it was impracticable to march farther up the country. *Vernon*, having no power over the land-service, could do nothing but remonstrate verbally against this opinion; and laying before the general, and his officers, copies of all the evidence he had procured, he exhorted them to act in the manner they should think most conducive to the honour and interest of their country; but all was to no purpose, for the council broke up without coming to any new resolution.

VERNON appeared enraged at the cowardice and treachery (as he called it) of the general and his officers, and declared, though

*Resolutions
of the
council of
war a-
gainst the
attack.*

Vernon reconnoitres the harbour of St. Jago.

though inconsistently enough with the information he had received, that he would sail in person to view the harbour of *St. Jago*, whether it was practicable to enter it with the shipping. He accordingly sailed thither on the 4th of *September*, with the *Orford* and the *Montague*; and soon was confirmed as to the truth of his intelligence, that it was impossible for a squadron to enter that harbour, which was unsafe even for friendly ships. But *Vernon* seems, at this time, to have been sensible that *Wentworth* had as little power over the operations of the fleet, as he had over those of the army, which was now in a most lamentable condition, 200 of its officers having died, besides common men, during their inactive encampment; and *Wentworth* declared, that if they continued where they were, he must soon be without men to do camp duty. *Vernon*, on his return from reconnoitring the harbour of *St. Jago*, produced a letter from *Sir Charles Wager*, intimating, that 2000 troops had been sent to reinforce him, and he insisted upon the army remaining in the advantageous post it possessed till the arrival of those troops, which would enable them to reduce, at least, the eastern part of the island.

The expedition laid aside.

THOUGH this proposal was agreed to in a council of war held on the 28th of *October*, yet it certainly was a most ruinous scheme, considering the growing mortality of the army, which obliged the general to summon a new council of war, consisting of the land officers only, which met the 7th of *November* following, and declared their opinion, "That no time ought to be lost in embarking the troops on board their transports; and that it might be done with the utmost expedition, they thought all the assistance which could be had from the fleet was necessary, for which end proper application was without delay to be made to vice-admiral *Vernon*." The necessity of this resolution was so apparent, that on the 20th of *November*, the re-embarkation was effected on board the transports, without the least difficulty. On the 25th, a general council of war was held, in which the land officers came to a resolution of proceeding directly for *Jamaica*, while the admiral declared his intention to cruize till he was joined by the reinforcement he expected. It was the 28th, before the transports sailed for *Jamaica*, where they arrived safe, while the admiral on the 6th of *December*, with eight ships of the line, continued to cruize off *Hispaniola*, to meet the reinforcement from *England*.

IT is hard to pronounce whether the reputation of the admiral or the general suffered most from the miscarriage of this expedition. The former it is true, had the populace on his side, but their opinions were but short-lived, while the

more

more thinking part of the nation thought that he gave too much way to his hatred of the land-service, and that he had sacrificed the interests of his country to the great desire he had to render *Wentworth* and his officers contemptible and ridiculous. The forbidding manner he assumed on all occasions, his imperious behaviour and disregard for all, even in the sea-service, who differed from him in opinion, evinced, that he was not formed to command with an associate; and though he had the precaution to screen his own conduct from reproach, yet it was easy to perceive, that the national service was a consideration secondary to the gratification of his resentment, and (as some said) his avarice. The conduct of the land-service was equally indefensible. The general's inexperience and irresolution were attended with all the effects of cowardice and treachery; and through the long peace that had preceded the war with *Spain*, very few of the land-officers were acquainted with service. They considered the *West-Indies* as being little better than their graves, and an universal notion prevailed among the regulars, that all the labours they underwent, were, in order to obtain for the *Americans* an establishment on the *Spanish* settlements; and this prepossession (which was not entirely groundless) rendered them languid and backward in all their operations. To many of them, life or death seemed to be indifferent, and though few had perished by the enemy, yet it was computed, on a moderate calculation, that before they reached *Jamaica* at least 20,000 *English* subjects had died since their first attack upon *Carthagena*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immense national loss sustained *A reinforcement* by the two expeditions against *Carthagena* and *Cuba*, the people of *Jamaica* were very considerable gainers by the prizes *sent to Jamaica* taken from the *Spaniards* that were carried into their island; and this consideration rendered them exceedingly alert in promoting any expedition from *Great Britain* that could give a diversion to the *Spaniards*. The reinforcement sent to *Vernon* embarked from *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and after rendezvousing at *Cork*, they arrived at *Jamaica* on the 15th of *January* in fifty-five transports, which carried near 3000 land-forces, under the convoy of the *Greenwich*, *St. Albans*, and *Fowey* men of war, with four bomb ketches. A general council of war was held on their arrival, where a letter from his grace the duke of *Newcastle* was read, informing admiral *Vernon*, "That his majesty had commanded his grace to acquaint him, and general *Wentworth*, that he saw, with great concern, the heats and animosities that had arisen between his officers by sea and land, contrary to his orders; whereby the

Dated 31st
of Oct.
1741.

the service could not but greatly suffer; ordering his grace to recommend it to them, in the strongest manner, carefully to avoid the like for the future; and that, in case of any differences of opinion, all acrimony, and warmth of expression, to be laid aside."

Schemes of operations proposed.

A COUNCIL of war was held upon this letter, which obliquely glanced at the too free expressions which *Vernon* had made use of against *Wentworth's* person; and it was composed of vice-admiral *Vernon*, general *Wentworth*, brigadier-general *Guise*, and governor *Trelawney*. Here a scheme, which had been encouraged by Sir *Charles Wager*, who had recommended the same to admiral *Vernon*, was submitted to their consideration. It had been suggested to Sir *Charles* by one captain *Lee*, who had been in the service of the *South-Sea* company as a ship-master, and was well acquainted with *Guatemala*, and all the coasts of *Honduras* and *Campeachy*. Sir *Charles Wager* had so good an opinion of *Lee*, that though he never had been in the government's service, he was made commander of the *Bonetta* sloop, and sent to *Jamaica*, to lay his project before the council of war; and Sir *Charles*, though otherwise an able seaman, was of opinion, that it might create a very favourable revolution in *Peru* and *Mexico*, and other dominions of the *Spaniards* in *South America*. The substance of it was, to attack the *Spanish* fortifications upon the river *Dulce* and the lake of *Micaragua*, where the *English* might, from that rich continent, open a gainful communication with the *Spanish* natives there, who had almost forgot their own original and the *Indians*, both of them being so great enemies to the government of *Old Spain*, that, but a few years before, they had revolted, to the number of 30,000 men, and were not reduced even at the time when this project was communicated. To carry it into execution, *Lee* required that no more than one ship of war and sloops should be employed, with 1000 land-troops on board, commanded by proper officers, and a supply of arms for the use of the insurgents.

ANOTHER plan was proposed, formed by one lieutenant *Lowther*, that as the trade with *Porto Bello* still continued open, a man of war should go along with the traders, and that the *Musqueto Indians*, who were acquainted with the river *Chagre*, should be employed in carrying up the artillery to *Crufes*, from whence there was an open road to *Panama*, which might be attacked. *Lowther* offered, upon proper terms, (to enable him to hire guides and procure intelligence,) to engage the *Musqueto* men in this expedition, which, he said, would require 3000 regulars, and 500 negroes, to execute

cute. The council of war, before which those plans were laid, happened to consist chiefly of land-officers, and the majority of voices approved of *Lowther's* scheme preferably to that of *Lee*. This resolution was attended with a vast number of unseemly altercations, and contradictory resolutions, which evinced that the members were more actuated by a spirit of discord than a regard for their country: but as all parties were sensible that great matters were expected from them at home, it was resolved to lose no time in carrying *Lowther's* scheme into execution; and about the 8th of *February*, *Vernon* made all the proper dispositions for that purpose, and most earnestly pressed *Wentworth* to give orders for the embarkation of the troops. About this time, intelligence came, that six *Spanish* men of war, with 4000 troops, were arrived at *Laguaira*, designed for reinforcing the garrison of *Carthagena*; and this proved a fresh obstacle to *Wentworth's* giving orders for the embarkation of the troops. *Vernon* undertook to cruize off *Carthagena*, to intercept the *Spanish* reinforcement, while *Sir Chaloner Ogle* was to forward the embarkation of the land-troops under *Wentworth*, and to proceed to sea with the transports and storeships under his convoy.

As an expedition to *Panama* was the favourite scheme of *Expedition* governor *Trelawney*, he voluntarily embarked in this as a *undertaken* colonel; while *Vernon*, who saw only one unrigged ship at *Carthagena*, blocked up that harbour; and it was the 25th of *March* before he was joined by the armament under *Sir Chaloner Ogle*. The whole of the *British* fleet then consisted of two eighty-gun ships, two of seventy, and four of sixty; three fireships, two hospital-ships, with forty sail of transports, having on board about 3000 land-troops, and 500 negroes, commanded by governor *Trelawney*. By this time, lieutenant *Lowther* had been dispatched, as a private trader, with thirteen men, to gain intelligence as to the probability of success; but before he could return, *Vernon* acquainted the general, that he must proceed directly to *Porto Bello* with his fleet, where he would call a council of war, and accordingly he arrived there on the 28th of *March*. This measure seems to have baulked the expedition. It had not been foreseen by *Lowther*, that the moment the *British* fleet appeared off *Porto Bello*, the *Spanish* governor there, with his garrison, which was pretty numerous, would make the best of his way to *Panama*; and therefore his advice was, that 500 *British* troops should be landed at *Nombre de Dios*, to intercept them, but this measure was neglected.

which mis-
carries;

WHEN *Vernon* appeared off *Porto Bello* on the 28th of *March*, he found the inhabitants ready to abandon the place, which being by no means for the interest of the *British* traders, an officer and an interpreter were sent ashore to promise them protection; but it must be observed, that by this time, the governor of *Porto Bello*, who was an officer of merit and experience, and his garrison, had retired towards *Panama*. The inhabitants being thus left defenceless, sent a deputation to the admiral and the general, to settle the terms of their protection; and it was agreed, in a council of war, that it should be granted, if they did nothing to forfeit it; and that the council expected the town to furnish mules for common prices, and cattle for the sick; and to return an account the next morning, what number of mules they could provide when required. A council of war was likewise held the day the fleet appeared off *Porto Bello*, in which it was agreed, that it would be most for the service, to have a detachment sent up the river *Cascabal* the next day, for cutting off the communication between *Porto Bello* and *Panama*, and to take possession of the custom-house, and to place a guard there. But this measure was entirely neglected, and *Vernon* threw the blame upon *Wentworth*; while fourscore soldiers were sent to take possession of the custom-house, which the *British* officers pretended was not included in the protection granted to the inhabitants of *Porto Bello*.

through
what
means.

WHILE those frivolous operations were carrying on, *Lowther* returned to the fleet, and gave it as his opinion, that the *Spaniards* having been alarmed, the expedition he had proposed against *Panama* was impracticable for that year. This coincided with *Wentworth's* intelligence, which not only informed him of the arrival of the governor and garrison of *Porto Bello* at *Panama*, but of a strong reinforcement that it had received from *Lima*, and that fortifications had been thrown up for the defence of the place by land. This revived the altercations between *Vernon* and *Wentworth*; and indeed, the former seems to have been indefensible in not landing the 500 men, according to *Lowther's* advice, at *Nombre de Dios*; while *Vernon* laid the blame upon *Wentworth's* having neglected to send a detachment up the river *Cascabal*, which would have equally intercepted the *Spanish* governor and his garrison. Upon the whole, it was resolved in a council of war, held by the land-officers, to lay aside the expedition against *Panama*, because their force was insufficient for carrying it into execution, and the troops, being reimbarbed, returned to *Jamaica* on the 15th of *May*. It was generally thought that this shameful event of so promising an expe-

expedition, would have brought either the admiral or the general both to a trial. But *Vernon* was protected by his popularity, and his strict adherence to his instructions, and the rules of his profession, in which no man excelled him. *Wentworth*, on the other hand, sheltered himself behind the opinions of the councils of war, in which the land-officers had always a majority.

UPON the return of the armament to *Jamaica*, captain *Lee's* scheme, which we have already mentioned, was in part resumed; and it was resolved, that lieutenant *Hodgson*, properly attended, should once more repair to the *Musquetto* coast, to consult with the *Indians* there, and the logwood-cutters in the bay, about settling the island of *Rattan*, in the gulph of *Honduras*; a measure which promised great advantage to the people of *Jamaica*. This island lies about 150 leagues south-west from *Jamaica*, and 14 to the north-west of *Truxillo-Bay*, on the *Spanish Main*, and is about 30 miles long, and 13 broad, being healthy, and well watered. Besides the logwood-trade, the *Jamaicans* promised themselves an opening for a commerce with the *Spaniards* at *Guatimala*. *Vernon* was a great friend to this undertaking; and *Hodgson* carried out a captain's commission to one *Pitts*, an eminent *English* logwood-cutter, who having been long settled in those parts, had great interest with the *Musquetto Indians*, and undertook for their assistance in the intended project. This being known at *Jamaica*, by admiral *Vernon's* advice, 200 of the *American* regiment, with 50 marines, were sent under the convoy of the *Litchfield* man of war and the *Bonetta* sloop, to *Rattan*, with an engineer, arms, ammunition, and all other necessaries, and some cannon, for a fortification, besides six months provisions. The settlement was effected with great success; a town, and fortifications for its defence, were raised, and the government of the whole was confirmed upon Mr. *Pitts*. After this, on the 23d of September, admiral *Vernon* and general *Wentworth* were ordered home to *England*, while Sir *Chaloner Ogle* was to remain at *Jamaica* with the fleet, and as many marines as were necessary for its service; and the eight independent companies, for the security of *Jamaica*, were completed from the regulars.

WHEN *Vernon* and *Wentworth* arrived in *England*, both of them were most graciously received at court; and notwithstanding the mutual recriminations that passed between them, both of them were preferred. *Wentworth* found more friends than his antagonist, for he had all the officers of the land-service to back him; while *Vernon* was hated by many of his own profession, for his haughty, unamiable disposition. The

The History of America.

spirit of discord which had possessed them, seems to have entered into Sir *Chaloner Ogle* and the governor of *Jamaica*; and even swords were drawn in their quarrels. *Ogle*, though brave, was excessively ignorant of every thing that did not immediately relate to his own profession; and *Trelawney*, though a man of some sense, was of a hasty, unforgiving temper; nor could he by any means be brought to a reconciliation with *Ogle*, which proved of infinite detriment to *Jamaica*. Little occurs with regard to the history of that island, during the remaining part of the war.

Knowles,
governor.

MR. *Trelawney* was succeeded in his government of *Jamaica* by *Charles Knowles*, Esq; whose services, as a sea-officer, we have often had occasion to mention. Under him the island enjoyed a tolerable share of tranquillity; but the feat of war being transported elsewhere, the inhabitants no longer partook of the benefits which their situation threw in their way, and several heart-burnings arose between them and their governor; but we shall not venture to pronounce as to the merits of the dispute. It is certain, that the administration at home was daily troubled with complaints against the planters of *Jamaica* by the sugar-refiners and grocers of *London*, *Westminster*, and *Bristol*, on account of the high price of sugars imported from *Jamaica*. The affair at last came before the parliament, where the cause of the *Jamaicans* was vigorously supported by one of their countrymen, an alderman of *London*. A petition was presented to the house of commons from the said sugar-refiners and grocers, praying, that the proprietors of land in *Jamaica* might be obliged to cultivate greater quantities of sugar-cane grounds, in order to reduce the price of that, almost universal, commodity, or that the petitioners might be at liberty to import muscovado sugars from other countries, when those imported from *Jamaica* should exceed a certain rate. On the 19th of *February*, 1753, an address was ordered to be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions, that there should be laid before that house, the printed acts of assembly, passed in the island of *Jamaica*, from 1681 to 1737 inclusive. This address was occasioned by the complaints of grievances, sent over from time to time from the assembly at *Jamaica*, in answer to the several representations that had been made against them on the subject of sugar, and several other heads; in which they represented, that the imposts they paid, and the restrictions they lay under, rendered them unable to answer the expectations of their mother-country, by subjecting them to the greatest inconveniencies and hardships. So great a regard was paid by the house to those repre-

Proceed-
ings in the
British
parliament
relating to
Jamaica.

representations, that they served as a foundation for an address to his majesty, concerning the present state of the island of *Jamaica*, and for copies of the several accounts relating to the trade of the said island. This address was referred to the commissioners of trade and plantations, who drew up a report accordingly, which was presented on the 23d of *February*, by Mr. *John Pitt*, one of the said commissioners, together with several acts passed in that island, for encouraging white people to come over and settle there, and likewise the printed acts. Those papers were not thought sufficient by the friends of the *Jamaicans* for their vindication; and when the report and papers were referred to a committee of the whole house, on the 27th, Mr. *Beckford* moved for an address to his majesty, that he would give directions for laying before the house, a copy of the address to his majesty, from the council and assembly of the island of *Jamaica*, representing to his majesty the state of the said island; in which motion he was seconded by Sir *Francis Dashwood*; but the same being objected to by the lord *Dupplin*, *Charles Townshend*, Esq; Sir *William Yonge*, *Robert Nugent*, Esq; *Edward Elliot*, Esq; and *Henry Pelham*, Esq; the question was carried in the negative. On the 8th of *March* following, Mr. *John Pitt* reported the resolutions of the said committee of the whole house, and the same were agreed to, as follows: 1. That the peopling the island of *Jamaica* with white inhabitants, and cultivating the lands thereof, is the most proper measure for the security of that island, and for encreasing the trade and navigation between that island and *Great Britain*, as well as to and from other parts of his majesty's dominions. 2. That the endeavours hitherto used by the legislature of the island of *Jamaica*, to encrease the number of white inhabitants, and to enforce the cultivation of lands, in the manner which may conduce best to the security and defence of that island, have not been effectual for these purposes. Mr. *Pitt* then moved, by direction from the committee, for leave to bring in a bill for the better peopling the island of *Jamaica* with white inhabitants, for encouraging the cultivation of lands, at present uncultivated in that island, and for making a proper distribution of such lands. A bill was accordingly ordered in, and was read a first time, the 9th of *May*. During the course of the debates on this affair, many severe reflections were thrown out against the planters of *Jamaica*, for not complying with the terms of the original grants from the crown, in cultivating a certain proportion of the lands so granted. But the representatives of the council and assembly at *Jamaica*, had so much weight in them, that it was

thought proper, not to proceed upon the bill till the house received farther information concerning the state of the island.

WHILE those affairs were transacting in *England*, the people of *Jamaica* were pestered with *Spanish* depredations, and had, in vain, sent repeated complaints on that head to *England*, there being, at that time, peace between the two crowns. Either the ministry of *England* did not believe that the complaints were well founded, or they thought them not of sufficient importance to embroil the nation with *Spain*, and therefore the government of *Jamaica* was given to understand, that they might proceed by their own admiralty-powers against the delinquents; the chief of whom were two *Spaniards*, *Simon de Cuena*, and *Domingo de Cuena*, who, after committing the most flagrant acts of piracy against the island, had the impudence to come upon it to trade; but were apprehended and brought to their trials. They had no other defence to offer, than that they acted under a commission from his Catholic majesty; but as this plea was ridiculous in time of peace, and as they could not produce even the pretended commission, sentence of death passed upon them. The execution, however, was respited till his majesty's pleasure should be known; but though the *Spanish* ambassador interested himself greatly in their favour, orders were sent from *England* for their execution. During the time that Mr. *Knowles* was governor of *Jamaica*, many differences happened between him and the inhabitants; and this variance was one of the reasons why the house of commons addressed his majesty for several papers relating to the disputes between his excellency and some of the principal inhabitants of the island of *Jamaica*.

*Pirates
executed.*

*Disputes
between
the gover-
nor and
the assem-
bly of Ja-
maica,*

WE are here to observe, that even in the island itself, there was a difference of interests between the landholders or planters, and the merchants; and admiral *Knowles* seems very properly to have favoured the latter, upon the following occasion. The seat of government, from a mistake, which seems to have subsisted since the island was reduced by the *English*, was at *Spanish Town*, which we have already mentioned, under the name of *St. Jago de la Vega*. As the island encreased in commerce and populousness, this situation being in an island part of the island, was found to be extremely inconvenient for the merchants, who generally resided at *Kingston*, which was the center of all commerce upon the island.

*about
transferring the
seat of go-
vernment.*

They complained of the expence attending their taking out clearances at *Spanish-Town*, and the great trouble they were put to in going thither to attend the assembly and the courts of law, and therefore applied to the governor, that the

seat

seat of government might be removed to *Kingston*, to which he agreed. This raised him a vast number of enemies among the planters, whose estates and properties lay near *Spanish Town*; and nineteen members of the assembly sent over representations against him to his majesty, while his enemies in *England* painted him in the most frightful colours. But a dispute of a still more important nature sprung up between them.

It had always been the custom at *Jamaica*, as we have seen, in the preceding part of this history, that the laws passed there were to be in force until they got his majesty's royal assent; but, if that was refused, they were no longer binding. The government of *England* had sometimes found very bad effects arising from the execution of those laws in the intermediate time between the passing them at *Jamaica*, and their being examined in *England*; and therefore an article was inserted, "requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majesty's prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unless there should be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such a bill, until his majesty's pleasure should be known; that such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects in *Jamaica*." The governor, in adhering to those instructions, embroiled himself with the assembly, who pretended, that they had a right to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council; and on the 29th of *October*, 1753, a resolution was passed by the assembly for that purpose. The ancient practice abovementioned was brought to justify this resolution. It was farther alledged, that if it was not in the power of the assembly to execute their own votes; if they were to be tied up to wait for an answer from *England*, nor in case of invasion to raise either men or money for the defence of the island, it might thereby be ruined and reduced in the intermediate time. For these, and a variety of other reasons, some other votes were passed by the assembly, which were highly derogatory to the royal prerogative.

AFTER this, the altercations between the governor and the assembly arose to great indecencies: he was accused of arbitrary proceedings, and several malversations in his government; but he was strenuously vindicated, especially, in removing the seat of government from *Spanish-Town* to *Port-Royal*, by the principal merchants of *London* and *Liverpool*.

Matters, at last, came to such an extremity, that he was obliged to dissolve the assembly, upon allegations against the members, which fell little short of a charge of high-treason. He accused them of invading the prerogative of the crown, and the liberty of the people; of attempting to alter the established constitution of their country, of their having entered into a combination to govern independently, by having formed a wicked, but secret, association, that was destructive of the rights of the inhabitants; and in short, that they were endeavouring to subvert the government, and to wrest it out of the hands of the sovereign. From those general charges, he proceeded to others that were more particular; such as their having squandered for years past, upwards of 90,000 *l.* of the public money, in donations and gratifications to particular favourites, and in making jobs of their fortifications, and their other public buildings, to the great grievance of the publick, who ought to have another opportunity of chusing more faithful representatives, as the whole power of the assembly centered in a decemvirate.

THOSE charges, though, perhaps, some of them were overstrained, were not without foundation; for it is certain, that there was upon the island a very powerful faction, which had entered into measures not a little inconsistent with their dependence upon their mother-country, and that they had actually formed the association mentioned by the governor. This association, under the plausible pretext of preserving the tranquillity of the island, obliged the members to be determined in all their proceedings by three fourths of their own number; they were to support the governor in carrying on his administration as long as he appeared to them to have at heart the public service; but, if they thought otherwise, they were to join in opposing him, but first giving notice to the other members. Besides this association, which was signed by ten or twelve of the chief gentlemen of the island, an extraordinary paper, as it was called, was drawn up, distributing the several partitions of business to be allotted to the subscribers, all which engagements were undoubtedly unconstitutional and disrespectful to the government. The next assembly, however, did not prove more agreeable in its complexion, and was, in like manner dissolved. It had met together with great professions of duty, which the governor acknowledged; but, said he, in his speech, in which they were dissolved, "However well I may be satisfied with you in other respects, my duty to the best of kings, in the office I have the honour to hold, leaves me not at liberty to act in concert with you, whilst you suffer a man, who was convicted

The governor justified.

victed of disaffection, and treasonable expressions against his majesty's royal person and government, to sit among you, and who was publickly punished for it, and is still under a recognizance for his good behaviour. I do, therefore, in his majesty's name, by, and with the advice of his council, dissolve the assembly, and you are hereby dissolved accordingly." The person alluded to here is said to have been a young gentleman, who had been tried and punished for an inconsiderate frolic, which bore the face of disaffection, committed by him at *Oxford* a year or two before; but we shall not take upon us to determine, as he had suffered the penalty of the law, how far the governor could except to his sitting in the assembly-house, on account of his being still under a recognizance for his good behaviour. Upon the whole, the *British* parliament, by their resolutions, condemned those of the government of *Jamaica*, concerning the raising and application of money without consent of parliament, and justified the governor in the several checks he had given to their proceedings, but forbore to pronounce any thing concerning the propriety of his removing the seat of government from *Spanish-Town* to *Kingston*. We have little more historical matter to record concerning *Jamaica*, farther than that bri- Haldane, gadier *Haldane* was appointed to the government of it, and governor, that he attended general *Hopson* in his expedition against *Guadaloupe*, but died before he entered upon the exercise of his government. *William Littelton*, Esq; who had been go- Littelton, vernor of *South-Carolina*, was afterwards appointed governor governor. of *Jamaica*.

BUT though the intestine divisions of that island seem to *Insurrecti-* be now entirely at an end, yet enemies broke out in its *on of the* bowels, which threatened it with destruction. These were *negroes,* the negroes, who, since the last treaty with them in Mr. *Trelawny's* government, not having been sufficiently watched had become so numerous and strong, that they now meditated no less than the extirpation of all the white men upon the island. Two *Coromantee* negroes, called *Tacky* and *Jamaica*, were the projectors of this conspiracy. At first they seemed to be very cautious, because great numbers of the original negroes who had been comprized in the late treaty, continued faithful to the *English* government. They were, therefore, obliged to invite to their assistance all the negroes on the island, and it is next to incredible, with what secrecy their consultations were conducted. Being assembled on *Easter-Monday*, the day appointed for their rising, for the number of ninety, they marched to *Port Maria*, where they killed the centinel of the fort, took from thence four barrels

of powder, a keg of musquet-balls, all the small-arms in the fort, forty of which they found to be serviceable, and then they proceeded to plunder all the plantations in the neighbourhood; but the chief booty they valued was fire-arms. Such of the conspirators as belonged to captain *Forest's* estate, suddenly butchered the overseer as he was at supper, and all the company that was with him. One Mr. *Bayly*, a considerable planter, endeavouring to approach them, that he might persuade them to lay down their arms, together with a friend who was with him, narrowly escaped with his life; and being intoxicated with the liquors they had seized, they murdered all the defenceless white men who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Mr. *Bayly*, after his escape, had collected together about 130 whites and blacks, and while the insurgents were regaling themselves at a place called *Ballard's-Valley*, he drove them into the woods, where they rendezvoused, after losing about twelve of their number.

which is
quelled,
but

As the rebels were far from being reduced by this check, and as intelligence came that their numbers were hourly increasing; the governor, as is usual in those cases, ordered martial law to be proclaimed all over the island, and a total stop was put to all business but those of arms. On the 10th of *April*, the governor, to save as much as possible the white inhabitants, set a price upon the heads of the rebels, and employed against them the free negroes of *Crawford-Town*, who attacked the rebels, but being inferior in number they were defeated. Till greater numbers of the free negroes could be assembled, the militia of the island had daily skirmishes with the insurgents, who never could be brought to stand their ground, but seldom failed to do some execution by their bush-fighting. The free negroes being at last reinforced, and commanded by white officers, on the 12th came up with the rebels, who were posted in a rocky gully, between two steep hills within a wood. Here they were attacked by one captain *Hynes*, and driven, but with very little loss, from their post into the wood. By this time, some regular troops had come up with supplies of arms and ammunition for the free negroes, and the wood, where the rebels were posted, was surrounded, so as to prevent their escaping, while the free negroes, headed by one Mr. *Sweigle*, attacked them so furiously, that the rebels were entirely defeated, their two leaders, *Tacky* and *Jamaica* killed, and all their baggage, stores and ammunition taken, and so many of them made prisoners, that it was thought not above eleven of that party escaped. It appears, however, that several parties of them, still more numerous, remained in the woods, where, being
distressed

distressed for provisions, they were guilty of the greatest cruelties upon one another, by killing all who were sick or wounded, and many of them put themselves to death.

It is reasonable to suppose, that the negroes were encouraged in this insurrection, by the hopes that the free negroes would join them; but the *Jamaicans* were deceived in thinking, that they were subdued by their late defeat. In *June* their rebellion broke out in *Westmoreland* and *Hanover* parishes with more fury than ever. Their numbers, in men, women, and children, consisted of about 700, and they proceeded as formerly, to murder all the whites they could master. The regular troops and the militia again ran to arms, and were headed by colonel *Sprag*, being joined by a body of sailors. Great numbers of the rebels were killed or taken; but the survivors, as before, found shelter in the woods and mountains, and such of them as were taken prisoners, and found guilty, were put to the most excruciating deaths. *and again suppressed.* It was evident from what had passed, that the insurrections of the negroes were owing, in a great measure, to the indolence, rather than the indulgence, of their masters, who had given them too many opportunities of associating themselves to concert their operations. It was known, that numbers of them still were lurking in the woods and mountains, from whence mere necessity, had they no other motive, obliged them to make irruptions that were attended with robberies and murders of the whites, and it was very justly apprehended, that without the greatest precautions on the part of the planters, they might form a new conspiracy, and debauch even the negroes who remained in their duty, but who were not to be trusted with such liberties as they had been indulged in heretofore. The justices of the island, in whom the executive power for the preservation of the peace is lodged, to prevent such consequences, established in their sessions certain regulations. *Regulations concerning negroes.* These imported, that no negroe should be found out of his own plantation, without a white conductor, or a ticket of leave, on pain of being severely punished. That every negroe playing at any kind of game should be publicly whipped; and that every publican, suffering such gaming in his house, should pay a fine of forty shillings. That every proprietor of negroes, who should suffer any of them to beat a drum, or blow a horn, or to make any extraordinary noise in his plantation, and that every overseer suffering such irregularities, should forfeit 5 *l.* the same to be demanded or distrained for by any officer civil or military. It was further ordered, that every free negroe, or mulatto, should, on pain of being imprisoned, wear upon his right shoulder a blue

blue cross, as a badge; and that every mulatto *Indian*, or negroe, hawking or selling any thing but fresh fish, or milk, should be publickly whipped; and that a penalty of twenty shillings should be imposed upon the owners of rum, or punch-houses, who did not shut them up on *Sundays*, during divine service, and that all who had petty licenses should shut up their houses every night at nine.

