EIGHTEEN MONTHS

IN

JAMAICA;

WITH

RECOLLECTIONS

OF THE

LATE REBELLION.

"——— Where the sun's setting beams
Flame on th' Atlantic isles."

BY THEODORE FOULKS.

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CHAPTER I.

"I can't but say it is an awkward sight
To see one's native land receding through
The growing waters; it unmans one quite,
Especially when life is rather new.
I recollect Great Britain's coast looks white,
But almost every other country's blue,
As gazing on them, mystified by distance,
We enter on our nautical existence."—DON JUAN.

"SHORTEN in the cable, we shall have the wind round before morning, I think," cried the pilot, as he stood on the deck of a large West Indiaman, anxiously looking, first at the vane, and then at a dark bank of clouds, gathering eastward. He proved, indeed, a true prophet; the wind veered during the night, and, before break of day, the vessel under the influence of the first puff of a favourable breeze, was under weigh; the bunt-lines, clue-lines, and reef-tackles let go; the top-sails hoisted up; the haulyards belayed; and the ship, under a press of canvass, bade adieu to her former station, and was carried forwards towards the mighty ocean. The clanging cry of the wild sea-bird died on the ear: nothing was heard but the ceaseless dash of the waves, and the whistling of the wind

through the straining cordage. Every passenger now braved the cold mists of a November dawn, to catch a last glimpse of the fast receding shores of England; till, one by one, they retired to their cabins, oppressed by that "chilling heaviness of stomach," which is invariably felt by those who are unaccustomed to the undulatory motion of the sea. The night was tempestuous, and the next morning, nothing was visible but a "vast world of waters." The rising sea, with its snowy crested billows, greatly contracted the horizon; and England—her refinements—her smiling villages—her cheerful firesides—her peculiar comforts—were known only by remembrance; while a sad feeling pressed on the heart, and gave something like a presage, that they were left, perhaps, for ever.

"The perils of the deep" have been so often and so ably described, that it would be a tax on the reader's patience to drag him through a detail of the tempests and dangers of a long voyage. It would be needless to tell him of split sails and shivered booms; of heavy seas carrying away bulwarks; of sky-lights dashed in pieces; and of mingled showers of broken glass and salt-water deluging some unfortunate passenger, who imagined himself snugly established in the cabin.

To those, however, who have never been at sea, there is something very striking in the appearance of a ship during a heavy gale of wind. The vessel seems to be shorn of much of her beauty. She is, perhaps, lying-to under a reefed main-tri-sail, or close reefed main-top-sail and mizen. She seems stripped of her clothing, groaning and labouring in the midst of the tumult by which she is surrounded. The waves rise in angry struggle around her; they open, as it were, a watery grave; while death sits frowning on every foaming billow. It is in scenes like these, that the British sailor shines forth in his peculiar character. No howling nor violence of the storm, no heaving nor pitching of the ship daunts his English heart. He mounts the rigging with intrepidity, lays himself out on the yard, sits on the yard arm, steadily and cheerfully exerting himself to perform his allotted duty. This noble self-possession must be seen to be fully appreciated. A late British admiral once declared, that in a storm or a battle, an English sailor was more than human.

A lively interest was excited, when, on a blowing day, the officer of the watch called to the captain, "There is a wreck to windward!" Every one, within the reach

of the news, sought to ascertain the position of the stranger. Many an anxious thought came across the mind, "What can have been the cause of this melancholy catastrophe? They must have experienced very bad weather. Has she been robbed and plundered by pirates? There may be people on board, perhaps ladies." Orders were immediately given to get near the shattered vessel. Every eye was turned towards her, and inquiry after inquiry made, "Do you see any one on board? Well, at all events, we must make room for them. How delightful it will be to snatch them from impending death!" With all these affectionate sensibilities, the vessel was neared; and passing across her bows, it was clearly ascertained that she had been abandoned. Her masts were gone; the decks were torn up; and the tackles, attached to the davits, showed that the crew had taken to the boats.

There is a peculiar feeling produced in meeting a vessel at sea: and to any one whose knowledge of sea-life has never extended beyond the period occupied in a voyage from Southampton to Havre, or from Bristol to Dublin, the interest is very great. He experiences something like satisfaction, at finding other human beings pursuing their solitary

course on the wide and trackless deep. No sooner is a strange sail discovered, but the telescope is put in requisition. To ascertain whether she be brig or ship, schooner or sloop, English or foreign, friend or foe, is a point of no ordinary concern. She gradually rises on the horizon ; sail after sail appears, and at length, the hull is discernible. The ensign, flowing out from the mizen peak, declares to what nation she belongs. This is a point, however, that is not always easily decided. Some may declare, that they can clearly distinguish the stripes of America: others assert, with no less confidence, that they plainly discern the Prussian eagle: while a few, perhaps, after having rubbed the lens of the telescope, triumphantly proclaim it to be the tri-colour of France. If both ships be in possession of the code of signals, now in use, a telegraphic conversation can be carried on. The number is made by which her name is known. Her destination, the length of time she has been at sea, the port whence she sailed, and various other inquiries are easily answered. If the vessels be within hail, the intercourse is supported by a speaking trumpet; and oftentimes mutual acts of civility, and the expression of good wishes,

pass between the separate commanders. The interest, thus excited, is sometimes of a very different character. A roguish and suspicious appearance occasions no small anxiety: and if the vessel be armed, preparations are made to anticipate the visit of a dreaded pirate; an event not altogether impossible when in the neighbourhood of the Western Isles, or when approaching the valuable West India possessions of Great Britain.

The party consisting principally of ladies, seated comfortably in the dining-cabin, on the last evening of the year, was suddenly interrupted, and broken up, by one of the officers unexpectedly calling out to the captain, that a schooner, which had been seen the greater part of the day, though at nightfall she was distant nine or ten miles, was under the bows of the ship. This intelligence occasioned universal bustle on board, and dreadful alarm among the ladies. Orders were given, though the ship was not properly armed, to prepare for the best possible resistance: and, as soon as the supposed enemy had crossed the ship's course, the captain expected the attack to commence. Happily, however, this did not take place; and the schooner, from some unknown cause, continued her course, and was soon out of sight.

These seas were, at one time, awfully infested by those blood-thirsty marauders; a circumstance which will immediately account for the uneasiness, occasioned by the appearance of a vessel of doubtful character.

A pirate of sanguinary celebrity, whose name was Gibbs, and who, in America, received the just reward of his deeds, confessed, before his execution, that he had actually murdered no less than four hundred persons. A strange theory of justice is sometimes adopted by these men of general expediency. A vessel had been boarded by some piratical adventurers, the chief of whom declared, that he would pay for every thing, which it might be thought necessary to take. After making the required selection, the commander of the brigands prepared a bill of particulars, annexing to each article the value established by the captain. To the surprise, however, of the latter, instead of receiving payment, a curious *per contra* was produced; and the charges for the shot and powder, expended in bringing-to the trader, were made equivalent to the extent of goods purchased. The account was thus unexpectedly balanced; the ingenious naval diplomatist politely took leave; and the astonished captain of the vessel was happy

in being released on such terms, however unusual and extraordinary.

