STUDIES IN

JAMAICA HISTORY

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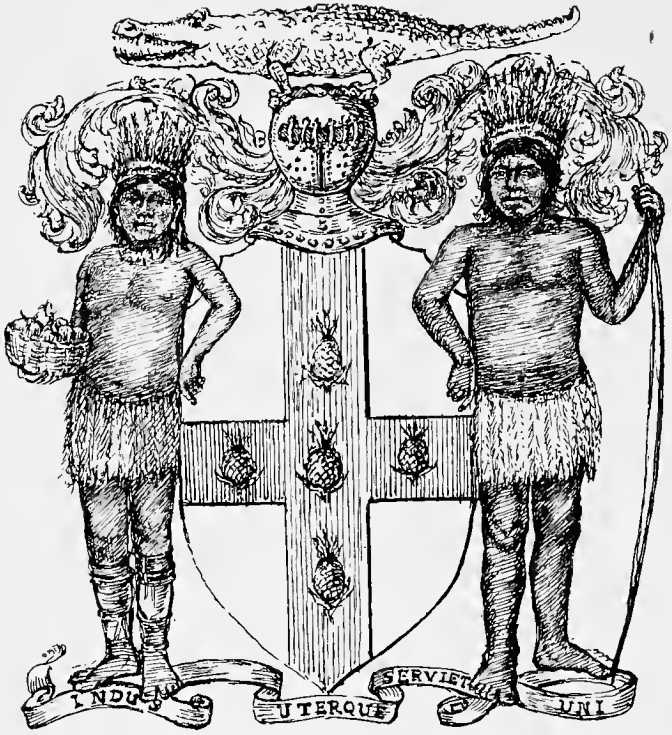


THE ARMS OF JAMAICA.

DURO DE CORTICE FRUCTUS QUAM DULCES

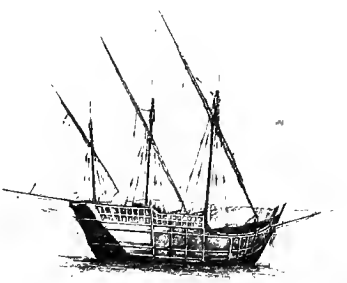
STUDIES

IN

JAMAICA HISTORY

BY

FRANK CUNDALL, F.S.A.



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY MRS. LIONEL LEE

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TO

EDITH, LADY BLAKE

WHO FOR MANY YEARS HAS TAKEN A DEEP INTEREST
IN THE WELFARE OF JAMAICA
THESE STUDIES ARE
DEDICATED

PREFACE

THESE studies have been published with the double object of attempting to interest the people of Jamaica in the story of their own island, and of providing particulars of a few of the epochs in its history for the tourists and others who year by year visit its shores.

It is also hoped that they may, perchance, appeal to some other of the inhabitants of that Empire of which Jamaica forms a small but very loyal part.

Views of several of the scenes here reproduced have never before been published in any form.

F. C.

INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA,
KINGSTON, JAMAICA.
October, 1900.

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IN

JAMAICA HISTORY

Dry Harbour

On the 12th of September, 1492, Columbus, after opposition and difficulties which would have deterred all but very resolute men, was the first European to set foot in the New World — landing on that day at Guanahani (Watling Island) in the Bahamas. Cuba and Hispaniola (Haiti) were discovered on his homeward voyage.

COLUMBUS.

On the 4th of May, 1494, while on his second voyage of discovery, he was the first European to land in Jamaica, running his lateen-rigged caravel the *Niña* and her two consorts into Dry Harbour Bay, on the north side of the island.

On the 24th of April,* Columbus had left his new-founded city of Isabella, in Hispaniola, and started on a further voyage of discovery. He sailed westward along the north coast of Hispaniola, and, leaving the point we now call Cape St. Nicholas, stood across to Cuba. He anchored in a harbour (Guantanamo) to which he gave the name of Puerto Grande. Leaving on the 1st of May, he coasted along the southern shore, admiring the beauty of the landscape, noting the rivers, and receiving visits from numerous Indians in their canoes, with whom he exchanged beads and hawks' bells for cassava bread, fish and fresh water. But soon, on the advice of his Guanahani guide, whom he had taken to Spain on returning from his first voyage, he stood due south in order to visit a large island of which the natives spoke.

As he neared the island, a number of carved and painted canoes, one nearly ninety feet in length, crowded with Indians, came out to meet him a league's length from the shore. After giving them presents, Columbus sailed on and dropped anchor in a place which he named Santa Gloria, on account of its extreme beauty. Passing the night there, he sailed westward to find a closed port in which he might careen and caulk up his vessels. About four leagues farther on, he found a very singular port, to use the words of Bernaldez (or, as Fernando Colombo describes it, resembling a horseshoe in shape), which he named Puerto Bueno. Here two

* For an account of this part of the second voyage we have to depend chiefly on the "Historia de los Reyes Católicos" of Bernaldez, supplemented by the "Historie" of Fernando Colombo, and the "Decades" of Peter Martyr.

canoes full of Indians met him, but after six or seven of the natives had been wounded by bolts from the Spaniards' cross-bows, they retreated.

On anchoring, Columbus saw "so many Indians that the earth was covered with them," all painted, chiefly in black, wearing nothing but plumes on their heads and aprons of leaves round their waists. Wishing to assert his authority and instil a fear for the arms of Castile into the hearts of the natives, Columbus, as the caravels could not reach the shore owing to the shallowness of the water, sent three boat-loads of men, who, aided by the pioneer of those hounds which afterwards did fearful execution amongst the poor Indians, drove them off, so that there was not a man or woman left in the neighbourhood. On the following day six Indians came as ambassadors from the caciques, or chiefs, begging Columbus not to go away; and later on the caciques themselves and many followers came and brought provisions, which probably consisted of cassava, arrowroot, guavas, nase-berries, cocoa-plums and star-apples. During the time they were there the Spaniards had everything in abundance, and the Indians were very pleased with the things (hawks' bells, beads, and the like) which the admiral gave them. When the vessels had been repaired and the crews were rested, Columbus left Puerto Bueno after a three days' stay, and skirted the northern shore, being visited from each village by canoes full of Indians, who exchanged native products for hawks' bells and beads, till he came to Point Negril, which he named "Cabo del Buen Tiempo." Here an Indian, more enterprising than his fellows, in spite of the dissuasions of his friends, asked and

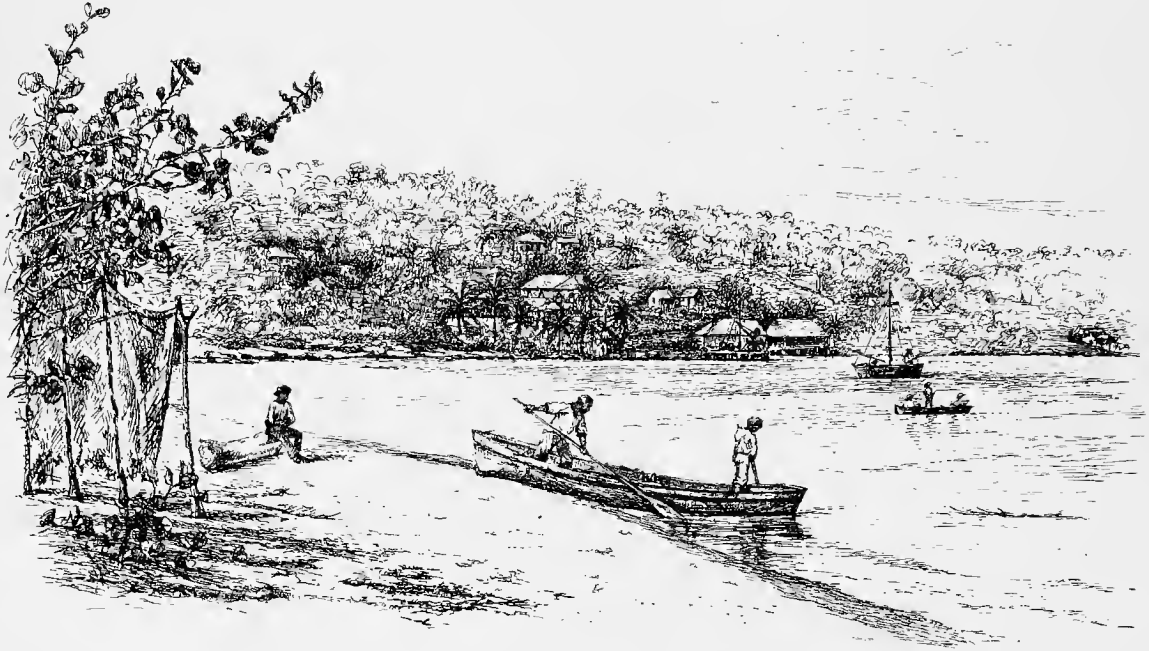
obtained leave to accompany Columbus. Unfortunately we have no further tidings of this the first emigrant from Jamaica, and probably the first willing emigrant from the New World to the Old.

Owing partly to contrary winds and partly to the impression that there was "no gold in it or any other metal, although the island was otherwise a paradise and worth more than gold," Columbus now left Jamaica and returned to Cuba.

The historians of Jamaica and the West Indies generally have thrown but little light on the subject of the Jamaica landfall. For a time the honour was about equally divided between St. Ann's Bay and Port Maria. So far, however, as the somewhat scanty information warrants one in coming to a conclusion, it may be assumed that Columbus's Santa Gloria was probably St. Ann's Bay, and that his Puerto Bueno was what is now known as Dry Harbour; for it is said that he called the first port he touched at Santa Gloria, that he stayed at Santa Gloria in 1504, that Sevilla arose near Santa Gloria—and Sevilla, we are told, was near St. Ann's Bay. The horse-shoe shape of Puerto Bueno, as well as other evidence, points to Dry Harbour as the place of Columbus's first landing in Jamaica.*

It is not here necessary to follow Columbus in his further voyaging; through "The Queen's Garden," as he named the islands off the southern coast of Cuba,

* The identification of Puerto Bueno with Dry Harbour is dealt with at greater length in "The Story of the Life of Columbus and the Discovery of Jamaica." Kingston, 1894.



DRY HARBOUR.

back to Jamaica, where on the south side he had an interview at Old Harbour with an important cacique, thence to Isabella, on the north coast of Haiti, and so home.

Dry Harbour was once again visited by Columbus —on his fourth and last voyage. On his way back from the continent while making for Hispaniola for succour, as his two worm-eaten caravels were in no fit state to cross the Atlantic, after passing the Cayman Islands, and encountering a storm at the west end of Cuba, he ran for Jamaica, and reached Dry Harbour on the 23rd of June, 1503; when, finding no water there, he went on to Puerto Santa Gloria (St. Ann's Bay) and ran his caravels on the beach in a cove, possibly in that which is still called Don Christopher's Cove.

But the story of his stay in that cove of a twelve-month, the mutiny of Porras and his followers, the incident of the eclipse and the treacherous conduct of Escobar, belong to the history of St. Ann's Bay and not to that of Dry Harbour.

That Columbus found water at Puerto Bueno in the May of 1494, and none in the June of 1504, may be due to the May of the former year having been a wet month, and that of the latter a dry one.

We can, without much difficulty, picture to ourselves the appearance of the island as Columbus first saw it, for there are many tracts of virgin forest and uncleared bush which must to-day resemble the features which they presented to the explorers of 1494; and the humblest form of a modern negro house is not, when viewed from a distance and

through trees, very different in outward appearance from the habitation of the Arawâk.

Seen from the sea, the physical features of the island were of course what they are to-day. It is probable that in parts the trees and undergrowth were as thick as they were in Guadeloupe, where Columbus tells us some of the seamen lost their way for days ; and this thick growth was conducive to a humid atmosphere, and a less parched appearance in the drier seasons. Then, as now, the scene was made gay with the anatta, with its rosy-coloured flowers and purplish pods, the West Indian ebony with its yellow flowers, the pale blue of the lignum-vitæ bloom, the golden bronze of the under surface of the leaves of the star-apple, the hanging purple bunches of the bastard cabbage-bark tree, the yellow and purple portulacas, the yellow "kill-buckra" weed,* the pink shameweed, the red and yellow of the Barbados pride, the yellow of the Jerusalem thorn, the purple pyramid of the mountain pride, and the brilliant golden candelabra-like spike of the coratoe ; by the various species of ipomœa, with their several blooms of white, yellow, red and purple, the rose-coloured Jamaica rose, the white trumpet-flower, the bright red Indian-shot, the blue Jamaica forget-me-not, and many another brilliantly flowered tree, creeper and shrub.

Of animal life in Jamaica, there were amongst the

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* So called because it flowers after the rainy seasons, when fever is prevalent, and when the death-rate used to be relatively higher amongst new-comers. "Buckra" is the term applied by negroes to white men.

mammals only the coney, which is fast becoming extinct, a mute dog-like animal which the Indians called *alco*, and of which no trace exists to-day, and possibly the rat. It is said that the armadillo was once found in all the West India Islands, and the racoon was here as late as Sir Hans Sloane's visit in 1687. But the opossum and the peccary, though formerly in the Caribbean Islands, were not known in Jamaica.

Of bird life there were the same specimens as we know them to-day, only in greater profusion, the parrot being an especial favourite with the Indians, who kept them in their huts and exchanged them for hawks' bells and other trifles with the Spaniards. But Columbus was probably exaggerating when he said that flocks of them hid the sun. Forty-three of the birds of Jamaica are presumed to be peculiar to the island. They include the wild guinea-bird, the quail, the white-belly dove, the bald-pate pigeon, the pea-dove, the ground-dove, the mountain witch, the ring-tail pigeon, the blue pigeon, the white-wing pigeon, the mountain partridge, the two-penny chick, the coot, the Jamaica heron, rails, plovers, snipe, ducks of many kinds, sandpipers, the pecheeres and parrots.

Owing to the senseless cruelty and persecution with which the Spaniards treated the inhabitants during the century and a half in which the island remained in their possession, the aboriginal race had become almost exterminated when the English obtained possession in 1655; in fact, they were said to have been nearly exterminated as early as 1558, more than sixty thousand having perished in about sixty years.

By all accounts the Arawâks appear to have been, as their descendants in Guiana are to-day, of a peaceable disposition. The hostile demonstrations which were made in 1494 in St. Ann's Bay and Dry Harbour were evidently those of a somewhat timid people fearing invasion from a fierce foe; and when they found that no harm was intended to them, they considered the difference between the Spaniards and their fierce neighbours, the Caribs, so great that they thought that the former had come from the skies.