State of Jamaica at the end of the war. THOUGH those regulations were the best that could be devised, yet they were far from bringing internal security to the island. The government thought it unsafe to trust the free negroes too far, and the rebels still continued in fastnesses that were inaccessible to the regular troops and militia; so that the planters were obliged to be incessantly on their guard against the negroes, while rear admiral *Holmes*, who was stationed at *Jamaica*, made such dispositions of his squadron, as secured them from all attacks from abroad. Five *French* frigates, which sailed from *Cape François*, in the island of *Hispaniola*, with some merchant-ships under their convoy, were attacked by his captains, *Norbury*, *Uvedale*, and *Maitland*, in the *Hampshire*, *Lively*, and *Boreas*; and the two largest were taken; while the three others were destroyed; and every day brought in numbers of rich prizes to *Jamaica*. Thus that island, under the prudent government of Mr. *Litton*, remained in a more flourishing condition during the latter end of the war, than it had known for almost a century before, in times of the profoundest peace. The definitive treaty of 1763, was greatly in favour of this island; as it left it in all the possession it had ever enjoyed in the sugar-trade, without the rivalship of *Guadaloupe* or *Martinico*; nor had it a grievance to complain of, but the too great fondness of its rich planters to spend their wealth in *England*. Their magazines, fortifications, troops, and militia, were in excellent condition, and their trade was secured by ships of war stationed there for its protection. The vast acquisitions of territory that fell to *Great Britain* by the peace, opened new markets for all their commodities, and the stipulations obtained from *Spain* in favour of the logwood-trade, secured to them the most important advantages, without their being longer exposed to precarious situations.

Powder-magazine blown up. AN accident that happened soon after the conclusion of the peace, somewhat allayed this desirable situation. The powder magazine of *Augusta*, the best fortress in *Jamaica*, or in the *West-Indies*, built by admiral *Knowles*, blew up by lightning. The explosion was so dreadful, that not a single stone of the foundation could be observed on the place where the magazine stood, which was so blown up as to form a large pond

pond of upwards of twenty feet deep, fifty in breadth, and at least one hundred in length, from whence many springs of water issue; most of the guns, 24 pounders, on a bastion contiguous, were dismounted, part almost buried in the rubbish, and one of them carried more than an hundred yards from its place. Within the fort, every thing was terribly shattered, the commandant's house, the officers barracks, a fine brick building, and all the small houses in and about the garrison were shattered to pieces; a great number of men, women, and children, were killed and wounded within the works, and two soldiers far up the bay were killed, and some wounded within the distance of a mile. Captain *Talbot*, and lieutenant *Dunbar* with his lady, and ensign *Keating* perished in the ruins; the lieutenants *Dunn* and *Mansell* were much bruised; the latter died afterwards. Thirty whites, and eleven negroes were killed by the explosion. The loss sustained, exclusive of 2850 barrels of gunpowder, is supposed will amount to upwards of 15,000 *l*. The concussion was felt ten miles round; but we are now to attend to the geographical and commercial description of this noble island.

The island of *Jamaica* is divided from east to west by a ridge of hills, where several fine rivers stred with fish take their rise. Many of those rivers are navigable by canoes, which renders them extremely commodious to the inhabitants for carrying their goods to *Port-Royal* and *Kingston*. The tops of those mountains are crowned with different kinds of trees, cedar, lignum vitæ, mahogany, and the like, which render them equally pleasant and profitable to the inhabitants. A lower ridge runs parallel to the greater, and the vallies are laid out in the most delightful manner. Notwithstanding those advantages, the island is not without its inconveniencies with regard to water, which, in some places is very scarce, and in others so mixed with sand and sediment, that it is not fit for use till purified, for some days, in earthen jars, and many cattle, in some dry years, perish for want of water. Some medicinal salt springs, of which salt is made, are found in the island, as are several lakes. As to the soil, the east and west parts of it, containing large tracts of uncleared ground, are the most unwholsome; but the south and north parts are more agreeable and less subject to sudden storms. The soil in general is said to be more temperate, than it is in any country lying between the tropics; and Mr. *Blome* ^u says, it has been observed by some who have lived in the island, that the mountains which run along through the

*Descripti-
on of Ja-
maica.*

^u *BLOME'S Present State, c. 1. p. 4.*

midst of the isle, from one extrem point to the other, are much cooler than the other parts; insomuch, that sometimes in the morning early, there are small white frosts. It must be acknowledged, that the weather in *Jamaica* is extremely precarious, as incessant rains fall sometimes for a whole fortnight, and render the road impassable: winter is to be distinguished from summer only by its rains and thunders; but the eastern breezes, which rise between eight and nine in the morning, is extremely agreeable to the inhabitants, as it enables them to work without inconveniency till five at night. Many other particulars are related concerning these and the land breezes, for which we must refer to *Sir Hans Sloane*, and others who have written natural histories of the island.

Its soil.

THE soil of *Jamaica* in general is excellent, especially in the northern parts, where it is blackish, and in several places mixed with potter's earth, in others it is reddish and sandy; but it is every where fertile, and answers to the culture of the inhabitants. We have already mentioned the complaints of the mother-country, on account of the scarcity of *Jamaica* sugars, and by the latest and best accounts they are not without grounds, though they admit of many alleviations. The plantations are laid out chiefly with a view to the conveniency of water-carriage; so that it is thought that not one fourth of the sugar-ground upon the island is cultivated, and even the grounds lying near rivers and the sea, are in many places over-run with wood, insomuch, that it is said, that a planter who has patenteed 3 or 4000 acres, has seldom above 500 of them well cultivated. To this objection it is answered by the planters, that the heavy imposts they lie under, with the great improvements made by the *French*, and the *English* islands in the sugar-trade, disable them from cultivating more ground than they do, and that the expence of finding an additional number of hands, and of carrying their sugars from the mountains and inland parts, could never answer the expence of the culture. One acre, in some places, has been known to yield several hogheads of sugar. The savannahs, while the natives and the *Spaniards* held the island, were very fruitful in producing maiz and corn, and for the pasture of horses, hogs, cows, and asses, of which incredible numbers were found in the island, and many still remain; the large level plains are now the most barren spots in *Jamaica*; but they might by culture be still rendered extremely fertile, as they produce such quantities of grass that the inhabitants are sometimes forced to burn it.

THE products of *Jamaica*, both from nature and cultivation are as numerous, as perhaps, those of any spot in the world of the like bigness. They consist of sugar, rum, ginger, cotton, coffee, indigo, pimento, commonly called *Jamaica* pepper, and cocoa. Besides those commodities, this island furnishes a great variety of woods and medicinal drugs, and some tobacco, which is of a coarse kind, and cultivated only for the sake of the negroes who are fond of it. *Jamaica* likewise produces *Indian* and *Guinea* corn, with peas of various kinds, but none resembling those of *Great Britain*, excepting such as are reared with great care and tenderness in gardens, together with cabbages, and a great variety of roots. *Seville* and china oranges grow here in great abundance, as do the common and sweet lemon, shaddocks, citrons, pomegranates, mamies, four-ops, papas, pine-apples, custard-apples, star-apples, prickly-pears, alicada-pears, melons, pom-pions, and guavas. The woods are stored with berries of various kinds, but apples, and those fruits, that are more peculiar to cold countries, thrive but poorly in *Jamaica*. Besides the productions we have mentioned, many others of the most valuable kinds may be found in the accounts of *Sloane*, *Brown*, and other naturalists, who have treated of this island.

AFTER all, the sugar-cane is both the glory and support of *Jamaica*. This plant is thought to have been known to the *Romans*, and to have been originally a native of the *Canary Islands*, from whence the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, after they began to trade with *Africa*, carried it to their own countries. From thence they transplanted it to the *East* and *West-Indies*, and it is now become a most valuable branch of trade to *Great Britain*. The cultivation of the sugar-cane is extremely curious, and has employed even volumes to describe it and its different branches, especially that of rum; but, such descriptions do not fall within the compass of this work. The sugar of *Jamaica* is said to be excellent, and naturalists affirm, that in places, where the rain falls for months together, the sugar grows faster in ten days than it does in six months at *Barbados*. The sugars, imported from *Jamaica* to *Great Britain* in 1753, is said to have been worth in *England* 424,275 *l.* sterling; for which the *Jamaica* planters take *British* commodities. The *Jamaica* rum, which is a branch of the sugar-manufacture, is esteemed the best in the world, and is in greatest request in *England*; and it is said, *Jamaica* exports 4000 puncheons of it a year. Their molasses, they mostly, send to the northern colonies, where they are distilled; but it is impossible to say any thing with precision,

sion, concerning the annual returns of the *Jamaica* sugar-trade, which depend upon the nature of the season, and a variety of other accidents.

Pimento.

THE tree which carries the pimento, or *Jamaica* pepper, rises to the height of thirty feet at least, is strait, and covered with a grey, smooth, shining bark. Its leaves, of which it puts out great plenty, resemble those of the bay-tree. The pepper itself is taken green from the stalks of the tree; the grains are larger than juniper-berries, and like them, they become black and smooth. The cocoa and indigo commerce,

Cocoa.

Indigo.

Cotton-

tree.

though peculiarly adapted to *Jamaica*, have been of late much disused, as not being sufficiently profitable. Of cotton, trees, there are three sorts, one which creeps on the ground like a vine; the second is a bushy dwarf-tree, about the size of a peach-tree; and the third grows to the tallness of an oak. The down, which is the cotton, grows in pods, which crack when they are ripe, and if the cotton is not gathered, it would be useless. The ginger-plant grows in *Jamaica*, but the roots of it alone are useful. Some salt-

Ginger.

Salt-petre.

petre has been found on the island; and the *Jamaica* mastic-tree, iron-wood, and bulley-tree, are all hard woods, and very fit for coach-wheels and mill-work. The savannah-woods of *Jamaica* produce the wild cinnamon-tree, the trunk of which is about the bigness of that of the pimento-tree; and its bark is esteemed a sovereign medicine for expelling wind, and assisting digestion. Some of the *Jamaica* cabbage-

Wild cin-
namon.

Cabbage-
tree.

trees are said to be about 100 feet high, and some naturalists suppose them to be only the palm-tree. It is agreed, however, that what they call the cabbage part of it, is excellent food. The manchinel-tree has a most beautiful apple, which, if eaten, is a deadly poison. The excellent qualities of manchinel-wood, and that of mahogany, are well known to cabinet-makers and joiners. Fustic, red-wood, and logwood, all of them useful in dying, grow in *Jamaica*, which likewise furnishes guaiacum, sassaparilla, china, cassia, and tamarinds, with great variety of other medicinal roots and herbs. In short, as large volumes have been written concerning the natural produce of *Jamaica*, it is not to be expected that we can be more particular here.

Manchi-
nel-tree.

Fustic.

Red-wood.

Logwood.

Guaiacum.

Sassapa-
rilla.

China.

Cassia.

Tama-
rinds.

THE vast attention which is paid by the *Jamaicans* to their staple commodities, makes them neglect many advantages, which the soil of their island affords. Their horses, asses, and mules, are plentiful; and, it is said by *Blome*, that when the *English* first came to the possession of *Jamaica*, there was greater plenty of cattle in the island, than in most of the *English* plantations in *America*. Oxen and cows in

Jamaica

Jamaica are large, but the breed is neglected by the planters. Their mutton is excellent, the wool being good for nothing; but the pork exceeds that of *England*, or any other nation in *Europe*. No deer or hares are to be found in *Jamaica*, but it abounds with goats and rabbits. Wild-fowl is incredibly plentiful in this island, particularly ducks, teal, wild-geon, geese, turkies, pigeons, *Guiney* hens, plover, flamingos, inipes, parrots, parachetos*, and pelicans, a bird as big as a goose, and of a very particular nature, living on the small fish it picks out of the sea. The cotton and orange-trees on this island harbour vast numbers of those beautiful animals the humming-bird, and a kind of cantharides, or flying glow-worms, are frequent in the woods.

THE turtle, or sea-tortoise, which is found in the bays, roads, and rivers of *Jamaica*, is now too well known in *Europe*, to require any description here. When *Blome* wrote, numbers of ships from the *Caribbee Islands* resorted thither, to victual and load therewith; but the deliciousness of it, is now too well known to *Europeans*, for the tortoise to be any longer so cheap. The alligator, a most terrible monster, living upon animal-flesh, and preying upon men, when he can devour them, infests the rivers and ponds of *Jamaica*. The reader needs not to be acquainted that it is of the crocodile-kind, and that it would be the most dreadful of all animals, were it not for their slowness in making a circular motion, and a particular strong musky smell, which attends and discovers them, even to the brutes who approach them. The negroes of *Jamaica* have a particular dexterity in killing them, either by attacking them sideways with truncheons, or by thrusting into their jaws a sharp-pointed iron, that disables them from biting, and then they are easily killed. The mountains, fens, and marshes, of *Jamaica*, breed multitudes of adders and animals, which, in other countries, are venomous, but are not so there. The chegoes are likewise plentiful here, and extremely troublesome, not only to the negroes, but sometimes to the white men. Alligators.

THE island of *Jamaica* is divided into nineteen parishes. *Port Morant*, a safe and commodious bay, lies in that of *St. Bernard's*, which is well cultivated, and sends two members to the assembly, and has within it a small fort. The parish of *Port-Royal* contained the town of that name, formerly one of the finest cities in *America*, from the commodiousness of its harbour, which can safely contain a thousand sail of ships. Its entrance is defended by *Fort Charles*, which is

* BLOME, c. I. p. 21.

esteemed one of the strongest belonging to the *English* islands. A line of battery, of sixty pieces of cannon, and a garrison of regulars, maintained by the crown. The harbour itself is about three leagues deep. The chief town upon this harbour now, is *Kingston*, after which it is sometimes called. Into the bay, which forms the harbour, runs the river upon which *Spanish-Town* stands. We have already mentioned the destruction of *Port-Royal* by an earthquake, at which time, it is said to have contained 2000 handsome houses, the rents of which went as high as those of *London*. The secretary of *Jamaica*, or his deputy, keeps his office in the fort, and every person leaving the island, is obliged to set up his name, and to signify such intention twenty-one days beforehand: the receiver-general and the naval-officer, who receive the reports of all trading vessels, likewise reside here. But excepting the harbour, there could be no temptation for the inhabitants to live at *Port-Royal*, there being no wood, fresh water, stones, nor grass near, and the town itself standing on a hot, dry sand. Notwithstanding those inconveniences, and the prohibition of the assembly, that *Port-Royal* never should be rebuilt, the harbour was so tempting, that great numbers of people resorted to their former situation; but no building is suffered within thirty feet of high-water-mark. Few towns have been more unfortunate than this; for, besides the calamities which we have already mentioned, it received prodigious damage *October* 20th, 1744, by a storm, which stranded, wrecked, and foundered; eight of his majesty's ships, and ninety-six merchant-ships, in the harbour; and the town itself must have been overflowed, had it not been for the wall. These hurricanes are observed generally to happen about a day or two before the full, or new, moon, next the autumnal equinox, and are preceded by an uncommon smell of the sea.

Kingston.

THE town of *Kingston*, which was built on the opposite side of the harbour, to supply the loss of *Port-Royal*, from which it is distant five miles by water, and fifteen by land, is now a parish by itself. It stands commodiously for fresh water, and all other conveniences of life; and the plan of it was laid by colonel *Christian Lilly*, who was the chief engineer of the island at the time of *Lillinson's* expedition. The streets are wide, and regular, and cross each other in right angles, at equal distances. The town contains about 1200 houses, many of them handsomely built, with porticos, but low, on account of the hurricanes and earthquakes, to which the island is subject, the whole being about a mile long, and half a mile broad. In the bay there are seldom fewer than

two or three hundred vessels; and it is thought, that in a short time, it will be equal in populoufness and riches, to what *Port-Royal* formerly was; though the peninsula that covers the ships in the harbour from the sea, is too low and narrow to secure them entirely from storms. *Port-Royal* can muster about 1100 men, ten companies of foot, and two troops of horse. It sends three members to the assembly, and contains one church, two Jewish synagogues, and a quakers meeting. During admiral *Knowles's* government, the harbour of *Port-Royal* received such additional fortifications, as render it now very strong.

SAINT JAGO DE LA VEGA, or *Spanish-Town*, stands on the river *Cobre*, in a fine pleasant valley, and in 1708 it was thought to have been as populous as it was in its most flourishing condition under the *Spaniards*; though it had then only one church and a chapel, instead of sixteen churches and chapels, which it contained before the time of its conquest by the *English*. Though it is a place of no trade, it is the resort of all the chief merchants who have acquired estates sufficient to enable them to live a pleasurable life; and the number of coaches and chariots belonging to it, are equal to those of many reputable cities in *Europe*, which it seems to rival, in the polite diversions of balls, plays, and assemblies. Before the governor's house, some part of which was rebuilt by the duke of *Portland*, and consisted of two stories, (an unusual thing in this island,) is an exchange, to which merchants, factors, civil and military officers, and gentlemen of fortune, repair to do business. The houses, though but one story high, consist of several commodious apartments, all of them well furnished and finished with mahogany. The jails are comfortable and convenient for the prisoners; and a savannah lies before the town, in which the chief inhabitants take the pleasure of airing, and here the parties for gaming, dancing, and other diversions, formerly too frequent in this island, were generally formed. A patrol attends every night for the safety of the inhabitants, and consists of four horse and seven foot soldiers. *Spanish-Town* sends three representatives to the assembly.

Spanish-Town.

SAINT CATHARINE's parish contains *Passage-Fort*, which is mounted with ten or twelve guns, and is so called, because it is the greatest thorough-fare in the island. A great number of strangers live here, but most of the houses belong to publicans. The other parts of the topography of *Jamaica* are comprised in the number of parishes it contains, which are, by the latest accounts as follow. 1. *Kingston*; 2. *Port-Royal*; 3. *St. Catharine's*; 4. *St. Dorothy's*; 5. *Clarendon*.

St. Catharine's and other parishes.

don; 6. Vere's; 7. St. Elizabeth; 8. Hanover; 9. Westmoreland; 10. St. George's; 11. St. James's; 12. St. Anne's; 13. St. Mary's; 14. Portland; 15. St. Thomas in the East; 16. St. David's; 17. St. Andrew's; 18. St. John's; 19. St. Thomas's in the Vale. In a supplement to the account of this island in the System of Geography^y, it is said, that the following parishes, viz. St. Catharine's, Port-Royal, Kingston, St. Dorothy's, Clarendon, Vere, St. Elizabeth's, Westmoreland, St. Anne's, St. Thomas in the East, St. Andrew's, St. John's, and St. Thomas in the Vale, have each a parochial church; St. Catharine's, Clarendon, and St. Anne's parishes, have also each a chapel of ease; but the parishes of Hanover, St. George, St. James, St. Mary's, and Portland, have neither church nor chapel.

POINT NEGRIL, in St. Elizabeth's parish, is the land's-end of Jamaica, and has a good, safe, harbour, where our ships may lie very conveniently during a war with Spain, for intercepting the fleets to and from the Havannah. St. John's parish is one of the most pleasurable, in all respects, in the whole island; and Port Antonio, in St. Thomas's parish, were it not for the difficulty of entering it, would be the best harbour in Jamaica. It is defended by a regular fort, with a small garrison. In the neighbourhood of St. Thomas's, lies Tichfield, which has the appearance of becoming a thriving place. In St. David's parish, on the south-east part of the island, lies the bay of Port Morant, where is likewise a fort in time of war, together with excellent plantations of sugar and cotton, and a salt-work.

C U B A.

Situation
and discovery
of
Cuba.

WE have had so many opportunities, in the course of this work, to mention this island, and its history, that we shall be as concise as possible in our account of it, that we may avoid repetitions. Cuba, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico, as well as Jamaica, form the great Antilles Islands. Cuba, which begins on the east-side, at latitude 20 deg. 20 min. touches on the north at the tropic of cancer, and extends from longitude 74. to 85 deg. 15 min. about 11 degrees from east to west, or 660 miles from Cape St. Antonio, on the west, to Cape Maize, on the east; but is very narrow in proportion, being in some parts not above 12 or 14 leagues in breadth, and at most but 120 miles in length. It lies 60 miles

to the west of *Hispaniola*, 25 leagues to the north of *Jamaica*, 100 miles to the east of *Jucatan*, and as many to the south of *Cape Florida*, and commands the entrance of both the gulph of *Mexico* and *Florida*, and the *Windward Passage*. By this situation of *Cuba*, it may be justly called the key of the *West-Indies*. The discovery of *Cuba* by *Columbus* has been more than once mentioned. When he landed on this island, he gave it the name of *Ferdinanda*², in honour of king *Ferdinand* his master; but it soon recovered its ancient name of *Cuba*. The natives, at the time of his landing, did not regard him with a very favourable eye, and the weather proving tempestuous, he soon left that island, and sailed to *Hoyta*, now called *Hispaniola*, where he was better received. The relation of the cruelties which were committed by the *Spaniards*, before they became absolute possessors of this island, would stain the page of history. By their own accounts, some millions of the inhabitants were cut off; and though this island was discovered in the year 1492, it was not completely conquered till the year 1511. The reader may form some idea of the monstrous cruelties of the *Spaniards*, from what we are told by the bishop of *Chiapa*, who relates, that when an *Indian* casique or priest, was to be put to death, he chose to go to hell rather than heaven, where, he was told, the *Spaniards* went to.

WE are to presume, that the innocent, yet free, inhabitants of *Cuba*, made a brave resistance; for, in the year 1507, ^{Barbarity of the} the *Spaniards* were uncertain whether *Cuba* was an island or *Spaniards*. not; and therefore, *Obando*, the governor of *Hispaniola*, sent *Sebastian de Ocampo* to discover it. Sailing along the north-side of *Cuba*, he touched at several places and careened his ships at the now well-known port of the *Havannah*, which he therefore called *de Carenas*. He then sailed to the westernmost part of the island, and arrived at *Cabo de St. Anton*. Then turning to the eastward, along the south-east coast of the island, he arrived at the gulph of *Xagua*, where he found a very fine port. Here the natives received him with abundance of hospitality, and finding he was not to continue long among them, they supplied him with excellent fish and partridges; and, in a few days, he returned to *Hispaniola*, with the certainty of *Cuba* being an island^a. We may presume, from this time, that the *Spaniards* being fully apprized of the excellent situation of *Cuba*, were daily afflicting it with the slaughter of its inhabitants, till it was so thinned, that in

² BENZONI, apud DE BRY, p. 30. I. book 7.

^a HERRERA, decad.

the abovementioned year 1711, the admiral *James Columbus* ventured to send *James Velasquez*, with about 300 men, from *Hispaniola*, to plant *Cuba*. Several rebellions (as the *Spaniards* termed them) of the *Indians* followed, which were still attended with horrible massacres of the natives. In the year 1517, *Hernandez de Cordova*, by orders of *Velasquez*, governor of *Hispaniola*, sailed from the *Havannah* with two ships and a brigantine, to make discoveries to the westward; but *Hernandez* lost most of his men in this voyage, and he himself died of his wounds when he returned to *Cuba*. The report of his discoveries, however, encouraged *James Velasquez*, who was now governor of *Cuba*, as well as *Hispaniola*, to fit out three ships and a brigantine, with 250 men, the command of whom he gave to *John de Grijalva*, who, on the 8th of April, 1518, sailed from *Cuba*, and was fortunate enough to make some very important discoveries upon the coast of *New Spain*, almost as far as *Florida*, and then he returned to *Cuba*^b. As *Grijalva* had discovered that the coasts of *New Spain* afforded abundance of gold, and that the inland country was immensely rich, and governed by *Montezuma*, his avarice and ambition led him to form a scheme for subduing that great monarchy; and he communicated the same to the famous *Ferdinando Cortez*, whose history is so well known.

Expedition of Cortez.

IN 1519, *Cortez* sailed with eleven ships, all fitted out at the expence of *Velasquez*, from *St. Jago de Cuba*; and, after taking in some reinforcements at the *Havannah*, he proceeded to the place of his destination. *Velasquez* was equally inconsistent as he was ambitious. He dreaded the great popularity of *Cortez*, his enterprising spirit, and heroic disposition, which he imagined must be attended with a proportionable share of ambition; and therefore sent after him an order to resign his command. *Cortez* consulted his soldiers, who had built all the hopes of their future fortunes on the success of their enterprize, and the vast opinion they had of their commander's abilities; who determined to obey him, without paying any regard to the orders of *Velasquez*. The event of the *Mexican* expedition does not fall into this part of our history. *Velasquez*, finding he had been outwitted by *Cortez*, fitted out eighteen ships, on board of which he put 800 foot, and 200 horse, a number double to that which *Cortez* commanded, and gave the command of it to *Narvaez*, who had orders to strip *Cortez* of his command, and to send him to *Cuba* in irons as a rebel. *Cortez*, on receiving this intelligence, ordered *Sandoval*, his governor of *Vera Cruz*, to join him with

^b *Ibid.* decad. 2. book 3.

his small garrison; and, under the mask of treating with *Narvaez*, who was then at *Vera Cruz*, he advanced against him with such secrecy and rapidity, that he routed his army, took his artillery, and made himself prisoner, while most of his men declared for *Cortez*. *Velasquez*, who remained still at *Cuba*, was ignorant of this revolution, and sent out another ship to reinforce *Narvaez*; but the crew of this ship likewise joined *Cortez*, who, about this time, narrowly escaped being cut off by a conspiracy, he being looked upon by the party of *Velasquez*, as no better than a successful rebel. *Narvaez* was at last obliged to resign his command; but we know of no benefit the governor of *Cuba* ever received from the expedition.

IN 1527, *Pamphilo de Narvaez* arrived from *New Spain* at *Miseries of Cuba*, with five ships and 700 men. He wintered there, the *Cuba*- and in the spring he undertook the expedition against *Florida*, we have already mentioned. All this while, the court of *Spain* was so sensible of the importance of *Cuba*, that orders were sent not only to fortify it, but to exterminate the few remains of its original natives, which was accordingly executed with barbarous punctuality; so that the history of *Cuba*, at this time, is no other than a relation of the most horrible massacres, which were industriously concealed by the *Spaniards*. But the possession of *Cuba* was far from answering the sanguine hopes of the *Spanish* adventurers, whose chief aim was gold. Those monsters, finding gold upon the island, concluded, that it must come from mines, and tortured vast numbers of the inhabitants, but without any effect, to make them discover where those mines lay. In short, the miseries the natives suffered were such, that they resolved almost unanimously to put an end to their own lives, but were prevented by one of the *Spanish* tyrants, called *Vasco Porcallos*, who threatened to hang himself along with them, that he might have the pleasure of tormenting them in the next world, worse than in this; and his threatening is said to have diverted the natives from their resolution; so that they returned quietly to their slavery. By the best accounts, no fewer than 600,000 of the natives were put to death in the year of *Velasquez's* arrival. While he remained governor of *Cuba*, he built the city and port of the *Havannah*, by the assistance of *Bartholomew de las Casas*, afterwards bishop of *Chiapa*, and the author of the history of the *Spanish* cruelties in the *West-Indies*, of which he was an eye-witness. But the houses, at first, were of no better materials than wood, and the town itself was so inconsiderable in 1536, that the crew of a *French* pirate-ship took it, and obliged the inhabitants to pay 700 ducats to save it from being burnt. The very day after

the pirates departure from *Cuba*, three *Spanish* ships from *Mexico* arrived at the *Havannah*, and having unloaded their cargoes, they failed in pursuit of the pirate-ship; but such was the cowardice of the *Spanish* officers, that the pirate took all their three ships; and returning to the *Havannah*, obliged the inhabitants to pay them 700 ducats more.

*The Ha-
vannah
plundered.*

THE inhabitants of the *Havannah*, to prevent the like accidents in time to come, then built their houses of stone, and ran up a fort at the mouth of their harbour. But as the town was still open on the land-side, the *English* cruizers paid the inhabitants several unwelcome visits, and more than once drove the *Spanish* inhabitants into the woods, while they plundered the place. In the reign of *Henry II.* of *France*, while he was at war with *Spain*, a *Dieppe* ship, with no more than ninety men, plundered *St. Jago*, the capital of *Cuba*, and afterwards attacked the *Havannah*; but the *Spaniards* had been so often used to those visits, that they retired to the woods, so that the *French* found no inhabitants in the place. After remaining there for some time, searching for plunder in vain, two *Spaniards* came to them, seemingly to treat about ransoming the town, but in reality to observe their numbers. The *French* demanded 6000 ducats for ransom-money, which was more, according to the two deputies, than the inhabitants could raise; and took their leave. Upon their return to their countrymen, the majority came to a resolution to surprize the *French* sword in hand, which 150 of them accordingly did, in the night-time, by stealth. The *French*, after losing four of their number, stood to their arms, and soon put to flight the *Spaniards*. After this, they bedaubed the windows and doors of the houses with combustibles, of which they found great plenty on the island, and set fire to the town, even pulling down the walls and the fort, which the flames did not consume. It is said, that when the *Spaniards* desired the invaders to spare the churches, the *French* answered them, that a people who had no honesty had no occasion for churches, and they were consumed with the rest of the town. The taking of the *Havannah* by the *English* buccaneers in 1669, under *Morgan*, has been already mentioned, as have several other attempts made during the courses of the wars in which *Spain* was involved with the *English*, or other *European* powers.

*Reflexions
on its im-
portance.*

IT is certain that the importance of the *Havannah* to the *Spaniards* was never thoroughly understood, till after the succession of the house of *Bourbon* to the throne of *Spain*, and then nothing was wanting that could contribute to render it impregnable. But, perhaps, the chief strength of the *Havannah* lay in the jealousy which all the powers in *Europe* en-
tertained

certained of each other, on account of the importance of the conquest, which must have rendered the masters of the *Havannah*, masters, at the same time, of the *Spanish* dominions in *America*. This would have been an accession too considerable either for the *French* or the *English*; but when the latter were at war with both the *French* and *Spaniards*, that consideration vanished. Under king *William*, even before the *Havannah* was fortified, as it has been since, no attempt was made against it by the *English*, because that prince's politics were diametrically opposite to all attempts for weakening *Spain* in the *West-Indies*, as may be seen in the history of the *Scotch* colony at *Darien*. Under queen *Anne*, the same timid policy was continued; for though we had then war with *France*, yet the pretender to the crown of *Spain*, afterwards the emperor *Charles VI.* was our ally, and the dismemberment of *Cuba* from the *Spanish* monarchy was too bold a stroke to risk, as he was possessed of no means to indemnify the expence that must have attended such an attempt, and the loss of the *Havannah* was considered as being the same with that of the *Spanish* empire in *America*. Some projects, however, were formed for the reduction of this important place, but none of them was carried into execution, though it was well known that the *French* king derived from the *Spanish* *America* all the treasure by which he was enabled to carry on his wars, during the last ten or twelve years of his life. We have, in our history of *Jamaica*, given an account of the various expeditions formed against *Cuba* by the *English* arms, during the reign of *George II.* nor shall we resume it here, farther than to observe, that the whole plan of that war against *Spain* was defective; because, our strength was not immediately aimed against the *Havannah*, the taking of which must either have shortened the war, or have put *Great Britain* in possession of the *Spanish* treasures, as all other places of consequence must have fallen of course.