The occupations of individuals during a voyage, usually possess but little variety; though events are frequently multiplied between morning and night. Reading is one great source of amusement, but mid-day generally furnishes very important matter for consideration. It is at this period, that the observation is taken; when the captain orders it to be "made twelve o'clock," and the distance east or west of Greenwich is ascertained. On the completion of the "day's work," as it is technically called, many are the inquiries with respect to the latitude and longitude; the remaining distance of the voyage is calculated; and opinions hazarded as to the length of time which must elapse, before the approach to the land will be happily announced. This meridian portion of the day recalls to mind the arrival of the post on shore, when the seal of the letter is eagerly broken, and the newspaper attentively examined. The conversation, however, at sea, is not whether England may have entered into an alliance offensive or defensive with any continental state; whether ministers be wise in the measures they have adopted; or whether a favourite candidate

have succeeded in his election. The grand object is to know, how many miles the ship has run, and when the termination of the voyage may be reasonably expected.

The phrase, "make it twelve o'clock," may appear extraordinary to a landsman; who might feel puzzled to discover, in what way the commanding officer of a ship became possessed of the power of arresting the progress of time. But this surprise will at once be removed, when it is remembered, that in a voyage from England to the westward, the ship is traversing a part of the globe, where the sun attains its meridian altitude at a later period than in those places, situated more to the eastward. The watch will, therefore, be naturally past twelve, before the sextant declares that it is mid-day. The contrary will, of course, take place, if the ship be steering eastward. No variation can be observed, if a vessel proceed due north, or due south, on the same meridian.

The nautical day, too, it should be observed, differs from the civil day, which commences at midnight, and terminates at the succeeding midnight. The sea-day, however, begins at noon, or twelve hours before the civil day; and consequently, ends at the next noon. It is divided into two parts, of twelve hours each:

the first being distinguished as P. M. the latter as A. M. Thus events, which take place on the afternoon of Sunday, the 28th, are entered in the log book as happening on Monday, the 29th day of the month.

The day on board ship is generally divided into different watches of four hours each, which are thus arranged:—let eight o'clock in the evening be the commencement of the first, which continues till twelve at night. The second then commences, and lasts till four in the morning, when the third begins, and terminates at eight o'clock. The next four hours constitute another watch; bringing the time to mid-day. From this period, till four P. M. another watch elapses; while the intervening space from four to eight is appropriated to what is nautically described, as the "dog-watches," consisting of two hours each. This latter division is used to prevent the same persons from being always employed in the same watch.

The time is announced by the striking of the great bell of the ship. Thus at eight P. M. eight bells are synonymous with eight o'clock. One bell denotes half-past eight; two, nine; three, half-past nine; four, ten; five, half-past ten; six, eleven; seven, half-past eleven; and

eight, twelve. When the same routine again commences, and is continued during each division of four hours. In the dog-watches, however, from four to six, and from six to eight, this arrangement is altered. Half-past four is one bell; five, two; half-past five, three; six, four; half-past six, one; seven, two; half-past seven, three; when eight o'clock is as usual eight bells.

The improvements, both in the practical and scientific parts of navigation, are very great: and the accuracy with which the ship's place can be ascertained is wonderful. The general principle on which the longitude is determined, is the comparison of the relative times under two different meridians: for as the sun, in common parlance, describes an arc of fifteen degrees of the equator, in his apparent progress from east to west, in every hour of time, all places, lying to the eastward of any meridian, will have noon before those lying to the westward, by as much time as the sun takes to pass from the meridian of one place to that of another. The best method of finding the longitude at sea is by celestial, commonly called lunar, observations. The angular distance between the moon and sun, or the moon and certain stars near the ecliptic, is measured. As, therefore, the

moon's daily motion is somewhat about thirteen degrees, or at the rate of one minute of a degree in two minutes of time, if her angular distance from the sun or a star be calculated within thirty seconds of a degree, the corresponding time at Greenwich may be known within one minute of time; and hence, allowing fifteen degrees to every hour, and four minutes to every degree, the longitude is ascertained, within fifteen minutes of a degree.

The invention and improvement of the sextant and chronometer, are invaluable blessings to all nautical men; and no ship should go to sea without being well provided with these important instruments. In proof of this, it is requisite merely to state, that a brig, outward bound, was spoken, when the captain had miscalculated his longitude no less than six degrees. He might, thus, have been considerably nearer the land than he expected; and supposing himself to be more distant than really was the case, like the unfortunate Thetis frigate, he might have been running on in thick weather, trusting only to what, in nautical language, is called "dead reckoning;" and have only seen his danger, when it was too late to save himself from all the horrors of shipwreck.

Most persons who have crossed the Atlantic, have seen the stormy petrel, denominated by the sailors, "mother Carey's chicken." These birds are not larger than a swallow, and it is said, that their unexpected and numerous appearance has thrown a damp over the mind of the hardiest seaman; for as they are nocturnal birds, and very sensible of any aërial change, their presence is said to announce the approach of a storm. They wing their way over the wide ocean; and when unable to find an island, or a rock to serve them for shelter, they approach the first ship they meet, and crowd in her wake to protect themselves from the full force of the wind. Sailors fancy that they carry their eggs under their wings, in order to hatch them; but this idea is as well founded as the supposition that they occasion storms. During a gale, they are sometimes seen flying with the celerity of an arrow, or, what is very remarkable, running with surprising swiftness on the foaming crest of some tremendous billow.

In consequence of the winds which generally prevail along the English coast, and to the north of the tropics, ships bound to the West India islands consider it very advantageous, for the purpose of procuring a speedy passage, to

proceed to the southward as soon as possible. It is usually calculated, that the benefit of the trade winds will be obtained when the vessel is in the neighbourhood of thirty degrees north. She can then look forward to a steady breeze from the eastward, and enjoy all the comforts of a fair and prosperous wind.

In most cases, the latitude is soon run down, and the mild soft air and deep blue skies of a southern clime, gradually take the place of the bleak winds and foggy atmosphere of England. An inhabitant of the misty regions of the north can form no conception of the splendid pageantry of a tropical sunset at sea. The ocean is, as it were, dyed with crimson; some clouds appear of a rich purple, others of a deep rose colour, and the western sky is one gorgeous sheet of amber light. Before twilight has disappeared, the heaven is generally illuminated by brilliant lightning, which assumes the most fantastic forms, sometimes circling with gold the ruby clouds, then flowing, in a fiery stream, along the glistening horizon.

It is often very pleasing to stand on deck in the evening, and admire the new and brilliant stars, which night after night appear; among which the beautiful southern constellation, described as "The glorious *Cross* of our faith," is particularly conspicuous.

"Blue roll the waters, blue the sky,
Spread like an ocean hung on high,
Bespangled with those isles of light,
So wildly, spiritually bright."

In these latitudes, the sea is at night completely illuminated. Leaning over the stern, one may clearly trace the ship's course in the bright phosphoric track, which she leaves behind her. This luminous appearance has been frequently considered by philosophers, and has been attributed to different causes. It is not of common occurrence in temperate climates: but, between the tropics, its brilliancy is especially great; and, on a dark night, will sometimes even illuminate the cabin of the ship; while every plunge which she makes, dashes, as it were, sheet lightning from her bows. It has been supposed by some to originate in the spawn of fish, and in myriads of certain small animals, floating on the surface of the ocean. If this opinion were correct, this phenomenon would be found in fresh water lakes, where animalcules abound, as much as in the sea. But nothing of this sort having been noticed in lakes, the phosphorescent light is more probably produced by the salt held in solution in sea water.