Judged by the English standard, the Arawâks were short. The colour of their skin was very red cinnamon, their hair was black, thick, long, and very straight; their features were Mongolian in appearance, and the expression gentle and monotonous. The forehead was depressed artificially in youth. Physically they were not strong.

Ornaments were more worn by the men than the women. Painting was the simplest form of ornamentation, the colours used being blue, black, carmine, white and yellow, derived from plants and earths. They wore necklets of hogs' teeth and stone beads, crowns of feathers in their heads, aprons of palm leaves or woven cotton, and bands round their arms and legs. Their chief occupations and means of living were hunting and fishing and agricultural pursuits, with, in some cases, a certain amount of trading. As they required nothing more than canoes for travelling on the water, simple houses to live in, baskets and earthen vessels for domestic purposes, hammocks for rest, rude weapons of the chase, and implements such as stone hatchets and chisels, and a few ornaments and articles of dress, these, with a few

crude rock carvings, formed the sum total of their arts and manufactures.

Of these, all that remain to us are examples of stone implements and pottery, a few beads, and here and there a specimen of rock-carving; to tell of a people who not so very long ago lived by gathering the fruits of the land and sea of Jamaica, and so far as the arts are concerned seem to have occupied a position midway between the natives of Porto Rico and those of Florida.

ARAWÂK BOWL.

GENERAL VENABLES.

ADMIRAL PENN.

Passage Fort

Passage Fort (at one time called The Passage, from its being the place of embarkation for Port Royal) situated at the west end of Kingston Harbour, is best known as the landing-place of Penn and Venables when they took Jamaica. Totally destroyed by the earthquake of 1692, the village was but partially rebuilt, and was, when Long wrote his history (1774), of small importance, consisting of about fifteen houses, chiefly inhabited by wharfingers, warehouse-keepers and the masters of wherries and hackney chaises, which plied with passengers to and from Port Royal and Spanish Town. Large ships could not lie alongside, as there was not sufficient depth of water; and for this reason it was in a measure superseded by Port Henderson, where the depth of water is greater; but with the abandonment of Spanish Town as the seat of government, both villages have gradually

diminished, and Passage Fort is to-day a mere fishing hamlet.

The first appearance of Passage Fort in Jamaica's history is due to the fact that an expedition fitted out in the Leeward Islands, chiefly from St. Kitts, under a certain Colonel Jackson, landed here in 1638.

The following is Hickeringill's account :—

"About twenty or thirty years ago, this Town was wonne by a little Fleet of Englishmen, fitted out from the Chariby Islands, chiefly from St. Kits, under the command of General Jackson, who landed about Five Hundred Men at Passage-Fort and Fought his way up to the Town [Spanish Town], against Two Thousand Spaniards, who still fled before him ; but somewhat retarded his Career, by Six or Seven several Brestworks, cast up athwart the Road, on purpose to Bulwark this Town (the Jewell of this Isle) from such Inroades and sudden Surprizals ; For the prevention whereof, they kept continual Watch upon a great Hill that overlooks the Sea,* the Harbour, and the Town, from whence the Centinells, in the twinkling of an Eye by tokens agreed upon, signified the imminency of approaching dangers ; As at this time when General Jackson made the On-set ; the Strength of the Isle being drawn up on the Shore, before he could land his Men ; whom, tho' the Spaniards somewhat resisted and at their several Brest-works caus'd them to make an unwilling Halt ; yet the fury of Jackson's Men, greedy of Spoil, overcame all Difficulties, neglecting Dangers in comparison thereof. Thus with the Loss of Fourty Men forcing to the Town, Plundered it, to their no small enrichment. The Booty likewise being advanced by a large Fine paid him by the Spaniard, on condition the Town might be preserved from Burning ; which was accordingly sav'd, and their retreat to the Fleet undisturb'd."

The most important event, however, in the history of Passage Fort is the taking of Jamaica by the English in 1655.†

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* The Healthshire Hills, where Rodney afterwards had his look-out.

† The principal sources of information concerning Penn and Venables's expedition are (i.) "A Narrative, by General

After one of the most inexcusable of failures on Hispaniola (or, to give it its original name, which has survived Columbus's designation, Haiti), due in some measure to silly jealousy between the naval and military authorities, when, to use Venables's own words, passion usurped the seat of reason,* and also to want of care on the part of those responsible for the organisation of the expedition, Penn and Venables, joint commanders of an expedition intended to "assault the

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Venables, of his Expedition to the island of Jamaica," of which two MS. copies exist in the British Museum, and which is printed in "Interesting Tracts relating to the Island of Jamaica" (St. Jago de la Vega, 1800), in which he answers charges brought in I. S.'s pamphlet mentioned below; this "narrative," with "an appendix of papers relating to the expedition to the West Indies and the conquest of Jamaica, 1654–1655," was edited for the Royal Historical Society, by C. H. Firth, M.A., in 1900; (ii.) "A Journal of Admiral Penn's Expedition to the West Indies in 1654–55," by Henry Whistler, printed in the "Journal of the Institute of Jamaica," Vol. I. (Kingston, 1894); (iii.) "A Brief and Perfect Journal" of the English Army in the West Indies in 1655, by I. S. (London, 1655), reprinted in the "Journal of the Institute of Jamaica," Vol. II. (Kingston, 1899); (iv.) "Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir William Penn . . . from 1644 to 1670," by Granville Penn (London, 1833); (v.) "Memoir of Col. Robert Venables," prefaced to an edition of "The Experienced Angler" (London, 1825); (vi.) "An Account of the Jamaica Expedition," by Colonel Francis Barrington, printed in the 7th Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission; (vii.) A series of five anonymous letters in the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, reprinted in the appendix to Firth's edition of Venables's narrative: as well as Thurloe, and the Calendar of State Papers.

* This jealousy was not lessened by the fact that Venables was named first in the preamble to the Commission, and Penn first in the body of the document. Penn was also named first in the Instructions to the Commission. Each was jealous of the other; and the bitterness continued even when they were fellow-prisoners in the Tower, of their committal to which it had probably been one of the main causes.

Spaniard in the West Indies," entered what we now call Kingston Harbour on the 10th of May, 1655, and anchored about 11 a.m. On nearing the island, it had been proclaimed to the whole army, as a result of the cowardice displayed in the attack on Hispaniola, that whoever should be found to turn his back to the enemy and run away, the next officer (that brought up the rear of that division) should immediately run him through, on penalty of death if he failed to do it.

There were thirty-eight ships in the three squadrons, and about seven thousand troops, without counting the sea regiment, who numbered nearly one thousand more.*

The flag of Admiral Penn flew on the "Swiftsure."†

The troops, both English and Colonial, were admittedly none of the best, some of them being described by one of their number as "Hectors and Knights of the blade, with common Cheats, Theeves, Cutpurses, and such like lewd persons who had long time lived by the slight of hand and dexterity of wit, and were now making a fair progresse unto *Newgate,* from whence they were to proceed towards *Tiborn* . . . some sloathfull and theevish servants likewise (to avoid the punish-

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* About 2,500 troops left England. At Barbados were added between 3,000 and 4,000 men, raised in the island, and about 1,200 from the Leeward Islands (chiefly St. Kitt's). This employment of Colonial troops for Imperial purposes in the middle of the seventeenth century forms an interesting forerunner of that of the close of the nineteenth. A sea regiment of about 1,200 was also formed from the sailors of the fleet. The losses at Hispaniola were about 1,000.

† She was built at Deptford in 1621. Length of keel, 118 ft.; breadth of beam, 37 ft. She was taken by the Dutch on June 2nd, 1666.

ment of the Law, and coveting a yet more idle life) followed after in the same path." A general officer, not of the expedition, called them "(except some few trusty officers) the very sweepings of some part of England." To these were luckily added, from some of the "old standing regiments," such as were newly enlisted.

Even the English soldiers were all personally unknown to the general, who had in vain requested that men from the Irish army should be sent. One of the expedition was of opinion that there was not above one thousand old soldiers in the army. Venables's *privately*-expressed opinion of the army was "unruly raw soldiers, the major part ignorant, lazy, dull—officers that have a large portion of pride, but not of wit, valour, or activity." They had, moreover, been on half rations since they had left Barbados, owing to insufficiency in the supplies. In addition to this, the number of arms and ammunition supplied was inadequate.

The ships came to an anchor in fifty fathoms of water, and Penn, fearing, as Captain Butler (one of the Commissioners in charge of the expedition) tells us, after the experience of Hispaniola, to trust the conduct of the attack to the army, ordered the Martin galley—one of the smallest of the fleet, carrying but twelve guns and sixty men—to run up into the harbour as far as she could, supported by all the small ships which could follow her. This was done. The Martin anchored within shot of the principal breastwork (or fort) and exchanged a hot fire with it, but with little result on either side: a musket fire being kept up by two smaller breastworks.

Passage Fort.

Penn and Venables hastened up in a boat and boarded the Martin, which was soon surrounded by boats filled with troops ready to land.

Penn then ordered Vessey, the commander of the Martin, to run her ashore as near the breastwork as he could ; the troops at the same time to follow in their boats.

A few shots fired into the fort from the Martin, and the landing of the troops, seem to have sufficed to disperse the Spaniards, whose best soldier, a major, had been disabled by a shot. They left three guns mounted in the fort.* Venables, instead of leading the troops, was, Whistler tells us, "walking aboard of the 'Martin' wrapped up in his cloak, with his hat over his eyes, looking as if he had been a studying of physics more than like a general of an army." It is a little difficult to reconcile this with the testimony of Captain Daniel How, who says that Venables carried "himself like a godly, valiant, discreet general, exposing himself to the greatest danger"; or with that of other of his officers, or, indeed, with the letter of Penn and the Commissioners describing the attempt on Hispaniola. In excuse for any backwardness on his part at Jamaica, it may be said that Venables was suffering from ill-health consequent on the fatigues of the attempt at Hispaniola, and from mortification at the ill-result, added to lack of faith in his soldiers and fear for the safety of his newly-married second wife, who was with him on the Paragon.

The troops did not take advantage of this success, and follow the Spaniards, but drew up in battle array ;

* Another account says fourteen guns.

and when Venables landed, at three o'clock in the afternoon, he decided, in spite of the decision to the contrary of a council specially held, to encamp there for the night; and the next day St. Jago de la Vega, six miles distant, was entered without opposition.*

Under plea of considering the terms of peace imposed by Venables, the Spaniards gained time in which to transport such riches as they possessed to the north side of the island; and so, in spite of having signed the agreement forfeiting all their belongings, they got away, taking all that they could with them.

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* The following is Barrington's account of the landing:— "The army coming within shot of the shore, we discovered the enemy standing there ready (as it was supposed) to receive us, for they let fly their great shot at us; upon which, not knowing what opposition we might receive, it was ordered that a small friggott should run as close as possible to the shore; accordingly it did, and made some very good shots at the enemy, which did dishearten them; then our men rowed on towards the shore (the enemy not further opposing); and when they came within call (our men not firing) one of the enemy spoke and asked of us what we came thither for; it was answered him for fresh meat and pieces of eight [Spanish silver coins of the value of 5*s.* currency (3*s.* 10*d.* sterling)]; the Spaniard replied we were welcome, but one amongst them, speaking very good English (an Englishman, I conceive), bid us land if we durst, making some show and standing in defiance. The army immediately landed without the loss of a man, for indeed the enemy made no further opposition than the fore-mentioned great shots (which did no execution upon us), but run clearly away in great disorder, leaving their great guns behind them; this was a wonderful mercy to us that the enemy had such a terror in their spirits, being exceedingly more considerable than those of Hispaniola which made such a slaughter upon us, and the advantage this enemy had was of much more value than theirs, these have a fort to shelter them with great guns, and we in boats to fight for our landing, whereas the others were but an ambuscade, we having an advantage equivalent had we been careful in the ordering of our forlorns; if this enemy had opposed us, I question much where we had now been."

Thus Jamaica was captured by a wretched army without the loss of a man. Colonel Clarke, who had died at sea on the 9th from wounds received at Hispaniola, was buried at Passage Fort on the 11th—possibly the first Englishman to be buried in Jamaica, for it is not likely that Jackson stopped to bury his dead in 1638.

The Spaniards left a "considerable fort, with six or seven guns in it," about half a mile from St. Jago de la Vega.

It is interesting to note, *en passant*, that Venables, in sending from the town to the fleet, forwarded to Penn, who was attending to the careening and repair of his ships, a present in the shape of a parrot.

The following account, signed "W. B.," and written probably by William Burrows, who was Sir William Penn's chief clerk in the Navy Office after the Restoration, is taken from the journal of the "Swiftsure": —

"The landing-places are two, and are only banks supported with stakes, a matter of twenty yards long towards the water; all the rest being trees and bushes, among which can be no good going ashore. At the more eastward, where we landed, we saw the ordnance the Spaniards left; the army having landed at the other, within that to the westward. A pretty parcel of ground is cleared within the landing-places. About a furlong and a half thence, the way leads into the wood, which continues till within a quarter of a mile of the town; all the way being even, without hills, and a fair path for eight to march abreast. At the issuing out of the wood begins the Savanna, which stretches about, and is very fair and plain to the westward of the town; so that I deemed there might be room enough for 50,000 men to draw up in battalia. The town stands on almost plain ground, but a little inclining towards the east, for the better fall of the rains down into the river, which is very shallow, and runs a pretty distance below the town, and empties itself into the arm of the sea that branches out of the harbour to the westward; there being another arm within the harbour, where the fleet rode (which is very safe and land-locked) to the eastward, that runs up at least three leagues, which Capt. Fernes, who went to sound it, says is capable to a thousand ships. . . ."

The Rio Cobre has since the conquest of the island brought down so much sand and deposited it at its mouth, that the site of Passage Fort is now some four or five hundred yards off the sea. In dry weather, the Rio Cobre now meanders across the beach to the sea, giving no idea of the power which it acquires in the rainy season. Here, as of old, is there "no good going ashore," the slope of the beach being very gradual.

Richard Hill, in his "A Week at Port Royal" (1855), says:—

"The early maps of Saint Catherine's show that there have occurred deviations in the course of the Rio Cobre, that are not easily to be reconciled by abundant rains. Antecedent to the discovery of the West Indies, the embouchure of the river was perceptively in the ponds, shut in by the narrow belt of land on which Fort Augusta stands, the river having been at that time more of a surface stream and striking to *the sea due south; the outlet curving northward* and embaying passage Fort. At the time of the conquest of the island by the English, the river flowed in an opposite direction *due north*, coursing the foot of the Caymanas mountains and making the present lagoons in the upper part of that plain its channel, seeking the *sea southward*, through what is now an independent stream, called the Ferry-river (Fresh river). In 1722, in the midst of an extraordinary rain-storm, this channel was suddenly quitted, and a straight line made *eastward*. The settling waters as they reached the harbour of Kingston, impeded by the easterly winds, regurgitated through the lakelet into which they gathered themselves, and digging out the soil at the foot of the mountains, made the present lagoons, increasing the sea-bord lands of Hunt's Bay 3,000 feet (three thousand)."