WHEN the vast successes of *Great Britain* united the three *War* branches of the house of *Bourbon*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Naples*, tween in what was called the Family Compact, the mistakes of *Spain* and the former plans of war against *Spain* were observed, and it was resolved to begin the operations by the attack of the *Havannah*. This plan was of itself so momentous, and depended so entirely upon military knowledge, that his majesty referred, in a great measure, the execution of it to his uncle the duke of *Cumberland*, whose long experience in the army rendered him, undoubtedly, the best judge of the abilities of the officers who were to be employed in the execution of it. The chief command was given to the earl of *Albemarle*, the

disciple of his royal highness in the art of war; and some of his brothers had very considerable commands, both by land and sea, in the same expedition. Admiral *Pocock*, who had acquitted himself so much to the honour and interest of his country in the *East-Indies*, had the command of the fleet, and Sir *James Douglas* was ordered to reinforce him with his squadron from *Martinico*. The main fleet sailed on the 5th of *March*, the very day on which the *Grenada* islands surrendered to the *English*, from *Portsmouth*, and the junction between the admiral and Sir *James Douglas* was happily effected on the 27th of *May*, at *Cape Nichola*, off the north-west point of *Hispaniola*; the whole armament consisting then of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen smaller ships of war, and about 150 transports, with 10,000 regular troops on board, which were to be joined about the time the operations were to commence by 4000 troops more, who were ordered from *North-America*.

AFTER this junction, time was so precious, that instead of keeping to the south of *Cuba*, and falling in the tract of the galleons, which was by far the safest navigation, the admiral resolved to run along the northern shore of the island, through the old straits of *Bahama*, which form a narrow passage, bounded by the right and left by dangerous sands and shoals, and about 900 miles in length. This navigation had been always esteemed too hazardous even for single ships, excepting those who were daily conversant in those seas, to undertake it. But the approach of the hurricane season rendered it, in some measure, necessary for the fleet; and the admiral having procured from lord *Anson* an excellent chart of those straits, he made the most proper dispositions that the wisdom and skill of man could concert to render the passage safe. A vessel was sent before to reconnoitre the channel, and to take the lead, while small sloops were posted on each side to give notice of the shallows by signals; and then the grand fleet moved in seven divisions, with a course so fortunate and judicious, that though they entered the straits so late as the 27th of *May*, they got clear of all danger by the 5th of *June*, and next day the fleet came in sight of two small forts to the eastward of the *Havannah*, situated upon two rivers, at the distance of three miles from one another.

Siege and

FOURTEEN *Spanish* men of war, besides smaller ships, were then lying in the basin of the harbour, which had been sent from *Old Spain* for the protection of the place, as soon as a war between *Great Britain* and *Spain* appeared probable; but the *Spanish* commanders, trusting to the tediousness of the navigation, and their own intelligence, if the

English

English had sailed by the common tract, were, at this time, unprovided for a defence; while, the admiral, with twelve sail of the line, some frigates, and all the store-ships, bore away for the mouth of the harbour to block them up, and to make a diversion on the one side, while the landing was effected on the other. The *Spaniards*, by this time, could be at no loss to know the intention of the *British* armament, and their fleet was but little inferior to that under Sir *George Pocock*; yet they made no efforts to fight him, though an engagement, even supposing them to be worsted, might have disabled the *British* fleet from undertaking the siege. Commodore *Keppel*, brother to the earl of *Albemarle*, with seven sail of the line, and some frigates, covered the landing, which was effected between the two forts *Barcarans* and *Coxemar*, the first of which was taken possession of by the *Mercury* man of war, and the other by the *Dragon*; their garrison, which consisted of armed peasants and negroes, flying to the woods. In the mean while, the earl of *Albemarle*, favoured by the fire of the *Dragon*, passed the *Coxemar-River* on the 7th, and the army lay under arms along the shore, with the piquets advanced into the woods; but before the operations of this siege can be fully understood, it is necessary to give the reader some idea of the strength of the place and harbour.

THE city of *Havannah* stands on the west-side of the har-
 bour, in a beautiful and pleasant vale, with the sea on its front, but backwards surrounded by the river *Lagida*. The harbour itself is by many accounted to be the best in the world, not only on account of its strength, but because it is capable of containing commodiously 1000 ships, without either cable or anchor, there being generally six fathom water in the bay. The entrance into the harbour is by a narrow channel, very difficult of access, and fortified strongly with platforms, works, and artillery, for half a mile, which is the length of the passage. The mouth of this channel is secured by two strong castles, one on the east-side is called the *Moro-Fort*, which is built in the form of a triangle, fortified with bastions, and, at the time it surrendered to the *English*, it is said to have mounted forty pieces of cannon almost level with the water, and each carrying a thirty-six pound ball, besides other artillery. On the opposite side of the channel, lies another strong fort, called the *Puntal*, joining to the town, which is situated to the westward of the entrance of the harbour, and is surrounded by ramparts, bastions, and ditches. Besides these fortifications, there are many other forts and platforms, all of them furnished with cannon, even to profusion; and upon the whole, it may be said with great truth,

truth, that the *Spanish* treasures and engineers had been employed for sixty years before in rendering the *Havannah* impregnable. The reader, perhaps, needs not to be informed, that in the harbour of the *Havannah*, the *Spanish* galleons and flota, containing all their *American* treasures, assemble, and sail from thence to *Europe*, and that the *Havannah* itself, is, consequently, the most populous and richest town that the *Spaniards* have upon their *West-Indian* islands, and it had been always the chief care of the court of *Spain* to provide it with a strong garrison, commanded by the ablest officers they had in their service.

Continu-
ance of the
siege.

On the 8th of *June*, lord *Albemarle* marched to *Guanama-coa*, about six miles from the landing-place, and saw the enemy, to the number of 6000, drawn up very advantageously, as if they intended to dispute his passage to that village, but they were soon dispersed; and next day his lordship formed the army into two bodies, the one was commanded by general *Elliot*, and lay towards the south-east of the harbour, extending considerably into the country, not only to cover the siege, but to secure the foraging parties who were sent out for provisions. The other division encamped in the woods, between *Coxamar-River*, and the *Moro-Castle*, which was to be the grand object of the *British* operations under general *Keppel*, another of his lordship's brothers; while colonel *How* was posted with a detachment, so as to cut off the communication between the town and the country. In the mean while, the *Spaniards* were unrigging their ships in the harbour; at the mouth of which they sunk three vessels, and drew a strong boom across it. A post upon the *Moro* hill, called the *Cavannos*, was attacked and taken by the assistance of the shipping, (which gave a diversion) by colonel *Carleton* with very little loss. A post being established here, his lordship gave orders for again reconnoitring the *Moro-Fort*, which was the more difficult, on account of the bush and wood that surrounded it. Enough, however, was discovered to make it adviseable to erect a battery against it as near as the cover of the woods would admit. This proved a work of infinite labour, and the hardships which the *British* troops had to surmount are almost incredible. Earth was so thin on the surface of the ground, that it was with difficulty they could cover their approaches, while, in that dry parched season and country, they were obliged to bring their water a great way, and at last to be supplied by the ships. The artillery and stores were all this while landing, but the labour of bringing them up to the works was inexpressible. The cannon and carriages were to be dragged up, for a vast way, from a rough rocky

rocky shore, and many of the men in this painful operation, and in cutting out communications through thick woods, dropped down dead with heat, fatigue, and thirst.

IT would be equally uninftructive, and unentertaining, to lead the reader through all the particulars of this laborious siege. The loss of men, though beyond what could have been expected, as the season that year was uncommonly favourable, seemed only to give the greater spirit to the survivors, so that the batteries by the 29th of *June* were ready to be opened, and were so disposed, all along the hill, as to play upon the enemy's ships, to oblige them to retire so far up the harbour, as not to be capable of interrupting the operations of the siege. Those were works of incredible labour, but cheerfully submitted to both by the soldiers and sailors, who imagined that the spoils of the place would reward all their fatigues. On the 29th, the enemy in the fort, who kept up a communication with the town, landed two detachments of 500 men each, of grenadiers, and chosen men, and a detachment of armed negroes and mulattoes for each corps, to attack the works of the *English* on the right and left, but they were defeated with the loss of above 200 men, and a great number wounded, who escaped to the woods. All this while, the fire continued with equal fury on both sides; but 500 blacks, who had been purchased by the earl of *Albemarle* at *Martinico* and *Antigua*, were extremely serviceable to the soldiers, in assisting them to bring up ammunition and necessaries to two new batteries, which were opened upon the first of *July*. To give the greater effect to those batteries, the admiral, in concert with the general, ordered the *Dragon*, *Marlborough*, and *Cambridge*, to lay their broadsides against the north-east part of the *Moro*, under the direction of captain *Harvey*, who made excellent dispositions for the attack. A most dreadful cannonading ensued for seven hours, and the fire was kept up with equal steadiness on both parts; but the situation and strength of the castle gave it vast advantages over the ships. The *Cambridge* of 80 guns, and the *Dragon* of 74, were terribly shattered; and some failure having happened in the conduct of the *Stirling-Castle*, which was to have led in the ships, and then to have made sail off, the attack on that side was discontinued. The *Cambridge* was first ordered off, and afterwards the other two; captain *Goostrey* of the *Marlborough* being killed, with a great number of men, and the ships themselves disabled from continuing the attack, without apparent danger of being sunk. It was, however, on all hands agreed, that never was a desperate service performed with more courage and coolness than both

officers

*Attack of
the ships
upon the
Moro-
Castle.*

officers and men discovered, and though it was unsuccessful on the side they attacked, yet, by diverting the enemy's fire from the land-side, the batteries from the army obtained a vast superiority, and displaced many of the enemy's guns, which, on the 2d of *July*, were reduced to two, and those fired but seldom. It was now thought that a speedy period would be put to the immense labours of the besiegers; but an unforeseen accident soon defeated that prospect. The enemy found means to replace their fire, which obliged the *English* to continue theirs in so furious a manner, that their grand battery on the 3d of *July* unfortunately took fire; the timber and fascines, of which it was constructed, having been reduced almost to tinder, by no rain falling in that dry climate for fourteen days. At first, the besiegers thought they had mastered the fire, but it broke out again so furiously, that all endeavours to stop it proved ineffectual; the battery was almost consumed, and in it the labour of 600 men for seventeen days; so that the besiegers, at the very time when they expected to be at the end of their fatigue, perceived they were to begin it anew, without having in it even a reasonable prospect of success.

THE hardships of the siege, the increase of the sickness, the badness of provisions, and the scarcity of water, with the heat of the climate, had killed, or rendered useless, two thirds of the army, and the seamen were in very little better condition; while the growing distempers of the season, and the exposed situation of the ships, threatened destruction both to the fleet and the army. Notwithstanding all those discouraging circumstances, under which any but *British* troops and sailors would have thought it worse than madness to have persevered, the officers, and common men applied themselves with as much spirit and assiduity as they had shewn at the beginning of the siege, while the fire of the enemy increased, especially from the *Puntal-Castle*, and the batteries on that side. After inexpressible toils, the works of the besiegers again took fire, and now they had nothing to trust to but the arrival of their reinforcements from *North-America*; because, whatever losses the *Spaniards* sustained in the day-time, they were replaced in the night, by the communication which was still kept up between the castle and the town. Even this did not damp the ardour of the besiegers, who proceeded with as much perseverance as if success had been within their reach, and though they were obliged to work all above ground, under the covering of gabions, junk, blinds, or mantelets, and bales of cotton, which served as woolpacks, they replaced all their batteries, and renewed their fire so furiously, that by the

19th of July they were in possession of a covered way, and made a lodgment, and continued their operations so successfully, that two days after, had not the enemy been alarmed, the place must have been taken by surprize; and the arrival of the *Jamaica* fleet, which furnished them with several useful necessaries for the siege, inspired the troops with fresh hopes. On the 22d, a vigorous sally of 1500 men, divided into three parties, was made from the town, to interrupt the operations against the castle; but they were repulsed with the loss of 400, while that of the besiegers did not amount to more than fifty men. This loss was far from damping the *Spaniards*, who defended themselves so well, that the success of the siege began to be again doubtful; when on the 27th of July, brigadier *Burton* arrived with the first division of the troops from *North-America*.

By this time, the miners of the besiegers had conquered what appeared an almost insuperable difficulty, by passing a small ridge of rock, which, towards the sea, covered a prodigious ditch, most of it cut in the rock, and about seventy feet deep, and forty wide; so that it would have been impracticable to have passed it, had not the ridge, above-mentioned, led the miners to the foot of the wall. After this, and the repulse of the sally, the *Spaniards* made no efforts from the town to save the castle, which, however still held out. On the 30th, the enemy sent two boats and a floating battery out of the harbour, to fire grape-shot and small-arms into the ditch, where the miners were at work; but the party which covered the latter plied the *Spaniards* so briskly, that they were obliged to retire. This was the enemy's last effort for saving the castle, for by two in the afternoon that same day, a mine was sprung, which threw a part of the wall into the ditch, and left a breach, which, though small, the general and chief officers judged to be practicable, and the troops were ordered to storm it. The garrison of the *Spaniards*, within the castle, was still considerable, and the brave defence they had made left the besiegers no room to doubt of the resolution and courage of their commanders. But danger itself seemed trivial to our troops, when it was to finish the dreadful toils they had undergone. The soldiers prepared themselves for the storm, under major-general *Keppel*, with the greatest alacrity, mounting the breach, and entering the fort with such amazing intrepidity and order, that the *Spaniards*, who had been regularly drawn up to resist them, lost all the spirit they had before exerted. Four hundred of them were cut in pieces, or perished in the water; four hundred threw down their arms and received quarter. The marquis

Moro.
Castle
taken.

de

de Gonzales, who was second in command, was killed, in endeavouring to stop the shameful flight of his men; and don *Lewis de Velasco*, the governor, with about 100 of the garrison, bravely defended his colours, till he was killed, to the extreme regret of his generous conquerors, who even mourned over his body. The dastardly behaviour of the *Spaniards*, when the place was stormed, evinced that the obstinate defence it had made, was owing to those two gallant noblemen. This glorious conquest happened on the 30th of *July*.

Siege and
capitulation
of the
town.

THE *Spaniards* in the town and the *Puntal Castle*, perceiving the *Moro Castle* to be in possession of the *English* forces, after a siege of forty-four days, directed all their fire against their new acquisition, while the *English* were busied in erecting batteries upon the *Cavannos*, and dislodged a seventy-four gun ship, which had been sent down to fire upon the *Moro* likewise. The arrival of the rest of the provincial troops did great service, by diminishing some part of the infinite fatigues the others had undergone; but the materials for the works, batteries, and platforms, became now to be so scarce, that the admiral was obliged to supply them from the fleet. The besiegers still were greatly retarded for want of tools. Even this inconveniency was at last conquered, though the sickness then raged like a pestilence; and by the 10th of *August*, the *English* batteries, erected along the *Cavannos*, and to the westward of the town, were ready to play upon it with about sixty pieces of cannon. To prevent any unnecessary carnage or destruction, lord *Albemarle* sent a flag of truce by his aid de camp, to summon the governor to surrender, and to lay before him the unavoidable ruin that was ready to fall upon the place. The governor detained the messenger for some hours, but without suffering him to approach his works, and declared his resolution to defend his trust to the last extremity. Next morning, lord *Albemarle*, to convince the *Spaniards* that it was in his power to perform all he had threatened, battered both the *Puntal* and the town, from forty-three pieces of cannon and eight mortars, with such execution, that flags of truce appeared in all quarters of the *Havannah*, and a messenger was sent to the *British* camp to settle the capitulation. Some difficulties occurred in this, which made the troops apprehensive that hostilities would be renewed. The *Spaniards* struggled hard to preserve their men of war in the harbour, but were made to understand, that unless they were immediately given up, there was an end of capitulating. They likewise endeavoured to procure a neutrality for the fort, but this condition being likewise rejected, the capitulation was signed; and, on the 14th of *August*, general *Keppel*

Keppel took possession of the *Puntal-Fort* gate and bastion, while brigadier *Howe*, much about the same time, took possession of the land-gate with two battalions of grenadiers, and the *British* colours were hoisted at both places; and thus a prophecy, which had been long current with the *Spaniards* of those parts, was fulfilled, viz. that the *English* should one day, as masters, walk through the streets of the *Havannah*.

By this capitulation, the officers of the garrison, with their effects, equipages, and money, were to be put on board his *Britannic* majesty's ships, which were to transport the garrison to the nearest port of *Old Spain*, and the same liberty was to be granted to the marines, and ships crews in the harbour; but the ships themselves, with the money and effects belonging to his Catholic majesty, were to be delivered up to the admiral and the general, together with all the artillery, arms, ammunition, and naval stores, without reserve. The late viceroy of *Peru*, and the late governor of *Carthagena*, who happened to be then at the *Havannah*, were to be conveyed to *Old Spain*, with all their effects, money, and attendants. The exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was secured. The inhabitants were to be allowed to continue in their offices of property, as long as they behaved well; they were likewise at liberty to dispose of, or remove, their effects to any part of his Catholic majesty's dominions in ships, at their own expence. All the *Spaniards*, who served in the militia, were to be safe in their rights, properties, and privileges; but all public papers were to be inspected by the secretaries of the admiral and the general, and returned, if not found necessary for the government of the island. The sick in the hospitals were to be taken care of at the expence of his Catholic majesty. Safeguards were given for the security of the churches, convents, and other places.

*Articles of
the capi-
tulation.*

THE reader may perceive, from the nature of the capitulation, (which must be acknowledged to have been favourable to the *Spaniards*) that the *British* commanders were too sensible of the value of their conquest for the nation, to risk it by any unseasonable disputes, that might have rendered the enemy desperate. It was owing to this judicious consideration, that the prize and plunder-money of this important place, was far from answering the expectations of the captors, or, perhaps, of the public. The terms of the capitulation, undoubtedly gave the *Spaniards* (besides securing their own effects) great opportunities of secreting those of their king; and yet, after all the plunder and prize-money of the place, which fell into the hands of our troops and sailors, without violating the terms of the capitulation, amounted to an im-

*Reflections
on the
taking and
restitution*

mense value, though perhaps, those who rated it at three millions sterling, have exceeded the truth. They had sunk three of their largest ships, as we have already mentioned, in the mouth of the harbour; but nine of the finest ships in the world, with four frigates, fell into the hands of the *English*, who destroyed two more that were in forwardness on the stocks. Upon the whole, we may venture to say, that the reduction of the *Havannah*, which was attended by the cession of a district of 180 miles westward, was, if not the most important, the most difficult conquest, that ever was made by the *British* arms. But though the conquerors had lost but few men by the enemy, the acquisition cost them dear, on account of the disability they were under to improve its consequences. The *British* troops, who survived the capitulation, were scarcely sufficient for keeping possession of the place; nor had their ships of war a number of hands sufficient to carry the fleet to *Europe*. Thus, without a reinforcement, there was an end of all hopes of improving this conquest, on the side of *America*; while intermediate events in *Europe* rendered it absolutely necessary to restore it.

of the
Havan-
nah.

THE Family Compact, which we have already mentioned, produced joint efforts of the *French* and *Spanish* arms against *Portugal*, the capital ally of *Great Britain* in *Europe*. The re-union of that crown with that of *Spain* could not have been compensated to this nation, by keeping possession of the *Havannah*; and the waste of men, which the war, though successful through all parts of the globe, had occasioned, rendered it impossible for us to carry our arms into the dominions of *Spain* in *America*. It is true, the valour of the *British* troops saved *Portugal* from being reduced in one campaign; but this was done at a vast expence, which his Most Faithful majesty was in no condition to reimburse. Besides those events, many others, foreign to this part of our history, contributed towards making peace desirable, which could not be obtained, without the restitution of the *Havannah*, as the *French* and *Spaniards*, and indeed, all the rest of *Europe*, looked upon the *English* possession of it as a locking-up the resource of all their treasures, which one day or other they might finally lose. So many important considerations, but above all, the vast depopulation of *British* subjects, by the war, at last determind our ministry to give ear to a treaty, in which, the restoration of the *Havannah* to the crown of *Spain*, was to be an article. The evacuating *Portugal* was not thought to be a sufficient equivalent for this mighty concession. His Catholic majesty gave up to the *British* subjects the long disputed right of their cutting, load-
ing,

ing, and carrying away logwood in the bay of *Honduras*, and relinquished the claim which his subjects had to the *Newfoundland* fishery. He likewise ceded and guaranteed, in full right, to his *Britannic* majesty, *Florida*, with *Fort St. Augustine*, and the bay of *Pensacola*, as well as all that *Spain* possesses on the continent of *North America*, to the east, or to the south-east, of the river *Mississippi*; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic king, and the crown of *Spain*, have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; so that the Catholic king cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the crown of *Great Britain*, and that in the most ample manner and form. Such were the indemnifications granted in *America*, besides the evacuation of *Portugal* by the *Spanish* and *French* troops, in consideration of the restitution of the *Havannah* by the 19th article of the definitive treaty, which was as follows.

“ THE king of *Great Britain* shall restore to *Spain* all the territory which he has conquered in the island of *Cuba*, with the fortres of the *Havannah*; and this fortres, as well as the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his *Britannic* majesty’s arms; provided, that his *Britannic* majesty’s subjects, who shall have settled in the said island, restored to *Spain* by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said island, restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his *Britannic* majesty’s subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. But, as the liberty granted to his *Britannic* majesty’s subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed, between his *Britannic* majesty and his Catholic majesty, that the number of *English* vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said island, restored to *Spain*, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that

they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only: all the effects belonging to the *English*, being to be embarked at the same time: it has been further agreed, that his Catholic majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two *Spanish* clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places and ports of the said island, restored to *Spain*, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated."

which is
evacuated
by the
English.

THE evacuation of the island was most punctually performed on the part of *England*; but the *British* merchants complained of some delays that were thrown in their way by the *Spaniards*, of which they were promised a ready redress, though the public is not yet informed as to the event. As to the town of the *Havannah* itself, distinct from the fortifications, it is about two miles in circuit, and contains about 26,000 souls, besides the garrison. Though *St. Jago* is the capital of the island, yet the *Havannah* is the residence of the bishop, and all the principal inhabitants of *Cuba*. Though its port is very secure within, yet the narrowness of its passage has rendered it so difficult of access, that the galleons have often been insulted and taken within sight of it, without receiving any assistance from the fortifications. In 1629, the flota was met with by a *Dutch* privateer, the commander of which was called *Pie de Palo*, or *Wooden Leg*, whose crew ran the *Spanish* ships ashore, and made themselves masters of their treasures, which amounted to some millions of pieces of eight. The *Spanish* admiral, whose name was *Guzman de Torres*, then proceeded on his voyage to *Spain*, where he was imprisoned, and lost his head.

Descrip-
tion of the
island.

THOUGH the churches of the *Havannah* are inconceivably magnificent and rich in plate and ornaments, yet the houses are ill-furnished, and the streets narrow, but clean and straight. The jurisdiction of the town extends to half the island, the other half belonging to the capital, *St. Jago*. While the galleons lie here, a fair is held, in which vast sums of money are spent, and every thing is excessively dear; but at all times, the price of every necessary of life at the *Havannah* is extravagant, bread particularly; neither have they any great variety of fresh meat, nor is what they have of the best kinds, excepting their pork. This is not owing to any defect in the soil of the island, but to the indolence of the *Spaniards* in all the arts of cultivation. The inhabitants of the *Havannah* are, in general, far more sociable and conversable, than those of the other *Spanish* dominions in Ame-

it; and though the women seldom go abroad without veils, they behave in all other respects like the *French ladies*; and this difference in manners from the other *American Spaniards*, is imputed to the accession of the house of *Bourbon* to the crown of *Spain*; for though the other parts of the *Spanish dominions in America* are equally subjected, as *Cuba* is; to his Catholic majesty, they are more remote, and the inhabitants more attached to their ancient *Spanish* customs. At the same time, the *Havannah* was reduced, the *English* possessed themselves of the harbour of *Mariel*, which served as an excellent protection for their transports and some of their men of war, though the *Spaniards* endeavoured to ruin it, by sinking ships in its entrance. As to the *Spanish* commodore, and their other great officers, they were sent by the admiral to *Old Spain* in his majesty's ships the *Sutherland* and *Dover*, which were fitted up as flags of truce for their accommodation.

THE other towns of this island, the whole of which is *its chief* but thinly peopled, are *Santa Cruz*, which lies about sixty-towns and three miles east of the *Havannah*, and has a tolerable good places. harbour at the bottom of *Matanza Bay*. *Porto del Principe* lies on the same coast, but about 300 miles south-east of the *Havannah*, and was formerly an opulent town, till plundered by the *English* buccaneers under *Morgan*. Near this place are bitumen-pits, the substance of which is medicinal, and often applied to ships instead of pitch. *Baracoa*, which lies on the north-east part of the island, has a convenient harbour for small ships; and *Cumberland Harbour* has been already mentioned. *St. Jago*, the capital of *Cuba* till the *Havannah* was built and fortified, was the residence of its government. It was founded by *Velasquez*, the first, but inhuman, governor of the island, who rendered it the shambles of the innocent natives; some hundred thousands of whom he sacrificed to his avarice and ambition. It stands at the bottom of a large bay, about two leagues from the sea, on the south-east side of the island; and we have already mentioned the unsuccessful effort made by the *English* under admiral *Vernon* and general *Wentworth*, to reduce it. It appeared, by accounts received from *Spain*, after this attempt failed, that, had our troops advanced, the place must have fallen into their hands almost without resistance; and no sooner were they re embarked, than 400 men were employed in repairing its fortifications, so that it is said now to have regained some degree of its former lustre.

PERHAPS, no civilized people in the world, but the *Spanish* *Climatists*, would suffer so fine an island as *Cuba*, to lie so uncultivated in its interior parts, that its product scarcely sup-

ports its inhabitants, which well accounts for its depopulated state. It has been often observed, that the island contains more churches than farms, more priests than planters, and more lazy bigots than useful labourers. In ecclesiastical matters, the bishop of *St. Jago* is subject to the archbishop of *St. Domingo*, as the civil government is to the *Spanish* audience of the same island, and yet nature has provided *Cuba* with every thing that can render it rich and powerful. It is, like most islands in the *West-Indies*, subject to storms; but though there is here no winter, the air is rendered cool by rains and breezes. The soil is capable of producing, in the greatest plenty, every thing that we have mentioned to grow in other *American* islands; but the *Cuba*, commonly called the *Havannah*, tobacco, is thought to excel that of all the world. The pine-apples here are excellent, and their sugars would equal their tobacco in goodness, had they hands to cultivate their canes. Some delicious fruits are found here, that are not to be met with upon other islands. The *Spaniards*, whose industry, in general, seems to be confined to mining, are said to have discovered some copper-mines on the island, which afford them metal sufficient for casting their artillery. It is uncertain, whether *Cuba* contains any mines of gold or silver, the hopes of which occasioned the butchery of all the ancient inhabitants, who were either unwilling or unable to discover any, though most probably the latter. The rivers and seas about *Cuba* are reported to abound with excellent fish of all kinds; and the inhabitants have good conveniencies for making salt, but they avail themselves very little of those advantages. Perhaps they are discouraged by the great numbers of alligators that frequent their rivers and coasts.

Products,
and trade. *CUBA* has abundance of mules, horses, sheep, wild-boars, hogs, and fine black cattle; which, of themselves, are a valuable commodity. They run in large herds wild in the woods, and their hides and tallow fetch great prices in *Spain*, while their flesh being cured, victuals their ships. Those cattle are not only numerous, but so fat, that they often die through the burden of their grease; and such of them as are made use of, are killed by the negroes; the *Spaniards* themselves, tho' perhaps starving, being too lazy to take that trouble. After all, the exportations of this large fine island, till lately, never equalled in value those of the small *British* island of *Antigua*. The reason of this, next to the indolence of the *Spaniards*, is the vast facility with which the inhabitants make their money, by means of the galleons and the flota, and the very great contraband trade that is here carried on, in defiance of their laws and regulations, and even with the connivance of
the

the government of the island. Upon the whole, there is reason for believing that the ministers of *Old Spain* begin now to open their eyes with regard to the infinite advantages they might derive from this island; and of late, *St. Jago de Cuba*, and other places of the island, begin to carry on a very brisk trade with *Old and New Spain*, and above all, with the *Canaries*; so that it is hard to say, what the consequence may be, if the *Spaniards* should adopt other maxims of government and manners of living. We have only to add to our account of this island, that its government affects great secrecy as to every thing concerning it; and formerly, it is said, that no stranger was admitted into the *Havannah*, without being blindfolded; but it appears, from the relations we have from *Charlevoix*, and other travellers, that this precaution is now disused. The *Spanish* galleons, flota, and merchant-ships, that resort to the *Havannah*, for the conveniency of returning to *Spain* in a body, as well as to take in provisions and water, are commonly between fifty and sixty. They arrive in *September*, and depart about the end of the same month; but no person belonging to the fleet is suffered, under pain of death, to remain all night in the town.

HISPANIOLA, or ST. DOMINGO, TRINIDADO, MARGARITA, PORTO-RICO, and the other Spanish islands in America.

THE antient name of this island was *Hayti*; but when it was discovered in 1492, by *Christopher Columbus*, he gave it the name of *Hispaniola*, or *Little Spain*; and its chief city being dedicated to *St. Dominic*, or *Domingo*, that name, in process of time, communicated itself to the whole island. It lies in the middle betwixt *Cuba* and *Jamaica* on the north-west and southwest, and *Porto-Rico* on the east, and is separated from the last by only a narrow channel. It extends from long. 67 deg. 35 min. to long. 74 deg. 15 min. and from lat. 17 deg. 37 min. to lat. 20. being near 400 miles from west to east, and almost 120 where broadest from north to south, and by some reckoned 400 leagues in circumference, exclusive of its bays and creeks, which it is thought would make 200 more. *Columbus*, as we have already seen, failed from *Cuba* to *Hayti*, at a time when he began to suspect that some combinations were forming against him by the two brothers, *Martin* and *Francisco Pinzoni*, the masters of two ships in his squadron. When he arrived off *Hayti*, he had

† BENZONI, apud de Bry. p. 33.

scarce cast anchor, when his capital ship was wrecked upon the rocks; but all his men and cargo were saved by the sloops. *Oviedo*, a *Spanish* author, says, that many people imagined, that this shipwreck was privately contrived by *Columbus*, that he might have an excuse for leaving some of his people upon the island.

and pos-
sessor of
Hispa-
niola by
the Spa-
niards.