Among the observanda, soliciting the notice

of the inexperienced voyager, is the flying fish, or *hirundo* of the ancients. It is in form, with the exception of its head and flat back, similar to the herring. Its chief place of existence is between the tropics; though it is found in the Red Sea, and in the waters which wash the European shores. These fishes generally rise as it were in a covey, and fly usually from sixty to seventy yards, when they again descend into their native element: but by touching the surface of the water, so as to moisten their wings, the extent of their flight can be considerably increased. Their large and silvery scales glitter beautifully in the resplendent light, as they seek to throw themselves beyond the pursuit, or to evade the attack of their aquatic foes; though, in avoiding Scylla, they sometimes fall into Charybdis, as the albatross, one of their numerous enemies, often pounces upon them, and terminates their aërial career. They always swim in straight lines, and seem also to fly in this direction, frequently falling, from exhaustion, in considerable numbers on deck. They are furnished with peculiar properties for the discovery of danger, as their eyes are very prominent, and enable them to ascertain the quarter whence evil may be approaching. On particular emergen-

cies, however, they protrude their eyes beyond the sockets, and thus very materially and seasonably augment their sphere of vision. Their wings are nothing more than pectoral fins, united by a glutinous membrane, which gives them a power of pressing forward through the water with remarkable velocity.

The paper nautilus, or, as the sailors have named it, the "Portuguese man-of-war," is often seen in the warmer parts of the Atlantic ocean. In fine weather, when the water is tolerably smooth, these sea-born navigators may be noticed floating about, like vessels under full sail. But if they meet with any disturbance, or the weather gives any indication of an approaching gale, they seem immediately to take in sail, and disappear from the surface. Their length is not more than six or eight inches, while their breadth is something greater. Their colour is sometimes a beautiful pink, though some are green, and others chestnut. The instinct by which they exhaust the water from their shells, and are thus enabled to float, is very astonishing. Two arms rise upwards and act as masts for the sail; the other six, pendent from the sides of the shell, are employed either as oars or rudder.

A purse was made, as a reward for the first man who discovered land; and when the ship had run about as far as 17° north latitude, and 61° west longitude, a sort of emulative look out was kept, in order to be the fortunate possessor of the golden prize. This produced a pleasing interest, not only among the men, but also among the officers and passengers, who were the contributors to this desired fund.

At length, the cry of "Land, ho!" produced an almost electric feeling among those, who had been for many weeks on the dreary bosom of the wide Atlantic. As the welcome sound was caught by those below, every passenger rushed eagerly on deck, anxiously, though vainly, looking for the desired object; which was, as yet, only visible from the upper rigging. An awkward landsman will now sometimes clamber, at the risk of his neck, to the fore-top-gallant-yard; where, with straining eyes, he can scarcely persuade himself that the speck, which he sees on the horizon, is actually land. The dusky spot, becoming every moment more apparent, was at length plainly distinguishable from the deck; and, in a few hours, Deseada, the first of the Carribean islands discovered by the great Columbus, was clearly seen, rising

on the solitary deep. If this take place in the evening, a careful commander will shorten sail during the night; notwithstanding the temptation of a fresh and favourable wind. The next morning, groups of islands, clad with the rich and beautiful verdure, known only in those parts of the world, formed new and interesting scenes; and Antigua, Montserrat, Redonda, Nevis, St. Christopher's, and others, were successively passed. Thus running down the Carribean sea, the high blue mountain peaks of the beautiful island of Jamaica, the richest western jewel in the British crown, triumphantly loomed before the seaman's eye, and announced the speedy termination of the voyage.

CHAPTER II.

"Hoarse o'er her side the rustling cable rings;
The sails are furl'd; and anchoring, round she swings."

CORSAIR.

IN approaching the island of Jamaica on its eastern side, great caution should be used; as the point of land, so well known by the name of the East End, lies very low; and, during night or in thick weather, would not be readily made out. Additional care, too, is requisite, if there be a necessity of heaving-to, lest the ship should suffer inconvenience from the effect of a current, setting along the northern coast of the island. In consequence, therefore, of light wind and calm, together with these precautionary measures, the final anchorage was not gained till the middle of the fourth day, after the first making of the land; when the ship glided gently into her berth, and preparations were made for the landing of the passengers.

During the run from Antigua to Jamaica, an officer of the watch discovered a comet in the east, which was moving very rapidly, and continued visible for some weeks. To those who

are interested in nautical astronomy, a sea voyage affords frequent opportunities for the practical application of science, and for entertaining information. How different the mode now of traversing the great deep, from that adopted by the early sailors, who durst not trust themselves *en haute mer!*

As the vessel drew near the shore, lofty and beautiful mountains, clothed with a verdure exhibiting a continual summer, became every hour more distinct. Various were the thoughts which passed through the mind, and the feelings which influenced the heart. There is always, however, as Dr. Johnson says, something painful in the last; and though joy for the happy issue of the voyage may be indulged, yet when the period of separation arrives, and farewell is bidden to those, with whom dangers and anxieties have been shared for many long weeks, a degree of gloom, which is sensibly experienced when the rough sailor shakes the hand, and wishes one future health and prosperity, involuntarily steals over the mind. This, too, is especially the case, if the commander, combining great scientific and practical knowledge of his profession, have conducted himself, during the voyage, with the essential spirit of a gentleman: if he have endeavoured, with

delicate consideration, to anticipate the wishes of his passengers; softening the unavoidable asperities of nautical life, and assimilating, as much as possible, the precarious comforts of the cabin, to the refined conveniences of a residence on shore.

At length the pilot-boat appeared, and a canoe, formed from the trunk of the cotton-tree, was seen, mounting over the swell, urged through the blue water by the paddles of its sable conductors. Daddie, Quashie, Sambo, sedulously pressed forward their narrow bark, with emulous anxiety, in order to outrun their contending competitors. On coming alongside, an exchange took place of oranges for the substantial salt-beef of England;—a transfer of property very agreeable to these intertropical sailors; who, having placed one of their number on board, hurried off to other vessels which were at that moment in sight.

The appearance of Port Royal, from the sea, must always attract the eye of a stranger. The long, low range of buildings, with the lofty and characteristic cocoa-nut trees in their front, and the bright and sandy beach, glaring beneath the powerful rays of a tropical sun, present so changed and novel a scene, as to convince the traveller of the reality of his having entered

into a new world. The white sepulchres, too, of many who lie sleeping on the quiet shore, proclaim the uncertainty of human existence; and force upon the spectator's mind the thought, that, separated from his "father land" by the wide "billowy barriers" of ocean, he, too, may be unexpectedly touched by the cold hand of death.

Port Royal, though deprived of much, if not of all its former splendour and wealth, still possesses a valuable haven, capable of containing one thousand sail of shipping. The entrance is well defended, and the fortifications are constantly kept in very excellent order. If an enemy's squadron were to attempt to force its way into this harbour, the ships, necessarily passing through a difficult channel, would be exposed to a tremendous fire, without the power of returning it, as they could not bring their guns to bear. The forty-two-pounders of the Twelve Apostles, the designation of one of the batteries, would rake them from stem to stern; and even should they survive the fire, and advance, so as to tack, to stand up the harbour, they would have still to encounter the Twelve Apostles on one side, a strong battery on the other, and Fort Augusta in front. So that the place, entrusted to British sailors and

British soldiers, may be considered impregnable. The dreadful effects of the awful earthquake, which submerged this town on the 7th June, 1692, are well known; and even now, at the distance of one hundred and forty years, when the weather is calm and clear, the embosomed ruins may be perceived in their desolate and watery abyss. The anniversary of this event is set apart, as a day of fast and humiliation before Almighty God.