The following notes on the lives of the two men who captured Jamaica for England may prove of interest:—

Sir William Penn, admiral and general-at-sea, was born at Bristol in 1621. He was educated for the sea, and served at first in the merchant service. About

1639 he married Margaret Jasper, of Rotterdam. His first recorded command in the navy was in 1644, when he was appointed to the Fellowship (28 guns) of the Irish Fleet, used in the defence of the western ports of England and of the protestant interests in Ireland, in which fleet he continued till 1650, rising to the rank of vice-admiral of Ireland. In 1650–51 he commanded a squadron of eight ships on service in the Mediterranean (the first English fleet of war that penetrated as far as Malta since the times of the Crusades) in search of Prince Rupert, which, however, proved fruitless. In 1652–53 he was vice-admiral of England and admiral in command first of the blue squadron and then of the white, under three landsmen, Monck, Blake and Deane, in the war with the Dutch, in which fighting in line superseded the old "board and board" method. In the fight of June 2–3, 1653, Penn was engaged with Tromp, who was only saved by the assistance of De Witt and De Ruyter. In December of the same year, Penn was associated with Blake, Monck and Disbrowe, as general-of-the-fleet in the place of Deane, who was killed. Penn was the only sailor who ever held this office. Now that the war with Holland was ended, his allegiance to the exiled king asserted itself, and he offered Charles to take to any port he might name the fleet destined for the West Indies, which he shortly after was appointed to command, in December, 1654. Charles, however, thinking the occasion inopportune, directed him to proceed on his voyage.

After the failure of one of the chief objects of the expedition, the capture of Hispaniola, Penn and

Venables and two of the three civil commissioners appointed to advise with them (Edward Winslow,* and Gregory Butler†), judging it needful to try to raise the soldiers by some success in a small exploit, resolved to attempt some other plantation, and at last Jamaica was pitched on to be the place.

Soon after the capture of Jamaica, Penn left for England on the 25th of June, reaching Spithead on the 31st of August. He was committed to the Tower, ostensibly for coming home without leave, but probably because of the lack of hearty co-operation between himself and Venables, and Cromwell's disappointment at the poor result of the expedition when compared with what had been anticipated. On submission, he was released, but dismissed the service: he retired to Ireland, where he plotted with the royalists for the Restoration. In 1660, he sat in the Convention Parliament for Weymouth: he went with Montagu on the Naseby, to fetch Charles II. from Scheveningen, where he was knighted by the king on the occasion of his rechristening the Naseby the Royal Charles, and appointed commissioner for the navy, and the governor of the castle and fort of Kinsale. He sat in the next parliament: he was much associated with Pepys, who, however, in his "Diary" is by no means complimentary to him—rogue being one of the mildest of the epithets applied to him by that worthy. In 1665 he was great captain commander (afterwards called

* Winslow had had considerable colonial experience as governor of New Plymouth.

† The other civil commissioner, Daniell Searle, governor of Barbados, did not personally accompany the expedition.

captain of the fleet) on the Duke of York's ship Royal Charles in the Dutch war, in the conduct of which he played a principal part. When the Duke of York gave up his command, Penn left the sea also. In 1667–68 he was master of the Trinity House. He died in 1670. William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, was his eldest son. By becoming a quaker, he ruined his father's chance of a peerage, which had been promised to him.

General Robert Venables, a member of an old Cheshire family, was born in that county about 1612. He entered the parliamentary army on the outbreak of the civil war, and served in Yorkshire and Lancashire, being wounded at the siege of Chester. From 1649 to 1654 he did good service with the Cromwellian forces in Ireland. In the latter year he was appointed general of the forces sent to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies.

After the departure of Penn from Jamaica on June the 25th, 1655, Venables followed in the Marston Moor on the 4th of July, prompted in part by a desire not to be forestalled by Penn in his account of the expedition, especially the failure on Hispaniola. His own ill health—for he very nearly died in Jamaica—and the necessity for representing the needs of the army were, however, his ostensible reasons. He reached Portsmouth on the 9th of September, appeared before the Council on the 20th, and was immediately, in common with Penn, committed to the Tower for leaving his command without permission. Mr. Firth says truly: "For

his mistakes at Hispaniola and other errors he might justly have been called to account, but to condemn him for leaving Jamaica, when he was incapable of further service, was the height of injustice." On the 30th of October he was released on surrendering his general's commission and his command in Ireland, which had been kept for him while he was away in the West Indies. He was never again employed by Cromwell; and in 1659 he was won over to the royalist cause, but there is no good reason to believe in the truth of the tradition that he had intended four years earlier to use his West Indian army in favour of the exiled king. He was appointed by Monk governor of Chester in February, 1660, but he obtained nothing at the Restoration. He died in 1687.

He was twice married. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Rudyard, of Rudyard, Staffordshire. His second wife, whom he married in 1654, was Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Lee, of Darnhall, and daughter of Samuel Aldersey. By accompanying him on his voyage to the West Indies, she gave rise to unpleasant criticism on her husband and to sarcasm on the part of Hickeringill. But Venables when he started evidently had it in mind to settle in the West Indies.

His wife apparently kept a journal of the voyage; but it is not now in existence: her autobiography ends with her second marriage.

Venables, in 1662, published "The Experienced Angler, or Angling Improved," to which a letter by Isaac Walton is prefaced.

CARLISLE BAY

CARLISLE BAY, the scene of the principal military engagement with a foreign foe which has taken place in Jamaica during the British occupation, is on the south-west coast of the old parish of Vere,* now merged in the parish of Clarendon.†

A "Narrative of the Descent on Jamaica by the French," ‡ by Sir William Beeston, is in the MSS. Department of the British Museum. From it much of the following account is taken.

For some time prior to the engagement at Carlisle Bay, the owners of the plantations on the seaboard of Jamaica had been much distressed by descents by French privateers (aided in some cases by disaffected persons from the island itself, who threw in their lot with them) from San Domingo and the Leeward

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* Named after Vere, daughter of Sir Edward Herbert, attorney-general to Charles I., and first wife of Sir Thomas Lynch, governor of this island in 1682–4.

† Named after the celebrated Chancellor, Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon.

‡ It is printed in "Interesting Tracts relating to the Island of Jamaica," St. Jago de la Vega, 1800. A letter from the Council in England in answer to his narrative is also in the British Museum. Beeston came to the island in 1660, was employed in various public capacities, and was lieutenant-governor from 1693 to 1700, and thenceforward governor till 1702: he is chiefly famous for the defence which he made, together with Colonel Long, against the attempt by Lord Carlisle to assimilate the government of Jamaica to that of Ireland.

Islands, who plundered and murdered as occasion offered. Captain Du Casse,* the Governor of San Domingo, being informed by two renegade Irishmen that the "island was easily taken; the fortifications at Port Royal were out of order and few men there, so that two hundred men would take that place, and two hundred more would march in any part of the country, the people were so thin and so little used to arms," and being reinforced by three men-of-war from France, decided to make a descent on the island. In the meantime a Captain Elliot, of Jamaica, who had been taken prisoner into Petit Goave, on the west coast of San Domingo, by French privateers, managed to escape to Jamaica in a small canoe and give timely warning on the 31st of May, 1694, that Du Casse himself with twenty sail and three thousand men was coming to take the island. For this he was subsequently rewarded by William III. with a gold chain and medal of one hundred pounds value, and five hundred pounds in money.

Upon the receipt of Elliot's news, the House of Assembly, which was then sitting, was adjourned for one month, a council of war was called together, martial law proclaimed, and every officer ordered to his post. Colonel Beckford (grandfather of the celebrated Lord Mayor of London), who was in command at Port Royal, got Fort Charles into excellent order, and fortified the town. A fort also was built in the Parade at Kingston, the pass by

* He was governor of San Domingo in 1691; *chef d'escadre* in 1700. In 1702 he fought the engagement with Benbow, which resulted in the latter's death.

Rock Fort to the east of Kingston was guarded, and breastworks were erected at Old Harbour and Carlisle Bay. Beeston, realising that it was hopeless with the forces at command to try to protect all his coast line, decided to defend the strongest parts, and drew all the forces from the out ports into St. Dorothy,* St. Catherine, St. Andrew and Port Royal, and "some few" were left to defend the breastwork at Carlisle Bay. The people from St. Thomas and St. David, the most exposed positions, were called into St. Andrew and Kingston.

At Fort William and Port Morant the guns were spiked, the shot buried and the powder brought away.

The French fleet, consisting of three men-of-war and twenty-three transports, appeared in the offing on the 17th of June.† Rollon, the admiral, sailed in the Temeraire,‡ of fifty-four guns. Eight ships stayed about Port Morant, but the remainder went into Cow Bay, near Yallahs, where they laid waste the country, plundered the houses, murdered what inhabitants they could find, and generally behaved with barbarity.

Returning to Port Morant, several vessels went to the north side and burnt plantations in St. Mary and St. George,§ until they were driven off by troops sent from the south side. An attack by sixty men from the Temeraire at Bluefields was also successfully beaten off.

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* A parish that is now merged in St. Catherine.

† Labat, in his "Nouveau Voyage" (1742), says in error that they set sail on the 16th of August.

‡ The predecessor of the ship which Turner immortalized by his picture now in the National Gallery.

§ Now part of Portland.

On July 15th the fleet, having done all the damage it could in the neighbourhood of Port Morant, set sail, and, after reconnoitring Port Royal, put into Cow Bay the next day. Fearing an attack on Kingston by land, Beeston sent a hundred men from St. Catherine to reinforce the troops guarding the Windward Road; but on the morning of the 18th Beeston saw seventeen ships making, as he rightly judged, for Carlisle Bay, thirty-six miles from Spanish Town. He took prompt action. He sent to Carlisle Bay two troops of horse, and parts of the regiments of St. Catherine, Clarendon and St. Elizabeth, the foot to be mounted on what horses they could find. The cavalry and the mounted infantry got there that night, and those on foot "marched so hard" that they arrived by ten the next morning. The enemy had anchored in Carlisle Bay on the afternoon of the 18th. The commander of a ship from Guinea, which happened to be in the bay, set her on fire to save her from the enemy, and went with his men to help in the defence of the breastwork.

Into this breastwork, which was commanded by Colonel Sutton, of Clarendon, who had constructed it, were packed two hundred and fifty men, in addition to negroes, being those of the several regiments that had come during the night. Beeston tells us that the fort was ill made and worse contrived. "On the south was the sea, on the west a large river [the Rio Minho], on the north a village of houses [Carlisle], and on the east they had left a wood standing," which formed a natural covert for the enemy. They also failed to lay in provisions for either men or horse!

CARLISLE BAY.

By daylight on the morning of the 19th the enemy had landed about fourteen or fifteen hundred men about a mile and a half to the east of the breastwork,* where the small guard, after firing on them, retreated to the breastwork, which the French attacked so hotly that the defenders had to retreat over the river, not, however, before they had fought bravely and killed many of the enemy. Amongst the killed were Colonel Claybourn, of the St. Elizabeth regiment, his captain, Lieutenant Vassel, Lieutenant-Colonel Smart, of the Clarendon regiment, and Lieutenant Dawkins; Captain Dawkins and Captain Fisher were made prisoners; about four colours were lost, and all the horses.

Just as the French forced the breastwork three or four companies of the St. Catherine regiment and one of the St. Elizabeth and some horse came in, weary, footsore and hungry with their march of about thirty-six miles from Spanish Town. Yet they fell on bravely on the right of the enemy, and charged them so warmly that they not only prevented them from pursuing the party that had crossed the river, but made them retire.

Nothing but skirmishes took place till Sunday, the 22nd, when the French marched upwards till they came to the house of a certain Mr. Hubbard,† which

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* This Labat calls a fort. He calls Carlisle Bay "Quation."

† Local tradition says that this stood where Gales, a hamlet on St. Jago estate, now is. Bridges, in his "Annals" (1828), says: "The brick house, in which so gallant a stand was made, remains with the shot visible in its walls, and a solitary cotton tree in the road from the Abbey [*sic.* Alley] to Carlisle Bay still marks the rallying point of the English, and the grave of many a valiant soldier."

was garrisoned with twenty men, and well provisioned. An attack on this house by the French resulted in the loss of several of their best officers, as the besieged were aided by a detachment from the Bay. On hearing that a more determined attack was intended on the morrow, Major Richard Lloyd, who was chosen to command, put fifty men into the house and prepared an ambuscade. But the French, finding that they had lost so many of their officers and men, and that they could not penetrate further into the country, contented themselves with firing the small town of Carlisle, spiking the guns and doing what mischief they could, and then retreated to their ships.

On Tuesday, the 24th, the whole fleet sailed—Du Casse and two or three ships going straight back to San Domingo, the rest staying only to put into Port Morant to wood and water and land prisoners. And thus ended the most serious attempt at the capture of Jamaica ever made upon its shores during the English occupation.

A chief result of it was the retaliatory expedition, under Captain Wilmot and Colonel Lillingston, which did considerable damage in San Domingo in the following year.

Beeston estimates that the French lost on the expedition, by their different engagements and sickness, about seven hundred men: of these about three hundred and fifty were killed at Carlisle Bay. On the English side one hundred were killed or wounded *; but fifty sugar-works were destroyed and many plantations burnt, and about thirteen

* Labat puts the French loss down at one hundred and fifty only!

hundred negroes carried off. Du Casse received a pension of one hundred pistoles per annum.

A sum of £4000 was received as a royal bounty to the sufferers by the French invasion. When called upon by the House of Assembly to account for it, Beeston declined: and the House, refusing to proceed with business, was dissolved by him. The matter, however, was subsequently satisfactorily explained. Beeston's name still lives in Beeston Street, Kingston.

In consequence of this descent of the French, the Government set to work to guard the coast as well as it could, and Carlisle Fort was built the following year. When Leslie wrote in 1740 "A New History of Jamaica," the fort was "now in ruins and little regarded." All that is left of it is shown in the accompanying sketch.