WHILE the wrecks of his ship were floating about, the natives of the island were standing on the shore, struck with admiration at what they saw; but no sooner did they perceive the *Spaniards* landing, than they ran off; and it was with difficulty that one of their women was taken and carried before *Columbus*, who not only behaved to her with vast civility, but gave her some handsome apparel, and sent her on shore, making her understand, as well as he could, by signs, that the other natives might, without any danger, repair to his ships. It appears from what happened immediately after, that she made an excellent report of her benefactor to her country-people, who soon thronged round, and came on board the *Spanish* ships in their canoes. The *Spaniards*, with great pleasure, beheld those natives loaded with gold and silver bracelets, collars, and ear-rings; of which they were very liberal to all the sailors who asked for them. *Columbus*, finding the natives in so good a disposition, went ashore properly attended, and had an interview with one *Guacanarilla*, one of the caciques, or petty princes of the island, who gave him a most hospitable and generous reception. Mutual civilities passed between them. *Columbus* presented the cacique with linen-drawers, caps, knives, looking-glasses, bells, and other toys; while the cacique bestowed on him, in return, a large quantity of gold, and ordered his subjects to go in their canoes and recover as much as they could of the wrecks of the *Spanish* ship, which they did as carefully as if it had been their own property. *Columbus* was still at a loss for an interpreter; but he made a shift, by signs, to enquire where the natives got their gold; and they gave him to understand, that it was washed down by their inland rivers from their mountains. In the mean while, prodigious multitudes of the savages were daily crowding to see *Columbus* and his companions, being struck with wonder at their appearance, and apeing their gestures in whatever they saw them do. The *Spaniards* took advantage of their curiosity to teach them their prayers, and to give them some knowledge of their language, while they, in return, furnished them plentifully with gold, and foods of all kind.

COLUMBUS imagining, that he had now succeeded in what he had been so long in quest of, was impatient to be
him-

himself the first messenger of good news to his master the king of *Spain*. Before he took his departure from *Hispaniola*, he built, with leave of the cacique, a house, according to my author^d, of bricks, and called it, "The Nativity," being the first that ever was built by *Europeans* in *America*. Here he left thirty-eight *Spaniards*, with orders to behave themselves during his absence, with the greatest caution and moderation; but that they should, during his absence, inform themselves of every thing relating to the island. He then put to sea, carrying along with him the rest of his crews, together with six of the natives, all the gold that had been presented to him by the cacique, some parrots, and cakes of maiz, or *Indian* corn, with other rarities, the produce of the island. Two of the savages died in their passage to *Spain*; but *Columbus* presented the other four to their Catholic Majesties, together with the gold, which convinced them of the reality of his discoveries; and they shewed very particular marks of respect to *Columbus*, whom they made high-admiral of the western world, with a tenth of the profits of his discovery; and his brother *Bartholomew* was appointed to the government of *Hispaniola*, the only place in *America* in which the *Spaniards* seem, as yet, to have obtained a footing.

COLUMBUS, on the other hand, gave their Catholic *Columbus* Majesties entire satisfaction as to the value of his discoveries, ⁱⁿ *Spain*. and the prodigious matters they might expect from them; but desired, at the same time, that he might return with a force and appointment sufficient to complete them. A fleet of three ships of war, and fourteen caravels, carrying 1500 men, was accordingly fitted out, and plentifully furnished with provisions, ammunition, cannon, corn, seeds, horses, and mares, tools to work in the mines, and commodities that were proper for trafficking with the natives. Among the men he carried out with him were a few gentlemen, but abundance of priests and monks, the others consisting chiefly of labourers and artizans. In his voyage to *Hispaniola*, he touched at *Gomera*, one of the *Canary-Islands*, where he wooded and watered, and took in an additional number of live stock, with some garden-seeds; and, on the 23d of *November*, after discovering many other islands, he arrived on the coast of *His- Returns to*
paniola. Here he found a dreadful revolution, all the *Spani- Hispanio-*
ards being dead whom he had left on the island. The ad- la.
miral sent ashore a party to know the reason of this catastrophe, and along with them the four natives whom he had brought back, and who had been baptized in *Spain*. They

^d *Ibid*, p. 35.

were directed to apply themselves to the cacique *Guacananilla*, who shewed great expressions of concern at what had happened, but imputed all the misfortunes of the *Spaniards* to their own misconduct. He said, that after the departure of *Columbus*, those he had left behind him had violated the wives of the natives, and had bastinadoed the men, besides treating them ill otherwise, but that he (*Guacananilla*) had no hand in their massacre; that another cacique, of more power than him, had come into his province, and seeing the bearded men proceeding to build houses and make settlements on the island, had given orders that they should be all massacred. *Guacananilla*, at the same time, pretended that in taking part with the *Spaniards* he had received a wound in the leg, which he shewed all bound up to the messengers, who were convinced that he himself had been the author of the massacre.

His conduct.

It is highly probable, that *Columbus* had foreseen and expected this catastrophe, which he gave orders neither should be enquired into nor punished; all accounts agreeing, that the people he left upon the island were the most abandoned ruffians in the whole fleet, and, very possibly, the ringleaders of the mutineers who had brought him into so much disquiet and danger during his first voyage. But, as he was now in a condition to command his own terms, he landed with his people, and laid the foundations of a town, to which, in honour of her Catholic Majesty, he gave the name of *Isabella*. After this, he built a town, which he called *St. Thomas*, near the gold mines of *Hispaniola*, fortifying the same with a citadel strong enough to resist the attacks of the natives. Here the *Spaniards* opened so rich a gold mine, that such of them as were not present did not credit the reports spread of it, till they saw great quantities of pure gold which it contained; and which, according to *Oviedo*, the natives were not at pains to dig for, as all the gold they had in their possession was found either upon the surface of the earth, or so near it, that it gave them very little trouble to come at it. This part of the *Spanish* history is well attested; but it would be difficult to account for the great scarcity of native gold that is now in *Hispaniola*, as we can scarcely imagine that the *Spaniards*, ravenous as they were for that metal, could have exhausted the prodigious mines of it, said to have been discovered at the time we now treat of. It has been pretended, indeed, that the *Spaniards*, finding themselves too weak to work those mines to their own profits, take care to conceal them. But avarice, and a desire of gain, form an irresistible argument against this allegation, as it would be impossible for them to conceal

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all knowledge of those mines from their government, who would soon fall upon methods to work them, as well as those of *Peru* and *Mexico*.

THIS promising beginning of a colony being effected, *His far-Christopher Columbus*, leaving his brother *Bartholomew* in his charge of *Hispaniola*, put to sea with three ships, in which he completed his discovery on the south-side of *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, and other islands; and then returning to *Hispaniola*, he discovered a harbour which he called *Port Nicholas*, where he refitted his squadron, which had been greatly shattered by his cruise, and then he prepared to set out against the *Caribbeans*, who were the harmless natives of those and the adjacent islands and continent, intending not only to burn all their canoes, but, if possible, to exterminate the people. Though the humanity, moderation, and justice of *Columbus*, have been greatly cried up by the *Spanish*, and other authors, yet we find that he possessed those virtues only comparatively, as he certainly was a better man than many of those monsters his cotemporaries and successors, whose proceedings are so many apologies for the cruelties of other nations; but the virtues of *Columbus* were, perhaps, as much inferior to those of a truly humane conqueror, as those of the fiends, we have mentioned, were to his. While he was meditating upon this expedition, he was seized with a dangerous illness, and confined to his new town of *Isabella*, where he had nothing before his eyes but the approaching ruin of his colony.

MANY circumstances confirmed the opinion, that the first *Spanish* adventurers to *America* were men, who, through their vices and crimes, could not live in *Europe*. During the absence of *Columbus*, the colonists upon *Hispaniola* were guilty of the greatest excesses against the unsuspecting natives, whose resentments were as keen and vindictive as their affections had been sincere and generous. Perceiving that the *Spaniards* were proceeding to build houses and forts, they began to suspect that their intention was to reduce them to slavery, and to take possession of their island; but they received no other answer than blows and ill treatment to any remonstrances they, or their caciques, urged on this head. The insolent colonists, at last, proceeded to murders, rapes, and robberies, and every quarter of the island presented some scenes of cruelty and injustice. The inhabitants, knowing themselves to be no match for their tyrants, formed the scheme of a most extraordinary revenge, which was that of intermitting the culture of their land for a whole season, and of supporting themselves instead of maiz, with a root, which our authors call *jucca*, the too frequent use of which produced a disease
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somewhat like the venereal, and then they retired into the innermost parts of the island; but great numbers of them took the desperate resolution of putting an end to their own lives. The *Spaniards*, while their provision lasted, paid no regard to this migration; but beginning to be pinched for want of maiz and *Indian* corn, they went a foraging, and found nothing but desarts and empty cottages, while all around the fields and roads lay the dead bodies of the *Indians*, some murdered, and others starved or dead through the unwholsomeness of their food. The certainty of this calamity being reported at *Isabella*, the colonists quarrelled with their officers, and a mutiny against *Bartholomew Columbus* ensued, while many of them perished, like the *Indians*, through want of sustenance.

He is excommunicated.

COLUMBUS at last recovered, and, after re-establishing his authority, he began to enquire into the authors of the late mutiny against his brother, and the cruelties committed upon the inhabitants; and finding one *Gaspar Feriz* to be at the head of them, he ordered him, and the other ringleaders, to be hanged. He durst not, however, inflict the same punishment upon a *Benedictine* monk, one *Buil*, who resented the execution of the malefactors so highly, that he excommunicated *Columbus* and all who had a concern in their death; while *Columbus*, on the other hand, ordered, that neither *Buil*, nor his brethren, should be supplied from any part of the ship's stores, which the colony was now obliged to subsist on. *Columbus* then sent out messengers to invite the caciques to a reconciliation, but without any great effect. To compleat the misfortune of the colony, one of the most dreadful hurricanes ever known in those parts attacked the island, with most dreadful peals of thunder, and such flashes of lightning, that the air seemed to be on fire. The new built houses of the *Spaniards* were blown down, and four of their best ships, with all their crews, were sunk in the harbour. The *Spaniards*, unacquainted with such visitations, were exposed to all the fury of the storm, by which many of them perished; while the *Indians*, who saw, from well-known observations, it was approaching, avoided its effects by retiring into caves. It is remarkable, that among the other wrecks which this storm occasioned, that of the sugar-mills is particularly mentioned, which is a proof that the art of making sugar was more early in *America* than is commonly imagined.

A hurricane.

BUT neither this, nor any other calamity, could allay the vindictive spirit of *Buil*, and the other priests, who had formed so strong a party against *Columbus*, that little regard was now paid to his authority. *Peter Margarita*, governor of *St. Thomas*,

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mas, and some other leading *Spaniards*, endeavoured to make matters up; but the reconciliation, if any, was short-lived; for *Buil* and his brethren opposed *Columbus* in every exercise of his office, on pretence that he stood excommunicated; and an association was formed among the remaining conspirators for transmitting to *Spain* a charge of treason and tyranny against him. All that *Columbus* could oppose to this combination, was, to continue his prohibition against the priests receiving any provisions; but they were supported by their party: and, at last, ships arrived from *Spain* with plentiful supplies of all kinds. From the course of history, it appears, as if an intercourse had, all this time, been kept up between *Old Spain* and *Hispaniola*; for *Columbus* certainly came to the knowledge of the complaints that had been lodged against him with his Catholic majesty, and he knew the power of the church too well to neglect them. He had sent back great part of the fleet that came out with him, to *Spain*, under *Antony de Tarres*, with some gold; and no sooner were his remaining ships refitted after the late storm, than he prepared to return to *Europe*; having, according to *Oviedo*, received an order from his Catholic Majesty for that purpose by a noble *Spaniard*, one *Juan Agnado*, who had a commission to carry his accusers, at the same time, to *Spain*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great partiality of the *Spanish His fail-* writers towards *Columbus*, it appears from *Oviedo*, one of their *ings.* earliest and best informed authors, that that great man (for such he certainly was) was not without little failings. He had observed, that the *Indians* before they went to gather gold, went through a vast number of ceremonies, such as abstaining even from their wives, and undergoing a course of fasting: and *Columbus* ordered, that no *Spaniard* should go in search of gold, without preparing himself by the like penances, but be confessed and take the sacrament. The *Spaniards* objected to those orders, particularly to what regarded their fasting, of which they said they suffered too much against their will. The admiral, on the other hand, who, possibly, thought that this rigour might reclaim them, insisted upon the punctual observance of his orders, and severely punished all who ventured to transgress them; by which means, it is no wonder, if he became odious to the libertines he commanded; and some of them accused him of imposing those ridiculous ceremonies upon them, that he might the more securely engross the profits of the mines to himself. *Columbus* taking leave of *Hispaniola*, where he left things in great confusion, landed at *Cales* in *Old Spain*, from whence he repaired to court, where the gold and the rarities he presented

Returns to
Spain.

to the king, with the narrative of his adventures and discoveries, soon effaced all the charges against him. It is said, that the quantity of gold he presented on this occasion was very great, and formed into ingots; and that he produced to his majesty, in a journal kept by himself, an account of all his transactions in *America*, which fully vindicated him from all imputations of misconduct or cruelty. His majesty seemed to be extremely well satisfied of his innocence; but, at the same time, he hinted to him, that he had been a little too severe upon those adventurers who had gone so far to enlarge the *Spanish* wealth and empire, and admonished him to be less rigorous for the future. At that time, he renewed his commission, and gave orders for fitting out a new fleet of twelve ships, with which he was to prosecute his discoveries. But we are now to return to what passed in *Hispaniola*; and we shall throw in what concerns the natives in the same narrative.

History of
Hispanio-
la.

WHEN *Columbus* first arrived on that island it was governed by five caciques, viz. *Guarionex*, *Beheccio*, *Guacanarilla*, *Caiagoa*, and *Caonabo*. The first possessed a territory, comprehending a large plain of above seventy leagues in the middle of the island. *Beheccio* reigned over the western part of it, as *Guacanarilla*, whom we have already mentioned, did over the northern. *Caiagoa* possessed the eastern part: this cacique died before the war between the islanders and the *Spaniards*, and was succeeded in his government by his wife, who turned christian, and was baptized by the name of *Agnes de Caiagoa*. *Caonabo*, who was the most powerful prince among them, reigned in the highlands, and had under him a deputy-cacique, called *Usmatex*, an excellent soldier and a great disciplinarian. Those princes seldom had any disputes among themselves, except concerning their boundaries and their fisheries; but all quarrels ceased among them, when a descent, which often happened, was made upon their island by the *Caribbeans*, whom they considered as foreign invaders, and all of them united for their expulsion.

THE mines of *Ciboa*, or (as the *Spaniards* then called them) *St. Thomas*, lay within the division that belonged to *Caonabo*, who could not bear the thought of the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*; but he endeavoured to stifle his resentment till *Columbus* was sailed for *Spain*. *Alphonso Ojeda* was then governor of *St. Thomas*, with a garrison of fifty *Spaniards*, and *Caonabo*, encouraged by the example of *Guacanarilla*, who had cut off the thirty-eight first colonists, got together 5 or 6000 natives, with whom he laid siege to *St. Thomas*, after destroying all the stragglers he met with, and

burning the defenceless habitations of the *Spaniards*. The siege was so strait for a month, that the fort was quite blocked up from all access; but *Ojeda* resolved to wear out the courage of the besiegers by keeping within the walls, where he had, it seems, abundance of provisions. Perceiving their vigilance began to abate, he harrassed them with sallies, and found means, by some of the friendly natives, to insinuate to *Caonabo* and his army, that the admiral was daily expected with a powerful reinforcement, while *Ojeda* himself, seeming to be tired of the siege, offered terms to the cacique. Those stratagems had their effect; for *Caonabo* became not only more remiss in his discipline, but seemed inclinable to treat with the *Spaniards*, against the express opinion of his tributary caciques, who offered, if he would wait a little, to bring him reinforcements sufficient to exterminate those strangers from the island. Those remonstrances had no weight, and the incautious cacique, upon *Ojeda* plighting his faith for his safe return, went, with some of his chief officers into the fort, where the treacherous *Spaniard* immediately put him under arrest.

CAONABO had a brother, a man of courage, and very popular among his countrymen; who, hearing of the *Spaniard's* treachery, renewed the siege of *St. Thomas* with 7000 men; but *Ojeda* had, by this time, taken the field, at the head of about 300 men, among whom were some cavalry, sent him by *Bartholomew Columbus*, and attacking the *Indians*, obtained an easy victory over those savages, who were struck with consternation at the execution made by the horse; animals they had never seen before; and the cacique's brother was taken prisoner. *Bartholomew Columbus* hearing of this victory, instead of generously resolving to make atonement for *Ojeda's* treachery, by setting the illustrious prisoners at liberty, resolved to send them to *Spain*, under pretence that the peace of the island must still be precarious, if they remained on the island, either in prison, or at freedom. This resolution being communicated to the cacique and his brother, they were so affected with grief, that the former died about twelve days before he was to have been put on board, as the other did, in the voyage. The deceased cacique's wife put herself under the protection of her brother the cacique *Beheccio*, who some time after was put to death with forty of his tributary caciques, by the governor *Nicholas Ovando*, on pretence of a conspiracy against the Christians. By her flight, the *Spaniards* remained in quiet possession of her husband's dominions; but the island in general was far from being restored to a state of tranquillity.

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WHILE the siege of *St. Thomas* was carrying on, the cacique *Guarionex* resolved to take that opportunity, before the return of the admiral from *Spain*, to attack *Bartholomew*, and by the assistance of other caciques, he assembled about 15,000 men, to rescue, as they gave out, their liberties and religion from the oppression and scoffs of the *Spaniards*, and to drive those invaders from their island. Nothing could be a fairer opportunity for this purpose, than that which then presented itself. The *Spaniards* were not only reduced in their numbers, but the survivors were sickly and eaten up with diseases; nor could *Bartholomew* bring above 500 into the field, and those mostly diseased. He wisely, however, resolved not to wait till he was shut up in his fort of *Isabella*; but drawing out his men, he came up, by forced marches, with his enemy. Understanding that they kept no watch in their camp, he divided his party into two bodies, and taking the advantage of a tempestuous night, he broke into their camp, and obtained an easy victory. Some of the savages escaped, many of them were killed, but the greatest number of them, among whom were *Guarionex*, and fourteen tributary caciques, were taken prisoners. Here the earliest accounts differ. Some affirm, that *Guarionex* himself was not present in the action, but that his wife, some time before, had been made prisoner by the *Spaniards*: some say that all this happened in the absence of the admiral; others, that he was in the engagement, which is most probable. It is certain, that the conduct of the *Spaniards*, on this occasion, was the reverse of what it had been before; for the terms imposed upon *Guarionex* were very moderate, and all the chief prisoners were set at liberty. *Guarionex* himself, in gratitude, behaved with the greatest humanity and hospitality towards the *Spaniards* whom he found in his dominions.

*Victory of
the Spaniards.*

BEFORE an end was put to this war, the admiral had left *Spain*, and intending to visit other places in his voyage to *Hispaniola*, he dispatched thither two of his ships with supplies to his brother *Bartholomew*. By this time, one *Roldan Ximenez*, whom the admiral had raised from a low condition, (though by all accounts he was a very worthless fellow) to a considerable civil employment, taking advantage of the cloud under which *Columbus* was at court, had prevailed with a number of the malecontents to leave *Bartholomew*, and remove with him to the western part of the island, where he instituted a kind of a separate government, giving a loose to the most shameful excesses and oppressions of the natives, by which he and his companions had amassed very considerable treasures. The two ships sent by *Columbus* happening to
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land in the part of the island possessed by them, *Roldan* invited their commanders and crews to join with him and his companions. The sight of the vast riches they were possessed of, and the plausible stories they invented, at last determined the sailors to accept of the invitation, and landing their store, they joined with *Roldan* in all the murders, robberies, and oppressions, that he and his people committed upon the natives.

COLUMBUS was at this time upon the island of *Márta-Dissenfons* *rita*, then called *Cubagua*, famous for its pearl fishing; and from thence he sent letters to *Roldan*, exhorting him to return to his duty; but all his admonitions had no other effect than to make *Roldan* write over to his Catholic majesty a vindication of his conduct, and the reasons why he separated himself and his company from the governor of *Hispaniola*. In this vindication, he represented *Bartholomew* as a most tyrannical governor, and accused him of the most wanton exercises of cruelty upon the *Spaniards* themselves, and of putting them to death upon the most trivial occasions; and the admiral himself as a man of unbounded ambition, who only sought an opportunity to erect himself into a sovereign of all the islands and lands he had discovered; praying his majesty, at the same time, to take the matter into his own cognizance. *Roldan*, to give the greater weight and probability to those charges, and many others against the admiral in *Hispaniola*, added, that *Columbus* having lately discovered *Cubagua*, where was the richest pearl fishery in the world, intended to secrete the same from his majesty, and to convert all the inestimable pearls he had got there, to his own use; and that both the divers in *Cubagua*, and the workmen in the mines of *Hispaniola*, with all the other officers appointed for the public service, were creatures of the admiral, and confederated with him in defrauding the royal revenue. He concluded, by offering to make his charge good in person to the admiral's face.

FERDINAND, king of *Spain*, one of the most politic and powerful, was, at the same time, one of the most avaricious and self-interested princes of his age. Many circumstances concurred to startle him on receiving this charge from *Roldan*. He had received as yet from *Columbus* no intimation of the discovery of *Cubagua*, or of the invaluable pearl fishery on its coasts. *Columbus* was neither born a *Spaniard*, nor one of his natural subjects; and it appeared by many incontestable proofs, that his government was disagreeable to the generality of the adventurers. In the mean while, several of the *Spaniards*, who had been at *Cubagua*, had returned to their

their own country, and carried to court some of the large pearls which that fishery afforded, and which being shewn to his majesty, seemed to give some credit to *Roldan's* charge against *Columbus*. The truth is, this admiral was entirely void of all blame, for he no sooner was assured of the value of the *Cubagua* pearl-fishery, than he sent a friend, one *Arroial*, to inform his Catholic majesty of the discovery, with some specimens of the largest pearls; but this messenger did not reach *Spain* time enough to prevent the bad impressions which the king had received from those who had arrived sooner, in other vessels. It happened still more unfortunately for the admiral, that perceiving the vast plenty of pearls at *Cubagua*, and that his sailors could purchase them for the merest trifles, he was afraid that, if they remained longer on that island, it would be impossible for him, to arrive at *Hispaniola* time enough to prevent the bad consequences of his absence; and therefore he had used some rough methods to force them on board their ships.

Columbus returns to Hispaniola. THE admiral, on his arrival at *Hispaniola*, found, as we have already seen, his brother involved in a war with the caciques, which was soon ended to the satisfaction of both parties. Not to be wanting to himself, he no sooner understood that *Roldan* had accused him to his Catholic majesty, than he sent over a full vindication of his own conduct, laying open, at the same time, the treacherous inhuman proceedings of *Roldan*, which had occasioned so much bloodshed, and had hazarded the loss of the island to the crown of *Spain*. As her Catholic majesty was the professed patroness of *Columbus*, this apology for his conduct might have gone far towards clearing him of all suspicion; but the courtiers, who were his enemies, because he was a foreigner, had conceived such high ideas of the *American* riches, that each aspired to be a viceroy in the *New World*. *Columbus* and his brother being engaged in war with the natives of *Hispaniola*, it was impossible for them to procure hands for working the mines; and therefore they had, for some time, sent no gold to *Spain*, which was a fresh matter of accusation, for which the queen herself could make no apology, and therefore the king came to a resolution of sending thither a commissary, to enquire into the state of affairs. For this purpose, he pitched upon one *Francis Bombadilla*, an old courtier, and a knight of *Calatrava*, a man of a sour tyrannical temper, and very ill-fitted for all but the severe part of his commission. It is to this day uncertain, how far his instructions reached, because *Ferdinand*, in some measure, disapproved of his proceedings. We are, however, to presume, that they were discretionary; but

it is certain, that he had authority to settle the peace of the island, to enquire into the state of the differences between *Columbus* and *Roldan*. It appears, however, that he set out on his commission with a determined inveteracy against *Columbus* and his three brothers, for *Diego*, the youngest, had now arrived in *Hispaniola*.

BOMBADILLA sailed from *Cales* in 1499, with four *Columbus* large, well-appointed ships, and he no sooner came in sight of the island, than the three brothers, who had been apprized of his coming, with a suitable retinue, came to receive him from on board his ship; but *Bombadilla* no sooner came on shore, than by his orders, they were all three put in irons, and hurried, as malefactors, on board three separate ships, bound for *Spain*. We cannot suppose, that *Columbus* and his brothers, who commanded on the island, would have submitted to this treatment, unless *Bombadilla* had produced his authority; and therefore we must conclude it to have been more ample than it is represented by *Spanish* writers; neither can we believe that he ventured to proceed in so summary a way against the three brothers, as is pretended, because it appears that they were relanded and underwent a trial, and that the copy of the proceedings against them was transmitted along with them to *Spain*. We can, however, have no doubt, that *Bombadilla* exceeded his commission, by loading those illustrious prisoners with irons, because they no sooner came to *Cales*, than their Catholic majesties, hearing of their ignominious treatment, sent orders not only that their irons should be struck off, but that they should be brought to court with an honourable escort and equipages, every way suitable to their stations.

THOSE marks of respect were no other than preludes, intended by the politic prince to their removal from the posts they then held; and, indeed, impartially speaking, though he is justly accused of ingratitude; he, perhaps, by this removal, consulted his own interest, the only standard of his conduct. He saw that the *Spaniards* never could bear with the severe discipline of *Columbus*, who used to whip them on very slight occasions, and hang such of them as were found to have mistreated any of the *Indians*. In short, *Ferdinand*, though intirely convinced by the integrity and good intentions of *Columbus*, was apprehensive, that if he was continued in his command, he should reap little benefit from his new acquisitions. When *Columbus* was admitted into the royal presence, he effectually cleared himself from all charges of concealment, ambition, or avarice, brought against his

conduct; and their Catholic majesties expressed themselves with indignation against *Bombadilla*, confirming *Columbus* in all the dignities that had been conferred upon him (excepting the personal exercise of his government in *Hispaniola*;) and restoring him to all his appointments and revenues, which were to be accounted for to him from the day of his imprisonment. We are in the mean while to observe, that their majesties had so great an opinion of the abilities of *Columbus*, that they afterwards employed him in other services.

Conduct of
his ene-
mies,

IN the mean while, *Bombadilla* and *Roldan* engrossed to themselves a despotic power over the wretched natives, whom their predecessors had subdued, and whom they now reduced to labour like brutes, both above ground and in the mines; and, at the same time, they tyrannized over all the friends *Columbus* had left upon the island. They were sensible that complaints were lodged against them at the court; but *Bombadilla* knew it too well, to fear any censure there, while he could make his peace with gold, of which he and *Roldan* amassed prodigious quantities. In this manner they continued till the year 1502, when their tyranny became so insupportable, that being ordered home, they embarked with all their treasures. Their ingots of gold are said to have amounted to 100,000 pounds weight, besides immense quantities of large pieces found in lumps. Before this time, *Columbus*, who could not be inactive, and whom *Ferdinand* still affected to treat with the greatest marks of respect, had prevailed with that monarch to give him the command of four ships, for making new discoveries. He sailed with them from *Cadiz* on the 29th of *May*, 1502, and came before *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, while the fleet was lading that was to carry *Bombadilla* and his treasures, the whole consisting of thirty capital ships, manned with *Spaniards*. *Columbus*, sending his name on shore, received a message from *Bombadilla*, absolutely prohibiting him from landing. *Columbus*, by way of reply, said, that it was a matter of indifference to him where he landed, but that it was his duty to acquaint the governor, that he had observed great appearances of an approaching storm, and advised him by all means to defer his departure till the weather became more settled. *Bombadilla* rejected this salutary advice, and immediately put to sea, where he and *Roldan*, with the general of the island, above 500 *Spaniards*, and all their immense treasures, perished and were lost.

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rish.

HISPANIOLA was as yet the only regular settlement the *Spaniards* had in *America*, if we except the small footing they

they had obtained in *Trinidad* and *Margarita*, commonly called the *Pearl Islands*. But the fame of those discoveries, and the prodigious riches they contained, had prevailed so much among the *Spaniards*, that his Catholic majesty was obliged to issue out an ordinance, making it highly penal for any master of a ship or pilot, to approach nearer than fifty leagues to any of the discoveries made by *Columbus*, without his special permission. We have, in the history of *Jamaica*, related the farther adventures of that great man, and how he was obliged to send to *Hispaniola* for a ship to carry him from *Jamaica*. *Nicholas D'Ovando*, who had succeeded *Bombardilla*, was then governor of *Hispaniola*, and readily sent *Columbus* a ship, which brought him to *St. Domingo*; from whence, after refreshing himself for some days, he set sail for *Spain*, where he died, soon after his arrival. It is said, the purpose of his last voyage was to have discovered a passage to the *South-Sea*, which was afterwards found out by *Maggellan*.

It appears, that the *Spaniards* were so intent upon acquiring the treasures of *America*, that very little regard was paid to the ordinance of the king, prohibiting his subjects from approaching to those coasts. All he could do, therefore, was to encrease both in *Hispaniola* and *Margarita*, the number of his collectors and tax-gatherers, and to force the traders to pay the customs. Along with those, a great number of monks and missionaries had flocked to *Trinidad* and *Margarita*, where the *Spaniards*, as usual, had inflicted the greatest cruelties upon the natives, who had received them in the most generous, hospitable manner, by keeping them to intolerable labour, in diving for pearls. The barbarians, simple as they were, soon came to entertain the utmost abhorrence and contempt of the *Spaniards*, on account of their sordid, as they justly thought it, as well as cruel, behaviour; and therefore rising upon them of a sudden, they murdered all who fell into their hands, both clergy and laity; while the survivors escaped to *Hispaniola*, from whence the governor dispatched 300 men, with *Diego Ocampo* at their head, to reduce the barbarians. *Ocampo*, on his arrival at *Margarita*, ordered his men to conceal themselves in their ship, and appeared himself with but a very few upon deck. The natives, rowing about his ship in their canoes, demanded from whence he came, and he answered, from *Old Spain*; upon which, some of them, though they suspected the truth, went on board *Ocampo's* ship, where seeing but a very few sailors, they concluded that the news of their revolt had not yet reached

Hispaniola, and that their visitors came from *Europe*. They therefore, after exchanging with him some pearls, returned on shore, where they reported to the cacique, that the *Spaniards* on board were so few, that they could easily surprize their ship and cargo, and slaughter the crew. The cacique, upon this, ordered a great number of his people to go on board, which they did in such numbers, that *Ocampo's* ship was almost filled. He then gave a signal for his men to appear with their arms upon deck, where they massacred or hung on the yards of their ship, as a terror to their countrymen, all the savages, excepting a few, who jumped overboard, and gained the shore. *Ocampo* then landed his men at the mouth of the river *Cumana*, where he committed the most horrible massacres upon the natives, and forced them to assist him in building a village, which he called *Toledo*. The *Dominican* friars had by this time built two monasteries in those islands, where they were most hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. *Charles V.* was then king of *Spain*, and the famous *Bartholomew de Casas* was kind of a missionary in the *West-Indies*, where he saw the most horrible cruelties committed by the *Spaniards* upon the natives, who did not fail to make reprisals on every occasion. Motives of humanity prevailed with him to repair to *Spain*, where he laid before *Charles* all the misconduct and cruelties of his subjects, even to the extermination of the human race. According to my author, with whom *de Casas* is by no means a favourite, *Charles* bestowed upon him the government of *Cumana* and *Margarita*, then called *Cubagua*, and furnished him with 300 men, with particular distinctions and privileges, who were to be under his direction in the pearl fishery. Our author expressly says, that this commission was granted to *de Casas* at the intercession of count *Nassau*, father, as we apprehend, to the first prince of *Orange*. *De Casas*, at the same time, was provided with shipping, and every necessary for the discharge of his high office.