The passengers landed in the evening at the fish-market, situated at the bottom of the town of Kingston, where all these places of purchase and sale are established. The scene that presented itself was very striking. People of every shade of colour, from the jetty African to the pallid and sickly-looking *Maestifino*, thronged the streets. Their white teeth formed a very strong contrast to their dark faces; and the showy turbans of the women, the strings of coloured beads round their necks, the large ear-rings, short petticoats and bare feet forcibly arrested the attention: while their strange accent, and the peculiar mode in which they drawled out their words sounded very novel to English ears. The brown women are by no means uninteresting. The dark hue of their faces is frequently relieved by a slight glow of

health, and their glossy black hair, set off by brilliant dark eyes, certainly protects them from the charge of ugliness. Their dress, too, renders their appearance completely foreign. A large Panama hat, worn *à la Française*, a coloured muslin gown, gold or silver ear-rings, a handsome necklace, and bracelets, form the usual morning attire. At "their evening assemblies," however, their dress is splendid, and worn with a grace that would not discredit a Spanish Donna.

Many of the free coloured people have received an education, which puts them on a level with the middle ranks in England. Some few, indeed, there are, whose literary attainments entitle them to be received as gentlemen, and have obtained for them a seat in the legislative assembly; but these instances are "few and far between." The generality are uneducated. They are a body totally distinct from the slaves, enjoy all the privileges of white people, and often possess considerable wealth. Their number is nearly double to that of the white inhabitants. During the late rebellion they were found to be a very efficient force, displayed considerable courage, and well merited the civil immunities lately granted to them.

The general want of height in the houses is remarkable. They are built with a long continuous range of Venetian windows, and have low, over-hanging, wooden roofs. There are, however, some exceptions, which properly claim the title of handsome edifices; while pretty and comfortable suburban villas lie scattered round the city. The interior of these houses is vastly superior to their exterior, as they are often furnished with a taste and elegance, seeming to vie with the ordinary arrangements of an English drawing-room. There is, notwithstanding, a great degree of novelty in the *tout ensemble*. The length of the piazzas, which sometimes encircle the whole house; the bed-rooms opening into the drawing-room, still retaining the ancient designation of "hall;" floors of mahogany, cedar, and wild orange, which are rubbed so bright, that it is often difficult for the unpractised to walk without a fall,—form a singular contrast to the "stately homes of England." The wind is allowed free access through open *jalousies*, and makes a stranger feel as if he were out of doors. A tropical rain will, sometimes, by its tremendous rattle on the wooden roof, accompanied by the noise of the deluging cataracts which rush violently from the gutters, dispersing the

spray in various directions, induce him not only to doubt the security of his shelter, but almost to fancy himself near the falls of the celebrated Niagara.

Musquittoes are a never-failing source of annoyance in the evening, and their stings have been known to be the cause of fever. Sometimes, indeed, very painful ulcers are produced by the attacks of these apparently insignificant creatures. An instance has occurred where the face of the individual has been disfigured by indentations, equal to the cavities occasioned by small pox. As a protection at night, a muslin net overhangs the bed, without which defence it would be impossible to expect repose. Even with such a fortification, some of these formidable intruders find their way within the muslin walls, and enjoy a rich banquet on the ruddy face and healthy frame of a northern visiter. Should even one of the enemy obtain admittance within the usual line of defence, the prospect of refreshing sleep must be abandoned, unless the indefatigable marauder be destroyed.

Kingston is the great emporium of the foreign commerce of the island, and owes its foundation to the destruction of Port Royal. It has been constituted a city, and ought,

from its size, wealth, and population, to rank as the capital of the island. St. Jago de la Vega, however, being the residence of the governor, claims this honour. The streets of Kingston are comparatively wide, many are of a considerable length, and in several instances a colonnade on each side, though it shelters the passenger from the scorching rays of the sun, cannot protect him from the clouds of dust which, raised by the sea breeze, often render the air nearly suffocating. The shops are surprisingly good; and many could stand a competition with those of most provincial towns in England.

During the periodical rains, the streets are sometimes so completely under water, that walls have been swept away by the force of the flood, which generally leaves the roads intersected by such numerous water-courses, that an English-built carriage is frequently sent, after rainy weather, to the coach-maker's, as the springs are too delicate to stand the violent shocks occasioned by these chasms. This inundation is caused by the rain in the high land above Kingston, which, seated on a plain, gradually ascending towards the mountains of Liguanea, naturally receives the torrents formed during the wet season of the year. This in-

convenience is, however, counterbalanced by the absence of the stagnation of water in the town.

Although garden-tillage is not much attended to in Jamaica, yet the French have shown what might be done in this respect. They have fertilized a spot of ground, near Kingston, by small aqueducts, which are supplied with water drawn from wells by machinery, and have thus given their gardens, which are open to public inspection, a very pleasing and refreshing appearance. The cultivation is conducted by French negroes, whose dialect is greatly softened by their foreign accent, and whose manners partake of the politeness peculiar to the inhabitants of *la belle France.*

The market of this city is well supplied at all seasons of the year. Meat, poultry, fish, tropical garden-stuff, and fruits, are not the only exhibitions for sale. Peas, beans, cabbages, artichokes, turnips, asparagus, carrots, onions, and other European or American vegetables, can also be procured. The negroes attend this market with the surplus productions of their own land, and generally return laden with salted pork, beef, fish, and other articles of domestic use.

Jamaica affords but little variety of amuse-

ment. A race, however, is a thing not quite *hors de combat*, as every parish can boast of its "course;" but the country races are very inferior to those of Kingston and Spanish Town. At the latter places, a large concourse of people assembles. Fashionables, consisting of gentlemen on horseback, and of ladies in open carriages, regardless of the oppressive heat, and of the clouds of dust in which they are enveloped, join in the gay scene; while the rest of the multitude, "black, brown, and yellow," exhibit themselves, some on mule back, some on foot, and some in strangely constructed vehicles.

This sort of thing is, however, conducted in a very different style from a race in England. Bootless jockeys buckle their spurs on naked ankles, and consider it to be the acme of good jockeyship to carry the horse round the course at the top of his speed, without the least regard to scientific horsemanship. There are no booths for *Rouge et Noir*, nor *Hazard*, where "*gentlemen sportsmen*" are invited to play from "one shilling to a thousand pounds." No tables for "thimble-rig," as that is a pitch of refinement not yet reached. The lower order of speculators is contented with "tossing up" *a bit*, *a ten-pence*, or a *macaroni*; and the higher grade

will bet a *two dollar piece, a pistole*, a *half joe*, or even a *doubloon*.

The negroes, however, do not confine their gambling within their own species, but sometimes contrive to bet with the brute creation. A black man was once heard making a wager with the mule on which he rode. Being asked, how he could possibly win money from an animal, he thus readily solved the problem. "*Massa da gib me one fi' paunce fà buy de mule bittel. Now if him lose, me hab de fi' paunce, and de mule no hab grass.*"

The "Military Races," when officers ride their own horses, remind one, though not of Newmarket, Ascot, or Doncaster, yet of Bath or Cheltenham, where a good run is often seen.