When Long wrote his "History" in 1774, the town of Carlisle, so called in honour of the Earl of Carlisle, who was governor in 1678–80, was only a hamlet of ten or twelve houses near the mouth of the Rio Minho, or, as it is sometimes called, the Dry River. Now all that is left is Carlisle estate, and one house at the Bay.

As the mouth of the river is known to have moved of late years considerably further to the east, it is probably about the site of this house, now about half a mile from the river mouth, that the French landed.

In those days the parish of Vere, which was formerly called Withywood, was very thickly wooded. Later, the trees were cut down to make way for the sugar-cane, which still holds its own, and only awaits a central factory and irrigation to, possibly, once more make Vere the richest part of Jamaica.

King's House, Spanish Town

When the English took possession of Jamaica, they found the Spanish capital established at St. Jago de la Vega. The town was probably called de la Vega, not only because of its being in a plain, but also to distinguish it from the other St. Jago—St. Jago de Cuba, in the neighbouring island. The number of houses in it was, if the estimates are true, no less than seventeen hundred, or even two thousand, many of which are said to have been—needlessly, it would seem—destroyed by the English soldiery. When Long wrote in 1774, there were about five hundred inhabited by white people, and seven hundred by negroes. Though the English adopted Spanish Town for their capital, the need of fortifying the harbour led to the development of Port Royal, the foundation of which was laid by General Brayne in 1657; and that town was for a time the residence of the governor and the place where the Council sometimes met. At St. Jago de la Vega, however, the House of Assembly always met, and there the governors resided after the earthquake at Port Royal in 1692, till that great reformer, Sir John Peter Grant, transferred the government to Kingston in 1870, accomplishing permanently what Admiral Knowles had done in 1755 ineffectually; for three

years later (1758) metropolitan dignity was restored to Spanish Town by royal command.

Previous to the building of King's House, the governors apparently lived at whatever house they chose—*e.g.*, the Earl of Inchiquin is said to have lived in Eagle House, or, as the negroes call it, "John Crow House."

The former official residence of the governors of Jamaica, or King's House, as it is called, stands on the west side of a square. The plan was designed by Craskell, the engineer of the island, and approved during the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Henry Moore in 1759–62; but the building was not completed till the arrival of the Governor, William Henry Lyttelton in 1762.

The expense of building and furnishing amounted to nearly £30,000 currency (or £21,428 sterling), and in Long's time (*circa* 1774) it was "thought to be the noblest and best edifice of the kind, either in North America or any of the British colonies in the West Indies." The façade is about 200 feet long; the free-stone used in the construction came from the Hope River course in St. Andrew. The columns supporting the portico are of Portland stone, the pavement of white marble. The following is Long's description of the interior :—

"Two principal entrances lead through it into the body of the house; the one opens into a lobby, or ante-chamber; the other, into the great saloon, or hall of audience, which is well proportioned, the dimensions being about seventy-three by thirty feet, and the height about thirty-two; from the cieling, which is coved, hang two brass gilt lustres. A screen, of seven large Doric pillars, divides the saloon from an upper and lower gallery of communication, which range the whole length on the West side; and the upper one is secured with an elegant

entrelas of figured iron work. The East or opposite side of the saloon is finished with Doric pilasters; upon each of which are brass girandoles double-gilt; and between each pilaster, under the windows of the Attic story, are placed, on gilt brackets, the busts of several ancient and modern philosophers and poets, large as life; which being in bronze, the darkness of their complexion naturally suggests the idea of so many Negroe Caboceros, exalted to this honourable distinction for some peculiar services rendered to the country. At the North end, over a door which opens into the lobby, is a small moveable orchestra, made to hold a band of music on festive occasions. The furniture below consists of a great number of mahogany chairs and settees, sufficient to accommodate a large company; this room being chiefly used for public audiences, entertainments, balls, and the hearings of chancery and ordinary. At the South end are three folding doors, opening into a spacious apartment, in which, by the governor's permission, the council usually meet; whence it has received the name of the council-chamber. . . . Above the council-chamber is a banqueting-room, or drawing-room, of the same size, hung with paper, and neatly furnished. This room communicates with the upper gallery and a back stair-case, and enjoys a view of the saloon through some windows ranging with those of the Attic story: it is seldom used, except on public days, and is perfectly well-calculated for the purpose. These different apartments take up about one-half of the whole building. The room over the lobby, being somewhat darkened by the pediment of the portico, was converted by Governor Lyttelton into a chapel for private devotions. It is neatly fitted up, and with great propriety adapted to this use. The Northern division of the house consists of three large rooms below, communicating with each other, and with a long gallery; all of which are handsomely furnished and well-lighted: this gallery has commonly been used either for public suppers, when balls were given in the hall, or as a sheltered and retired walk in wet weather. The upper story is disposed in a suite of chambers, divided by a long narrow gallery from a range of smaller apartments or closets, intended for lodging the governor and part of his household. The two Northernmost rooms above and below are provided with a chimney, and all the necessary apparatus for a good fire, which in the rainy seasons is healthy and not disagreeable. In this new building are three stair-cases, all of which are private; a circumstance, perhaps, overlooked when the plan was drawn, and not more attended to when it came to be executed: yet there is sufficient space in the lobby for carrying up a very magnificent central one, answerable to the other parts

KING'S HOUSE, SPANISH TOWN.

of so capital a structure ; and this no doubt will, some time or other, be added as a necessary improvement to compleat it. Behind is a small square garden, laid out in dry walks, and planted with Seville orange, genip, and other fruit-trees, with some flowering shrubs intermixed ; but it is not as well cultivated as to merit a further description."

Monk Lewis writing in 1834 says : "The Government House is a large clumsy-looking brick building with a portico, the stucco of which has suffered by the weather, and it can advance no pretensions to architectural beauty." And with this criticism one must fain agree.

With the removal of the seat of government, the remaining glory departed from Spanish Town. With the exception of the year 1873, when it was utilised, for a little more than a twelvemonth, by Queen's College, of which the late Grant Allen was one of the staff, King's House has been practically empty.

Rodney's statue, it is true, has been recaptured from Kingston, whither it was taken by Sir John Peter Grant, but Metcalfe's statue is left behind.

Jamaica's former capital is like one of her bridges, which now and again, through the change of a river-course, is left to span a dry passage.

Charles Leslie, in his "New and Exact Account of Jamaica" (Edinburgh, 1740), says of Spanish Town:—

"Being an inland Place its Trade is inconsiderable, but several wealthy Merchants reside there, and the most of Gentlemen of Estates have Houses. They live after a very gay Manner ; 'tis surprising to see the Number of Coaches and Chariots which are perpetually plying, besides these which belong to private Persons ; they have frequent Balls, and lately have got a Play-house, where they retain a Set of extraordinary good Actors. In short they live as happily as if they were within the verge of the *British* Court : And to do them Justice, they seem perfectly polite and have a Delicacy of Behaviour which is exceeding taking."

Dr. Houstoun, in his "Memoirs," published in 1753, thus describes Spanish Town :—

"The Houses of this Town, which is the Court of *Jamaica*, suffered greatly [in the Hurricane of 1744], as they are very meanly built. If I was to describe them truly, I could only say, the People live in the King's High-way, with a Cover over them to protect them a little from the Sun and Rain ; for the Piazzas, which are the most useful Part of their Houses, are in the King's High-way, the publick Street ; so that every body that passes has the same Freedom of looking into your House as the Possessor of it ; yet these Huts let much dearer than fine Houses in *London*."

In Long's time a new governor was usually feasted for three successive days in Spanish Town : after which he was wont to make a kind of public entry into Kingston, where more festivities were got up in his honour—the two towns vying the one with the other.

During the reign of Queen Victoria, King's House —in common with its younger rival in the plain of Liguanea—has remained King's House, and has not changed its name to Queen's House, as have the official residences of other British colonies.

The following is a list of governors who have inhabited King's House, Spanish Town :—

1756—Lieut.-Governor : Henry Moore, Esq.
1759—Governor : General George Haldane.
1759—Lieut.-Governor : Henry Moore, Esq.
1762—Governor : William Henry Lyttelton, Esq.
1766—Lieut.-Governor : Roger Hope Elletson, Esq.
1768—Governor : Sir William Trelawny, Bart.
1772—Lieut.-Governor : Lieut.-Colonel John Dalling.
1774—Governor : Sir Basil Keith, Knt.
1777—Lieut.-Governor : Colonel John Dalling.
1778—Governor : Major-General (afterwards Sir John) Dalling.
1781—Lieut.-Governor : Major-General A. Campbell.
1783—Governor : Major-General A. Campbell.
1784—Lieut.-Governor : Brigadier-General Alured Clarke.

1790—Governor : Thomas, Earl of Effingham.
1791—Lieut.-Governor : Major-General (afterwards Sir Adam) Williamson.
1795—Lieut.-Governor : Alexander, Earl of Balcarres.
1801—Lieut.-Governor : Lieut.-General (afterwards Sir George) Nugent.
1807—Lieut.-Governor : Lieut.-General Sir Eyre Coote.
1808—Governor : William, Duke of Manchester.
1811—Lieut.-Governor : Edward Morrison, Esq.
1813—Governor : William, Duke of Manchester.
1821—Lieut.-Governor : Major-General Henry Conran.
1822—Governor : William, Duke of Manchester.
1827—Lieut.-Governor : Major-General Sir John Keane.
1829—Governor : Somerset Lowry, Earl of Belmore.
1832—President : George Cuthbert, Esq.
1832—Governor : Constantine Henry, Earl of Mulgrave.
1834—President : George Cuthbert, Esq.
1834—Lieut.-Governor : Major-General Sir Amos Norcot.
1834—Governor : Howe Peter, Marquis of Sligo.
1836—Governor : Lieut.-General Sir Lionel Smith, Bart., K.C.B.
1839—Governor : Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, Bart., K.C.B.
1842—Governor : James, Earl of Elgin. .
1846—Lieut.-Governor : Major-General Berkeley.
1846—Governor : Sir Charles Edward Grey, K.H.
1853—Governor : Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B.
1856—Lieut.-Governor : Major-General E. Wells Bell.
1857—Governor : Charles Henry Darling, Esq.
1862—Lieut.-Governor : Edward John Eyre, Esq.
1864—Governor : Edward John Eyre, Esq.
1866—Governor : Sir Henry Storks, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.
1866—Governor : Sir John Peter Grant, K.C.B.
1867—Lieut.-Governor : Major-General O'Connor, C.B.
1867—Governor : Sir John Peter Grant, K.C.B.
1870—Adm.-Government : Edw. E. Rushworth, Esq., D.C.L., C.M.G.
1870—Governor : Sir John Peter Grant, K.C.B.

The following are a few notes on some of these Governors :—

The memory of Elletson lives in Elletson Road, Kingston ; that of Sir William Trelawny in the parish of that name.

No less than three forts were named after Dalling. One stood at Rocky Point.

Sir Alured Clarke was popular as lieutenant-governor, and though he was not made full governor, his term of office was extended for six years.

Both the Earl of Effingham and his countess died in Jamaica, and lie buried in the cathedral. Their funerals and the monument by Bacon together cost £8,700.

The governorship of the Earl of Balcarres is chiefly memorable for the Maroon War. That of General, afterwards Sir George, Nugent by the not unfrequent fear of foreign invasion. Lady Nugent chronicles the fact that her son, born at their pen near Spanish Town, was the first child born to a governor in the island.

The Duke of Manchester's administration was the longest in the history of the island.

The Earl of Mulgrave dealt firmly with the slave question; he extinguished the illegal organization known as the Colonial Church Union, and during his tenure of office the imperial act was passed manumitting all the slaves in the colonies of Great Britain; while Sir Lionel Smith was the governor when the gift of actual freedom was bestowed.

Sir Charles Metcalfe may fairly be said to have been one of the best governors Jamaica ever had. The House of Assembly voted £3,000 for a statue to his memory. It was erected in Spanish Town; removed to the Parade, Kingston, in 1870; and once again removed to the bottom of King Street, on to the pedestal vacated by Rodney on his return to Spanish Town, in order to make room for the statue of the Queen erected in 1897!

During the presence here of the Earl of Elgin, the Royal Agricultural Society (now defunct) was started, and the first batch of coolies arrived from India.

The Countess of Elgin died at Craigton, in the Blue Mountains, and was buried in the cathedral, where a monument to her memory was erected by the Legislature.

Sir Henry Barkly, like Sir Charles Metcalfe, came out at a period of deadlock, and like him put matters right.

Sir John Peter Grant, the last governor to inhabit King's House, Spanish Town, as a permanent residence, is best remembered for the somewhat high-handed methods he employed in re-organizing the government of the island as a crown colony.

Admiral's Pen

During the later years of the last century, the Jamaica naval station was one of very great importance to the British Empire. The North American (with which it is now united) was then considered a fine station for making prize money, but the West Indies was, to use Nelson's own words, "the station for honour." Earlier in the century, however, riches were added to honour for those who held command at Jamaica.

In addition to the naval station at Port Royal (where the commodore on the station now resides at Admiralty House), there was, to the west of Kingston, a dockyard at Greenwich (with a depot for military stores, and a hospital, as well as a cemetery * attached), which was the point of embarkation for the naval authorities, and a pen residence for the commander-in-chief near Kingston, known as "Admiral's Pen." At times the admiral on the station had a house in the hills (it was at "Admiral's Mountain" that Nelson was nursed by Lady Parker in 1780, after his return from the San Juan expedition), and there was, at one period, a naval convalescent hospital (now called The Cottage) in the St. Andrew Mountains.

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* This cemetery was probably established when the earthquake at Port Royal led to the choice of the north side of the harbour as a place of residence.

The earliest record of a suggestion for a permanent residence for the admiral on the station is to be found in the will of Zachary Bayly (the uncle of Bryan Edwards, the historian), who offered Greenwich Park, situated between Admiral's Pen and Greenwich, near Kingston, to the Government "for the use and residence of a governor, or of the commander-in-chief, for the time being, of his majesty's ships of war employed or kept upon this station," at a reduction of £1,000 sterling on a just valuation.

This offer, which Bryan Edwards, as executor, made to the House in 1770, was not accepted.

But in 1773 the House resolved "that a sum not exceeding £2,500 (currency) be laid out in purchasing the house and pen in the parish of St. Andrew, where sir William Burnaby, admiral Keppel and admiral Parry formerly lived, to be annexed to the government for the use of the commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships of war on this station."

Admiral's Pen was bought on the 13th of January, 1774, by Jasper Hall *et al.*, Commissioners for purchasing a pen for the admiral on the station, from John Dalling *et ux.*, for the sum of £2,500 (currency). This was Lieutenant-Colonel Dalling, who was then Lieutenant-Governor. Its purchase was no doubt due to Rodney, who was then the admiral on the station. As he left, however, in that year, Gayton was probably the first admiral to inhabit it as an official residence.