Massacre
of the Spa-
niards by
the na-
tives.

ARRIVING at *Cumana*, he produced his commission to *Ocampo*, who was by no means disposed to resign his government, and made a thousand pretexts for retaining it, till he could subdue the rebels (for so he called the natives); and pleaded, at the same time, that he could not leave the place without receiving his dismissal from the governor of *Hispaniola*, under whom he acted. Some high words followed on this occasion, but *Ocampo* still retained the command; upon which, *de Casas* went to *Hispaniola*, where he complained to the governor of the treatment he had received from *Ocampo*, who, it seems, had debarred him from entering his town of

Toledo.

Toledo. Before his departure, he had run up some wooden barracks for the accommodation of the 300 *Spaniards* he had brought along with him; and soon after, *Ocampo*, whose men by this time were excessively rich, and began to quarrel among themselves about dividing the plunder, left the island also. The natives were now free of all their tyrants, except the *Spaniards* left by *de Casas*, and some stragglers whom avarice detained in the country. Thinking that a proper opportunity for recovering their liberties, they rose as one man, and put to death all the *Spaniards* but a few friars who escaped to *Cubagua*; and after that, they set fire to all their dwellings, temples, and monasteries; and, in short, did every thing they could to abolish the very remembrance of their cruel invaders, even to the putting to death such of their countrymen as had turned Christians, and cursing their own native soil for giving support to so infernal a set of men as the *Spaniards* were. They even endeavoured to pass over from *Cumana* to *Cubagua* to exterminate all the *Europeans* there; but they had not boats and canoes to carry them over, short as the passage is.

This tragedy of the *Spaniards* was effected by *Ocampo*, It is re-
wenged. who, not bearing to be supplanted by *de Casas*, had left the new-comers to be sacrificed by the natives. As to *de Casas*, finding that there was a conspiracy of all the other *Spaniards* against him, and that they paid no manner of regard to his commission, he took refuge in a monastery in *Hispaniola*. The governor of that island, understanding how matters had gone in *Cumana*, immediately ordered a body of *Spaniards* to sail thither under an officer, one *Castellio*. He arrived at *Trinidad* in eight days, and the natives bravely defended themselves for forty, but were, at last, obliged to submit. He made a most cruel use of his advantage, for he hanged no fewer than seventy of the caciques, under the shameful pretext of their being rebels, and sent vast numbers of the natives to *Hispaniola*, where they were sold as slaves. He then applied himself to re-edify the town of *Toledo*, which had been demolished by the barbarians, and raised a town, consisting of seventy brick houses, in *Cubagua*, calling it *New Cadiz*. Soon after, the *Dominicans* erected a monastery upon *Cubagua*, which seems to have undergone a remarkable change of climate; for we are told, that in those days it was entirely barren, and without any trees, and so destitute of water, that its value was equal to that of wine. Later accounts informs us, that, notwithstanding the scarcity of fresh water, the soil is fertile, produces maiz and fruit, and that the island has upon it a great number of groves. Add to

this, that the pearl-fishery, for which this island was formerly so famous, is now entirely exhausted.

Disobedi-
ence and
opulence of
the Spaniards.

SOON after, *Lampugnani*, a *Milanese* nobleman, arrived at *Cubagua*, with a commission from his Catholic Majesty to be governor of that island. He brought along with him four ships which had been fitted out by *Spanish* merchants to fish for pearls on that island; and an instrument somewhat of the nature of a harrow, which, when let down to the bottom of the sea, served as a kind of drag-net for bringing up the oysters that contained the pearls. When *Lampugnani* produced his commission, the *Spaniards* upon *Cubagua* treated him in the same manner as they had done *de Casas*, and flatly refused to give any regard to the royal mandate, which was to bestow upon a stranger the fruit of their labours. The truth is, the immense riches those *Spaniards* had acquired, had inspired them with strong notions of independency upon their *European* sovereign; and *Lampugnani*, perceiving they were unanimous in opposing him, and that no regard was paid to the royal mandate, fell into a frenzy through vexation of mind, being unable to return to *Europe* through the great debts he had contracted; and died on the island in the utmost misery and distraction. This disregard of his Catholic majesty's orders prevailed so greatly, that he found, at last, there was no other method of retaining his *American* subjects in their duty, but by ballancing one governor against another; in which case, the royal authority generally turned the scale. *James Columbus*, son to *Christopher*, was then governor of *Hispaniola*, and was intent upon settling his colony of *Jamaica*. But, by this time, the greatest part of the *American* continent had been discovered, and his Catholic majesty had granted commissions to *Diego Niqueza*, and *Alphonso Hoida*, commonly called *Alonso de Ojeda*, the former to be governor of *Veragua*, and the other of *Carthagena*. *Ojeda* fitted out four ships, and hired 400 soldiers at his own expence; and both those governors arrived safe at *Hispaniola*. Their commissions were the most inhuman that can be conceived, as they were authorized to exterminate, by fire and sword, or by any other means they thought proper, all the *Indians* who did not become Christians, or more properly speaking, slaves to the *Spaniards*; in which case, they promised them his Catholic majesty's protection. The *Indians*, in a few words replied, that they knew nothing of his Catholic majesty, and that they were determined to live independently. Upon this, the *Spaniards* butchered all the *Indians* who fell into their hands, till being tired with murder, they saved some to work as slaves in their mines. The Imperial court issued an ordi-

Discove-
ries of O-
jeda,

ordinance in their favour, by which the *Indians* were declared to be free; but this did not happen till after the *Spaniards* had gone far towards exterminating the very species of the *Americans*.

OUR author mentions^b his being in *Hispaniola* in 1545, when this edict was proclaimed there, and that it was received with great dislike all over the *Spanish America*. Nay, that in *Mexico*, and some other provinces, it was utterly disregarded. *Niquesa* and *Ojeda*, whom we have mentioned, raging after gold, still continued to butcher the *Indians*, or to torture them, in hopes of discovering where it was to be found; but they met with a spirited resistance, so that *Ojeda*, having lost the greatest part of his soldiers, was obliged to return to *Carthagena*. We have from *Benzo*, several instances of great magnanimity exerted by the *Indians* during this expedition, which proved very fatal to the *Spaniards*. Upon their return to *Carthagena*, a kind of mutiny happened among *Ojeda's* men; but the governor of *Hispaniola* sending a ship laden with all sorts of provisions to their relief, kept them in temper while they lasted. When they were consumed, they again grew outrageous, and deaf to all that their commanders could say to pacify them. *Ojeda* upon this, threw himself into a ship, and sailed for *Hispaniola*, leaving the famous *Francisco Pizarro* for his deputy, with this condition, that if he did not return in a certain number of days they were at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased. The fate of *Ojeda* was remarkable; his men had seized upon the wife of a cacique, who pretended to come to the *Spanish* camp to ransom her, and for that purpose demanded audience of *Ojeda*, promising to give him whatever treasure he demanded for his wife. *Ojeda* no sooner appeared, than the cacique, apprehending that the honour of his bed had been violated, let fly a poisoned arrow, which struck him in the thigh, while the *Spaniards* cut in pieces the cacique, his wife, and all his attendants. The fire, which is the common antidote to those poisons, was applied to *Ojeda's* wound, yet he died soon after his arrival at *Hispaniola*; some say in the habit of a *Franciscan* friar, which he assumed through despair and vexation.

and other
Spanish
adventur-
ers.

OJEDA not returning in the stated time, *Pizarro*, with *who ob-* fifty *Spaniards*, the remains of 300, embarked on board two *like the na-* ships, one of which perished at sea; and *Pizarro*, in the *times to* other, after undergoing inexpressible misery, fell in with two *murder* ships that were coming to his relief, under one *Anciso*, who, *themselves:*

^b Ibid. p. 82.

instead of carrying *Pizarro* and his crew to *Hispaniola*, as they earnestly desired, forced them back to *Carthagena*, where the *Spaniards* quarrelled with one another. In the mean while, the governor of *Hispaniola*, understanding the vast distress his countrymen were in at *Carthagena*, dispatched *Roderigo Colmenares* with two ships to their relief, and he found them in a most miserable condition. Upon the death of admiral *Columbus*, the government of *Hispaniola* was given to his son *Diego*, with the title of viceroy, and with the same powers which his father and grandfather had enjoyed. But the *Spaniards* still considering the family of *Columbus* as being foreigners, rendered the viceroy's government extremely uncomfortable to him; and at last, his Catholic majesty ordered him to repair to *Spain*, to answer the complaints against him, and there he died without being able to obtain common justice from that ungrateful court. Upon his death, a variety of governors succeeded, some of them laics, and others clergymen; but all of them monsters of cruelty. So that according to my author, the wretched natives of *Hispaniola*, came to a general resolution of putting themselves to death, which they executed so effectually by poison, and all other means of self-destruction, that *Benzo* affirms, when he was upon that island, of two millions of natives who inhabited it in the days of *Columbus*, scarcely one hundred and fifty were alive, and that the other islands suffered the like depopulation from the same causes.

NOTHING remarkable occurs concerning *Hispaniola*, but the many expeditions that were fitted out from thence for discoveries on the main land, and which do not belong to this part of our work; but though *Hispaniola* continued to be the capital island, and indeed, seat of the *Spanish* government in *America*, few attempts were made against it, even in the active reign of queen *Elizabeth*; for in 1585, though Sir *Richard Greenvil* touched there with five ships, we know of no attempt he made against the island, which the more the *Spanish* colonies encreased on the continent, decreased the more in its riches and importance. Notwithstanding all the arts the *Spaniards* made use of to discredit the character of the natives, and to exalt those of their countrymen, the former appear to have been not only a harmless, but a moral, people, and this leads us to treat of their religion, institutions, and manners.

Account of
the religi-
on.

ACCORDING to *Oviedo*, as well as *Benzo*, the *Indians* of *Hispaniola*, and likewise of the neighbouring continent, wor-

shipped most tremendous images, to whom they are pleased to affix the names of demons; perhaps with no great propriety, and to them they prayed for all the blessings of life. Their priests in some places were called buhiti, and in others caribes, and possibly, they imposed upon the ignorant natives much in the same manner as Roman catholic priests do upon their votaries. *Peter Martyr*, one of the oldest historians we have of *American* affairs, informs us, that no sooner did the *Spaniards* land in *Hispaniola*, than the power of their zemi (for so they called their idols) ceased, which the elders of the island looked upon as an omen of their subjection to a foreign power. *Oviedo* remarks, that those demons were not long idle, for he says, that when he was in *India* in 1548, they raised a storm, which killed almost all the four-footed creatures, destroyed the harvest, and overthrew houses, as if such calamities did not daily happen in the course of nature. The truth is, the *Indian* priests were a good deal disconcerted by the attempts the *Spaniards* made to introduce their religion into the island; but perceiving that they had, in fact, no god but gold, which led them to the commission of all kinds of crimes, they securely returned to the practice of their former impostures. When a cacique of *Hispaniola* intended to celebrate a festival in honour of his god, he signified the same to all his subjects, both male and female, with an order that they should meet him at a certain place, and walk in procession with him at their head to the temple of his deity. As soon as the cacique entered the temple, he beat a drum as a signal for his subjects to follow him, which they did in their best accoutrements, with great order and regularity, the men walking first; and it is remarkable, that on this occasion, the women were obliged to appear without a grain of paint, of which they were at other times very fond, upon their bodies, as a mark of their purity. Another ceremony was performed on this occasion, which, however ridiculous it may appear to some, may be considered by others as exhibiting an allegorical meaning, though barbarously expressed. The cacique, who appears to have been the high-priest, thrust a little instrument down his throat, which obliged him to vomit before his deity, as an emblem that he concealed within him no sentiments of rancour, revenge, or hypocrisy. After this, all the assembly joined in a hymn in honour of the god, while a fresh company of women came into the temple with baskets of odouriferous flowers and perfumes, which they strewed all around. They then changed their notes, and sung by turns in concert, and next they sung to the praises of their cacique. After this, they offered
bread

offered bread to their idol, and the under priests after consecrating it in their own way, most ceremoniously broke and divided it among the assembly, and then each returned to his own home with great joy and satisfaction.

Manners.

SUCH was the worship paid by the *Indians* to their deity, as represented by writers, who were far from being favourable to their customs and religion. It is true, some of them, and *Benzo* in particular, attribute to them several very ridiculous notions and customs; but we are to observe, at the same time, that one of those capital charges he brings against them is, "their smoaking that hellish diabolical weed called tobacco"^k. The same writers frankly acknowledge, that the native *Americans* were far from shewing any dislike to the Christian religion, and that many of them were baptized, but relapsed into idolatry, upon seeing the scandalous and infamous lives that were led by the *Spaniards*, whose priests and *Dominicans* were, in matters of true religion and sound morality, equally uninformed with the barbarians themselves. One of the capital points of religion with the natives was, an exact adherence to the honour of the marriage-bed, of which the *Spaniards*, who first invaded this country, had no idea; and we have already mentioned how signally the violation of it was punished in the person of *Ojeda*. Another instance of the same kind occurred in 1519. A cacique, who took the name of *Henriquez*, or *Henry*, had been, when he was young, baptized, and growing up he took to wife one of his country women, and went to live at a village called *St. Juan de Maguana*, which was likewise the residence of *Vadiglio*, one of the *Spanish* deputies. *Henry*, though he lived with the *Spaniards* in a state of servitude, observing that one of them had taken a fancy to his wife, complained of the injury done him to *Vadiglio*, who was so far from punishing the *Spaniard*, that he abused and imprisoned *Henry*, but at last released him, on condition that he never should make the like complaints for the future. *Henry* then carried complaints to the *Spanish* court of parliament, for so my author terms it^l; which sat at *St. Domingo*; but all the satisfaction he got was his being remitted for justice to his former judge. *Vadiglio* then once more threw him into prison for his insolence in repeating his complaint. *Henry* dissembled his resentment so well, that he once more obtained his liberty; but all the use he made of it was to murder every *Spaniard*, with the most exquisite torments, who fell into his hands

^k Tetr̄ illius & vere diabolici fumi. Ibid. p. 117.

^l Indus ad curiam Parlamenti quæ erat S. Dominici se confert. Ib.

for thirteen years; nor could the *Spaniards* with all their art and industry ever lay hold of him.

AMONG the natives of *Hispaniola*, it is agreed upon on all hands, even by authors, who in other respects differ from one another, that theft is considered among them as so monstrous and unnatural a crime, that it was punished with the most exquisite tortures, even that of impaling alive, which was performed by them in the same manner as among the *Turks* and other *Asiatics*. In this their justice is so exemplary, that the criminal, let his rank or condition be what it will, never is pardoned, even for the slightest offence. The reason which authors give for this extraordinary severity, is, because those barbarians look upon avarice, which they esteem the prompter of theft, as being a prodigy in nature, and therefore, of all crimes the most detestable. We are farther told, that for this reason, they make use neither of locks nor bolts, as they do not suppose any one to be capable of committing so monstrous an offence. In short, all the *Spanish* writers admit, that when *America* was first discovered, the natives were free even to prodigality of whatever they possessed, and that the *Spaniards* needed but look upon any thing to become masters of it. We are, however, given to understand, that they did not long continue in this state of ignorance, and that their guests soon instructed them in the value of money, and other commodities; so that they quickly became as expert as the *Europeans* themselves in the arts of pilfering.

SOME particulars of moment to the history of *Hispaniola*, prove, that the females of that island are susceptible of tender passions. A young *Spaniard* of *Arragon*, one *Michael Diaz*, happening to quarrel with a domestic belonging to the governor, and wounding him, though not mortally, he fled from *Isabella*, which was the only town the *Spaniards* then possessed upon the island, and rambling first to the east, and then to the south, with five or six of his companions, who followed his fortune, they pitched upon the spot where *St. Domingo* now stands, and where they found some *Indian* cottages. This quarter of the island belonged to an *Indian* lady, who fell violently in love with *Diaz*, and having several children by him, she was baptized by the name of *Catherine*; and she discovered to her lover some rich mines which lay about twenty miles from the place of their habitation. The fame of this spreading abroad, brought other *Spaniards* to settle with *Diaz*, and, the lady at last encouraged him to give a general invitation to all his countrymen at *Isabella*, and elsewhere, upon the island, who were willing to settle on her estate,

which was the finest in the whole island, and sufficient to produce them all kind of accommodations, *Diaz* accordingly went to *Isabella*, where he was soon received into favour by the governor, who finding his residence at *Isabella* to be attended with many inconveniencies, paid a visit in person to *Catherine's* estate, which he soon perceived exceeded in beauty and fertility the most favourable reports that had been made of it. There pitching upon a convenient spot, at the mouth of the river *Ozama*, he began to build the old city of *St. Domingo*; but so as no way to incommode their generous benefactors. Afterwards, the waters of the *Ozama* being found brackish, the capital of the island was removed to a more convenient situation.

and of the expedition against Hispaniola by the English, WE have little besides what may be found in other parts of this work to add to the history of *Hispaniola*. In 1586, while the *English* and *Spaniards* were at war, the importance of *Hispaniola* had been greatly reduced through the discovery and conquest of the rich kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico*, by which the great seats of the *Spanish* empire in *America* were transferred from *St. Domingo* to those countries. Sir *Francis Drake*, therefore, found no great difficulty that year in surprising and conquering *St. Domingo*, of which he kept possession about a fortnight, till the inhabitants agreed to raise 60,000 pieces of eight, to ransom it from being entirely burnt down. After this, *Hispaniola* recovered somewhat of its former splendour; but not through any encouragement given it from *Spain*. The conveniency of its situation, its ports and harbours, for carrying on a clandestine trade with all the *European* settlements in *America*, invited thither vast numbers of smugglers and buccaneers, who amassed such large estates, that *Cromwell*, in 1656, fixed his eye upon *Hispaniola* as a most desirable object of conquest. One *Gage*, who had been a Roman Catholic priest, but afterwards pretended to turn protestant, had travelled over the greatest part of the *West-Indies*, and was well acquainted with the strength and weakness of the *Spaniards* there. One *Simon de Cafferres*, a *Spaniard*, was likewise consulted on the same subject, and *Cromwell* received such a variety of intelligence, that he was in a manner bewildered in his choice of the place against which he was to direct his arms. The advice given him by *Gage* was to attack both *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, by which he demonstrated if successful, he would soon become master of all the *Spanish* treasures in *America*. *Cromwell* was pleased with the greatness of this enterprize, the success of which he concluded must depend upon secrecy, he ordered a fleet immediately to be equipped, consisting of thirty ships of war, under vice-

vice-admiral Penn, and gave the command of 4000 land-forces, to be employed in the same expedition, to general Venables, as we have already seen in the history of *Jamaica*. It is said, that in the instructions given to those two commanders by Cromwell, they were tied down to no particular destination; and that they were at liberty to attempt *Carthagena*, the *Havannah*, or *Porto Rico*, or even to settle on some part of the continent to the windward of *Carthagena*.

CROMWELL had this expedition so much at heart, that ^{and Crom-} *Mazarine* and all the other ministers in *Europe* remained in well, the dark as to its object, notwithstanding their most earnest applications: but the secret jealousy which he entertained of the two chief commanders, whom he suspected of having a warm side to the royalists, seem to have defeated his main intention, for he appointed such a number of commissioners, whom he thought he could trust, as so many checks upon them; and this introduced the utmost confusion and disagreement in the service, both by sea and land. After touching at *Barbados*, they sailed to *Hispaniola*, where the inhabitants were so much alarmed at their appearance, that it was thought they would have abandoned the island, had it not been for the unaccountable conduct of the invaders. *Venables*, is, perhaps, unjustly blamed, on this occasion, for ordering a proclamation to be read at the head of his troops, prohibiting them, under severe penalties, to plunder the island, or to leave their ranks during their march. This prohibition damped their ardour: they had embarked in the expedition chiefly from the prospect of plunder, which they imagined *Venables*, by his proclamation, intended to engross to himself. They likewise found great fault with his having carried along with him his wife, who was said to have the entire management of him, and who had the character of being proud and rapacious. No good reason has as yet been assigned, why the army was landed at forty miles distance from *St. Domingo*, the main object of their destination; but it is certain, that this occasioned the miscarriage of the expedition. The roads, through which the men were to march, consisted either of deep scalding sands, or thick impracticable woods, all the way destitute of water, and all kind of refreshments, in a sultry season, not to mention, that they were entirely unacquainted with the country. All those discouragements spread an irrecoverable damp on the troops, and gave such spirit to the *Spaniards*, that they returned to *St. Domingo*, and made such dispositions for harrassing the *English* upon their march, as frustrated their undertaking. The soldiers, oppressed with ^{which} heat and thirst, scarcely attempted to defend themselves against ^{proves un-} their ^{sucessful.}

their enemies, who butchered them as they dropped upon the ground through fatigue and faintness. Major-general *Haynes*, an excellent officer, and colonel *Holmes*, with about 700 soldiers, perished in this manner, besides great numbers whom the *Spaniards* cut off in straggling parties. As to the sequel of this expedition, it has been already related; as has the manner in which the *French* came to fix themselves on the west part of the island.

*The
French
settle on
Hispa-
niola.*

THE frequent minorities that happened in the *Spanish* monarchy, and the weakness of their administrations, made them guilty of capital oversights in the affairs of *Hispaniola*. When that island could afford them no more gold, they never attempted to avail themselves of the inexhaustible riches which might have been made by cultivating the soil in tobacco, sugar, and other rich commodities. Instead of that, they suffered the *French* to acquire new strength every day, till by degrees, they were able to make head against all the *Spaniards* on the island, of which, they, at this very time, possess the most cultivated part. Three sorts of *French* at first resorted to *Hispaniola*: the first were buccaneers or hunters, who lived by killing black cattle, and selling their tallow and hides to vast advantage: the second species of adventurers, the sibusstiers, so called from the *Dutch* fly-boats, in which they generally sailed; but are commonly confounded with the buccaneers. Those sibusstiers were, properly speaking, no other than free-booters, who, as we have seen in the history of *Jamaica*, being deprived of the protection of the *English* government, repaired to *Hispaniola*, where they found shelter, and carried on a very gainful traffic. The third and last set of adventurers were those who settled in the island, and by attaching themselves to the cultivation of the soil, were, properly speaking, planters. The *French* court at first affected to discourage those settlers; but they took no effectual means to suppress them, or to oblige them to leave the island, though their trading and settling there was directly contrary to the spirit of the treaty of *Munster*; and, indeed, it is surprising, if the *Spaniards* were too weak to drive the *French* from *Hispaniola*, that they were not assisted by the other powers of *Europe*, *England* in particular. The *Spaniards* at last began to open their eyes so far, that they made some attempts for dislodging their troublesome visitors, but it was too late. Those intruders being secretly supported, and supplied with arms by the *French* governors of the other islands, made good their footing, and had they been encouraged, they might even have acted offensively against the *Spaniards*; but their government not chusing to drive the

Spa-

Spaniards from the island, because of the vast profits they made by them, and fearing least they should rouse the jealousy of other powers, contented themselves with a peaceable settlement. At the same time, perceiving their own strength, they no longer disavowed the proceedings of their free-booters, but regularly sent them governors, of whom *M. du Cassé*, as we have already mentioned, was one; and in 1697, by an article in the treaty of *Ryswick*, the *Spaniards* made a legal cession of the north-west part of the island to the *French*, containing one of the finest territories in the world. The vast improvements since that time that has been made upon this acquisition, are almost incredible; and some have computed, that their settlement at *St. Domingo*, exceeds in value those of all the others they possess in *America*. Far from imitating the policy of the *Spaniards*, they have not even begun to search either for gold or silver, though it is the general opinion, that their part of the island contains both, as thinking that the riches acquired by commerce and industry are preferable.

It is not easy to account for the reason why, during our *Brave ex-* late wars with *France* and *Spain*, no attempt was made upon *St. Domingo*, unless we can suppose, that the *British* govern-
plot of three Eng-lish cap-tains,
 ment thought their enemies too strong in that island to attempt to reduce it; but this is a point we shall have occasion to examine in our description of this island. It is certain, that many gallant actions were performed off this island, where the *French* had settled themselves to vast advantage, and had fortified themselves so strongly, as to bid defiance to all the *British* naval power in those seas. In 1758, captain *Arthur Forrest*, who commanded the *Augusta*, a *British* ship of war, had an opportunity of distinguishing himself to great advantage on the coast of *Hispaniola*. A *French* squadron, under one *M. Kerfin*, had arrived from *Africa* at *Cape François*, where a large fleet of valuable *French* merchantmen lay at the same time waiting for an opportunity of sailing for *Europe*. This coming to the knowledge of rear-admiral *Cotes*, he ordered captain *Forrest* to sail from *Port-Royal* with his own ship, the *Dreadnought* and the *Edinburgh*, under the command of the captains *Suckling* and *Langdon*, and to cruise off *Cape François*, which they did. The *French* at the *Cape* perceiving that *Kerfin's* squadron was far superior to the *British*, reproached him for not fighting, or rather, for not bringing all the *British* ships in as prizes, and their crews prisoners. No longer able to withstand those reproaches, he gave orders to put to sea; but had the precaution to reinforce his squadron with some storeships,
 which

which he mounted with guns, and converted into armed vessels on this occasion, and took on board an additional complement of soldiers and seamen from the garrison and the merchant-ships. This rendered the party very unequal; *Kerfin* having under his command four large ships of the line and three stout frigates. The *British* commodore saw them approach, and after a short consultation with his captains, it was agreed to fight them. By this time, the shore was covered with the *French* inhabitants, who were in full expectation of seeing their ships victorious almost without fighting. The action began between three and four in the afternoon, and the *French* exerted themselves with unusual vigour and activity during an engagement of two hours, in which they were so roughly handled, that their commodore and their captains were obliged to make signals for their frigates to tow them off; and a land-breeze springing, they escaped back. The *British* ships had suffered too much to be able to follow them, and were obliged to return to *Jamaica*, with the loss of about 100 men; that of the *French* was 300 men killed; and about as many wounded, besides their best ship being disabled for future service; but their commodore took advantage of the absence of the *British* squadron to sail with his convoy for *Europe*.

against the
Spaniards. Soon after this engagement, captain *Forrest's* ship being refitted, admiral *Cotes*, beating up to the windward from *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, understood that another *French* fleet (so immense was the *French* trade in *Hispaniola* at that time) was at *Port au Prince*, a *French* harbour, at the bottom of a bay, on the western part of *Hispaniola*, ready to sail for *Europe*. Had *Forrest's* advice been taken, that place would immediately have been attacked, but he was directed to cruise for two days only off the island of *Gonave*, and if nothing extraordinary presented, to rejoin the squadron at *Cape Nicholas*. Proceeding up the bay, that divides *Gonave* from *Hispaniola*, with the greatest caution, under *Dutch* colours, he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward; and at night he chased with all the sail he could carry; about ten he discovered two sail more, one of which fired a gun, while the other steered towards *Leogane*; and now captain *Forrest* began to understand the meaning of the gun that had been fired; for he discovered eight sail to the leeward, near *Petit Guaves*. Having taken the ship that fired, he manned her with his own men, and dispatched her to prevent any of the enemy's ships that might attempt to get into *Petit Guaves*. Next morning he found himself engaged with all their fleet, which, after making some faint resistance, he

took;

book; one ship after another, to the number in the whole of nine; a success hardly to be paralleled, considering how near they lay to their harbours, where, could they have reached any one of them, they might have been safe. The prizes thus taken, were found to be very rich, as indeed, all the *French* ships, during that war, bound to *St. Domingo*, were, and there sold for the benefit of the captors. The rest of the military operations upon the coasts of *Hispaniola* were too inconsiderable to deserve a particular relation; but they were numerous, and every action did great honour to the *British* commanders.

THOUGH the climate of *Hispaniola* is hot, yet it is not reckoned unwholesome; and some of the inhabitants upon it are said to live to the uncommon age of 120. It is sometimes refreshed by breezes and rains, and its salubrity is likewise, in a great measure, owing to the beautiful variety of hills and vallies, woods and rivers, which every where present themselves. Upon the whole, *Hispaniola* is reckoned incomparably the finest and the most pleasant island of all the *Antilles*, because it is the best accommodated to all the ordinary purposes of living, when duly cultivated. It contains forests of cabbage-trees, palms, elms, oaks, pines, besides several other woods, not common, and hardly known, in *Europe*; and it is generally agreed, that the pine-apples, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, limes, dates, apricots, and the like fruits, have a finer taste and flavour in *Hispaniola*, than those that grow upon any other of the *Antilles Islands*. As to its other products, both animal and vegetable, they are pretty much the same with those of the other *West-Indian* islands; only it is said, that the *French* part of *Hispaniola* breeds horses sufficient to supply all the *West-Indies*, besides innumerable quantities of black cattle. Crocodiles and alligators infest its coasts and rivers; but they abound, at the same time, with tortoises. Besides the commodities already mentioned, *Hispaniola* produces vast plenty of indigo, cotton, cocoa, coffee, ginger, tobacco, salt, wax, honey, and ambergrease, besides a variety of drugs and dyers woods. It is thought, that the soil is improper for corn; but we learn by the earliest accounts of the *Spaniards*, that the natives, with very little trouble, raised upon it maiz, and other *Indian* corn; and it is imagined, that if the *French* would now apply themselves to that culture, they would succeed. The truth is, the population of this island bears no proportion to its extent; so that the inhabitants cannot spare hands for the cultivation of corn-grounds. The *French* are said to be more numerous upon the island than the *Spaniards*; but the whites of both nations

The History of America.

in 1726, did not exceed 30,000, while the negroes and mulattoes, as they are called, amounted to 100,000. It is, however, reasonable to presume, that the infinite pains which the *French* government has since taken upon this island, have doubled that number. The profits they make from the products of this island are immense; and, according to some authors, in sugar, indigo, tobacco, and coffee, twenty years ago, their exports amounted to above twelve hundred thousand pounds annually. During the last war, their exports, as appeared from the prodigious value of their ships that were taken, must have considerably exceeded that sum; and since the peace of 1763, nothing has been wanting on the part of the *French* to render their settlement on *St. Domingo* a counterbalance for all the cessions which they were obliged to make to the *English* in *America* by that treaty. In this they are greatly assisted by the *Spaniards* themselves, who, possessed of great treasures, but without industry, lavish the former to purchase from their *French* neighbours the returns of the latter.