An idle man, as it is termed, has some difficulty in proceeding *sans s'ennuyer*. There are no *soirées musicales*, no *petits soupers*—no social *soirées à danser*. Every thing of this kind is on a grand scale; and if an invitation to "a small party," be given, one may expect to find so large a *corps de danseurs*, as to be perfectly *affreux*, to one accustomed to a little *société bien composée, et très recherchée*. But there is a pleasing appendix, very important to the *corps gastromanique*, which is an excel-

lent and splendid supper, enlivened by an abundance of Champagne and other French wines. It has been said, that Madame de Staël wisely observed, "*Le corps fait plus de frais que l'esprit;*" and on one occasion it was noticed that a single individual cleared three small tables *à gorge deployée!*

The theatre is, indeed, open at stated times, and the performance may serve to dissipate a heavy hour in the evening; or the scene may be varied by witnessing some ludicrous exhibition, "just arrived from Carthagena," and performed "under the express patronage of his honour the Custos."

It is the morning, to the man not occupied in business, which hangs heavily on his hands. The ladies are generally afraid of venturing abroad, till the sun has lost much of his power; and it is at this time, when the rides and streets are deserted, that one is in danger of feeling something of ennui, and of stigmatizing a West India day as monotonous and dull. A man must then, in self defence, lounge into a sort of transatlantic divan, where, seated by an open *jalousie* with a *joram* of *sangaree* by his side, and a real Havannah *weed* in his mouth, he may look over a morning paper, which, if the packet be just arrived, contains a

very respectable quota of information. If he be any thing of a sportsman, a wide field is opened to him. Guinea fowl, teal, coots, quails, wild pigeons, snipes, plovers, and ortolans abound: but these pursuits are often attended by serious consequences, arising from the effects of fever. Starting with the earliest dawn of day, a lover of field sports will be sometimes more than knee deep in water, for several hours, and does not relinquish his labours, till the sun, reaching its mid-day height, makes him feel that his exertions have been sufficient.

The quail is very similar to the partridge found in England; and guinea fowl, which abound, and exist in multitudes, rise much in the style of a pheasant. Both species afford very excellent and pleasant shooting. The mode in which the black sportsmen secure this latter bird is, either by finding out the tree on which they roost, and thus make certain every shot; or, by the hunting of a dog, put them on the wing, when they perch on the branches of some tree, and terrified by the barking, allow themselves to become an easy prey.

The wild boar hunting is a scene of more activity and danger. The dogs are sometimes

killed, and the huntsmen seek safety by climbing into trees.

The great sea devil, a large aquatic monster, is frequent in the harbour of Kingston. It is taken by the harpoon, after the manner practised in the whale fisheries; and to those who disregard the being towed out some way to sea in an open boat, supplies very good sport. Persons, who engage in this amusement, ought to be tolerably good boat-sailors.

The swift, strong, voracious shark, may also be taken in this way. They abound at Port Royal, and instances of their voracity may be almost indefinitely multiplied. The activity, with which they seize their prey, may be estimated by the fact, that a man washing his feet over the side of a boat, immediately lost one of his legs, and perished from loss of blood.

The capture of the alligator, whether dead or alive, furnishes active employment to those who are fond of this kind of recreation. It is seldom that they can be shot, as their scales generally resist, even the power of a musket ball. A full-grown animal is from seventeen to eighteen feet in length. Their voice is very loud, and the presence of a powerfully musky smell indicates their near approach.

When caught very young they may be in some measure tamed. They are not fond of attacking human creatures, but, if a good opportunity offer, men are not spared. Persons, who have eaten them, affirm that their flesh is white and good. *De gustibus non est disputandum.*

CHAPTER III.

"Land of the mountain and the flood!"

The magnificent and sublime scenery of the new world, when beheld for the first time, cannot fail to excite sensations of almost overpowering astonishment. The cloud-capt mountains; the vast and impenetrable woods; and the stupendous trees of the West Indies, which exceed in size any that are seen in Europe, invariably produce a feeling almost approaching to awe. Who, on his arrival in these islands, has not beheld, with delight, the rich green hues of the foliage, and the deep blue of the cloudless skies? Who, while gazing on the grand and beautiful landscape, and on the splendid appearance which nature here assumes, has not been almost tempted to forget that he is in a semi-barbarous land, deprived of all the luxuries and refinements of civilized England?

The effect produced on the mind of Columbus, on first beholding these regions, is thus expressed in a letter to the King of Spain:

"There is a river, which discharges itself into the harbour, of sufficient depth to be navigable. I had the curiosity to sound it, and found it eight fathoms; yet the water is so limpid, that I can easily discern the sand at the bottom. The banks of this river are embellished with lofty trees, whose shades give a delicious freshness to the air; and the birds, and the flowers, are uncommon and beautiful. I was so delighted with the scene, that I had almost come to the resolution of staying here the remainder of my days: for, believe me, Sire, these countries surpass all the rest of the world in beauty; and I have frequently observed to my people, that with all my endeavours to convey to your majesty an adequate idea of the charming objects which continually present themselves to our view, the description will fall greatly short of the reality."

Jamaica, near the sea, is, generally speaking, low and flat; the lofty mountains being situated more in the interior. The scenery of this low country, although by no means so grand as the mountainous, is yet far from being uninteresting. Fields of the tall sugar cane, with their tops bending to the force of the sea-breeze, present an undulatory surface,

" ———— where the wandering eye
Unfix'd, is in a verdant ocean lost."

Here and there, a large cotton tree, that oak of the western world, rises in solitary grandeur on the quiet landscape. Few trees, in point of size, can bear any competition with this; for such is its surprising magnitude, that canoes are sometimes scooped out of its trunk, which are capable of carrying one hundred persons. The cashaw, with its horizontal branches and flat top, forms another remarkable and distinguishing feature of a lowland view. Although some of these trees are of considerable size, and extend over large tracts of country, yet, from the peculiar nature of their foliage, they afford but little protection to the panting herds, that vainly endeavour to shelter themselves from the sun, which blazes with terrific power in this burning zone. It is almost impossible to exterminate these trees. If, indeed, they are cut down, in the space of a few months, they will again spring up to the height of several feet; and such is their power of extending themselves, that large meadows are quickly covered by them. This exuberant power of increase is peculiarly beneficial, as most of the wood, used in the furnaces employed for boiling sugar, in the lowlands, is

obtained from this plant. The hedges, too, present rather a curious appearance. They are composed of the penguin, which often grows six or seven feet high. The leaves are long and narrow; and, being armed with numerous sharp spines, form an awkward *chevaux de frise* on each side of the road.

Those who have visited the country parts of Jamaica, will recollect the sensation of extreme loneliness which is there felt. The houses are oftentimes far from any other mansion; no other dwelling is probably in sight; and nothing but silent nature is seen around. This feeling of solitude is considerably heightened at the approach of night. The bats, then leaving their hiding places, flap their heavy wings in the large and gloomy rooms. The hooting of owls, from their nests within the roofs, makes a horrid concert with the croaking of lizards, which people the house in such numbers, that they frequently drop from the ceilings on the chairs and tables, and oftentimes on the face of any person who may chance to be sitting beneath them.

Numerous reptiles are often to be found in every corner; among which the ant is not the least troublesome. If a cup of tea, or a glass of lemonade be put on a table, in the

space of half an hour, the liquid is covered with a dark surface of ants. A bottle of oil had been left tightly corked on a shelf; and at night the cork was found eaten, and the mouth of the bottle choked up with these insects. They always follow each other in a single unbroken line, which generally reaches from their nest to the object that attracts them. Nothing but water can impede their progress; and should any one oil his hair, he may expect at night to have it filled with these intrusive little visiters.