On the 20th of May, 1863, Thomas Cushnie, for the Executive Committee, bought it for £600 (sterling). It is now used as a Union Poor House for Kingston and St. Andrew. Its whitewashed walls and

In November 1829, admiral Fleming

whitewashed stones along the drive recall the coast-guard stations of England, and keep alive the memory of its connection with the navy of Great Britain at a period of some of its brightest achievements.

To Admiral's Pen, in 1780, Nelson was brought, after a short sojourn at Port Royal, on his return from the San Juan expedition, and, weak from fever and dysentery, was tenderly nursed by Lady Parker and her housekeeper, Mrs. Yates, while even the admiral himself took his turn in sitting up with the patient. We are told that Nelson's aversion from taking medicine was so great that they had to send it to him by the hand of the admiral's youngest daughter. On the 11th of June Nelson went up to the admiral's hill residence, or "Admiral's Mountain," * as he calls it in a letter to his friend Ross.

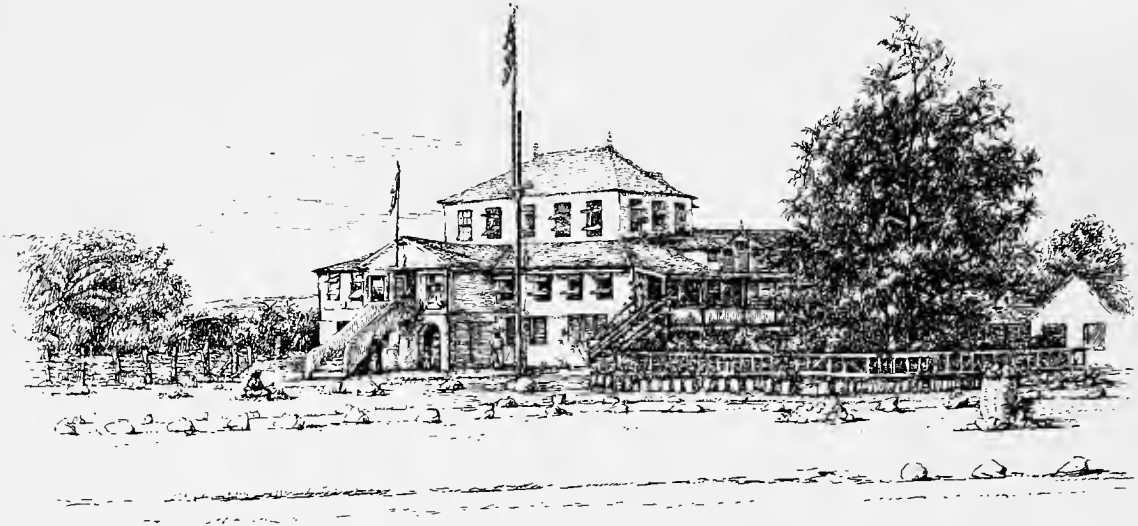
Lady Nugent, the wife of General Nugent, the Governor, in her "Journal of a Voyage to and Residence in the Island of Jamaica," refers to the Admiral's Pen more than once.

In 1804, on the 18th of April, she writes at Spanish Town :—

"Up at half-past two, and arrive at the Admiral's Penn soon after daylight. Admiral Dacres there, with Sir J. T. Duckworth, to receive us with a large party of Navy men and a few civilians. Like Admiral Dacres very much ; he seems such a good-natured *domestic* man, always talking of his family. The morning spent in gossiping and talking nonsense, but we were all merry and much amused. . . . Cards, after which to bed at 9 o'clock."

On the 19th. "General N., etc., off at daylight, to review

* This seems to have been in the Red Hills above Spanish Town, but its site has not hitherto been identified. "Mountain" was not in those days an unusual term for a property in the hills in Jamaica.



ADMIRAL'S PEN, KINGSTON.

the 6th battalion of the 60th regiment, at Up-Park camp. . . . The Admirals, etc., at breakfast with Mrs. Horsford and me. . . . Began the ball with Sir J. T. Duckworth, and then danced with several other Navy men, as well as military and civilians."

The ball must have been a public one in Kingston and not at Admiral's Pen, for she writes, "Home at one." On the 20th she records, "At 5 a very numerous dinner party indeed." On the 21st, "The morning as usual . . . visitors and gossip till 4, then proceed to Mr. Simon Taylor's Penn [Vale Royal], where there was a grand entertainment. . . ." On the 22nd she writes: "Start at daylight for home."

On the 13th of September, in the same year, she writes :—

"Breakfast at 8, as usual. Have, at 11, a second breakfast of fruit, wine, cake, etc., and at 12 all set off for the Admiral's Penn; Lady M[argaret Cameron, wife of the Governor of the Bahamas], her young people, and myself, in the sociable, with our two black postillions, in scarlet liveries, but with black ancles peeping out of their particulars, and altogether rather a novel sort of appearance, to Europeans just arrived. General N. and Mr. Cameron in the curricle. Aides-de-camp, servants, etc., in kittareens, and on horseback; and all arrived in grand procession at the Admiral's at about 3. Refreshments were ready, and then we all creolized till 5 o'clock. A large party, of the Navy chiefly, at dinner. Cards; and to bed soon after ten."

The next day she writes :—

". . . At 5 [p.m.] the carriages came to the door and we all separated with real regret . . . Governor Cameron and his family went to Greenwich, to embark for the Bahamas, and we returned with our party to Spanish Town. . . ."

The banquets and other ceremonies that have taken place within the walls of Admiral's Pen must have been exceeded in splendour only by those of King's House, Spanish Town, in its palmiest days.

The following is a list, made as complete as possible, of the principal naval officers who have been commanders-in-chief on the Jamaica station, and, since its incorporation with the North American station, commodores on the Jamaica division. The post was and is, as a rule, held for three years. The list contains some of the most brilliant names to be found in the annals of the British Navy. It has been compiled from the Jamaica Almanacs in the Library of the Institute of Jamaica, the "Dictionary of National Biography," Clowes's "Royal Navy," and other works:—

1655—Sir William Penn, admiral and general-at-sea.
1655-57—Vice-Admiral William Goodsonn, commanded in chief at Jamaica.
1656-57—Vice-Admiral Christopher Myngs at Jamaica.
1662-64—Vice-Admiral Christopher Myngs at Jamaica.
[1692—Commodore Wrenn, commanded in the West Indies.]
[1692—Rear-Admiral Sir Francis Wheler, commanded in the West Indies.]
[1702—Vice-Admiral Benbow, buried in Kingston, after his engagement with du Casse.]
[1703—Vice-Admiral John Graydon, commanded a fleet in the West Indies.]
[1705—Sir William Whetstone, commanded a fleet in the West Indies.]
[1706—Captain William Kerr, commanded a fleet in the West Indies.]
[1706—Sir John Jennings, commanded a fleet in the West Indies.]

COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF AT JAMAICA.

1707-09—Rear-Admiral Charles Wager.
1711—Commodore James Littleton.
1712—Rear-Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker.
1720—Commodore Vernon, commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's ships in the West Indies.
[1726-27—Vice-Admiral Francis Hosier, commanded a squadron in the West Indies.]
1727—Commodore Edward St. Lo, in command of West India Station.
1728—Vice-Admiral Edward Hopsonn, in command of West India Station.

1728–29—Rear-Admiral Edward St. Lo, in command of West India Station.
1730–31—Rear-Admiral the Hon. Charles Stuart, in command of West India Station.
1732—Commodore Richard Lestock.
1732–39—Commodore Sir Chaloner Ogle.
[1739–1742—Admiral Edward Vernon, commanded in the West Indies.]
1742–44—Rear-Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle.
[1744—Vice-Admiral Thomas Davers, died at Jamaica.]
1747—Captain Digby Dent.
1747–49—Rear-Admiral Charles Knowles.
1749–52—Commodore the Hon. George Townshend.
1755–57—Rear-Admiral the Hon. George Townshend.
1757—Rear-Admiral Thomas Cotes.
1760–61—Rear-Admiral Charles Holmes.
1762—Commodore Sir James Douglas.
[1762—Admiral Sir George Pocock, commander-in-chief of expedition against Havana.]
1762–64—Rear-Admiral Viscount Keppel.
1764–66—Rear-Admiral Sir William Burnaby.
1767—Rear-Admiral W. Parry.
1769–70—Commodore Arthur Forrest.
1771–74—Rear-Admiral Sir George Rodney.
1776–78—Vice-Admiral Clarke Gayton.
1778–82—Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker.
[1779—Captain Horatio Nelson, commanded in Fort Charles, Port Royal.]
1782–83—Rear-Admiral Joshua Rowley.
1783–84—Vice-Admiral James Gambier.
1785—Commodore John Pakenham.
1786—Rear-Admiral Alexander Innes.
1786–89—Commodore Alan (afterwards Lord) Gardner.
1790–93—Rear-Admiral Philip Affleck.
1793–95—Rear-Admiral John Ford.
1796—Rear-Admiral William Parker.
1796—Commodore Richard Rodney Bligh.
1796–99—Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker.
1799–1801—Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour.
1802—Rear-Admiral Robert Montagu.
1803–05—Vice-Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth.
1806–08—Vice-Admiral James Richard Dacres.
1809–11—Vice-Admiral Bartholomew Samuel Rowley.
1811—Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Stirling, Bart.
1812—Vice-Admiral James Vashon.
1813–14—Rear-Admiral William Brown.

1814–15—Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir Alexander Forrester Inglis Cochrane, K.B., commander-in-chief on the Jamaica Station, Windward and Leeward Islands, and Coast of North America.
1816–17—Rear-Admiral John Erskine Douglas.
1818–20—Rear-Admiral Sir Home Riggs Popham, K.C.B.
1820–23—Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Rowley, K.C.B.
1824–27—Vice-Admiral Sir Lawrence William Halstead, K.C.B.
1828–29—Vice-Admiral the Hon. Charles Elphinstone Fleeming.
1829–32—Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Griffith Colpoys, K.C.B.
1833—Commodore Arthur Farquhar, C.B., K.C.H., K.S.

COMMODORES ON JAMAICA DIVISION OF NORTH AMERICAN AND WEST INDIA STATION.

1838—Sir John Strutt Peyton, K.C.H.
1839–41—Peter John Douglas.
1843—Hon. Henry Dilkes Byng.
1844–5—Alexander R. Sharpe, C.B.
1846—Daniel Pring.
1849–51—Thomas Bennet.
1855—Thomas Henderson.
1860—Henry Kellet, C.B.
1861—Hugh Dunlop.
1864–65—Peter Cracroft, C.B.
1865–68—Sir Francis Leopold M'Clintock.
1869–70—Augustus Philimore.
1871–72—Richard W. Courtenay.
1873–75—Algernon F. R. DeHorsey.
1876–78—Algernon McLennan Lyons.
1879–80—W. T. Ward.
1880–82—William S. Brown.
1882—Edward White.
1882–83—John C. Purvis.
1883–86—F. M. Prattent.
1886–89—Henry Hand.
1889–92—Rodney M. Lloyd.
1892–95—T. S. Jackson.
1895–98—H. W. Dowding.
1898–99—William H. Henderson.
1900—Edward H. M. Davis, C.M.G.

The following brief biographic notes may be not without interest:—

Vice-Admiral Hosier died in Jamaica on the

25th of August, 1727, while in command of a squadron sent to the West Indies to prevent the Spaniards sending home treasure. His body was taken to England for burial and was interred with great pomp, at an expense of £500, in the church of St. Nicholas, Deptford.

The same epidemic fever which killed Hosier carried off four thousand men, about fifty lieutenants and eight or ten captains and flag-officers, including Hosier's successors, Vice-Admiral Edward Hopsonn, who died on the 8th of May, 1728, and Rear-Admiral St. Lo, who died on the 22nd April, 1729.

Rear-Admiral Stuart was noticeable for the sympathy with the Spanish privateers (whom his predecessor St. Lo had dubbed "no better than pirates"), which he acquired while on the station. Writing in 1731 to the Duke of Newcastle, he admitted that the British carried on the trade with the Spanish Colonies, which was forbidden, at their own risk, and that their ships were good prizes if taken. This, he said, led them to retaliate by robbing such Spaniards as they could overpower, and he added :—

"I can assure you that the sloops that sail from this island [Jamaica], manned and armed on that illicit trade, have more than once bragged to me of having murdered seven or eight Spaniards on their own shore.

"I can't help observing that I believe I am the first military person who has stood up in the defence of peace and quietness, and for delivering up vessels, against a parcel of men who call themselves merchants, but they are no better than pedlars, and one of them formerly in jail for piracy."

It is pointed out in Clowes's "Royal Navy" that Stuart's plea for peace may have been based on his belief that, as the British had by far the greater

number of ships trading in these seas, reprisals would not pay ; as was proved when the war broke out.

Lestock, who was appointed to command at Jamaica on the 6th of April, 1732, was superseded on the 19th of May, without any reason being given. Writing from Port Royal in November, he says: "Such a fate as I have met with is far worse than death," and a few years later he was passed over for flag rank in favour of four junior officers in a similar mysterious way. He was third in command under Vernon at Carthagena. He is now chiefly remembered for his quarrel with Mathews, which culminated at the action off Toulon in 1743–4 when, "careless, it would seem, of the disgrace which fell on the British Flag," he, taking advantage of technicalities (which afterwards procured his acquittal by court-martial), neglected to render to Mathews the support which he ought.

Sir Chaloner Ogle is remembered in Jamaica for his quarrel, and subsequent trial in 1742, with the Governor, Edward Trelawny. In the hurricane that devastated Jamaica on the 20th of October, 1744, eight ships of the royal navy, besides a great number of merchantmen, were either wrecked or driven ashore. Ogle was luckily at sea with the greater part of his fleet, and so escaped its fury.

Vernon is remembered for his famous taking of Porto Bello, which sent the people of England mad with joy, and gave rise to upwards of one hundred commemoration medals, rather than by the unsuccessful attempt on Carthagena, the result of one of those unhappy jealousies between army and navy which have arisen from time to time in English history.

It is interesting to note that it was on this station

that Vernon, in order to put a check on intemperance due to drinking neat rum, issued the order, afterwards adopted throughout the navy with the best results, for the rations of rum to be given out diluted with water; and thus arose the drink known after the nick-name of the admiral (due, it is said, to his wearing a grogram boat-cloak) of "grog."