THE advantages of situation, which the *French* in this island enjoy, may be judged from the numerous harbours, many of them more capacious and convenient, than any in *England*, which their territory contains. Originally, the *St. Domingo* company, established by the *French* government, had a grant of all their part of the island; but when the value of it came to be better known in 1720, his most Christian majesty revoked the grant he had made to that company of the south-west part of this country, from *Cape Tiberon* to *Cape Mougou*, so that his governor-general, who is count *D'Etain*, has under him the governments of *Cape François*, *St. Louis*, *Port Paix*, and *Petit Guaves*; a tract which contains about 150 miles in length; and this brings us to treat of the particular *French* settlements on or near this island.

St. Louis. *SAINTE LOUIS* has a harbour on an island, with a fort, but the town is no way remarkable, it having been ruined by a hurricane in 1737, and the inhabitants are put to great inconveniencies for fresh water. *Vache Island* lies about three leagues from the main land of *Hispaniola*, and is about nine in compass, though voyagers are strangely divided as to those calculations. It was formerly the chief rendezvous of all the pirates and free-booters who resorted to those seas; and it contains two or three ports, one of which can receive ships of 300 tons. The chief excellency of this island consists in the conveniency of its situation for a trade with *Cayenne*, (the only settlement the *French* have upon the continent of *South-America*)

America) and with the Spanish continent. This island serves now as a kind of magazine of live stock, particularly black cattle and hogs for the *St. Domingo* company. *Donna Maria Bay*, at the west end of the island, is a famous wooding and watering-place for the ships of all nations which pass that way. About eight leagues from *Petit Guaves* is a negro-settlement, called *Fond de Negros*, where they rear cocoas. In 1654, the French buccaneers made themselves masters of *Petit Guaves*; so that it is the oldest settlement the French have upon the island, and it is now a place of considerable trade. Upon the same bay lies *Leogane*. This town and territory, while it was held by the Spaniards, was thought to be of so much importance, that it was erected into a principality, which gave title to a natural daughter of *Philip III.* of Spain, and it is said, she died here in a castle, the ruins of which are still to be seen, as is an aqueduct, of half a mile long, which supplied it with fresh water. In 1711, the French built a new town here, and obliged the inhabitants of two neighbouring towns, *L'Eslerre*, and *Petite Riviere*, to repair thither. After this, *Leogane* became the residence of the French governor-general, and of the royal judicature, with that of the supreme council, whose jurisdiction extends from *Cape Mougou* to the river *Artibonite*. The town of *Leogane* itself, however, is but very indifferently situated, in a low, boggy, ground. The air of the territory is otherwise said to be pure, and such was the vanity of the inhabitants formerly, that they inserted the principality of *Leogane* among the French king's royal titles, till they were checked. The plain of *Leogane* is a most delightful spot, extending about twelve leagues from east to west, and four from north to south. Its fertile soil is watered with rivers and brooks, and is full of sugar, and cocoa-plantations; but being bounded by mountains, it is excessively hot, so that they are obliged to cover up their pot-herbs in beds, to preserve their being burnt up. Notwithstanding this inconveniency, the plain is the paradise of the French part of the island, and great numbers of its inhabitants keep their equipages.

LA PETITE RIVIERE, which lies in the same principality, is beginning to recover from its depopulation; and though a mean place, is the seat of a considerable trade. *L'Eslerre* is likewise re-peopled, and is become the country-residence of the most polite French in that district, who have houses of pleasure there, and its avenues and inlets are so nobly laid out, that it is said to be exceeded by few places in Europe. The citron-trees, particularly, are trained and cultivated in such a manner, as to afford a shade, impenetrable

to the weather; and the inhabitants, in all the magnificence and elegancies of life, rival those of *Old France*. *Port Paix*, which faces the island of *Tortuga*, has been already described, and before it was ruined by the *English*, in king *William's* time, it was the seat of the *French* government in *Hispaniola*. Its neighbourhood is well watered, its soil is rich, and the *French* having repaired the town, it is now a place of considerable strength. The island of *Tortuga*, which we have so often mentioned in the preceding part of this work, lies off *Cape St. Nicholas*, thirty-five leagues east from *Cuba*, and is by nature fitted for what it formerly was, a harbour for pirates, it being surrounded for the most part with rocks, and the access to it very difficult to find. The free-booters of all nations, who settled here, proved so troublesome to the *Spaniards*, that in 1638, the latter drove them from their haunts with fire and sword. The conveniency of the situation invited one *Willes*, an *English* pirate, to repair thither with his crew, but he, in his turn, was dispossessed by the *French*, who returned in such numbers, that after various conflicts with the *Spaniards*, they made good their footing in *Tortuga*, and received such supplies from their other islands, that they were enabled to pass over to *Port Paix*, which they built, and extended themselves all along that coast. This little island formerly abounded in turtles, from which it took its name, and is six or seven miles distant from the main land of *Hispaniola*, and is six leagues from east to west, and three, where broadest, from north to south, being about sixty leagues in compass. It produces all the commodities found upon other *West-Indian* islands, but lies under the disadvantage of having little or no fresh water, but what the inhabitants save in cisterns. The wild-boars, with which this island abounds, are saved for provision, in cases of necessity. Only the south part of the island is inhabited, and is now a populous, flourishing settlement, with a convenient harbour, which receives large ships. The town here is called *Cayona*; and is defended by a fort, which takes its name from one *D' Ageron*, who is esteemed the father of the settlement. The north part of the island is almost uninhabited, on account of its unwholesome air, and rugged coast. The town of *Cape St. Francois*, which is situated on the north side of the island, is, properly speaking, the capital of the *French Hispaniola*. It has a fine harbour, and though the town was twice destroyed in king *William's* time, it is now in a flourishing, opulent condition. The streets are well laid out, and though the town lies in a miserable situation, and is but indifferently fortified, yet its conveniency for trade, and the fertility of its neigh-

Flourishing
condition of the
French in
Hispaniola.

neighbourhood, has drawn hither about 8000 inhabitants. This quarter is, by way of distinction, often called the *Cape*; and the *French* government has established here a superior council, to judge of appeals from other parts of the island.

SUCH is the flourishing condition of the *French* part of *Hispaniola*. But, besides all the riches we have already mentioned to arise from it to *Old France*, we are not to forget, that by the contraband trade carried on between the natives and the *Spaniards*, *French* manufactures, to the amount of two millions of dollars annually, are disposed of among the latter, and paid for in ready money, which goes directly to the mother-country. Add to this, that the *French* have upon *St. Domingo* such vast quantities of excellent sugar-grounds not yet cultivated, that it is in their power, at any time, to treble the quantity they raise of that commodity, and the consideration of this was the true reason that induced the government of *England* to restore the islands of *Guadaloupe* and *Martinico* by the late definitive treaty; as the *French* inhabitants of those islands would, in general, have removed to *St. Domingo*, and, in a short time, have raised more sugar than both of them produce. The court of *Spain* itself, has of late expressed great uneasiness on different occasions at the power of the *French* in *Hispaniola*, which, they say, has been established contrary to treaty. This consideration, on some future occasion, may be an object well worthy the attention of *Great Britain*, when her interests shall be thoroughly consolidated with those of *Spain*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many blows that the city of *St. Domingo* has received, it still continues to be the capital of *Hispaniola*, and contains several magnificent edifices, which would make a figure in *Europe* itself. Though its trade has been long gone, yet through the veneration attached to it by the *Spaniards*, it is still in a respectable condition, and its inhabitants are thought to amount to 30,000, of whom 7000 may be real *Spaniards*, the rest are mestizoes, mulattoes, and *Albatraces*. The city itself is large, and well built of stone, its port is safe, and defended by batteries, with a castle at the end of the pier, and other works of considerable strength; and here some remains of the former trade of the city still subsist. It is the residence of an archbishop, who has for his suffragans the bishops of *La Conception* in this island, *St. John's* in *Porto Rico*, *St. Jago* in *Cuba*, *Venezuela* in *New Castile*, and of the city of *Honduras*. Here the governor-general of the *Spanish Indies*, and the judges of the royal court hold their supreme seats of justice; and the audience of *St. Domingo* has the precedency of all the other royal audiences

diences belonging to the *Spaniards* in *America*. The president, who holds the first place in the law here, purchases his place, which formerly was very gainful, because an appeal lay to him from all the *Spanish* provinces in *America*; but his jurisdiction is now confined to their *West-Indian* islands. The clergy here are numerous and rich, and the hospital has a revenue of 20000 ducats a year. *St. Domingo* boasts of a Latin-school, and an university, seven large monasteries, two nunneries, a college, with a revenue of 4000 ducats, besides a power of coinage. Its cathedral is spacious and magnificent. The market-place lies in the middle of the city, in the form of a square, from whence the principal streets run in direct lines, and are crossed by other streets at right angles. The town, which is almost quadrangular, has a fine navigable river on the west, the ocean on the south, and is bounded on the east and west by a fruitful country. In short, this city owes its present support to the lawyers and clergymen, whose professions oblige them to reside upon it.

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The city of *Conception de la Vega* is a bishop's see, founded by one of the family of *Columbus*, and is 25 leagues north of *St. Domingo*. It contains a cathedral and several parish churches, besides convents. *St. Jago de los Cavalieros* lies 10 leagues north-west of *La Conception*. The air of this town is greatly commended by father *Charlevoix*, who was there in the year 1722. He observes, that the mountains, with which the plain of *Cape François*, which we have already mentioned, is bounded to the southward, will soon, on account of the wholesomeness of their air, be better peopled than the plain itself, which he says is watered with innumerable brooks, and would be more delightful than the valley of *Tempe* of the antients, did it not lie within the torrid zone. Notwithstanding this, such sick people of the island as resort to those mountains, after all other remedies have failed them, are soon cured; and *Charlevoix* remarked that few of their natives have any diseases. Thirty-five leagues north of *St. Domingo*, lies *Porto de la Plata*, or the Haven of Silver, built by *Ovando* in 1502, upon an arm of the sea, and defended by a castle: formerly it was reckoned the second place of consequence in the island, but is now no better than a fishing village. *Monte Christo* has a commodious harbour, 19 miles west from *Porto de la Plata*, and 40 north-west from *St. Domingo*. On the banks of the river *Yaguey*, which washes it, are several outworks. Some little islands of no great note lie round *Hispaniola*. The most considerable of them is *Savona*, which is naturally fertile; it produces guaiacum and cassavi, and its coasts abound with turtle; but, through the unaccountable indolence of the *Spaniards*, it is next to uninhabited, few

or none but fishermen and freebooters repairing to it, and that in the turtling-season. It is not distant above five leagues from one part of *Hispaniola*, and is about seven leagues in length, but not so broad. *Mona*, another island, due east from *Hispaniola*, is only about three leagues in compass, but of so excellent a soil and temperature of climate that it is populous.

Porto Rico may be said to be the only large island of the *and Porto Antilles*, that now remaineth to be described. It lies eight-teen leagues from the most north easterly point of *Hispaniola*, *island*. and extends from longitude 65 to 67, and from latitude 18 to 18. 40 min. being about 150 miles from east to west, and between 40 and 50 in breadth. The antient name of this island was *Borichen*. It was discovered by *Columbus*; but the history of his successors upon the island admits of no diversification, being made up of massacres and murders, the most unbounded cruelty and insatiable avarice. The first discoverers gave it the name it now bears, which implies that of *St. John*, with the rich port, on account of the treasures they found there. The island, at that time, is said to have contained 600,000 inhabitants, who understanding that the *Spaniards* had made themselves masters of *Hispaniola*, an island far more powerful and populous than their own, concluded that they must be immortal. One of their petty princes, it seems, had some doubts with regard to this point, and questioned, though they came from the east, whether they were really the children of the sun as they pretended to be^m. He communicated his doubts to the other caciques of the island, upon which about 200 *Spaniards* had landed; and it was agreed, that before they resigned their liberties they should make an experiment upon the immortality of their invaders; but, in the mean time, to treat them with great complaisance and hospitality. *Salsedo*, a domestic of *Columbus*, whom we have already mentioned, happened to be the unfortunate object of this experiment. As the behaviour of the savages had given the *Spaniards* no room to doubt of their submission, the latter carelessly strolled through the island, and *Salsedo* falling into the territory of *Yaguaca*, belonging to the cacique *Vraican*, he was entertained in the most sumptuous and humane manner; and upon his departure, an escort of fifteen or twenty savages was appointed to attend him and to carry his baggage. When they came to the river *Guarabo*, in the eastern part of the island, the *Indians* desired the honour of *Salsedo* to carry him over on their shoulders, which he very

^m BENZONI, apud de Bry. p. 21, 22.

readily agreed to, proud of having so many ready slaves. Some of the strongest of the savages accordingly took him up; but while they were in the deepest part of the river they threw him into it, according to their instructions, and, by keeping him down, soon dispatched him. When he was dead they dragged his body ashore, and under the firm persuasion that he was immortal, they remained about it for three days, asking pardon for what they had done, till the carcase began to putrify, and then they informed their cacique of what had happened, and he repaired to the spot to examine the body, which being then quite corrupted, convinced him and the other caciques that the *Spaniards* were mortal; upon which they fell upon them, and, almost in an instant, put 150 of them to death, while they were rapaciously plundering the natives of their gold; and the rest must have undergone the same fate, had not *Diego Salazar* arrived with a fresh supply of *Spaniards* and rescued them.

*Spaniard
drowned
for an ex-
periment.*

*Cruelty of
the Spaniards.*

THIS massacre gave the *Spaniards* a plausible pretext for exterminating the natives, which, in a short time, they effected; but this inhumanity was far from answering their purpose; for the vast treasures of the island disappeared with the natives. This was not unusual, as we have already observed; and it gives some credit to the report of the *Indians* having the secret of discovering and working their mines, which secret perished with themselves. Notwithstanding this, the island of *Porto Rico* was still a most desirable object, on account of its fertility and situation. In the year 1514, its chief town, which goes by the name of the island, was founded, and *John Ponce de Leon* was appointed its governor. In 1594, while it was in a very flourishing condition, it was attacked by Sir *Francis Drake*, the *English* admiral, who destroyed all the ships in the harbour, but could make no farther progress against the island. In 1597, the earl of *Cumberland* received a privy seal from queen *Elizabeth*, by which he was empowered to attack and destroy the territories of her enemies, and to distribute among his men all the plunder he should make, saving only such customs as were due to the crown upon all goods brought into any of its dominionsⁿ. We have been the more particular as to this commission, because it was a very singular one; the crown in other cases reserving to itself a large portion, sometimes a fifth, of the plunder. The ships equipped upon this occasion, were, the *Malice-Scourge*, the *Royal Merchant*, the *Assention*, the *Sampson*, the *Alcodo*, the *Consert*, the *Prosperous*,

ⁿ MSS. History of the family of Clifford.

the *Gallion*, the *Ceuturion*, the *Affection*, the *Pegasus*, the *Anthony*, the *Frigate*, the *Scout*, the *Guyana*, and the *Musketa*. From the curious manuscript, quoted in the note, we have the following journal of his lordship's expedition.

“ HIS lordship being prepared, at his chiefest charge in his own person, embarked himself in the *Malice-Scourge*, admiral, being his own ship, wherein he was general of the fleet, on *Monday, March 6, 1597*; from then he set sail with all his fleet.

“ *SATURDAY* the 18th of *March*, at six o'clock in the *Earl of evening*, there came a great *Fleming* towards them, as they *Cumber-* were at anchor at the *Burlings*, which as soon as they espied, land's they sent the ship called the *Scout* to see what she was. She be- *journal.* ing come near the *Fleming*, he set upon her, and fought with her. The fleet hearing them in fight, they slip their cables and man'd towards them, and within half an hour they fetcht up the *Fleming*, who fought about three hours, slew two, wounded two or three more, and cut off one of captain *Thomas Greenwell's* legs, and the *English* shot it through in eight several places, and boarded him, who at last yielded. She was loaded with corn, copper, cottons, &c.

“ *MONDAY* the 20th of *March*, kept his course towards *Capitcher*, a foreland of *Portugal*, where beating up and down, waiting for the *Spanish* king's carracks coming from *Lisbon*, until *Tuesday* the 4th of *April, 1598*; in which time, they spake with five *Flemings*, and took two carvels, who all agreed in one affirming, that the said caracks were in readiness to come out with the first wind, during which time the *Affection* took a *Fleming*, loaden with wheat, and sent her to *England* unknown to the earl. The rest of the fleet took three other *Flemings* loaded with wheat, and a *Frenchman* loaded with wine.

“ *SATURDAY* the 8th of *April*, they were informed that one *Mosely*, an *English* master of a ship, of *London*, (who brought certain prisoners out of *England*) certify'd them the earl of *Cumberland* lay waiting for them, whereupon those carracks staid their voyage till the earl's departure.

“ *SATURDAY* the 13th of *May*, they made towards a small island short of *Dominico*.

“ *Monday* the 22d of *May*, they came to anchor in the harbour of *Dominico*, and staid the rest of the month.

“ *WHITSUNDAY* being the 4th of *June*, they landed to muster their men, and after setting sail they directed their course towards *St. John Porto Rico*, a very strong island in the *West-India*.

“ *TUESDAY* the 6th of *June*, in the morning the fleet landed, marching towards the fort twelve or fourteen miles distant from their landing, and by night came within a mile of the bridge, where they rested themselves till midnight, and then they marched down to the bridge thinking to have entered there; but it was so strong of itself, and so well defended, that they were forced to retire with the loss of twenty persons, and as many wounded.

“ THE next day they lay all about the bridge, where playing with their muskets at another fort, called the *Red-Fort*, they killed most of the enemy, and forced the rest to forsake the fort, by which means the boats landed their men that evening.

“ *THURSDAY* morning the 8th of *June*, the earl marched to the bridge, where they entered without resistance, and so the *English* captains, meeting together, marched to the town, where they entered in like manner; the enemy being likewise fled; but the governor, with 2 or 300 soldiers betook themselves to a fort for refuge, and there kept the earl’s men in play, with their great ordnance, until they made barricadoes, and planted four or five great pieces fetched from their ships.

“ *SUNDAY* the 18th, and *Monday* the 19th of *June*, he made a battery in two or three places.

“ *TUESDAY* the 20th, the enemy beat a parley, and on *Wednesday* yielded the fort and town.

“ DURING their stay in the town, there came from *Angola* a frigate loaded with negroes into the harbour. There came another into the mouth of the harbour, but seeing the fleet she tack’d about and made her escape.

“ AFTERWARDS the earl sent away all the *Spaniards* in *Spanish* bottoms, some bells, some good value of good ginger, sugar, and other good spices, and shipped them away, and so set sail from *Porto Rico* the latter end of *July*, 1598, having taken eight great and small ships, which he brought away with him; all he got falling far short of the great expences he had been at in this expedition.

“ HE lost 700 men, whereof sixty, or thereabouts, were slain in fight at *Porto Rico*, 600 died of the bloody-flux, and about forty were cast away in their return.

“ THE old frigate was cast away upon the *Ushant*. One of his barks was sunk in the harbour of *Porto Rico* on purpose; another was cast away at the island of *Bermudas*, but not a man lost. The *Pegasus* was cast away at his return upon the *Goodwin-Sands*, but the men were saved.

“ HE arrived at *Portsmouth* in good health and safety on the first day of *October*, 1598, with fifteen good ships, one bark, and 1000 men.”

IN

IN 1615, the *Dutch* invaded the island of *Porto Rico*, and *Porto Rico* took the town, but without being able to make themselves co taken masters of the castle, which, by all accounts, is exceeding by the strong. Infinite pains have been taken by the *Spanish* govern- Dutch. ment to prevent an illicit trade at this place; but all to no purpose, because of the mutual conveniency that accrues to the *Spaniards*, as well as to the *English*, and other nations, who carry it on. In the war between *Spain* and *England*, which commenced in the year 1739, *Porto Rico* was the chief receptacle for all the *English* prizes, made by the *Spanish* guarda costas. The convenience of its situation for a contraband trade is such, that all the severe edicts of the *Spanish* government have been found insufficient to prevent it; and the city of *Porto Rico* is thought to be the very center of the illicit commerce in *Spanish America*. It is well built and populous, and the seat of a governor as well as a bishop's see. The cathedral has a monastery belonging to it, but the heat of the climate renders it inconvenient to make use of glass windows, and their canvas and wooden lattices disfigure their buildings. The city is often in distress for water, all they have being that which falls from the heavens and preserved in cisterns; though we are told by those who have described it, that two rivers fall into the harbour. This scarcity of water, it seems, does not prevent the island itself from being extremely fertile, and enjoying all the benefits of the most temperate climate. It is beautifully diversified with woods, hills, and valleys; its meadows are very rich; and the cattle, of which they feed great plenty, were originally imported from *Old Spain*. All these advantages are owing to a number of brooks and rivers that descend from the mountains, which run from east to west of the island, and which are clothed with woods of all kinds, especially such as are proper for ship-building.

Descripti-
on of Porto
Rico.

THE *Spaniards* have been at great pains in fortifying the city and island of *Porto Rico*, the latter of which, with its harbour, are defended by a citadel and a castle. After all, nothing but the immense profits accruing to the traders upon this island, could compensate for its many inconveniencies. The rains which fall in *June*, *July*, and *August*, though they cool the excessive heat of the season, render it unwholesome, and the island, in general, is subject to violent hurricanes and blights from the north-east wind. The north part of it, which is the most barren, is said to contain various mines, some of them of silver and gold; but we know of none that are worked at present, though it is confidently affirmed that gold dust is often found in the sands of their rivers. Ten
sugar-

Its produce
and

sugar mills are built on the banks of the *Caribon*; and the island produces all the different fruits which we have so often mentioned to be common in the *West-Indies*. Its grass is long and coarse, and such is the indolence of the inhabitants, that they scarce cultivate any one art or manufacture that can render life comfortable, for even their bread is made of the cassavi root, and they have but little other liquor than what is made of molasses and spices, excepting wine, which they import at an excessive expence. The woods are stored with parrots, wild-pigeons, and other fowl. *European* poultry is found here in plenty, and their coasts afford abundance of fish. A breed of dogs, which the *Spaniards* brought over to *America* for hunting and tearing in pieces the defenceless inhabitants, are said to live here wild in the woods, near the sea-shore, and subsist upon land-crabs that burrow in the earth. The principal trade of the natives consists in their sugar, ginger, hides, and cotton, both raw and manufactured, cassia, mastic, salt, oranges, lemons, and sweetmeats.

Trade.

THE place of greatest note in this island, besides the city of *Porto Rico*, are as follows; *Port del Agnada*, where the flota provide themselves with water and other necessaries in their voyage to *Spain*; *Bomba d'Inferno*, famous for an excellent turtle fishery; *Crab's-Island*, so called from the number of crabs there found, which is so agreeable and fertile, that some *English* settled there in 1718, but in 1720, they were dispossessed by the *Spaniards*, and transplanted to other parts of their dominions, or sent back to the *British* islands. The *Virgin-Islands*, which lie to the east of *Porto Rico*, belong likewise to the *Spaniards*, but are of little value, because they are barren and sandy; for which reason the *French* when they possessed *St. Christopher's*, banished thither their criminals. One of them is called *Bird-Island*, from the multitude of booby-birds it contains, which are so tame, that a man can catch them with his hand. *St. Thomas* is generally reckoned one of the *Virgin-Islands*, and though nominally subject to his *Danish* majesty, it is the staple of a large contraband trade carried on by all the *European* nations resorting to the *West-Indies*.

Lesser
islands de-
scribed.

The plan of this work does not admit of our describing every little island which the *Spaniards*, or any other nation possess in *America*, and which are of so little importance that they can be esteemed only as large rocks: we shall, therefore, just touch on those not already mentioned, that are of the greatest consequence. The isle of *Penguins*, which lies on the east part of the *Terra Magellanica*, is remarkable only for taking its name from a white-headed bird as large as a goose,

goose, but it belongs to antiquaries to account for the similitude between this *American* word and the *Welch* penguin, which likewise signifies a white head. On the western coasts of the same country lie several other islands, some say to the number of eighty, but are too inconsiderable to be described. The *Terra del Fuego*, which forms one part of the straits of *Magellan*, is represented as being a cluster of islands, several of which furnish capacious bays and roads, and contain fertile pasture grounds, but subject to violent hurricanes. The natives are as white as the *Europeans*, but paint their bodies in the most fantastic manner. They are savages of the most uninformed kind, being little different in their intellects from brutes. If they shew any signs of humanity to strangers, it is that they may have an opportunity to massacre them. Some travellers, however, represent those savages in a better light; but all agree that they live without religion, laws, or government. The islands on the *Brazil* coast are of little importance, excepting that of *St. Catherine's*, which is represented as being a continued grove of trees which enjoy a perpetual verdure. The inhabitants, who acknowledge themselves to be subject to the king of *Portugal*, are so little accustomed to the modes of civilized life, that they have no part of their island clear, but the neighbourhood of their scattered dwellings, which lie in fifteen or sixteen spots upon the shore. With the *Portuguese* inhabitants are mixed some *European* fugitives, and all of them are under the government of a *Portuguese* captain; but their assisting him against the savages of the continent is all the benefit his master or he receives from his government. They are, in consequence of this exemption from taxes, a people so free, that they live like men in their original state of society. Though they know the use of fire-arms, they have among them scarcely any guns or powder; so that they supply the use of them with bows and arrows. Hunting is at once their diversion and employment, and the thickness of their impassable woods is their security against all surprizes or attacks. *Frezier*, the *French* voyager, found them in such want of common necessities, that they refused to accept of money for the provisions they furnished him with, and preferred a piece of linen or woollen stuff, a shirt, or breeches, to gold or silver, which, they said, could not protect them from the weather; and a coloured waistcoat and hat, completed the dress of the most opulent and sumptuous among them. Buskins of tyger's-skin guard their legs during their excursions into the woods, and fish and game, with potatoes and fruit, furnish their common meals; but we perceive that monkeys are their chief venison.

venison. After all, they may be considered as a race of philosophical savages. They have opportunities to know enough of *European* manners to enable them to value their own happiness, in despising laborious and dangerous pursuits after gold and silver, and to pity those who follow them. A *Portuguese* chaplain, who comes from *Lagoa*, on the continent, does as much religious duty as serves to keep up among them the name of christianity, by saying mass on the principal festivals of the year, for which he receives a stipend, the only tax which those islanders are subject to. The air of this island is wholesome, the climate good, and the inhabitants enjoy an excellent share of health, being subject to few or no diseases, but what the vegetables of their own soil can cure. Sassafras, and guaiacum, oranges, lemons, citrons, cotton, and other trees, grow here to vast perfection; and the potatoes of *St. Catharine's* are esteemed to be the best in the world.

In the *South-Sea* lies the island of *Chiloe*, off the coast of *Chili*, in south-latitude, 44, or rather from 42 to 44 deg. It is about 150 miles in length, and 21 in breadth; but is only remarkable for giving shelter to ships during the tempestuous weather, and for two miserable defenceless towns, in possession of the *Spaniards*, who had been long accustomed to think themselves secure from all attacks in the *South-Seas*. The island of *Chiloe* produces all the necessaries of life, and is surrounded by forty more, which all go under the same name. The other islands, in the *South-Sea*, belonging either to the *Spaniards* or the *Portuguese*, are too inconsiderable to be mentioned, and even that of *Juan Fernandez*, can be considered only as a fortunate landing place for distressed mariners.

Chiloe. ACCORDING to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the islands of the *Oroonoko* river are inhabited by the *Tinitavas*, a people divided into two nations, the *Crawwaris*, and the *Warrwaris*. The bread they make is of the pith of the palmetto-tree, their other food they acquire by hunting and fishing, but they are at perpetual war among themselves.

Trinidad. The island of *Trinidad* forms the strait of the gulph of *Paria*, to the north of *Oroonoko*, and has been several times occasionally mentioned. It is the largest of any on the coast. Its eastermost point lies in north latitude 10 deg. and 23 minutes, and the island itself is about twenty-five leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. By the best accounts, the climate is unwholesome, but produces great plenty of fruit, and the roots that are most common in *America*; and tobacco and sugar-canes might be here cultivated. This island is in a great measure unpeopled, and seems to be held by its proprietors in very little estimation.

mation. The island of *Margarita*, which we have already mentioned to have been discovered by *Columbus*, who prized it highly for its great pearl-fishery, is about thirty-five leagues in compass. In the time of its splendor, it was very rich and populous; but the rapaciousness of the *Spaniards* has destroyed the pearl-fishery; nor do pearls bring the same price now as formerly, when *America* was discovered. The greatest inconveniency of this island is the want of fresh water, which the inhabitants are obliged to bring from the main land; and yet the island abounds with pasture and verdant groves, and is fertile in maiz and fruits. According to *Benzo*, when *Columbus* first came upon the coasts of this island, he found the inhabitants busy in fishing for oysters, and ordered some of them on board his own ship, where the savages, far from being terrified, became familiar with the *Spaniards*, who at first imagined, that the oysters they fished for, served them for food, but on opening them, they found they contained pearls. This discovery gave inexpressible pleasure to the *Spaniards*, who immediately made to the shore, where they found all the inhabitants dressed in those valuable pearls, which they disposed of to the *Spaniards* for the mere trifles. In process of time, the *Spaniards* built a castle, called *Mon-padre*, and employed prodigious numbers of *Guiney* and *Angola* negroes in the pearl-fishery, cruelly forcing them to tear up the oysters from the rocks, to which they stuck, through which, many of them were destroyed by sharks, and other voracious fishes. In the year 1620, this island was invaded by the *Dutch*, who demolished the castle upon it, since which time it has been, in a manner, abandoned by the *Spaniards*, and it is now principally inhabited by the natives, who had some particular indulgences from the court of *Spain* for their tame submission to *Columbus*. North-west from *Margarita*, in the latitude of ten degrees, thirty-five minutes north, lies the island of *Salt Tortuga*, so named to distinguish it from the other *Turtle Islands* on the coasts of *America*, on account of a large salt-pond at the east end of it, within two hundred paces of the sea, where merchant-ships take in loadings of salt in the months of *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August*. But though there is a small harbour in the island, it is barren, rugged, and uninhabited. The island of *Blanco* lies north of *Margarita*, in latitude 11 deg. 15 min. north, but is remarkable only for its turtle-fishery.