The scorpion is a formidable creature, resembling a lobster in its shape, though infinitely smaller. Its bite is destructive to small animals, and very painful to human beings. It is sometimes found under the pillow of a bed, and in a person's pocket. A gentleman when dressing, was suddenly approached by his valet, who struck something from his shoulder, which proved to be a scorpion, probably just fallen from the ceiling.

The fire-fly is indeed a curious and extraordinary insect. The form is oblong, and the length something more than an inch, with a proportional width. It possesses the power of intercepting its rays, and most of its internal parts are luminous. Several of these

creatures, placed in a phial, give sufficient light for reading or writing. It is said, that they are the enemies of musquittoes, which they destroy. An hour or two after sun-set, myriads burst from their day's resting place, and, like orbs of fire, wing their glittering way through the dewy air. The cane fields appear completely illuminated during the hours of darkness; while the woods seem to be the sphere of brilliant planets.

In speaking of houses, the household servants ought not to be passed over. No one must expect to see the respectable and neatly dressed domestics of England. He should prepare himself to be attended by uncouth, barefooted, and half-savage looking creatures, who either cannot, or, what is more probable, will not, comprehend one order in ten that may be given them. They are, in general, so indolent and slow in their motions, that it takes at least five or six to perform the work of one white person; and that, after all, very badly. Half a dozen women may be seen in the morning on their knees rubbing the bright floors; chattering and laughing with each other, as they leisurely perform their work. As a proof of the extreme laziness of the servants, it may be mentioned, that a groom, having been sent to catch his

master's horse without any delay, yielded such ready obedience, as to place himself beneath a tree, and indulge in a sound sleep. They have, too, a novel mode of carrying things about a house. A plate, a glass of water, or even an urn, is often brought into the room on the head; and it is rather amusing to observe how steadily they balance the most awkardly shaped burden.

A village on the coast, when seen from the water, is generally a pretty and picturesque object. Elegant cocoa-nut trees rise from among cottages, covered with the Palmetto thatch. Clusters of the broad-leaved plantain-tree, affording both food and shade, supply much of the valuable weekly stores, which are carried to the neighbouring market. The delicate pomegranate presents her crimson blossoms to the sight; and the fantastic branches of the dark mangrove are greenly reflected in the sunny water. The creeping cereus, that small plant of an English green-house, sometimes rises to the height of ten or fifteen feet; and, intermixed with the cashaw, extends for miles in the neighbourhood of the sea coast.

The little village often exhibits a lively scene. Brown women assemble, in small parties, to barter fowls, vegetables, or eggs, for necklaces,

turbans, or coloured chintzes; which promise most becoming decorations to the vanity of these love-dressing people. On these occasions fierce disputes not unfrequently arise; and the blustering vociferation and violent evolutions of the coloured ladies destroy every idea of feminine delicacy. No virulence of language is spared. The arms are placed a-kimbo, and accusations, in themselves really absurd, are brought against an opponent with a degree of malignity, totally unsuited to the occasion. During these bursts of anger, while the volume of ire is rising, threatening at the moment tremendous deflagration, the continued retiring of the parties from each other, seems to act as a safety-valve for the high pressure of wounded honour. The vapour, at length, escapes without personal injury, and vanishes into empty air in expressions of this kind. *Da wharrah make you bawl like a cow, an all bout wan macaroni and fi' paunce? You da quarrel wid me, now, but ta-morrow morning, when you pon you knee rubbin de boards, see how you will look just like one di'-dapper.*

In order to give some idea of the peculiarity of feeling, with regard to insult, it may be mentioned, that a person once complained, that another had cursed her. The impropriety

of such language was acknowledged, and inquiry was made into the nature of the imprecation. The appealing party instantly replied, "She called me Mary." Being told that this language was not, in any way, impious, she answered, "This was my name before I was christened." On another occasion, two women were exhibiting great anger towards each other, when one of them, to prove the justice of her wrath, declared that her opponent never passed her without coughing, and spitting on the ground.

Others of the villagers, uncharmed by the exhibitions of finery, collect on the beach. Some lying listlessly on the sand; others refreshing themselves by swimming in the tepid water; while a few watch the long narrow canoes, laden with fish, fruit, or vegetables for the ships in harbour. These little boats are dexterously managed by the negroes; who fearlessly venture in the roughest sea; and, in the event of a capsize, swim about like ducks, collect round their boat, and soon placing her in her proper situation, resume their former seats.

The weekly market, however, is the grand emporium of negro commerce. The labourers from the surrounding estates, who during the

week, have been engaged separately in their respective occupations, meet on this merry day, and the noisy *how d'ye* good humouredly goes round. The roads, leading to this general mart, are crowded from an early hour in the morning by a rainbow throng. Some are carrying ribbons or laces in large bamboo baskets on their heads: some fruit and vegetables; others proceed with the more substantial supplies of corn, salted fish, pigs, and poultry. Some of higher caste attend this busy scene on horseback, whose feathered bonnets and smart gowns show, that they can dress in a style commanding the admiration of their more humble neighbours. Brown girls, who are unused to the confinement of a shoe, which when at their ease they never wear, unless some "Order in Council," should enforce such a penance, limp along with imprisoned feet and gay silk stockings. The old women, with chintz pelisses and closely bound headkerchiefs, assemble in small *coteries*, for the purpose of a little comfortable chit chat, which refinement has not taught them yet to dignify with the more appropriate name of scandal. *Chantoba will tell Cooba how Quaw teifed her fattest hog: how Mimba's John left his old wife Venus to attach himself to Pussy;* while the younger

ladies, in closely knotted clusters, some with laughing, some with serio-comic countenances, relate how *Jupiter lub Jelina for tru'; or how Soger Buckra handsome for too much.* As the day advances, these *conversaziones* yield to the more important bustle of traffic.

The continued succession of fine days strikes one very much at first. These are not like the half clouded and half sunshine skies of England; but unshaded by even a single cloud,

> "Blue, deeply blue, they are;
> Gloriously bright."

The sun possesses a power, of which the hottest day in England gives but a faint idea. At mid-day it is very nearly vertical; and its rays descend on the earth with intense power. At this time, objects cast little or no shade; and, if a pole a hundred feet long, and half an inch in diameter, were suspended perpendicularly in the sunshine, the circular shadow underneath would be about the size of a sixpenny piece. The heat would at this period be intolerable, and in fact destructive to human life, were it not for a strong wind, usually called the "sea breeze," which begins about ten o'clock, and blows without intermission till the evening. It is, however, not what an

Englishman would call cool; although very refreshing in so hot a climate, yet still there is "a fever'd heat in its rough breath."

Soon after sunset, the "land-breeze" begins, blowing from the centre of the island in all directions towards the sea. This wind is considerably cooler than that which prevails during the day; and tends to relieve the extreme lassitude occasioned by the previous heat. In those parts of the world, however, which are destitute of hills, these winds are never felt. The causes whence they originate are so generally known, as to supersede any explanation. Fever, it is said, is sometimes induced by an incautious exposure to the land wind at night.