Vernon also placed the watering of the fleet at Jamaica on a satisfactory basis, but Rodney later found that the pumps and sheds had been suffered for many years to go to ruin.

Townshend, the nephew of Sir Robert Walpole, is chiefly remembered for his conduct when in command of a detached squadron on the west coast of Italy in 1745, for which he was censured by a court-martial.

Holmes died in Jamaica on the 21st of March, 1761. He lies buried in Half-Way Tree church. There is a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

Pocock and Keppel are remembered, in connection with Jamaica history, for the capture of Havana, the money value of the prize being estimated at upwards of three millions sterling; Pocock and Albemarle, the commander of the troops (Keppel's elder brother), each receiving about £123,000.

Forrest, who died in Jamaica on the 26th of May, 1770, had assumed the office of commander-in-chief on the death of Holmes in 1761, but he was summarily dispossessed by Sir James Douglas, and was informed by the Admiralty that his conduct was "most irregular and unjustifiable." He married a daughter of Colonel Lynch, of Jamaica.

When Rodney came he found that apartments only were provided for the admiral at Port Royal, and it

was doubtless due to his action that "Admiral's Pen" was purchased just before he left. One of the chief objects to which he devoted his attention while on this station was the watering of the fleet—the water being at that time purchased by the naval authorities; and he, after investigations at Kingston and the Rio Cobre, decided on Rock Fort, Vernon's old spot, as a source of supply.

In connection with these improvements, Rodney used to say that he was for some time considered by the sailors as a great benefactor—as he had relieved them of the necessity of rolling casks of water for a very great distance under a tropical sun, and that their gratitude was frequently expressed by "God bless the Admiral"; but when they discovered that the ships were watered in a very short time, and that their leave on shore was thereby much curtailed, they changed their tune, and said, "The devil take the Admiral." While here, he reported strongly in favour of making a naval station at Port Antonio.

Rodney, we are told, went home from Jamaica in 1774, "no richer than when he went out, and much disgusted with the ministry which had refused to appoint him governor of Jamaica." He, however, later made for himself a greater name in Jamaica history than the majority of its governors achieved. His statue at Spanish Town, by Bacon, cost in all £8,200.

While Gayton was here he had frequent and troublesome correspondence with the French commodores at Cape François, and with the French governor, concerning right of search and alleged breaches of neutrality.

Sir Peter Parker is now chiefly remembered for his early friendship and patronage of Nelson. He it was who took home De Grasse and the other principal French officers captured by Rodney in 1782.

Sir Joshua Rowley had served in the West Indies, under Sir James Douglas in 1760, with Byron in command of a squadron in 1779, and under Rodney in the following year.

Gambier had been present at the capture of Guadeloupe and at the unsuccessful attack on Martinique.

Lord Gardner had been out in Jamaica before, in 1766, as flag-captain to Admiral Parry, and he later served in the "West India" under Byron and took part in Rodney's great victory. Gardner married in Jamaica, in 1769, Susanna Hyde, daughter and heiress of Francis Gale of Liguanea, and widow of Sabine Turner.

Philip Affleck, who had served in the West Indies under Rodney, was brother to the more celebrated Edmund Affleck, who received a baronetcy for his share in the glorious 12th of April. In 1792 the House of Assembly voted him thanks and 300 guineas for the purchase of a piece of plate "as a small testimony of the high respect and regard which this House entertain of his merit, and for the great services he has in his public character rendered to the country on every occasion."

Sir William Parker had been on the Jamaica Station as a midshipman in 1761, and again in the West Indies under Barrington in 1778, and under Byron in 1779; and from 1787 to 1790 he was commander-in-chief on the Leeward Islands station.

He had to quit Jamaica after holding the command for a few months, owing to a severe illness. He was third in command at the battle of Cape St. Vincent, and was made a baronet for his services

Sir Hyde Parker (1739–1807), who had been knighted for his successful action at the North River in 1776, and had seen service under Hood in the Mediterranean, was very fortunate during his four years' tenure of the office of commander-in-chief at Jamaica. The cruising-ships stationed by him brought in a great many prizes—merchantmen, privateers and ships of war, "by which both himself and his country were materially benefited."

Lord Hugh Seymour, the fifth son of the first Marquis of Hertford (of that creation), died September, 1801, at sea off Jamaica, but his body was sent home for burial.

Admiral Robert Montagu was a natural son of the celebrated fourth Earl of Sandwich—

> "Too infamous to have a friend,
> Too bad for bad men to commend"—

who was responsible for much of the jobbery that went on in the affairs of the navy during the time he presided at the admiralty.

Sir John Thomas Duckworth is remembered in the Leeward Islands for his capture in 1801 of St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and the other Danish and Swedish islands; in Jamaica for his direction, while in command of the station in 1803, of the operations which led to the surrender of General Rochambeau and the French army in San Domingo; and for his victory in 1806 over the French under Leissègues off

San Domingo—"one of the completest victories on record."

Vice-Admiral Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, the son of Vice-Admiral Sir Joshua Rowley, died on the 7th of October, 1811, while holding the post of commander-in-chief at Jamaica; as did Rear-Admiral William Brown on the 20th of September, 1814.

Sir Arthur Farquhar received a vote of thanks from the House of Assembly and a sword valued at £150, and a piece of plate from the merchants of Jamaica for his services during the suppression of the revolt of negroes, and on his return home he was knighted.

Amongst Jamaica's naval governors may be mentioned the buccaneer Sir Henry Morgan (at times from 1675–1682), Admiral Lord Archibald Hamilton (1711–1716), Vice-Admiral Charles Knowles (1752–1756), Captain Sir William Trelawny (1768–1772), and Captain Sir Basil Keith (1774–1777).

Morgan ended his chequered career at Port Royal in 1688. Knowles is known in naval annals for the part he played in the destruction, under Vernon, of the forts at Porto Bello, the capture of Chagres, the attack of Carthagena, the equally unsuccessful attack on Santiago de Cuba, and his victory, off Havana, of October 1st, 1748, over the Spanish fleet, which led to much recrimination between himself and his officers, to court-martials, and to several duels.

In Jamaica, Knowles rendered himself unpopular as a governor by his removal of the seat of government from Spanish Town to Kingston, a century before its time, which was, however, cancelled by the home government three years later.

Nelson's Quarter-Deck

Of all the forts which have been erected from time to time round the coast of Jamaica for its protection, the oldest, and most important from an historic standpoint, is undoubtedly Fort Charles at Port Royal, and its chief interest centres in the fact that Nelson commanded there in 1779.

NELSON.

Named after Charles II., its construction was commenced in the reign of that monarch. When originally built it was washed by the sea on two sides. Chocalatta Hole has silted up and is now the parade ground. Hickeringill, writing in 1661, says: "And the Entrance into the Harbour is commanded with a Fort, built by the English: wherein there are at this Day, some as good Canon planted, as the Tower of London would afford." It is thus referred to in a "Journal Kept by Colonel William Beeston from his first coming to Jamaica," * in connection with a

* Reprinted in "Interesting Tracts relating to the island of Jamaica," St. Jago de la Vega, 1800. *Vide ante*, p. 23.

fear that the Spaniards, enraged by the loss of St. Jago (de Cuba) might meditate revenge, and make some attempt on the island :—

"Therefore what Money was due to the King was called in, and in November [1662] about forty men hired to work on the fort, which is now called Fort Charles, with intent to finish it, which hitherto lay open, with only a round tour of stone and banks of boards and sand towards the sea. On the first of December these men began to work at it, on which day it happened that all the planets in the heavens were in Mars ascendant of the Spanish Nation, and such a remarkable convention that does not happen in very many years. . . . In the meantime the fort went on vigorously, insomuch that, by or about the thirtieth of December, the platform in the half moon towards the sea was laid, and that day one whole cannon and three demi-cannon of brass were mounted on it. . . . "

and on May 29th, 1678, he writes :—

"Being the King's birthday, and all the flags abroad upon all the forts, the great flag of Fort Charles blew down, which we doubted was ominous, being so noted a day, and on the most noted fort," &c.

The fort was "not shook down, but much shattered" by the earthquake of 1692. It was subsequently reconstructed in 1699 by Colonel Christian Lilly, who had laid out the city of Kingston four years earlier, and who in 1734 was captain of the fort.

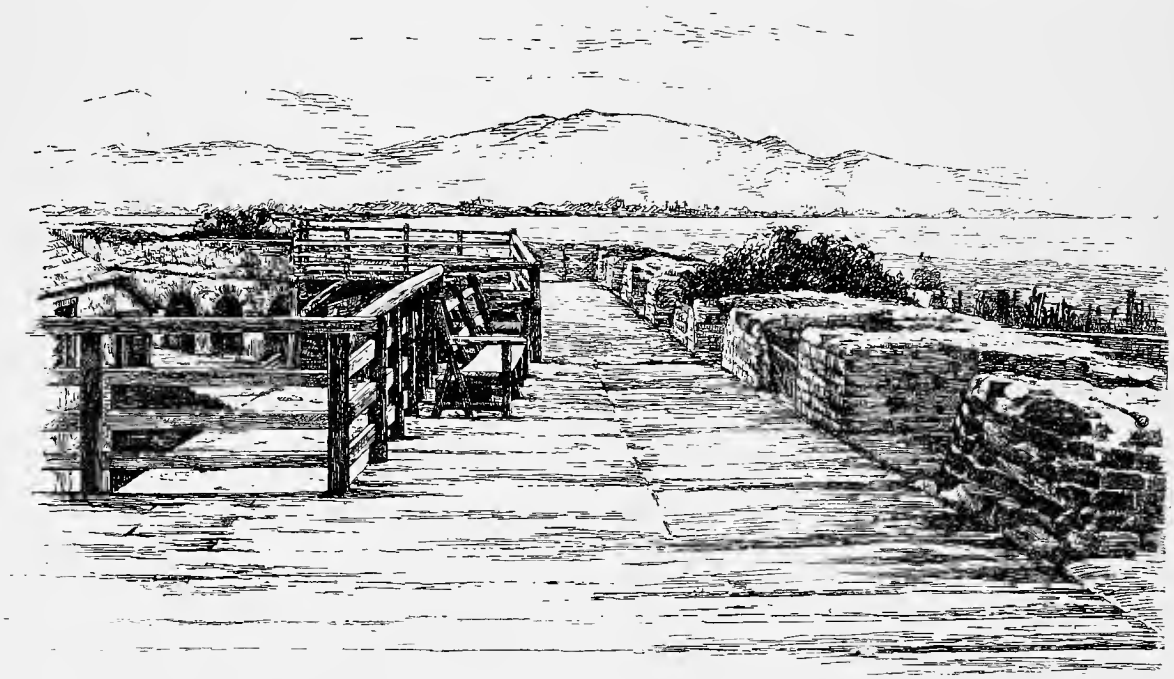
From the earliest times, the members of the House of Assembly were admitted to view the forts and fortifications, and a joint committee of the Assembly and Council used to report annually on Fort Charles. In 1705 "numerous defects" were reported; in 1706 it was "in good repair"; in 1711 the round tower was "perfectly useless"; in 1722

they found that "the South and East lines, or bastions, are so undermined that it is dangerous to fire from them"; in 1725 the Hanover line was "undermined by the sea and in danger of being quite lost"; in 1726–27 the fortifications were "in very great disorder"; in 1734 the committee reported of the fortifications and stores, "The great disorder they are in, and the little care that seems to have been taken of them," &c. And in 1736 the committee got angry—

"'On the whole the Committee think themselves obliged to observe, with that just concern which becomes them, that the present state and condition of the fortifications in Port Royal, which is very defenceless, requires the immediate consideration of the legislature, as they are the strength and security of the island; they likewise cannot help taking notice that though, from time to time, several Committees of His Majesty's Council and of former Assemblies had been appointed to view and survey the said fortifications and stores, made their report in pursuance thereof, and resolutions thereon taken, that little or no notice have been taken to remedy the grievances complained of, so that the state and condition of the fortifications grows worse and worse.'"

Long, writing in 1774, says: "The Captain of the fort [Fort Charles] has of late years been appointed by the Governor's warrant, upon the nomination of the Ministry. His salary is only £109 10*s.* per annum, but the profits of this post make it far more considerable."

In June, 1779, war was declared with Spain, and on the 11th of that month Nelson was promoted to the command of the Hinchinbrook, thus becoming a post-captain while yet four months under twenty-one years of age. The ship was then at sea, and had not returned by the 28th of July, when Nelson wrote from Port Royal to his friend Captain Locker, and



NELSON'S QUARTER-DECK, PORT ROYAL.

she apparently did not return till the 1st of September. During this period Nelson was in command of the batteries at Fort Charles, as he twice mentions in his published correspondence; once when writing under date of 12th August, 1779, to Locker, and once in the "Sketch of my Life," written twenty years later. At this time Jamaica was, to use Nelson's own words, "turned upside down" by fear of capture by a French fleet. In his letter to Locker he says, speaking of the measures of defence taken:—

"5,000 men are encamped between the Ferry and Kingston, 1,000 at Fort Augusta, 300 at the Apostles Battery, and we expect to have 500 in Fort Charles, where I am to command. Lion, Salisbury, Charon and Janus, in a line from the Point to the outer shoal; Ruby and Bristol in the narrows going to Kingston, to rake any ships that may attack Fort Augusta; Pomona and Speke Indiaman above Rock Fort, and Lowestoffe at the end of the dock wall. . . . I have fairly stated our situation, and I leave you in England to judge what stand we shall make; I think you must not be surprised to hear of my learning to speak French."

In his sketch of his life, Nelson tells us:—

"In this critical state [*i.e.* fear of invasion] I was by both Admiral* and General† entrusted with the command of the batteries at Port Royal; and I need not say as the defence of this place was the key to the Port of the whole naval force, the town of Kingston, and Spanish Town, it was the most important place in the whole island."

And this was Nelson's first actual command after he was posted, though it lasted probably but three or four weeks, and gave him no opportunity of showing what he could do in that capacity.

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* Sir Peter Parker, a life-long friend and patron of Nelson, who was chief mourner at his funeral.

† The Governor, Major-General John Dalling, who was created a baronet in 1783.

He feared that the French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, which was then off San Domingo, would be more than a match for Jamaica; but the troops, which to the number of 25,000 were reported to be with the fleet, were non-existent. D'Estaing sailed southward, and the fate of the island was not decided till Rodney's glorious victory of three years later. Nelson sailed in the Hinchinbrook for a cruise in the middle of September, and early in the following year went on the expedition to Nicaragua, which, while it laid the foundation of his subsequent fame, nearly cost him his life.