◦ BENZO, apud de BRÿ, p. 44.

Sequel to the History of VIRGINIA. (A).

Negroes
imported
into Vir-
ginia.

WE have, in a former volume, deduced the history of this colony to the year 1620, when its government was settled, and the colony was in a flourishing condition. This was in a great measure owing to the care of the earl of *Southampton*, who was one of the company at *London*, and through his means, principally, Sir *George Yardly* carried with him to *Virginia* 1300 men in twenty-eight ships. In *August*, after the meeting of the first assembly, a *Dutch* ship arrived there with negroes from *Guiney*, who were the first ever imported into *Virginia*. New settlements were now formed in place of those which had been deserted. The boundaries of *James-Town* were marked out; the borders of *James* and *York* rivers were peopled, and means were found to ascertain both public and private property with greater precision than before. At *Cape Charles* a salt-work was set up, and an iron one at *Falling Creek*. Sir *George Yardly* was, in 1621, succeeded in his government by Sir *Francis Wyat*, who carried over with him from *England* a fresh supply of planters. The colonists were now so industrious in raising tobacco, that the market for it was over-stocked, and the planters greatly out of pocket; so that *James I.* ordered that no planter next year should raise above one hundred pounds worth of tobacco, and enjoined them to apply themselves to other manufactures.

Conspiracy
of the na-
tives.

THE colony now became so populous, that the assembly found it necessary to appoint inferior courts, for the trial of small causes, while the larger ones were determined by the governor and council. All this while, no proper police was introduced into the colony, for regulating matters between the *English* and the natives. The latter appeared to be so tractable and submissive, that the former admitted them into their houses, till they became masters of all the mystery of fire-arms, and other particulars, from the knowledge of which they ought to have been carefully excluded. Their chief commander, at this time, was *Oppeccanough*, one of whose subjects had been put to death by the *English*, for robbing and murdering a planter. This *Indian* happening, to be a favourite with the emperor, his death hastened the execu-

(A) The history of this colony was left imperfect in page 247. vol. XXXIX. through the indisposition of one of the authors of this work.

tion of a scheme, which he had been long meditating, for a general massacre of the *English*, which was fixed to the 22d of *March*, 1622, and almost all the natives entered into the conspiracy. It is hard to pronounce, at this distance of time, the provocation which the natives, who, in all other respects, are represented as a harmless, inoffensive people, might have for this barbarity; but we are apt to think, that some provocation must have been given. It happened fortunately for the *English*, that some of the natives had by this time become converts to christianity, and one of those discovered the conspiracy to one Mr. *Pace*, a few hours before that appointed for its execution. *Pace* gave the alarm to all round him; some fled to *James-Town*, others stood upon their defence, till they could retreat to their forts; and, in general, they set fire to their houses and out-houses. The discovery, however, did not reach the remoter plantations time enough to prevent about 334 *English* from being butchered; for the *Indians*, having been entirely familiarized with the planters, found means to seize upon their utensils and arms, and to employ them against them as instruments of murder. All the manufacturers near *Iron Creek* were cut off, excepting a boy and a girl, who secreted themselves. This was an inexpressible loss to the colony, because those works never could be restored, and all knowledge of the lead-mines, which had been just discovered, was lost. The scheme for erecting glass-houses at *James-Town*, was likewise frustrated. The *English*, having somewhat recovered themselves, carried their resentment to the like extreme, for they destroyed all the natives who fell into their hands, and drove the remainder into the woods. Even the authority of the government could not put a stop to their revenge; for, after the governor of *Virginia*, by the promise of peace and pardon, had prevailed with the natives to return to the cultivation of their lands, the planters cut them in pieces, and destroyed *Oppeccanough's* palace. The news of the *Indian* massacre reaching *England*, excited such a spirit against the natives, that supplies of arms and ammunition were sent from the Tower of *London* to the colonists, who soon drove the savages from all the cultivated parts of the province.

New measures were then taken for the benefit of the colony, and the natives were once more reinstated in their possessions; but the tyrannical disposition of the colonists still continuing, the savages again conspired against the planters, and cut off all the *English* they could meet with. This was in a great measure owing to the differences and disputes that prevailed among the colonists, and encouraged

the natives in their insurrections; and when *Charles I.* came to the crown of *England*, the *English* property in *Virginia* was reduced to so low a pass, that his majesty dissolved the company, and ordered all patents and processes to issue in his own name, reserving a quit-rent of two shillings for every hundred acres. *Charles*, on this occasion, acquired great honour in *America*, while his affairs were going to wreck in *England*. The assembly, which consisted of representatives from the towns and counties, was continued, and the government vested in a governor and twelve counsellors, with the assembly. The same powers as the proprietors had formerly, were granted to several noblemen and gentlemen; and among others, as we have already seen *Maryland*, which formerly was a part of *Virginia*, was vested in *George Calvert* lord *Baltimore*. This appointment was complained of by the *Virginians*, as establishing separate interests in the same colony; for when the *Virginian* planters prohibited the exportation of bad tobacco, the tenants of the independent proprietors, not being under the same restrictions, sent it to *England*, to the great discredit of that commodity. Sir *John Harvey* was the first governor of *Virginia* appointed by *Charles I.* after the dissolution of the company; but he behaved in so arbitrary a manner, that the gentlemen of the colony ventured to seize his person, and to send him prisoner to *England* in the year 1639. This was a measure so contrary to the arbitrary principles of *Charles I.* that tho' the *Virginians* sent over two gentlemen to make good their charge against him, the king re-instated him in his government, without their being admitted, so far as we can perceive, to a hearing. He, on the other hand, had his complaints likewise against the planters, some of whom were sent for from *Virginia*, and subjected to great inconveniences by their frequent attendances upon the council-board. At last matters growing very serious between *Charles* and his parliament, *Harvey* was displaced and Sir *William Berkley* was appointed governor of *Virginia* in his room.

Sir John
Harvey,
governor.

Sir Wil-
liam Berk-
ley, go-
vernor.

Another
massacre of
the Eng-
lish.

THOSE altercations between the governor and the planters funk the character of the *English* greatly in the eyes of the natives, which encouraged *Oppecanough* to meditate a fresh massacre. He was a man of uncommon abilities both of body and mind; but it is uncertain whether he was descended from their ancient chiefs, or was a foreigner chosen into the government by the natives. He complained that the *English* had, against the public faith given him, made many encroachments upon his territories, for which he had received no satisfaction, and no regard was paid to his remonstrances.

Perceiving that the *English* had spread themselves over a vast extent of country, he ordered his subjects to attack the out-
 settlements, where they murdered about 500, while he him-
 self and his followers cut off all the *English* who were set-
 tled in *York-River*, in the neighbourhood of his capital. Sir
William Berkley understanding, that in prosecution of his de-
 signs, he had advanced into the *English* territory at some dis-
 tance from his own residence, surpris'd him in *Henrico*
 county, with a party of horse, and intended to have sent him
 to *England*, but a brutal *Englishman* gave him a mortal
 wound in the back. He was at that time so aged, that he
 was unable to move without being assisted, but he behaved
 with a magnanimity that would have done honour to the
 greatest heroes of antiquity. Understanding by the help of
 a servant, that he was exposed to the diversion of a rabble,
 "Had it been my fortune (said he to Sir *William Berkley*)
 to have made thee a prisoner, thou shouldst not have been
 exposed to the insults of a rabble."

Death of
 Oppecan-
 canough.

THE spirit of the natives seems to have died with *Oppecan-
 zanough*, who, by all accounts, was an extraordinary genius,
 and had long maintained himself against all the power of the
English, by uniting the various nations of the *Indians* in a
 common interest which his death dissolved. Sir *William*
Berkley had good sense enough to improve this incident, by
 making a pacification with the natives, who could find none
 to supply the place of their deceased chieftain; but there is
 some reason to believe, that the *English* did not make a very
 warrantable use of their advantages. At the time the civil
 wars in *England* broke out, the *English* settled in *Virginia*,
 exclusive of women and children, are computed to have been
 about 15000; but a most lamentable difference then took
 place between the loyalty of the governor, and the interests
 of the planters. *Berkley*, who appears to have been a man
 of great resolution, sided with the royal party, and probi-
 bited all intercourse between the *Virginians* and the reigning
 party in *England*, to the infinite prejudice of the former.
 Their tobacco, which was their staple commodity, and of
 which vast quantities were, at that time, taken off in
England, lay upon their hands, and though they had great
 stores of provisions for their immediate subsistence, yet being
 destitute of manufactures, and the benefits of commerce, they
 suffered very considerably; nor were they able to supply them-
 selves even with tools for managing their plantations. The
English parliament, which, in the time of the republic, was
 composed of very able men before *Cromwell* was made pro-
 tector, resolved to reduce *Virginia*, as well as their other

American plantations, to their subjection. Sir *George Ayscough* being appointed with a fleet, as we have seen in the history of *Barbados*, to reduce that island, sent, pursuant to his instructions, a small squadron under captain *Dennis*, with some land troops on board against the *Virginians*. The *Dutch* were then upon bad terms with the *English*, and Sir *William* engaged some of their ships to assist him in resisting the *Dutch*, which he did so effectually, that *Dennis* despairing of success had recourse to stratagem. He sent a messenger to the province, importing, that he had on board his squadron a very valuable cargo of goods belonging to two leading men of the council, which he was resolved to detain if they continued to hold out. It is not very important, whether this report was a pretext or a reality, for the interest of the colony directed them to a submission, which *Berkley* was not able to prevent, and therefore he retired to his own plantation; and thus the parliament was left in quiet possession of *Virginia*.

Col. Diggs
governor.

To do the *English* government at that time justice, it must be acknowledged, that they made a very moderate use of their success, as none of the *Virginian* royalists were persecuted for their resistance, loyalty, or principles. Colonel *Diggs* was appointed by parliament to succeed *Berkley* in the government of *Virginia*; but nothing remarkable happened during his administration. After that, the unsettled state of affairs in *England* seems to have introduced some confusion into the government of *Virginia*, to which one Mr. *Bennet*, and one Mr. *Matthews* succeeded by *Cromwell's* orders. Upon the death of *Matthews*, the people of *Virginia* had so grateful a sense of Sir *William Berkley's* government, that they applied to him to resume the same; but he refused to comply, unless they would promise to stand by him in their allegiance to their lawful sovereign against *Cromwell* and all the powers of the usurpation. This they actually did, though they thereby incurred all the penalties of rebellion; and king *Charles II.* was formally proclaimed all over the province. It happened luckily for Sir *William*, and the *Virginians*, that during these transactions *Cromwell* died and *Charles* was restored; but Sir *William Berkley* received no other reward for his unprecedented loyalty, than being continued in the government of *Virginia*, and made one of the proprietaries of *Carolina*. The firmness which the *Virginians* expressed in the royal cause, drew from the king a particular mark of his favour; for it is said, that some part of his habit, at the time of his coronation, was composed of *Virginian* silk sent him from the colony. Upon Sir *William Berkley's* going over to *England* to congratulate his majesty upon his restoration, he substituted colonel *Morison*

Bennet,
governor.
Matthews
governor.
Sir William
Berkley re-cho-
sen gover-
nor.

son

son in his government; and he proved a most excellent deputy. He collected the laws into one body, and had them confirmed by the assembly. He procured laws for promoting and encouraging manufactures of all kinds, particularly those of silk, linen, woollen, salt, and tanning, and had the parish settlements so well regulated, that all their ministers were comfortably provided for.

THE welfare of *Virginia*, at this time, was so favourite a measure with his majesty, who was himself, when he chose to give application to such matters, a most excellent judge of his people's interest, that Sir *William Berkley* had many audiences from him upon that head. Among other things the king recommended to him was his peopling *James-Town*, by giving all possible encouragement for inhabitants to settle there. This was a wise provision had it been followed; but the planters were so fond of living upon their own estates, that it was disregarded, which is the reason why, to this day, the towns of *Virginia* are so poor in people. In 1662, Sir *William Berkley* returned to his government, and obtained an act of the assembly for enlarging *James-Town*, by each county in the province building a certain number of houses; but this, for the reason above-mentioned, proved of little effect. If Sir *William Berkley* was deficient in any part of conduct, as a governor, it was in his prepossessions against the puritans, and procuring too severe laws to be made for conformity to the church of *England*, which drove many of the inhabitants into other colonies.

THE restoration having taken place in *England*, many of the republican and *Cromwellian* soldiers, were, in their turns, banished to *Virginia*, and their principles gaining ground in the colony, had almost ruined it; for the servants entered into a conspiracy to murder their superiors, and render themselves masters of the province. *Birkenhead*, one of the conspirators, struck with remorse at so bloody a purpose, revealed it to the government; and a party of militia-horse was immediately dispatched to intercept the conspirators as they were marching towards *Poplar-Spring*, the place they had agreed upon for their rendezvous. This precaution had the desired effect; for the conspiracy was defeated, four of the ring-leaders were hanged, and *Birkenhead* was rewarded with 200 l. and his freedom. This conspiracy awakened the attention of the government in *England*, and orders were sent over for the *Virginians* to build forts and a citadel at *James's-Town* for the protection of the government, in case of another conspiracy or insurrection of the same kind. No money being ordered for those purposes, the *Virginians* forgot their

danger, and the measure was neglected; all but the raising a small battery of cannon for the protection of *James Town*. As the government in *England* thought they had a right to all the advantages that could arise from their colonies, the execution of the navigation-act was enforced with some rigour, and no foreign goods were imported into *Virginia*, that were not first landed in *England*. This necessarily raised the price of *European* commodities, and lowered that of tobacco, which created great discontents in the colony, especially, as upon all occasions the planters were undermined by the province of *Maryland*; which being under a separate government, undersold them in their tobacco, and were not liable to any of the acts they passed for discontinuing the planting of it, till its value should rise. The *Virginians*, for some time, remonstrated against this opposition of the *Marylanders*, which they considered as being unnatural, but to no purpose.

Discove-
ries.

ORDERS were sent from *England*, that all ships trading to *Virginia* should ride under certain forts that were to be built upon rivers, and which alone were to be deemed there the ports of trade. In speculation, this was an excellent constitution for fortifying the colony; but little regard was paid to it by the planters, who considered their own interest alone, and carried on their trade in such places as were most convenient for themselves. This, for some time, weakened the colony, and during the war between *England* and *Holland* in the reign of *Charles II.* the *Dutch* often took occasion to insult its coasts, and they sometimes even cut ships out of its harbours. Sir *William Berkley* still continued to be governor of *Virginia*, and set a most noble example, by his own practice, for the colonists to improve their manufactures of silk, linen, pot-ashes, and hemp. Fourteen *English*, and as many *Indians*, were sent out to make discoveries upon the continent, which they found to be very plentiful. They travelled for seven days under the command of one captain *Batt*, but coming to a certain boundary, the *Indians*, who attended him, refused to go further, because the nations who lived beyond it, destroyed all the strangers who came among them.

Bacon's
rebellion.

UPON *Batt's* return, Sir *William Berkley* was so pleased with his report that he resolved to go in person, and to improve his discoveries, but was prevented by an unexpected rebellion which broke out in the colony. The causes of complaint among the insurgents were, that the price of goods imported into *Virginia* were very high, on account of the imposts laid upon them in *England*, where their tobacco scarcely bore a price to defray their expence of rearing it.

Their

Their next ground of complaint was founded on the grants of lands, included within the original charter of *Virginia*, made to noblemen and others, by which they were not only dispossessed of what they conceived to be their property, but thwarted in all the measures they took for advancing the interests of their own colony. They likewise complained of the vast taxes they were obliged to pay, and of the molestation they met with from the *Indians*; all which they attributed to the severity of the *English* government, which had no regard to the interest or condition of *Virginia*. Those complaints had but too much foundation before the flame of rebellion, which they occasioned, broke out. One colonel *Park*, and Mr. *Ludwell*, who was secretary of the colony, were sent to *England* at a considerable expence, to petition for redress; but the spirit of the *English* government, at that time, could bear no such application, and they returned without the smallest prospect of success.

THE *Indians*, who for some years had been very quiet, still considered the *English* as intruders upon their country, and finding great discontents among the planters, they began to move towards the head of the bay of *Chesapeake*, and the planters of *New York*, and other *English* settlements, forming separate interests from those of *Virginia*, they encouraged the savages to rebel. The conduct of Sir *William Berkley*, though otherwise an excellent governor, gave them but too great a handle for this. They complained of the inroads which had been made into their country, as being so many preparatives for exterminating them, and that encroachments were every day made upon their properties. Those complaints, whether well or ill-founded, induced the savages to commit many barbarities upon the *English*, which provoked the latter so much, that without any regard to government, they demanded arms, which the prerogative principles of *Berkley*, their governor, denied to them, deeming it unlawful for the people to judge of their own interests. One colonel *Nathaniel Bacon*, a personable young man, of parts and spirit, and one, who, perhaps, thought his merit had been neglected, struck in with the reigning discontents of the colony, and took every opportunity of exaggerating their miseries. His address and abilities soon gained him followers, and the inferior people of the colony, almost to a man, chose him for their leader against the *Indians*. *Bacon* knew the danger of accepting such a commission, without leave or authority, which he demanded from Sir *William Berkley*. The governor, who was an enemy to the least appearance of democratical power, but at the same time sensible of the dan-

ger of the province, from the spirit of the people, trifled with *Bacon*, though without giving him any flat refusal, on pretence that he must consult his council. *Bacon* knew the meaning of that language, and that it tended only to disappoint him. He therefore strengthened his interest among the lower ranks of the people so greatly, that he bade defiance to the governor himself, and came to *James-Town* with forty people, not to solicit, but to demand his commission.

Bacon arrested.

INSTEAD of appearing as a rebel, he took his seat at the council-board, where he laid open the dangerous state of the colony, which was provided with sufficient powers for its own remedy, were the inhabitants properly armed and authorized. *Berkley* ordered him and his followers to return home, and absolutely refused to grant the commission he demanded; but *Bacon* was no sooner gone, than the governor reflecting on what had passed, and on *Bacon's* behaviour, arrested him at *Sandy-Point*, and brought him back to *James-Town*. The principles of the two parties were incompatible: *Bacon* was sensible of his interest with the people, and disdained the royal commission, which he seemed to solicit for. The governor, on the other hand, considered *Bacon's* demand as an insult upon his master, and though he treated *Bacon* with the greatest regard and tenderness towards his person, yet he continued to refuse granting him the commission. In the mean while, the murders and depredations of the *Indians* still increasing, and the people being thereby exasperated beyond all bounds, *Bacon* made his escape from *James-Town*, but soon returned at the head of six or seven hundred men, and laid a kind of a siege to the state-house, where the assembly met.

Proceedings of Bacon against the governor.

MANY of the members in their private sentiments favoured *Bacon's* cause and spirit; and as the situation of the province became now a case of necessity, they in a manner forced *Berkley* to sign a commission, appointing *Bacon* to the command of all the forces in *Virginia*. *Bacon* no sooner obtained this commission, than he withdrew; and he no sooner withdrew, than the governor revoked his commission, proclaimed him a traitor, and commanded all his attendants to disperse. *Bacon* had now two enemies to deal with, the *Indians* and the *English*. The murders committed by the former still continued, but *Bacon* thought that his greatest danger was to be apprehended from the governor, and his men demanded to be led directly to *James-Town*, where the militia had been raised, and all preparations had been made against an open rebellion. In their march, they treated the governor's friends and abettors as rebels, by destroying their estates and plantations. *Berkley* could not assemble a force sufficient

to oppose them, and he fled to *Accomack*, where he hoped to form a party. In doing this, he in fact abdicated his government, which *Bacon* took upon himself; and when he came to *James-Town*, he, by his own authority, and that of four of the council, summoned the assembly, which accordingly met. Here it was declared, that *Berkley* the governor had fomented the civil war in the province, and by his withdrawing himself from *James-Town*, had left the people at liberty to shift for themselves, and likewise that they justified *Bacon* in all his proceedings, and that his army was raised for the good of the public.

THE governor, all this while, remained at *Accomack*, where *Bacon's* interest was but weak; and he found means to raise ^{*Succours sent from*} some forces to oppose him. This produced various skirmishes, ^{England.} to the great desolation of the colony; and *Berkley* wrote to *England* for supplies of every kind. The rebels, for so *Bacon's* people were called, finding *Berkley* exasperated against them beyond all measure, affirmed that he had abdicated the government; that *Bacon* was their only lawful governor; and that they were determined to stand by him at all events. Both parties made their appeals to *England*, where the newspapers were every day filled with their exploits; but their interest at court and in the parliament admitting of no comparison, *Berkley* received encouragement to persist in making no concessions to the rebels, and orders were given for the equipment of a squadron of men of war, under Sir *John Berry*, which was to carry over a regiment of soldiers for suppressing the rebellion. By this time, the colony was almost completely ruined. The rebels destroyed the estates of all the royalists with the most unrelenting fury; and at last, *Lawrence*, an officer under *Bacon*, finding his men somewhat backward, with his own hands set fire to *James-Town*. All that part of *Virginia*, which lies to the west of the bay of *Chesapeake*, was now fully in the power of the rebels, and had they continued to be united among themselves, the consequences must have been absolutely irretrievable; for the *Indians*, against whom the rebels had declared in the beginning of their insurrection, taking advantage of the distractions among the *English*, under pretence of assisting *Berkley*, fell upon the frontier settlements, where they gave no quarter to age or sex, and indiscriminately destroyed the plantations of both parties so effectually, that it is said, those parts of the colony have not, to this day, recovered their devastations.

IT must be acknowledged, that Sir *William Berkley* discovered great firmness on this occasion. He animated the officers and gentlemen, who stood by him, to a very noble
resist-

Death of
Bacon,
and

resistance, till *Berry's* Squadron should arrive; but in the mean time, *Bacon* died at a friend's house in *Gloucester-County*, and his party foreseeing, what soon afterwards happened, buried his body so secretly, that it was not afterwards exposed to public ignominy, when sought for by his enemies. The miseries which desolation occasioned, and the death of *Bacon*, brought down the spirits of the party. Supplies of provision were denied them from *England*, and all her colonies in *America*, and the armament under *Berry* was daily expected. It is to the honour of *Sir William Berkley's* memory, that he behaved with more moderation after the rebels were in a manner at his feet, than he had done when they were his superiors in number. It is, however, to be observed, that *Bacon's* cause had at this time many advocates among the people of *England*, and even in the parliament itself; so that the court-party, though they disliked the principles of it, behaved with lenity towards its authors, who were by far the greatest number of the colonists. Colonel *Ingram*, and colonel *Walklate*, who had been the chief officers under *Bacon*, submitted, on the receiving from *Berkley* a promise of pardon; but it does not appear, that he had any formal authority for this from *England*; nor were any of the chiefs of the party admitted into their former posts under the government. The arrival of *Sir John Berry* with his Squadron and the soldiers, which happened in *February*, 1677, completed the tranquillity of the province; and though commissioners, (of whom the lord *Colepepper* was the first) were appointed to enquire into the causes of the late rebellion, and to try the delinquents, yet nothing was done in consequence of the commission, as we shall have occasion soon to observe.

his rebel-
lion sup-
pressed.

Jeffreys,
deputy-
governor.

THOUGH the rebellion was thus suppressed, it was thought proper to keep in pay the soldiers who came over with *Berry*, and *Sir William Berkley* resolving to visit *England*, appointed *Herbert Jeffreys*, Esq; to be his deputy-governor; but *Sir William* died so soon after his arrival in his native country, that he had not the honour he so ardently wished for, of receiving in person his majesty's thanks for the services he had done him. It must be acknowledged, that he was a very extraordinary man, by being able, during the space of almost forty years, to keep up the spirit of loyalty in *Virginia*, under the prodigious difficulties he had to encounter, and at last to leave it in tranquillity, without shedding a drop of blood after the rebels had submitted. *Jeffreys*, after the departure of *Berkley*, had given orders for an assembly to meet at *Middle-Plantation*, now called *Williamsburgh*, which had been so lately the chief seat of rebellion, and the *Indians* had an

invitation there to treat of a peace, which they joyfully accepted of. Care was taken that this meeting should be as splendid as possible, to impress the savages with a high idea of the *English*; and it was fixed for the 29th of *May*, the birth and restoration-day of *Charles II.* that they might have a greater opportunity to express their loyalty. The queen of *Pamunke* accordingly appeared in the assembly, at the head of the chief *Indians*. Silence was proclaimed, the articles of peace, which had been drawn up by the deputy-governor, were read and explained by interpreters, and the queen being admitted within the bars of the court, most cheerfully signed the treaty in behalf of herself and the other chiefs; and all other ceremonies of ratifying and exchanging it being performed, the whole of it was concluded by a general discharge of all the artillery. After this, her majesty and the chiefs were highly regaled by the *English*, and next day returned home in the best of humours. The terms of this peace had been dictated, as well as drawn up, by the deputy-governor, and whatever the inclinations of the savages might have been, they never have had it in their power, since that time, to give the *English* any material disturbance.

THE year after this treaty was made, Mr. *Jeffreys* died, and was succeeded, as deputy-governor, (for lord *Colepepper*, who was then in *England*, had been appointed chief governor) by Sir *Henry Chickely*. This gentleman prevailed with the assembly to build forts at the head of their four great rivers, where garrisons were kept for bridling the *Indians*; and the same assembly observing, that the people of *Carolina* and *Maryland* yearly shipped off from *Virginia* large quantities of tobacco, they passed an act against such practices for the future, that they might engross to themselves all the advantages of their situation. In 1679, the lord *Colepepper* arrived at his government of *Virginia*. The state of this province had been well considered in *England*, and besides the commission we have already mentioned, for trying *Bacon's* followers, he carried over with him such instructions from the *English* ministry, as in fact unhinged the constitution of the colony, and changed its government into a precarious dependence upon the crown. The assembly were sensible of the vast powers with which he was armed; and therefore, without putting him to the trouble of employing any menaces, they passed many of his bills into acts, and he agreed to such bills that were presented to him, as might conduce to the territorial peace and interest of the colony. His own salary was not forgot, and instead of contenting himself with 1000 *l.* a year, which had been the appointment of his predecessors, he

he in a manner obliged the assembly to grant him 2000 *l.* besides 150 *l.* a year for house-rent. As presents of wine and provisions had been usually made by the masters of ships to the governor, this lord converted that custom into a certain revenue. He obliged every master to pay him twenty shillings for each ship under 100 tons burden, and thirty for all above it; and this imposition has prevailed ever since, though it was founded on no act of the assembly.

Lord

Colepepper's arbitrary proceedings,

As his lordship was determined to make but a short stay in *Virginia*, he resolved to make the best, of his powers, for his own interest. The current coin of the colony was in value far lower than the same pieces were in the neighbouring countries. This proved so irresistible a temptation for traders to export it, that the assembly saw their colony in danger of losing all their currency in specie, and therefore they ordered in a bill to raise the value of it to a par with their neighbours. The lord *Colepepper* very properly told them, that it was not in his power to pass such a bill, because it interfered with that part of the prerogative which gave the king a right to alter the value of money as he should think proper; but he added, that he was empowered as his majesty's representative to answer their ends equally as well, by issuing a proclamation, which would have the same effect in that particular as an act. The assembly saw the tendency of this doctrine, but durst not oppose it; and his lordship made the best use of the intermediate time in buying up all the light pieces of eight at five shillings, and then raising their value to six by proclamation. But this happened to be an unsuccessful expedient. It is true, he issued his currency at the advanced price, and obliged the *English* regiment that had been brought over by Sir *John Berry*, to receive them at that rate; but when he came to be paid his own salary, his duty, and shipping, and the other parts of the revenue, in those light pieces, he found that he had lost more than he gained by his proclamation, not to mention that his government was endangered by a mutiny of the soldiers.

BESIDES this arbitrary proceeding in the affair of coinage, his lordship was daily giving the *Virginians* fresh provocation, in repealing, by proclamation, the acts of the assembly, and giving them to understand that their validity depended only on his pleasure. Two considerations prevented the *Virginians* from resenting his conduct by a rebellion. The first was, that the common people had suffered so much by that which had been but lately suppressed, that they had neither the means nor the spirit, to enter into a fresh one. The next was, that his lordship, in all matters that did not affect his

own

own powers as governor, shewed himself very ready in promoting every measure that could be of service to the colony. But those considerations did not prevent the assembly from coming to some very vigorous resolutions against his unwarrantable stretches of power. Upon his leaving *Virginia*, where he did not remain for above a year, he appointed Sir *Henry Chickely* to be his deputy-governor. The colony had now recovered so well from its late losses, that the planters made more tobacco than they could get vent for. This glut was in some measure as detrimental to them, as a scarcity would have been, and the poorer sort perceiving that the commodity fell so much in its value, that it did not afford them the same profits as heretofore, entered into a combination to destroy all their own and their neighbours plants. This frantic resolution was in part executed by the lower ranks of the inhabitants, who first destroyed their own plants, and then fell upon those of their neighbours; but the desolation they made, presented such scenes, as damped their courage, and many of them being seized, were tried and executed for felony; the cutting up tobacco-plants being adjudged to be such. We have several times had an opportunity of animadverting on the arbitrary disposal of *American* lands by the crown, or rather the favourites of the crown at home. It is true, the first adventurers being under contracts with the government, the crown had a right to stand upon the performance; but after the lands so discovered were settled and improved at the expence of the colonists, and under the grants of the government, none but the colonists themselves could have any property in those lands; but this capital maxim of justice was often set aside; sometimes by the forfeiture of the patentees, sometimes by neglects or inability to perform their engagements; sometimes by finding flaws in their patents, and other frivolous pretexs. A large tract of land in *Virginia*, called the *Northern Neck*, had been granted to the earl of *St. Albans*, and other proprietors; but it was now re-granted to lord *Colepepper*. This tract contained several counties, which had a right to send representatives to parliament; but the inhabitants conceiving that they must suffer by being put under a proprietary direction, brought an appeal before the assembly against his lordship's claim.

THIS was a tender point, considering the tenacious dispositions of the *Virginians*. But to do lord *Colepepper* justice, he seems to have proceeded with great caution and equity; for he satisfied all the former proprietors in their fair demands, though he saw, that without some new authority from *England*; it would be impossible for him to bring the assembly over

resented
by the as-
sembly.