Drought is often very grievous in the low country; and sometimes for the space of six or eight months, a shower seldom falls.—Instances are remembered in which the thirsty land has never been refreshed by rain for eighteen months. It may readily be conceived how terribly the scorching sun almost annihilates vegetation. Hardly a blade of grass is visible in the fields and savannahs; which assume the appearance of dusty plains. When it rains, however, which is generally to be expected at the rise and fall of the year, the

scene quickly changes. The water descends in torrents; beds of rivers, which have been for months perfectly dry, are filled, in a few hours, by wide and rapid streams, of sufficient depth to float a man-of-war. The impetuosity with which these rivers rush from the mountains is so great, that trees of the largest size are torn up by the roots, and carried onward towards the sea. As there are few bridges, communication between many parts of the island is necessarily suspended; and the inhabitants of solitary houses have been frequently confined within very narrow limits,—an inconvenience of no trifling nature, when this state of things continues, as it often does, for a fortnight. Vegetation is at these times astonishingly rapid. The fields are soon clothed with a beautiful verdure; and trees and flowers again appear in freshness and beauty. The falling of these heavy rains on the dry and heated ground, causes such a steam to rise, that one feels, on going out of doors, as if he had entered a hot-house. The heaviest rain is in the autumn, and, at this period, fever generally prevails; when, if precaution be not used, and the first intimation of indisposition noticed, the most fatal consequences may be dreaded. It is not wise to postpone this necessary care, as is

often the case in England, to a succeeding day; for the rapidity of disease in these climates is so great, that no time is allowed for the correction of mistakes. Many melancholy anecdotes, connected with this subject, might easily be related.

The admirer of nature, in all her wildness, should not leave Jamaica without visiting the mountains. The approach to this part of the country is, indeed, beautiful. As the traveller draws near, the dim blue distance becomes every moment more distinct, till at last the thickly wooded mountains, rising one above the other, like Alp succeeding Alp, develop their lofty character. The *planted* forests of England are far different from these almost pathless and untrodden wilds of Western India. The dense mass of trees, with the thick and matted underwood, render these woods, which have probably been standing since the deluge, almost impenetrable. The dark boughs of the tamarind and the wide-spreading branches of the mahogany lend their aid to form a "boundless deep immensity of shade," and all around is dim with "green twilight." Here, a majestic cedar frowns over a fearful abyss;—there, clusters of the elegant bamboo bend, like plumes of ostrich feathers,

over the stream, on whose crystal surface they are brightly mirrored. Trees of the largest size are seen growing on the side of a massive rock; where there is so little earth, that curiosity is excited to know whence they derive nourishment. Amid these "umbrageous glooms," rugged and precipitous paths are occasionally found. They sometimes wind along the mountain's side, with a perpendicular rock on one hand, and a yawning precipice on the other.

Large plains, or savannahs, exist in the midst of these woods. The soft turf, like a rich carpet of velvet, is spread over them, and the proud trees stand round as if loath to encroach on so fair a spot. It is here that those beautiful flowers, so carefully nurtured in England, are seen, blooming in all the varied hues of wild luxuriance: the "myrtle dwells there," with its pearly blossoms: the bright scarlet geranium stands boldly amidst its gaudy companions; and the slender lily, rich and varied in its tints, bends its gentle head even in these forest solitudes. Sometimes long rows of jasmines form a natural hedge, while their flowers, in snowy clusters, shed a rich perfume on all around. Orchards of orange trees are no uncommon sight; and, as if

gems were "the fruitage of every bough," there they stand, waving their golden treasures to the hand of every passing stranger.

Viewed from the summit of a lofty mountain, the break of day is indeed grand. One vast sheet of vapour spreads itself like an ocean beneath, broken only by the rosy tops of other lofty hills, which here and there rise above the mist, and appear like islands studding an archipelago; so that referring to the pursuits of early life, one might recall the names and histories of Tenedos and Lemnos, Mitylene, Scios, and Eubea. As day advances, the fog rolls back from the mountains, still covering the middle of the valley. At length, however, the mists gradually melt away, the curtain is, as it were, withdrawn; and the genial influence of the sun pervades the whole landscape. Amidst all these natural beauties, one misses the civilized appearance of an English view. There are no smiling villages, scattered on the hill side; nor one white spire rising from the deep green of the valleys.

The farewell beams of day beautifully mark the evening sky. The clouds sleep in red repose, shedding a crimson light on the wooded mountains;

"And the cypress lifts a blazing spire,
And the stems of the cocoas are shafts of fire."

When a storm visits these regions, the scene can scarcely be described. Some hours previous to its commencement, there is an oppression in the atmosphere—a still "breezeless calm." Red lurid streaks on the horizon, shed an angry light on the hills, and form a strong contrast to the deep black clouds above. The wind then rises in fitful gusts. Again all is calm. "The air is filled with sleep." Suddenly the tempest rolls "its awful burden on the wind." The forest boughs give way before its might. Lofty trees are torn up by the roots, and laid prostrate on the earth. The lightning darts from the clouds, and flows in a stream of vivid brightness, for a moment piercing the dreary darkness of the storm; and

"———— the thunder,
Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,"

bellows through the echoing valleys.

CHAPTER IV.

"Y que atambores de guerra
Apriessa toquen alarma."

ANY one, who has been in Spanish Town, must remember that the square, in existence from the time of Spanish dominion, is the only part which bears any resemblance to an English city. Its principal feature is the palace of the governor, usually denominated "The King's House;" a large mansion, with a *façade* of red brick, built completely *à l'Anglaise:*— an object on which the eye of an Englishman delights to rest, as it presents to his view something more familiar than the low, piazzaed, and projecting-roofed houses, which compose the chief part of the town. In this edifice is the Council Chamber, where the second estate of the island holds its deliberations. This body acts both as the privy council of the governor, and in the character of an upper legislative house. On the opposite side there is a large range of buildings, fronted by a

colonnade, so characteristic of tropical architecture. In the upper part of the edifice, is the House of Assembly, the arena of patriotic zeal, and the grand court of justice. The apartments below are appropriated to what the French would would call *bureaux* for public business. At right angles with these are the record, or secretary's offices; the statue of Lord Rodney; and the guard house. The remaining side consists exclusively of different offices.

Although Spanish town, more properly *Saint Jago de la Vega*, or Saint James of the plain, is far inferior to Kingston in size and mercantile importance; yet, as the seat of the vice-regal government, it is prevented from falling into comparative insignificance. The latter end of the year is enlivened by the session of the Assembly, when the colonial gaieties commence, and are generally continued for six or eight weeks. The town is then filled with the *beau monde*—the *distingués* of Jamaica. The splendid dinner-party frequently succeeds the abundant *déjeuné à la fourchette;* and, occasionally, a grand ball crowns the amusements of the day. At this season, many of the *dames du chateau* leave their mountain homes, and bringing with them

belles of the higher regions, add new stars to this horizon of fashion. The ladies are passionately fond of dancing, delighting particularly to move in the magic circle of the waltz. It is surprising how little they appear to suffer from fatigue in so warm a climate.

Towards the close of the year 1831, when the legislative bodies had been prorogued, and numbers had left the capital to commemorate the return of Christmas among the peasantry in the country, the tide of pleasure began suddenly to ebb; and events, fearful to relate and fearful to recollect, soon changed the scene of tranquillity and peace.

An unusually large assemblage of persons was observed in the area of the square;—military, as well as civil, officers were hurrying to and fro;—the Council Chamber presented an animated scene; and it was apparent to all that something extraordinary had taken place. An hour scarcely elapsed, ere the Royal Standard was hoisted; and a herald, from the king's house, read the following proclamation, declaring the island to be under martial law.

JAMAICA s. s.