On his return to Port Royal he was suffering so much from fever and dysentery that he had to be carried ashore in his cot to the lodging-house of his former black nurse, Cuba Cornwallis.*

After being nursed by the Parkers, he was invalided home; and shortly afterwards he sat for the portrait given at the head of this chapter.

Nelson's reputation still survives in Fort Charles itself, and his wooden "quarter-deck" there is still shown, from which he could, while pacing up and down, command a view to windward.

There is also an inscription to his memory in gilt letters on a white marble tablet fixed into the brick-work of the west wall of Fort Charles. In size the

* She had been given her freedom by Admiral Cornwallis. She appears to have been a favourite sick-nurse with naval officers. Richard Hill tells us that she "soothed many a head-ache" of Prince William Henry, and that Queen Adelaide, in remembrance of kindnesses to her royal consort, sent her a present of a gown. This Cuba would never wear while alive, but kept it till her death, which occurred in 1848, and in it was buried.

tablet is two and a half feet by one and a half feet, and the following is a copy of the inscription :—

IN THIS PLACE
DWELT
HORATIO NELSON.

YOU WHO TREAD IN HIS FOOTPRINTS
REMEMBER HIS GLORY.

There is also another memento in the naval yard at Port Royal, in the shape of a figurehead, representing the great hero, overlooking the harbour, into which he so often sailed, the actual figurehead of the former guardship at Port Royal, the Aboukir, named after Nelson's victory in Aboukir Bay, more commonly known as the battle of the Nile.

With reference to Nelson's connection with the island generally, the following paragraph may be quoted from Mr. Robert Johnstone's "Nelson in the West Indies" * :—

"On the Jamaica station he served the whole term of his lieutenancy and his first period of independent command, first as commander and then as post-captain ; in Jamaica he formed warm friendships which lasted till death, Collingwood, Admiral Parker and Captain Locker—to whom may fairly be added Prince William—being the chief of his naval friends, and Hercules Ross, of Kingston, the chief of his civilian ones. After this, 'Jamaica is the place I wish to go to,' he said, as a captain,

* In the "Journal of the Institute of Jamaica," vol. ii., 1899.

and again it is the Jamaica station we find him subsequently expressing his wish to get the command of, 'was I an admiral'; for three years we find him in the Leeward Islands, where he married; and on his last and most celebrated chase of the enemy's fleet, which saved for the second time the British West Indies from capture, we find him expressing his especial care for the safety of Jamaica not only in a letter to an old friend, Simon Taylor, then in the Island, but also in many other letters."

Nelson's memory was kept green in Jamaica for many years. Monk Lewis saw at Black River, at New Year, 1816, a "Nelson's Car" with "Trafalgar" written on it, which formed part of the procession of Blue Girls in the John Canoe festivities. But there is no monument to the great hero here, as there is at Barbados; and yet the larger island owes just as much to Nelson as does the smaller.

In the "Journals of the House of Assembly," under date 15th June, 1778, is recorded the following message sent to the Governor by the House:—

"We are ordered by the house to wait on your Excellency, and to desire you will be pleased to have such works carried into execution, as you shall think most necessary for the immediate defence of this island; the expense of such works not to exceed £12,000 and this or any future assembly will provide for the same."

About this period * there were no less than thirty forts and batteries in the island—each with its officer commanding—Fort Charles, at Port Royal; Rock Fort, Fort Augusta, Apostles Battery, Henderson's Battery, and Small's Battery, all in Kingston Harbour; a Post at Sixteen Mile Walk (Bog Walk); Fort Haldane, at Port Maria; Fort Columbus, in Dry

* See "Jamaica Almanac" for 1784.

Harbour; St. Ann's Fort, Fort William and Salt-gut Battery, in St. Ann; Batteries (East's, Hall's, Wallen's, and Moore's) at Stony Hill; Fort George, at Port Antonio; Ferry Fort; Fort Dalling, at Rocky Point; Pera and Bowden Hill Batteries, in St. Thomas in the East; Whydah Battery and Fort Richmond, in Portland; and Annotto Bay Fort; another Fort Dalling, in Trelawny; Martha Brae Fort; Fort George, Savanna-la-Mar Fort; and a third Fort Dalling, in Westmoreland; Fort Frederick, and George's Battery, in St. James; Lucea Fort and Green Island Fort, in Hanover; and Black River Fort, in St. Elizabeth. By 1793 the list had dwindled to six only—Fort Augusta; Apostles Battery; Fort Charles; Rock Fort; Fort George, Port Antonio; and Fort Charlotte, Lucea; but by 1801 it had risen again to thirteen—the new forts being Fort Balcarres, in Trelawny; Fort Lindsay; Fort Ramsay, in St. Thomas in the East; Fort Dundas,* at Rio Bueno; and Fort Clarence, in St. Catherine. At present there are but six; but of these one or two are strongly fortified.

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* This fort bears the date 1778.

Bryan Castle

Bryan Castle, in Trelawny, where Bryan Edwards's "History of the British West Indies" was written, was, together with the neighbouring estate of Brampton (now called Brampton Bryan), settled by him in or before 1792. It is within three miles of the port of Rio Bueno. It afterwards became, by purchase, the property of Alexander Donaldson. It is now in the possession of Dr. A. V. Proctor. A view of the Great House is given in James Hakewill's "Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica" (London, 1825), the most artistic work ever published on the island. In 1825 the property contained 1402 acres of land, 300 of which were in sugar-canes, 600 in pasture and pimento, and the remainder was occupied by negroes and their provision grounds. The crops had then averaged, during the previous twelve years, 300 hogsheads of sugar, with the usual proportion of rum, and in good seasons 300 bags of pimento.

BRYAN EDWARDS.

There were employed 165 estate negroes, with the addition of extra labour.

The Great House, as the owner's residence on a West Indian property is invariably called, is a typical Jamaica house of the period, solidly built, but without any pretensions to architectural beauty, and surrounded on all four sides by the usual verandah.

When Hakewill wrote, Edwards's books and furniture were still preserved in his study upstairs, where he compiled his history. His writing-table is now all that remains. From the only window an extensive view is obtained, across the Bryan Castle Works and cane-fields in the foreground and more cane-fields and woodlands in the distance, to the open sea in the neighbourhood of Falmouth.

Bryan Edwards was born at Westbury, in Wiltshire, in 1743, the son of a maltster. In 1759 he was sent by his widowed mother, who had great difficulty in maintaining her six children, to Jamaica to the care of one of her brothers, Zachary Bayly, a liberal-minded man of considerable wealth, who took the family under his protection. The epitaph on the monument of the uncle, in Half-way Tree church, is from the pen of the nephew. In Jamaica Edwards resided under his uncle's care, continuing his studies (which he had commenced at a French boarding-school in Bristol) under the Rev. Isaac Teale, who was specially engaged by his uncle for this purpose—the T—— of Edwards's "Poems." They evidently lived on one of Zachary Bayly's properties in St. Mary, on the banks of

the Agua Alta (Wagwater). In his "Elegy on the death of a friend," Edwards says:

> "Enamour'd echo bade each mountain hear,
> And pleas'd Agualta smoother flow'd along.
>
> Oft round thy banks, sweet stream (now sacred made),
> Together we explor'd the classic page;"

Teale, who died in 1794, was at his own request buried on its banks.

In 1769 Edwards was left heir to his uncle's property, and four years later he acquired by bequest the great possessions of a Mr. Hume of Jamaica, and became a merchant. In 1765 he had been elected a member of the House of Assembly for the parish of St. George, now merged in Portland. In February 1770 he resigned his seat on the plea that his ill-health necessitated a change of climate; but he apparently did not leave the island, and in December 1771 he was again elected for St. George, but in 1772 he was called up to a seat in the Council.

In 1782 he returned to England, where he tried, without success, to enter parliament.

In 1787 he came out again to Jamaica, and in the Assembly, which first met in October of that year, he sat as member for Trelawny. In 1788 he received, in his place, the unanimous thanks of the House for his reports on the slave trade. Soon after the revolt of the negroes in 1791 he paid a short visit to San Domingo, in the welfare of which island he took a deep interest, endeavouring to obtain for it a loan from Jamaica. This was recommended by a committee of the Assembly, but the matter met with public opposition, and the loan did not pass the House.

Bryan Castle, Trelawny.

In 1793 his seat in the Assembly was declared vacant, he having gone to England the previous year. In a long letter from his pen, which appeared in "The Royal Gazette," April 14–21, 1792, he says:—

"For myself, I propose shortly to quit the island, and probably shall never return to it; but my wishes for its happiness, freedom and prosperity, will never be suppressed, so long as I have life and recollection. I have exerted myself in its service for the last five years, with unabating zeal and perseverance, and, I hope, on some occasions with success."

He then settled permanently at Southampton as a West India merchant and banker. In 1796 he was elected M.P. for Grampound. He supported the slave trade with certain restrictions, and was admitted by Wilberforce to be a powerful opponent to abolition. He was, however, not unmindful of the great hardships done in Africa, and he stated openly in Jamaica: "That if all the nations of Europe would concur in a determination to relinquish the slave trade altogether, it ought to be relinquished."

He died at Southampton in July, 1800. His wife was Martha, daughter of Thomas Phipps, of Westbury. His only son, Zachary Hume Edwards, who was not of age when his father died, inherited his vast wealth, but died on board the "Montague" packet on his passage from Jamaica to England in 1812. That Bryan Edwards was, to some extent at all events, a patron of the arts is evident from the following extract from the second codicil to his will:—

"I give and devise to my wife, Martha Edwards . . . the full length portrait of herself, drawn by Pine, now in my drawing-room in London, if she thinks proper to accept it. I give and devise to my brother the portraits of my mother and brother Nathaniel McHume and my own portrait now in London and any six other pictures in my collection which he may make choice of."

Four later members of Edwards's family have also been famous. Sir Bryan Edwards, Chief Justice of Jamaica, died in December, 1876. Dr. William Frédéric Edwards, who was born in Jamaica * in 1776, was the son of a rich English planter—William by name (a cousin of Bryan)—who afterwards settled at Bruges, where the younger William was educated. In early life he became a Frenchman and won for himself much fame as a physiologist, dying at Versailles in 1842. William's younger brother, Henri Milne Edwards (born at Bruges in 1800 and died in 1885), the zoologist, and Henri's son, Alphonse Milne Edwards (born in Paris in 1835 and died in 1900), successively held the post of Professor of Zoology at the Jardin des Plantes, Paris.

In 1793, Edwards published in London, in two quarto volumes, "The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies," with plates and maps: it was dedicated to the King. It has remained the standard work on its subject, the history of the British West Indies till the close of the last century, till to-day. An edition, in two volumes but without plates or maps, appeared in the same year in Dublin. A second edition, in two volumes quarto, was published in 1794 in London. An abridged edition, to which was added "An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo," appeared in London in 1799.

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* In the obituary notice in the *Times* of Alphonse Milne Edwards (April 23, 1900) it is erroneously stated that he was a grandson of Bryan Edwards, "who settled at Bruges." Bryan Edwards, who did not settle at Bruges, had an only son, Zachary Hume Edwards.

Edwards contemplated publishing an account of all the settlements in the West Indies, with special reference to those belonging to France; and he visited San Domingo in 1791, soon after the revolt of the negroes, publishing in London in 1797, in quarto, "An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo . . .," which was republished also in quarto in London in 1807, "together with an account of the Maroon Negroes in the island of Jamaica, and a History of the War in the West Indies in 1793 and 1794, by Bryan Edwards, Esq.: also a tour through the several islands of Barbadoes, St. Vincent . . ., by Sir William Young, Bart." This work was left unfinished by Edwards's death; and in London, in 1801, in quarto, prefaced by "a sketch of the life of the author, written by himself a short time before his death," it was issued as a third volume to the History; the whole being re-issued as a third edition, in three volumes, in London, "with considerable additions," in the same year. A fourth edition, also in three volumes, appeared in London in 1807, and the fifth and last, in five volumes, with plates in a separate quarto volume, in London in 1819. A German translation of the whole work was published, and some parts were translated into Spanish. A Dutch edition in six volumes appeared at Haarlem in 1794–99; and a French abridged translation, in one volume, in Paris in 1801.

Of the "Historical Survey of St. Domingo," a German translation was published at Leipzig in 1798. A Dutch edition was published at Haarlem, and a French translation in small octavo by J. B. J. Breton at Paris; both appearing in 1802.

The history was praised by critics, but some of the

opinions of the author were criticised unfavourably, especially those which reflected on the conduct of the French in San Domingo, which drew forth a letter, published in London in 1797 in both French and English, by Colonel Venault de Charmilly, a planter in San Domingo of fourteen years' residence and a member of the first general assembly of that colony, who was charged with the duty of negotiating with Lieut.-Gen. Adam Williamson the capitulation of the French part of the island. De Charmilly also stayed in Jamaica for a time. He was strongly in favour of San Domingo going under the suzerainty of England. He gave many evidences that Edwards had written his account of that island on insufficient information.

In 1797 Edwards succeeded Sir Joseph Banks as Secretary of the "Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior parts of Africa," and the second volume of the "Transactions" contained "an abstract of Mr. Park's account of his travels and discoveries, abridged from his own minutes by Bryan Edwards," which was afterwards incorporated in Mungo Park's "Travels" (1799), in the compilation of which Edwards is believed also to have rendered considerable assistance to Park.

In 1796 Bryan Edwards contributed to the "Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly of Jamaica in regard to the Maroon Negroes," published in London by order of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, "Observations on the disposition, character, manners and habits of life of the Maroons, and a detail of the origin, progress and termination of the late war between those people and the white inhabitants."

In 1784 he published in London "Thoughts on

the late Proceedings of Government respecting the Trade of the West India Islands with the United States of North America," and "Considerations on the present state of the Intercourse between his Majesty's Sugar Colonies and the Dominion of the United States of America," in which he pleaded the cause of Free Trade between the West Indies and the United States, on the grounds that the lumber and provisions that they required could best be obtained from the States, which also took a large proportion of their rum. The following prophetic sentence is worth quoting :— "On the whole, no folly can exceed that of conceiving that anything Great Britain can do will prevent the American States from having, *some time or other*, a commercial intercourse with our West India Islands on their own terms."

The views in favour of free trade expressed in the "Thoughts" brought him into controversy with Lord Sheffield, and in a second edition, which appeared in the same year (1784), he added a postscript addressed to that politician. He was also opposed by a writer named John Stevenson, who published in London, also in 1784, "An Address to Brian Edwards, Esq., containing remarks on his pamphlet . . .," in which he controverts many of Edwards's statements.