Case of the
Northern
Neck.

over to his views. For that purpose, he fomented an emulation between the assembly and the council, by encouraging the former to insist upon the sole right of judging appeals, but at the same time, he represented matters so at home, as to procure an order, vesting that right solely in the governor and council. This order entirely altered the powers which the assembly had hitherto thought themselves possessed of; but lord *Colepepper*, far from making any undue advantage of a circumstance so much in his favour, did not seek to avail himself of the royal grant, but endeavoured, by all means, to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants of the *Northern Neck* to his proprietaryship. Several gentlemen, of great property, who had been settled there, joined with him, and undertook to bring over the inhabitants; but all was to no purpose, for the majority of them carried their complaints before the assembly, and they petitioned the king; but having no agent in *England*, they met with no success. At last, the inhabitants perceiving that they maintained a desperate cause, compounded with the proprietor, and paid him their quit-rents, and this estate is now in the possession of lord *Fairfax*, a descendant of that lord who married lord *Colepepper*'s daughter, whose son immediately went over to *Virginia* to settle all matters relating to this valuable acquisition.

In the mean while, the lord *Colepepper* omitted nothing that could contribute to the prosperity of the province of *Virginia*. He banished from their courts of law the low practices which had long oppressed the suitors, and are a reproach to the profession. He reduced the public expences of the colony, especially by demolishing *Chickely's* forts, which had been found to be very burdensome, without answering the great expence of maintaining them, and in their place he substituted certain troops of horse, which scoured the country, and checked the natives, who were now too much reduced to make any dangerous efforts against the colony. In 1683,

Lord Cole-
pepper re-
turns to
England.

he returned to *England*, after having, by his own authority, appointed one Mr. *Spencer*, in preference of older members, to be president of the council; by which the administration of the province fell upon him during the absence of the governor and his deputy. Lord *Colepepper* was succeeded in his government by the lord *Howard* of *Effingham*. This nobleman is accused of having outdone lord *Colepepper* in all his arbitrary proceedings, without receiving the like benefits from his administration. Equally mean as imperious, he obliged the clerks and underlings of his courts to give him a share of their fees. Taking advantage of a similar institution in *England*, he obliged lawyers to take out licences be-

Arbitrary
admini-
stration of
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ingham
Howard,
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fore

fore they could plead, and schoolmasters before they could teach. He introduced exorbitant expences into all the testametary proceedings, and keeping up to the full of his prerogative powers, he imprisoned the inhabitants by his own authority, without bringing them to a trial. He substituted his proclamations instead of laws, and even pretended that they could repeal standing laws. The judges, however, without regarding those proclamations, paid the same regard to the laws as formerly. In the governor's patent he had a power of exacting the quit-rent in money; but by an act of the assembly, the planters were at liberty to pay it in tobacco, at 2 d. a pound. When that commodity fell in its value, the governor issued a proclamation, repealing that law, and insisted upon the quit-rents being paid either in money, or tobacco at 1 d. a pound, a hardship to which the *Virginians*, on account of the express words of the patent, were obliged to submit to. They had the spirit, however, to send over one colonel *Ludwell*, as their agent to *England*, to petition his majesty for redress of the grievances which they suffered under lord *Effingham's* administration; but they were so far from obtaining it, that upon the accession of *James II.* the imposts upon tobacco were encreased to such a degree, as must have entirely ruined that trade, had not other colonies, both *French*, *Spanish*, and *English*, discontinued the raising of tobacco, because they found more account in other commodities.

LORD *Effingham*, during his government, finding that the state-house at *James-Town* had not been rebuilt since it was laid in ashes by colonel *Lawrence*, prevailed with the assembly to lay a duty upon all liquors imported from other plantations for rebuilding the same. Under pretence that he was, by his patent, invested with a chancery-power, he erected a court, under that name, in which he sat himself, employing his counsellors as masters in chancery, exacting most exorbitant fees, and setting aside all the chancery-jurisdiction, that had always, since the first constitution of the colony, resided in the general court, who, notwithstanding, resumed it upon his lordship's departure for *England*. This happened soon after the Revolution, when his lordship, upon his departure, appointed colonel *Nathaniel Bacon*, father to the famous rebel of that name, to be president of the province. During this gentleman's administration, the project for a college was presented to him and his council, who approved of it, and referred it to the assembly.

Francis Nicholson, Esq; was appointed lieutenant-governor of the province under lord *Effingham*. He was a gentleman

He returns to England.

Bacon, president.

Nicholson, governor.

*The college
erected.*

unexceptionably well qualified for this post, and brought over with him a scheme of government far more liberal and public spirited than any that the *Virginians* had yet experienced. Among the first exercises of his government was his resuming the plan that had been proposed for a college, and which seems to have been suspended, for a short time, for want of money to carry it on. By Mr. *Nicholson's* advice and assistance, books were opened, and 2500 *l.* was soon subscribed, and other considerable donations came over from the *Virginian* merchants in *London*. Upon so fair a foundation the affair was moved in the assembly, where it was so well received, that an address was drawn up to king *William* and queen *Mary*, praying for a charter to establish it; and the reverend Mr. *Blair* was sent over to *England* to solicit it. The address met with all the encouragement which the most sanguine of the projectors could have expected. Dr. *Thomas Bray*, a zealous clergyman of the church of *England*, was appointed president of the future college; and he laid out a considerable sum for a library which he was to carry over with him, besides engaging several learned gentlemen who were to be fellows and professors. It happened, however, that either the money which had been subscribed was insufficient, or had not been paid in, which put a fresh stop to the project; but this inconviency was likewise removed by their majesties, and some of the principal nobility, clergy, and gentry in *England*, generously contributing their benefactions. A sufficiency of money being thus provided, the scheme was afterwards carried into execution, and the building itself was erected upon a very noble plan, drawn by Sir *Christopher Wren*, with all the magnificence, conveniences, gardens, walks, porticos, apartments, and other decorations, that are to be found in *European* institutions of the same kind, with moderate appointments for the professors, among whom is a master for teaching *Indian* youths. This college has been since greatly improved, and by the measures that have been taken since the accession of his present majesty, under his royal patronage, it bids fair to be one of the seats of science, and the polite arts. It is, notwithstanding, to be hoped, that this passion for learning never shall carry our planters into pursuits inconsistent with those of industry and commerce, and that they never will make use of the generous encouragement that has been furnished them by their mother-country, for disputing or evading the dependence and allegiance they owe her.

*Good go-
vernment
of Mr. Ni-
cholson.*

Mr. *Nicholson*, far from imitating his predecessors in separating the interests of the government from those of the people

ple, omitted no means to ingratiate himself with the provincials. He invited and encouraged all schemes that were laid before him for improving the soil or territory of the colony; and he exhibited prizes to such of the common people as excelled in athletic exercises; a most excellent policy in a country that lies in the neighbourhood of savages. Notwithstanding all his cares, the *Virginians*, like the *Canadians*, never could be brought into the practice of cohabitation, that is, of living together in large towns, and for the same reason; because every one chose to cultivate that spot of ground that lay most convenient for his own ease and interest. But in this the *Virginians* were far more defensible than the *French Canadians*, they having, by this time, no reason to apprehend those dreadful irruptions of the savages that had so often depopulated *New France*. During Mr. *Nicholson's* government, a cohabitation-act passed; but it was so far from having effect, that the greatest part of *James-Town* still continued to lie in ashes, or to be uninhabited, and no new towns were built. After all, though cohabitation may be extremely commodious for the revenue, and the great traders, yet some have doubted whether it would contribute to the real interest of the colony, as the living in separate dwellings keeps the price of labour low, and prevents that luxury and those vices that prove so detrimental, and often destructive, to many individuals in large cities. During Mr. *Nicholson's* government, several acts likewise passed for the encouragement of the linen, leather, and other manufactures; and he acquired the esteem of all the inhabitants by his affability, and the great attention he always paid to the legislature of the province.

IN 1692, to the amazement of the public, lord *Effingham* See Vol. being removed from his government of *Virginia*, Sir *Edmund XXXIX.* *Andros* succeeded him. He had been, as we have already p. 312, seen, extremely obnoxious for his arbitrary proceedings as 313. governor in other provinces of *America*, during the late *Andros*, reigns, and it was thought would have been severely, if not *governor.* capitally punished, instead of being rewarded with the government of *Virginia*. We can account for this extraordinary step only, by supposing that the *English* ministry was then held by Tories, which often happened to be the case in king *William's* reign; and that *Andros* was possessed of abilities for a governor, which he had prostituted only to the interests of his superiors. Somewhat of this kind seems to be true; for it is generally allowed, that he was far from being a bad governor of *Virginia*, where he arrived in *February*. As the *English* merchants, and masters of ships, trading to *Virginia*,

His adm-
nistration,

disliked the cohabitation-act, which, in the end, would have restricted them to certain ports, Sir *Edmund* carried over with him instructions, to procure the repeal of it by the assembly, in which he succeeded. A patent was laid before the same assembly, for making Mr. *Neal*, a projector of those days, postmaster-general of *Virginia*, and other parts of *America*; but though the assembly passed an act in favour of this patent, it had no effect; it being impossible to carry it into execution by reason of the straggling situation of the provincial dwellings. In 1693, so dreadful a storm happened in *Virginia*, and its neighbourhood, as seemed to reverse the course of nature, by some rivers being stopped up, and channels opened for others that were even navigable.

THE great objection which lay against the government of *Andros*, was, his attempts to reduce the constitution of *Virginia* to a nearer conformity with that of *England*. This was vigorously opposed by the *Virginians*, who thought it would weaken the authority of the assembly, whose acts they looked upon to be the best security they had for their estates. In other respects, Sir *Edmund* discharged the duties of a good governor. He encouraged manufactures of all kinds, fulling-mills, and the propagation of cotton. He regulated the public offices, into which great abuses had crept since *Bacon's* rebellion. He collected, and put in order, all the registers and public papers of the province, and shortened the expence of time in law and commercial proceedings. In short, he was in a fair way of retrieving his character when he was recalled. About this time, viz. in 1697, the *English* squadron under admiral *Nevil*, which had gone in pursuit of *de Pointis*, was obliged to stop at *Virginia*, carrying with them an infectious distemper, which killed the admiral, and the most considerable officers of his squadron, both *Dutch* and *English*, and communicated itself to the *Virginians*, of whom great numbers died, especially at *James-Town*. A whig-administration now prevailing in *England*, Mr. *Nicholson*, who was in *Maryland*, was nominated to the government of *Virginia*, and he immediately removed the courts of justice, his own residence, and the seat of provincial business from *James-Town*, to *Middle Plantation*, to which he gave the name of *Williamsburg*. He then laid out a town in the form of a *W*, either from the low conceit of paying a compliment to the initial letter of that monarch's name, or because the nature of the ground best admitted of a city in that form. It was here the college we have already mentioned was erected, as was, opposite to it, by the governor's direction, a stately fabric which he termed the capitol, and the founda-

Mr. Ni-
cholson,
chief go-
vernor.

tions of many new, and in that province, magnificent buildings were laid. All this could not be done without great expence, which fell upon the colony. Such of the planters as had few or no ideas of public elegance and magnificence, repined at the sums levied, and the rather, because the crops that year were remarkably short, and their labourers sickly. A tax of fifteen shillings was imposed upon every Christian servant, and twenty upon every negro; and those expences grew the more insupportable by the war, which was then ready to break out between *France* and *England*, and the swarms of privateers and pirates that infested the coasts of *Virginia*.

AMONG others, in the year 1700, a *French* pirate, or, as *Pirates* he was called, a privateer, arrived at the mouth of *James-hanged. River*, where he intercepted some merchant-ships bound for *London*; but a small vessel slipping by him, advertised captain *Passenger* of the *Shoreham* man of war of what had happened, and he getting his ship ready, came up to the pirate and forced him to surrender. It was about this time, that a fort was projected at *New-York*, which was to be provided with a regular garrison. The people of *New York*, unable of themselves to be at this expence, represented, by their agents, to king *William*, that as the province of *Virginia* would be greatly benefitted by the erection of the said fort, which would secure them against the invasions of the *French* and *Indians*, they ought to be at some part of this expence, at least as far as 900 *l*. Governor *Nicholson*, happening himself *His gene-* to be of the same opinion, undertook to carry this affair through *rosity.* the assembly, to which it was referred from *England*: but here it met with a very different reception from what he expected; for the assembly remonstrated, “That neither the forts then in being, nor any other that might be built in the province of *New-York*, could in the least avail to the defence and security of *Virginia*; for that either the *French*, or the *Indians*, might invade that colony, and not come within an hundred miles of any such fort.” This disappointment did not relax the zeal of the governor for the good of the province; and looking upon himself to be in some measure answerable for the money, he immediately set out for *New York*, where he gave his bills for the same; and threw himself entirely upon the generosity of queen *Anne*, who was, by this time upon the throne of *England*, for his indemnification. In all other parts of his conduct, he shewed himself equally generous and publick-spirited, having laid it down as a principle, and a most excellent one it was, that all the *English* provinces on the continent of *America*, ought to be confederated in one

common interest, and contribute equally, according to the abilities, to defend themselves against the *French* and *Indians*.

The earl of Orkney, governor, DURING his government, the *Virginians* having received most wonderful accounts of the benefits that would rise to the province from the introduction of camels, who are able to carry 1200 weight, gave a commission to some Guinea traders, who brought over several of them to *Virginia*; but there, as in *Barbados*, the climate was unfavourable to the constitution of those animals, and the project came to nothing. About this time, the war breaking out between *France* and *England*, the governor found it necessary to lay an embargo upon the shipping in *Virginia*, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Some time after, an unusual hurricane happened at *Virginia*, which did prodigious damage to the ships belonging to the province, as well as to its plantations. In other respects, the government of *Virginia*, at this time, experienced a greater degree of tranquillity than any of the neighbouring colonies; and the ministry of *England* thinking proper to employ Mr. *Nicholson* in more active branches of its service, he was called to *England* in 1704, and succeeded in his government by the earl of *Orkney*. The truth is, as the *Virginians* were less exposed than many other of the *English* colonies to the attacks of the enemy, the ministry appropriated from that time 1200 *l.* of the 2000 granted to the governor, as an appointment for some nobleman or other, during his life, whom they could not provide so conveniently for in any other manner; and his lordship happened to be first who obtained this sine-cure. That this government is such, appears from the arrangements made by the ministry at home; for the lieutenant-governor who resides in the province, has his commission from the crown, under the great seal, equally as the chief governor, and is invested with the same powers as the latter would be, was he actually upon the spot. The *Virginians* complained that they were loaded with the payment of 12,000 *l.* a year, without receiving from it the smallest benefit; but all the redress they received, was an intimation that they would find it highly for their benefit to have a powerful protector in the name of chief governor, always residing in *England* to favour their suits. This, however, was far from being the case with regard to the earl of *Orkney*, who had a commission in the army, and generally was upon service in *Flanders*. He held the nominal commission for above thirty-six years; and his first lieutenant-governor was *Edward Notte*, Esq. Nothing memorable happened during the administration of the latter, but his prevailing with the assembly to provide a fund for erect-

erecting a handsome house for the governor at *Williamsburg*; and, upon his death, brigadier *Hunter*, whom we have already mentioned in the history of *Jamaica*, succeeded him. He was a gentleman of great abilities, but he had no opportunity of distinguishing himself in this government, from which he was removed to that of *Jamaica*. He was succeeded as lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, by colonel *Alexander Spotswood*, nor indeed could the crown, through all its dominions, have pitched upon an abler man for this department. He thoroughly understood the interests and nature of the provincials he was to govern; and, being an excellent mathematician, he laid out the spots for new plantations and roads, which rendered the province far more commodious and secure than it had ever been before. Observing the great disadvantages of trading with the *Indians*, without proper regulations, he formed schemes for that purpose, which proved of infinite service to the colony; and he even found out means to give the children of those savages such an education as to render them useful to the *English*, by raising a fund for that purpose.

As tobacco was the staple commodity of *Virginia*, Mr. *Spotswood* observed, with no little concern, that by the abuses introduced into that trade, it had come into some disrepute at the *English* and other markets. Had those practices continued, the province must have soon been ruined; for which reason, Mr. *Spotswood* carried through a law, which, though afterwards repealed, was undoubtedly well-intended for the general good of the colony; for it provided, that all tobacco which were to be carried from *Virginia*, should be lodged in warehouses, and there examined as to its quality and goodness. After the peace of *Utrecht*, it was thought high time for the *English* inhabitants of *Virginia*, if possible, to acquire some knowledge of the countries lying beyond the *Apalachian* mountains; and governor *Spotswood* resolved to prosecute that important discovery in person. This was the more necessary, as the *French* had made it a capital maxim in their *American* policy, to conceal all the country between those mountains and the *Mississippi* from the *English*, who knew no more of them than what they had from a few straggling travellers and *Indians*. Having performed this painful expedition, when he returned to *Virginia* he gave orders for trying eight pirates, four of whom were executed, who had appeared in the province, but were discovered in the disguise of traders. When the war with *Spain* broke out about the year 1718, a project was set on foot for the raising a great continental force of the *English*, which was to attack the *Spanish* settlements to-

Spotswood,
lieutenant-governor;

his excellent administration.

wards the west; and governor *Spotswood* was, in the opinion of the public, and indeed of the government, pointed out as the most proper person for heading that momentous expedition. He had drawn up a plan for that purpose, which, with the assistance of the *British* insular colonies, would probably have shaken the *Spanish* dominions in those parts; but the politics of *Europe*, at that time, did not so much as admit of its being attempted. A peace being clapped up, it was thought Mr. *Spotswood* did no service to his private fortune, by insisting upon the practicability of his plan, and requiring that the people and friends he had employed should be indemnified for their expence and trouble. On the other hand, some of the *Virginians* themselves thought that governor *Spotswood* was too well conversant in their affairs, and practised several low arts to obtain his removal, which was at last effected; and *Hugh Drysdale*, Esq; was, under the earl of *Orkney*, appointed lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, where he arrived in 1723. As to the late lieutenant-governor, he remained in *America*, and upon the breaking out of the war with *Spain* in 1739, the government thought fit to adopt his projects; and orders were issued for a very great force to be assembled on the continent of the *English America*; the command of which, it was generally believed, would have been given to colonel *Spotswood*, had he not died in the mean time. The *French* soon after entering into the war, and new alterations happening in the affairs of *Europe*, all thoughts of this expedition were likewise dropt, that the operations might be the more vigorously carried on against the *French*.

Mr. Drysdale, lieutenant-governor.

Gooch, lieutenant-governor.

Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor.

MR. *Gooch* succeeded Mr. *Drysdale* as lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, and bore a great share in his own person, of the war with *France* and *Spain*, that was terminated by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle* in 1748. But as the particulars of that war are to be found in the preceding parts of this work, we cannot repeat them here, and the province affords, during that period, little or no other historical matter. Under the government of Mr. *Dinwiddie*, during the late war, *Virginia* happened to take the lead in the alarms which were sent over to *England* concerning the encroachments of the *French* upon that province. Mr. *Dinwiddie*, upon this important occasion, behaved with great address and spirit; and it is but doing him justice to say, that he was the first of the *British* governors in *America*, who penetrated into the real designs of the *French* to cut the *English* off from all the *Indian* trade to the westward, and even to encroach upon their back settlements. So early as *October* 1753, he dispatched a mes-

mes-

senger to the banks of the *Ohio* to observe the progress of the *French* there. The messenger was very well received, and entertained by the *French*, who made it no secret that they were settled there to the number of 1500 regulars; that they had built three forts, which they were determined to keep, and that too upon lands which the government of *Great Britain* had thought to belong to them, and which they had actually granted to some gentlemen in *London* and *Virginia*, who were to be incorporated under the title of the *Ohio* company; and then they dismissed the messenger with a guard of 200 men, to protect him from the savages. These facts being established beyond all contradiction, Mr. *Dinwiddie* transmitted them to the government of *Great Britain*; and Sir *Thomas Robinson*, then secretary of state, directed Mr. *Dinwiddie* to procure, in his province, a sufficient quantity of fresh provisions for the use of the forces that were to be immediately employed against the *French*, and to be commanded by general *Braddock*. In consequence of his instructions, Mr. *Dinwiddie* called together the assembly of *Virginia*, and laid before them the dangers that threatened them, with a detail of the measures which they were to pursue, especially in keeping up a proper correspondence between their army and *Williamsburg*, and for furnishing provisions to the subalterns in the easiest manner. At the same time, by command of his majesty, he laid before them an instruction he had received for passing an act of insolvency. The reader, in other parts of this work, may perceive the glorious effects which those vigorous measures were attended with, and which terminated in the reduction of all the *French* territories in *North America*, and their cession to the crown of *Great Britain*. We shall, therefore, proceed to give some account, and that too from better authorities than have been hitherto published, of the antient inhabitants of this province, at the time when they were first visited by the *English*, and this from the Memoirs of Mr. *Hariot*, a domestic of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and by him sent to take a survey of this mother province.

His instructions
against the
French.

WHEN the *English* first arrived off *Virginia*, they were received by the natives with the utmost astonishment; but the new visitors soon convinced them, as they perfectly understood the language of signs, that they carried with them no hostile intentions, and therefore they returned to their ships, from whence the *English* were conducted to the mansion of one of their petty kings, whom the most authentic accounts term their

Account of
the antient
Virginians
from
the most
antient
authorities.

^P HARIOT, apud de Bry. p. 2. of the cuts.

wéroans, who was, it seems, master of only one town, to which they were guided. This prince, though at first, terrified by the appearance of the strangers, entertained them hospitably; and the *English* had leisure to become acquainted with the habits and dispositions of the natives. They were, in general, dressed in the skins of deer, or other wild beasts, which hung before their middle, but all the rest of their bodies was naked. Their arms were bows, made of hazel, and arrows of reeds; but how these were pointed, we are not informed. They likewise wielded bludgeons, each about three feet long; but all their defensive armour consisted of shields, made of the bark of trees, and a kind of wicker-armour, which they made use of in time of war. Notwithstanding this, it is certain, that those savages were far from being so barbarous as those the *French* found in *Canada*, or as they have been represented by our own writers. They of *Secota*, one of their provinces, had among them, besides their king, a degree of nobility, who were more elegant in their dresses, particularly their hair, which they formed in various shapes, and adorned with the finest feathers they could procure. From their ears hung either large pearls, the feet of birds, or such other ornaments, as the wearers fancied; and they painted both their faces and bodies. Round their neck, and upon their arms, they wore chains and bracelets of pearl, to which, after their acquaintance with the *English*, they preferred bits of brass; and their skins were so neatly fitted round their middle, that the tail of the creature always hung behind between their buttocks. Such was the dress in which they appeared on solemn occasions; but when they went to war, they painted themselves in as horrible a manner as they could.

THEIR women were naturally well-shaped; and when their married ladies came abroad, their skin-coverings were more elegant than those of the men, and concealed the whole of their bodies, behind as well as before. They cut the fore part of their hair short, and wore a kind of a chaplet round their temples; but they took care to disfigure their faces, legs, and arms, with punctures and painting; and the chains and bracelets they wore were full of the same. The better sort wore pearl-bracelets, and others bracelets of bones, exquisitely well polished. They took great delight in walking by the sides of rivers, and in hunting and fishing. Their priests were generally men advanced in age; they suffered the fore hair of their heads to grow, and kept all the rest closely cut; and they wore a cloak, that reached from their neck almost to their knees, of the very finest skins their country afforded,

afforded, and went quite round their bodies. The dress of the young ladies in general resembled that of the married ones, only their hair was more elegantly plaited, and tied up behind. In some provinces, the ladies wore long strings of triple or quadruple rows of pearl round their necks, in which they slung their left arm. Their old men were more comfortably cloathed than their youth, for they wore cloaks of skins, that reached from their shoulders almost to their feet, but leaving their right arm naked and at liberty. The women had a peculiar way of carrying their children at their backs; but we find, that in some of the provinces, their bodies were without punctures or painting. The people, in general, were much addicted to a set of jugglers, who pretended to predict future events, and by sometimes guessing right, obtained great credit. But the most extraordinary circumstance, (and which we believe has not been taken notice of by late accounts) attending the antient *Virginians*, was their having the use of characters, the forms of some of which we have, in *de Bry*, copied from the originals by Mr. *White*. Those characters are various, and far from being inelegant; but were impressed upon the bare backs of the natives, as so many signatures, to denote the province, tribe, or prince, to which they belonged. The stamp of four arrows denoted sovereignty; the stamp of one, a relation to the prince. How far those characters reached, we are at a loss to say.

THOUGH the native *Virginians* knew not the use of iron, *Their* yet they had a wonderful art of felling the bodies of large *manner of* trees, and of excavating them by the force of fire, which *cookery*, they managed with most surprising skill, by means of small fans, rendering it fiercer or gentler, to the very pitch they wanted. They polished the excavation by shells, which they sharpened, and made use of, for that purpose, till a perfect canoe was made; and, indeed, considering the simplicity of their utensils and materials, their operations in all the mechanics they practised, is almost incredible. The chief use to which they put their canoes when fabricated, was to go a-fishing in them, in which they were so dextrous, that they excelled all the *Europeans* in that exercise. It was their favourite diversion, as well as employment, and women and men equally applied themselves to it; sometimes by fishing in their canoes, sometimes by angling with baits, sometimes by spearing them, and often by driving them into wicker cribs, which were constructed with more art than those we see in use in many parts of *Europe*, and where they generally took immense shoals. Those fish were dressed upon wooden gridirons, and they managed the fire so, that the flames

flames never took hold of them. Sometimes they boiled their fishes in clay-pots, which were made by their women with so much dexterity, as to equal the art of any *European* potter; the round part being as exact as it had been turned upon a wheel; but at those boiled entertainments, they dressed in the same pot or kettle, not only all kinds of fish, but of flesh and roots, which, when sufficiently boiled, they served up in a kind of baskets. Mr. *Harriot* observes, that they were very moderate in their repasts, to which he ascribes the longevity they enjoyed when the *English* first discovered their country; but their ordinary food was maiz, which they eat from a mat, sitting on the ground, the man on one side, and the woman on the other.

Their festivities.

UPON solemn occasions, such as the finishing a war, or escaping from some great danger, they expressed their thank-givings, by seating themselves round a large fire, and beginning a rude concert of vocal and instrumental music; the latter being performed by a hollowed dried gourd, cucumber-shells, or those of some other fruit, which they filled with small pebbles, and rattled with great vehemence. Besides those temporary rejoicings, they had their anniversary jubilees, which were celebrated by virgins, the particulars of which are so extraordinary, that we should not have ventured to transcribe them, did they not rest upon the most unquestionable authority. They marked out a circle in the midst of a plain; round this circle, at certain distances, they drove posts, each about a man's height, and resembling *Roman Termini*, ending in the head of a woman carved, with a veil hanging from her brow down the sides of the face. The time for this anniversary celebration being arrived, the inhabitants of all the neighbouring country assembled, each with his rank and quality, and the name of his country, tribe, and village, marked upon his back. The young ladies, who are the only actors in this exhibition, next ranged themselves at proper distances round the circle in the most fantastic dresses, and then they began a dance, with the most extravagant gestures, that each could contrive; extravagance of motion being at that time looked upon as doing the highest honour to the assembly. To qualify the ridiculousness of this circular chorus, three virgins, of the most exquisite form and beauty, who had been selected from the rest, were placed in the middle of the circle, in the very attitudes in which the antients represented the three graces, gently embracing one another, and in that form beating time with their feet to the rude music, which was composed of the excavated shells and pebbles we have already mentioned.

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IN all those particulars, there was a great resemblance between the manners of the *Virginians* and the *Floridans*. The like was observable in the construction of their villages. The spot, on which they were built, was sometimes a circle, the circumference of which consisted of strong palisadoes, but not so strong as those of the *Floridans*. Of the few buildings this circle contained, one was always a temple, covered with fine mats on the top, and admitting of no light, but by the door: opposite to that stood the dwelling of the headman of the village. All their houses were built of slender piles, driven into the ground, and covered with mats, so as to admit, according to the season of the year, just as much air and light as the inhabitant pleased. Near their village they always took care to dig a pond, which supplied it with water; but some of their towns, that of *Secota* particularly, that were not inclosed within those palisadoes, were by far the most pleasant. In them, the houses were laid out so, as to form a main street; and they had behind them gardens, fields, and paddocks, in which they raised tobacco, *Indian* corn, and other vegetables, besides feeding deer, and game of all kinds. Of those improvements they were so careful, that they had watch-houses for their fields, where a man was placed, to deter the birds from devouring the corn. In the same township, they had their places of devotion as well as feasting. The idol they worshipped, was called *Kiwaja*; it was carved out of wood, about four feet high, and seemed to be copied from the *Floridan* idols. The head was of a flesh colour, the breast white, and all the rest of the body black; it was placed at *Secota*, in the sepulchre of the deceased princes; but we do not find that the natives were originally impressed with any great degree of devotion towards it; for it remained in the tomb as an object of terror rather than of worship. In other public repositories two, and sometimes four, or more of those idols, were placed for the same purpose, but all of them in the darkest part of the building, to give them the more tremendous appearance. As to the temple or place of sepulchre itself, it is no other than a scaffolding, raised upon piles, nine or ten feet from the ground, covered with mattings, upon which they lay the bodies, after they have been carefully embowelled, and the skin stript, and all the flesh scraped from them, all which, with the bowels, they wrap up in mats, and place at the feet of the skeletons; but they have an art of covering the skeleton with skins, so artfully stuffed, that it has the appearance of its never having been embowelled or anatomised. Below the scaffolding, the priests have their habitations, upon the skins of wild-beasts,
and

and they were employed in constantly mumbling prayers and guarding the sepulchre. The above are all the particulars which we have thought fit to insert from the oldest and most authentic accounts of this mother-colony, and which have been omitted by more modern authors.

WITH regard to other points of the religion of those natives, they are the same with what we are told of other savages, that they have general, but gross ideas of a Deity; but we shall not venture to enter upon the modes of their belief of his existence, as they are whimsical, and far from being universal amongst the barbarians, and perhaps are greatly indebted to the speculations and inventions of writers. As to the modern constitution of the colony, the reader can easily form a notion of it from the preceding history; and the laws, by which they are governed, are, as near as possible, conformable to those of *England*. The population of *Virginia* is not near so numerous as might have been expected from so antient and flourishing a colony; nor are their towns of any considerable note. This last circumstance is owing to the vast commodiousness of water-carriage, which every where presents itself to the plantations of private planters, and the scarcity of handicrafts. *James-Town* is now scarcely to be mentioned, and *Williamsburgh* is considerable only as being the seat of provincial government, and of learning. *Virginia*, however, is distinguished by several magnificent public buildings; it still retains its original staple-manufacture and commodity of tobacco, and they carry on a great trade with the *West-Indies*, in lumber, pitch, tar, corn, and provisions; and with *Britain* for flax, hemp, iron, staves, and plank. The present number of whites in *Virginia* is computed to be about 70,000, and that of the negroes 100,000; but by the good policy of the province, and temperature of the climate, they propagate here so well, as to require but few recruits from *Africa*.