Edwards published in Kingston, Jamaica, "A Speech delivered at a free Conference between the Honourable the Council and Assembly of Jamaica, held the 19th November, 1789, on the subject of Mr. Wilberforce's propositions in the House of Commons concerning the Slave-Trade."

In 1792 he published anonymously in Kingston, "Poems written chiefly in the West Indies." The

principal poem, entitled "Jamaica," was the beginning of an attempt to write a West Indian georgic in four books, which maturer judgment led him to abandon ere the second book was completed. The following lines may be quoted as descriptive of the fruits of the island :—

"A verdant ocean see! Th' ambrosial cane
O'er many an acre spreads, 'till ocean's self
Bounds the rich level, and exulting bears
The sail of commerce on his burnish'd breast—
But thine the flowing charm, th' unbounded range,
Almighty nature—thine the woodland reign!
Ev'n on the summit, by disparting clouds
Reveal'd, and cliffs sublime, the palm tree tow'rs,
And stems of wondrous growth, sons of the zone,
To whom ev'n Britain's oak diminish'd bends;
Th' immortal mastic, mammee's graceful shaft,
And far-fam'd acajou spread deep around
Impenetrable umbrage. Ceiba* here
Extends his uncouth arms, and scatters wide
His silky down; yet yields yon mightier fig
Pre-eminence: meantime, Pomona show'rs—
Warm'd by the genial clime, uncourted showers—
Her choicest treasures; avocado mourns
Her marrowy pear uncropt; and tam'rind sheds
Her racy pods, and mild banana droops,
Unnotic'd. These and others numberless
Mock the proud infidel, and loud proclaim
Almighty goodness, boundless love divine!"

In this work the "Sable Venus" and "The Gnat" are from the pen of Teale, and a translation of the second epode of Horace is by his younger brother, Nathaniel Bayly Edwards.

Copies of all the works mentioned above, except the German and Spanish translations of the history, are in the library of the Institute of Jamaica. They are all, unless otherwise stated, octavo volumes.

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* The Silk-Cotton tree.

In 1763, Edwards wrote a prologue to "Venice Preserved," Otway's masterpiece, which was "spoken at the representation of that Tragedy by four gentlemen, friends of the author in Jamaica."

With regard to Edwards's account of the Maroons, Dallas, in his "History of the Maroons" (London, 1803), says :—

> "Far be it from me to speak lightly of the works of Mr. Edwards; I shall only observe here that I have been able to derive little or no assistance from the cursory narrative published by him in the year 1796. Consulting it, as incumbent upon me, I found very few of the particulars which I purposed to detail; and saw, with some pain, that in those few, my information did not concur with his,"

but Dallas's own history has been designated "a work very inaccurate in many of its details, and entertaining rather as a novel than as a genuine history."

In the life of Edwards in the "Dictionary of National Biography," it is stated, "Edwards is said by more than one authority to have driven Dr. Wolcot, generally known as 'Peter Pindar,' from Jamaica, through the vigour of his satire; but Polwhele, who knew Wolcot's history well, asserts that the doctor came to England for ordination and admission to a good benefice in Jamaica."

It is certain that on his return to Jamaica Wolcot was presented to the living of Vere by his patron, the Governor, Sir William Trelawny; and, moreover, Edwards never in his writing, at all events, gave evidence of satire equal to Wolcot's own; and the latter, one would think, was far too pachydermatous to be driven anywhere by anybody against his will.

Raymond Hall

ALTHOUGH of late, writers, misled by Anthony Trollope's doubting reference to the story, and by a misreading of Froude's words,* have attempted to prove that "Tom Cringle's Log," a work which brought literary fame to Michael Scott at a bound, was probably written in Glasgow in the intervals of business ; and although it is possible he may have rewritten in that city the chapters to suit the pages of "Blackwood," there seems very good evidence still obtainable that the original studies of Jamaica life and character, which, despite an occasional coarseness of thought or expression typical of the time, have delighted three or four generations of readers, were actually written in Jamaica.

Michael Scott was born at Cowlairs, on the outskirts of Glasgow, 30th October, 1789, the fifth and youngest son of Allan Scott, a Glasgow merchant and owner of a small estate at Cowlairs. He was educated at the High School, Glasgow, and between 1801 and 1805 attended the University. In 1806 he came to Jamaica to manage several estates. In 1810 he entered business in Kingston, the nature of which compelled him to travel frequently both by sea and road. He visited the neighbouring islands and the

* This subject has been treated at greater length than is here possible, in the "Daily Gleaner" (Kingston) for 7th March, 1900.

Spanish Main, and the experiences of tropical scenery and nautical life thus gained form the basis of his "Log." In 1817 he returned to Scotland, and in the following year he married Margaret, daughter of Robert Bogle, of Gilmorehill, merchant in Glasgow. He returned to Jamaica immediately afterwards, but left the island finally in 1822 and settled in Glasgow. There he entered business on his own account and became a partner in his father-in-law's firm, Bogle, Harris & Co., Glasgow, and Bogle, Douglas & Co., of Maracaybo. He was engaged in business until his death, which took place in Glasgow, 7th November 1835. He left a large family.

It was in 1829—we learn from Mr. Mowbray Morris's introduction to the edition of 1895—that the "Log" began to make its appearance in "Blackwood's Magazine" as a disconnected series of sketches, published intermittently as the author supplied them, or as the editor found it convenient to print them, The first five, for instance, appeared in September and November, 1829, and in June, July and October, 1830, under the titles of "A Scene off Bermuda," "The Cruise of H.M.S. 'Torch,'" "Heat and Thirst —a Scene in Jamaica," "Davy Jones and the Yankee Privateer," and "The Quenching of the 'Torch'"; and these five papers now constitute the third chapter. Blackwood, while keenly alive to their value, was urgent, we are told, with the author to give these sketches some connecting link which, without binding him to the strict rules of narrative composition, would add a strain of personal and continuous interest in the movement of the story. The young midshipman accordingly began to cut a more conspicuous figure;

and in July, 1832, the title of "Tom Cringle's Log" was prefixed to what is now the eighth, but was then called the eleventh chapter. Henceforward the "Log" proceeded regularly each month, with but one intermission, to its conclusion in August, 1833; and in that year it appeared in volume form in Philadelphia.*

"The Cruise of the 'Midge'" also first appeared serially in Blackwood, and afterwards in volume form in 1834.† Both works were highly praised at the time, and Coleridge in his "Table Talk" called them "most excellent." They have been translated into German. Scott so successfully concealed his identity that he was dead before his authorship of "Tom Cringle" was known. It was ascribed to Captain Chamier, to Captain Marryat and to Professor Wilson. From internal evidence it is clear that the events in this story synchronise, if they are not identical, with Scott's own travels. Cringle was in Haiti when Pétion, who died in 1818, was president. The two cotton trees mentioned in the Log, the one at the Camp near Kingston, the other on the Spanish Town road, are still standing.

Anthony Trollope visited Jamaica in 1839. He tells us, in his "West Indies and the Spanish Main,"

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* Mr. Mowbray Morris gives 1834 as the year of its first appearance as a book. The "Dictionary of National Biography" says 1836; Allibone gives 1833. This last-named was probably an unauthorized edition.

† In "The Cruise of the 'Midge,'" Scott has introduced the incident of the papers which, found in a shark, led to the condemnation of a ship in Kingston in 1799. The papers are now in the Institute of Jamaica, and the shark's head is in the United Service Institution, London.

RAYMOND HALL, ST. ANDREW.

that "Nothing can be grander, either in colour or grouping, than the ravines of the Blue Mountain ranges of hills. Perhaps the finest view in the island is from Raymond Lodge [*sic*], a house high up among the mountains, in which, so local rumour says, 'Tom Cringle's Log' was written." Trollope misrepresented the case and misled later writers when he used the expression "so local rumour says," for he heard the story from the then owner of Raymond Hall, Captain Hinton East, as Captain East's daughter (Mrs. Marescaux), one of the two ladies Trollope mentions as accompanying him on his ride to Newcastle, well remembers.

Mr. Mowbray Morris says that "the tradition seems to have died away before Froude's visit," but the reason why the historian did not mention it is probably because he never heard it.

Raymond Hall is the great house on Maryland coffee estate. Situated in the Blue Mountains, at an altitude of about 3,000 feet, some eleven miles from Kingston, it has been in the possession of the East family for upwards of two hundred years. When Scott was here, it was in the possession of Sir Edward Hyde East. In the returns of properties given in the "Jamaica Almanac" for 1840, Maryland is recorded as being 1,265 acres in extent. In 1845 it had increased to 1,700. It was a member of the family, Captain East's father, Hinton East (at one time Receiver-General of the Island), who got together at "the Gardens," at the village now called Gordon Town, a collection of many rare and valuable plants, which became the property of the Government in 1793, but was sold again in 1801 : a catalogue of the

plants appears in Bryan Edwards's "History of the West Indies."

Mr. Hamilton,* the original Aaron Bang in the Log, was, at the time when Michael Scott was in Jamaica, planting attorney to Sir Edward Hyde East for Maryland; he resided at times at Kingston, at Raymond Hall, and in St.-Thomas-in-the Vale. At all three places, his friend Scott was wont to stay with him.

Hamilton was known among his friends as (Aaron) Bang, from his fondness for practising with firearms, and until the hurricane of 1886 there stood in front of Raymond Hall a cabbage-palm, the stem of which was riddled with shot, it is said, from Hamilton's gun. Under this tree Scott wrote his studies of Jamaica life and scenery. So Captain East, who came out in 1836, only fourteen years after Scott had left, was informed.

An orange tree under which Scott, as he relates in his "Log," made love to his cousin "Maria," stood till quite recently at the back of the house. Mrs. Marescaux remembers the old estate carpenter, Stackpole by name, who was wont to show where Scott wrote, and where Hamilton fired at the cabbage-palm, from the old sofa which still rests in the same corner at Raymond Hall.

The following is Scott's description of the house

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* The name of Hamilton is not included in the lists of magistrates for St. Catherine's Precinct and Kingston given in the Almanac for 1816: but a "George William Hamilton" was then lieutenant in the St. Thomas-in-the-Vale regiment; and an Andrew Bogle was in 1816 one of the magistrates for Kingston and owner of "Dunkley's" in Vere.

and its view:—"The beautiful cottage where we were sojourning was situated about three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and half-way up the great prong of the Blue Mountains, known by the name of the Liguanea range, which rises behind and overhangs the city of Kingston. . . . Immediately under foot rose several lower ranges of mountains—those nearest us, covered with laurel-looking coffee-bushes, interspersed with negro villages hanging amongst the fruit trees like clusters of birds' nests on the hillside, with a bright green patch of plantain suckers here and there, and a white painted overseer's house peeping from out the wood, and herds of cattle in the Guinea-grass pieces. Beyond these, stretched out the lovely plain of Liguanea covered with luxuriant cane-pieces, and groups of negro houses, and Guinea-grass pastures of even a deeper green than that of the canes; and small towns of sugar-works rose every here and there, with their threads of white smoke floating up into the clear sky, while, as the plain receded, the cultivation disappeared, and it gradually became sterile, hot, and sandy, until the Long Mountain hove its back like a whale from out the sea-like level of the plain; while to the right of it appeared the city of Kingston, like a model, with its parade or *place d'armes*, in the centre, from which its long lines of hot sandy streets stretched out at right angles, with the military post of Up Park Camp, situated about a mile and a half to the northward and eastward of the town. Through a tolerably good glass, the church spire looked like a needle, the trees about the houses like bushes, the tall cocoa-nut trees like harebells; a slow crawling black speck here and

there denoted a carriage moving along, while waggons with their teams of eighteen and twenty oxen looked like so many centipedes. At the camp, the two regiments drawn out on parade, with two nine-pounders on each flank, and their attendant gunners, looked like a red sparkling line, with two black spots at each end, surrounded by small black dots."

There is no doubt that Michael Scott stayed at Raymond Hall, and there seems no reason to doubt that he there wrote many of the sketches which were afterwards worked up into "Tom Cringle's Log" and "The Cruise of the 'Midge.'"

The house stands, hidden from view, on a bamboo-topped hill, which is to be plainly seen to the west of the mountain driving-road to Newcastle, where it passes through Craigton. It has latterly been uninhabited. Silence now reigns within its walls, and the luxuriance of tropical growth somewhat hides the view which inspired one of Scott's best descriptive passages, and made a deep impression on Anthony Trollope's sense of the picturesque.

TOM CRINGLE'S COTTON TREE AT CAMP.

The Arms of Jamaica

The following extract from "The State of Jamaica, under Sir Thomas Lynch. . . . 1683," printed in "The Laws of Jamaica" (London, 1684), is the earliest reference to the arms of Jamaica:—

"The King has been pleased to honour this Island with a large guilt Mace, as a signal Mark of his Favour, and to make the government appear more great and formal; It's carried before the governour and Chancellour on solemn occasions.

The King has likewise honoured this Island with Arms, and with a publick Broad Seal; on one side of it his Majesty is seated on his Throne, with two *Indians* on their knees, presenting him *Fruits*, and two Cherubims aloft, supporting a Canopy; underneath his Feet, this *Motto: Duro de Cortice fructus quam Dulces.** The Inscription about it is, *Carolus Secundus Dei Gratia &c. Dominus Jamaicæ*; On the other side an Escutcheon, bearing a cross charged with five Pines: two *Indians* for the Supporters, and for the *Crest* an *Alligator*. The Inscription in the orle, inclosing all, is

Ecce alium Ramos porrexit in orbem nec sterilis crux est.†

The *Motto* underneath the Escutcheon is:

Indus uterq: serviet uni.‡

All this, as I have heard, was designed by the present Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* § in the year 1661, and the seal then

---

* How sweet the fruit the hard rind yields.

† Behold! the Cross hath spread its arms into another world, and bearcth fruit.

‡ The Indians twain shall serve one Lord.

§ William Sancroft.

delivered to Sir *Charles Littleton*, that came hither Chancellour,* for the Chancellours always keep it, and with it Seal all Publick Grants, Commissions, Patents, &c.

It will be noticed that no mention is made of the colour of the cross on the shield. And, owing partly to lack of definite information and partly to indifference or ignorance, the cross is found blazoned indifferently *gules*, *or*, or *azure*. The best evidence, however, points to a cross *gules* on a field *argent*, *i.e.*, the Cross of St. George of England, a likely device to have been granted by Charles II. to the new colony, and one quite in harmony with the inscription in the orle.

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* He came out with Lord Windsor, the Governor, in 1662, and on the return of the latter succeeded him as Governor.

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