BY THE KING.—A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our COUNCIL of WAR, to declare MARTIAL LAW in our said island of Jamaica, for the security and protection of our said Island against the evil designs of the Enemies of our Crown. In order, therefore, to render effectual the measures taken for the security of the said Island, We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our said Council aforesaid, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, strictly charging and commanding, and We hereby strictly charge and command all and every the Commissioned and Warrant Officers and Private Men of our Militia of our said Island to repair, forthwith, to their several and repective Regiments and Stations, and there to hold themselves in readiness to receive and obey all such Orders, as shall, from time to time, be given to them by our Captain-General of our Forces in our said Island; or, in his absence, by any superior officer, upon pain of our highest displeasure, and of such Pains and Penalties, as by the Rules and Articles of War established in our said Island, are inflicted on such persons as shall be disobedient of Orders.

Witness His Excellency Somerset Lowry, Earl of Belmore, Captain General and Governor in Chief of this our Island of

Jamaica, and other the Territories thereon depending in America, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same, at Saint Jago de la Vega, this thirtieth day of December, in the second year of our Reign, *Annoque Domini* one thousand eight hundred and thirty one.

BELMORE.

By His Excellency's Command,

W. G. STEWART, *Sec.*

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A Rebellion, to a very considerable extent, had broken out in the northern part of the island. Rumours were in circulation, that the rebels had repulsed some detachments of militia, who were retreating;—that the town of Montego Bay was threatened;—that the work of destruction had begun;—that fires were raging in all directions; and that some persons, who had unfortunately fallen into the hands of the insurgents, had been treated with excessive barbarity. Despatch after despatch arrived from the disturbed districts, and it was considered necessary by the governor to call out the greater part of the militia force of the country, in order to crush an insurrection, which was assuming so formidable an appearance.

The militia, consisting of eighteen thousand men, is composed of every free male, who is compelled by the colonial law to attach himself, whatever be his station in life, as a private to the regiment of the parish in which he is a resident. As military law cannot possibly allow of any difference of rank amongst privates, it often happens, that men are too frequently associated with others of habits, manners, and education, widely differing from their own; and brought into close contact with the lowest of the free blacks;—an evil which can be fully appreciated by those only, who are acquainted with the negro. In the most peaceable times, these corps muster once a month, and the greater number perform their evolutions in the heat of the day. Non-attendance is punished by a fine, determinable by a court martial. There is also an irregular light cavalry, which is found to be exceedingly useful in carrying despatches, as the country is by no means calculated for the advantageous employment of this species of force.

The scene in Spanish Town was now completely changed. Military noise and bustle usurped the place of the cheerful festivities of Christmas. Civil law was no longer in force. Every one was subjected to the authority of

a military tribunal. The 84th regiment was ordered to march to Port Henderson, where it embarked for Montego Bay; and the Saint Catherine's regiment of militia mounted guard. A lawyer might then be seen standing sentry at the arsenal. A physician would visit his patients in a scarlet jacket. A quiet citizen was converted into an active voltigeur or bold dragoon. Many an anxious group was seen under the arcade in the square, eagerly discussing measures for the safety of the town: whilst others, silent from anticipation, would with folded arms and quickened step, pace the burning pavement, waiting the arrival of the trooper with the next despatch. Business was at a stand;—an awful suspense prevailed. Arrangements were subsequently made for the removal of the women and children to Port Royal, in the event of immediate danger. It was a matter of uncertainty whether emissaries from the rebels might not be in the town, and precautions were taken to foil the attempts of incendiaries, whose work, where many of the houses are of wood, would have been comparatively easy.

It was during this time of apprehension and anxiety;—when present safety was no pledge of future security—when, surrounded by the.

shoals of treachery and cunning, one looked in vain for a firm resting place,—that a trooper, on Sunday morning, entered Spanish Town church and delivered despatches to a general officer, who immediately left his pew. Tidings that the island was in the hands of the rebels could not have spread greater terror throughout the assembly. That the town was in flames was the immediate supposition. It was, indeed, a moment of intense feeling. The thought of an absent husband overspread many a cheek with death-like paleness. Mothers, trembling with terror, rushed out wildly to snatch their helpless babes, as they thought, from impending destruction. All was confusion and dismay. The service was stopped; and, in a few moments, every one had left the church. The cause of this alarm proved to be an order issued that a strong detachment of the Spanish Town regiment, should march to the Moneague, in the neighbourhood of which symptoms of disaffection had been manifested. The short unmusical beat of the drum soon filled the parade with soldiers. Streets were thronged with brown women; some eager to catch the parting glance of an only son; others, with wails and lamentations, which are peculiar to this race of people, and which were dis-

tinctly heard above the loud huzzas of the soldiers, flung themselves into the arms of a devoted husband. The silks and feathers, which had been fondly prized for the morning decoration at church, were alike forgotten; and, when the order to "March" was given, it was an affecting sight to see these poor creatures, clinging to the soldiers' arms, and following them for many a dusty mile; till, completely exhausted, they sat by the road to weep.

The privations and hardships to which the militia corps were subjected, during the insurrection, were great. Some regiments often marched upwards of thirty miles in a day, which, it may be supposed, was no trifling duty under the vertical sun of Jamaica. During these forced marches, the men were sometimes quartered in low and confined outhouses, with no floor but the damp earth. The heat, noise, and want of room, at one place, rendering sleep impossible, some of the soldiers, eluding the vigilance of the sentry, escaped to the church, where another division was stationed. A hole in the ceiling of the vestry admitted them into the organ-loft, where, raised above the tumult, they endeavoured to repose. This, however, was impossible.—

Shouts, songs, loud cries for "grog," and other discordant sounds, made "confusion worse confounded." It was indeed a strange sight. The pulpit was tenanted by clamorous and drunken men. The pews were berths for others: and the communion table was converted into a convivial board, whence resounded loud bacchanalian songs.

After a long and fatiguing march, a division was one evening halted on an extensive property, where the tired men expected to remain all night. The buildings not being sufficiently numerous to accommodate so large a body, some were obliged to bivouac. It was a novel, and not an unpleasing scene. The soldiers, grouped in their different messes, were preparing for supper; some taking advantage of the shelter afforded by the plantain tree, whose broad and silken leaves defended them from the heavy dews of a tropical evening. Others were under the fragrant boughs of the citron and orange; —the camp-kettles were boiling on the watch-fires;—and the distant challenge of the sentries was distinctly audible, as the negroes, prompted by curiosity, or by a desire to indulge their usual propensity for theft, approached too near the piquets. Scarcely, however, had the repast commenced, when an express arrived from Ma-

jor-General Sir W. Cotton, Commander of the Forces. In a moment, the drums beat to arms. Rations and grog were instantly abandoned. The men fell in, and commenced a long and dangerous night-march. The roads, frequently bad, were rendered nearly impassable by the heavy rains which had lately fallen; and, in some places, deep bogs which closely bounded the road on one side, made the passage exceedingly hazardous: while, on the other, a precipice of nearly three hundred feet formed an appalling enemy. The greatest part of the route lay through some of those extensive and almost impenetrable woods, which cover so large a part of West India mountains; and which, overhanging the line of march, rendered still darker a foggy and moonless night. The officer, attached to the advanced guard, was obliged to call to those in the rear,— "Take care, my lads, of the bog on your left, and mind you are not down the precipice."— The want of railing rendered these precautions absolutely necessary: and the men were desired to be especially careful, as a trooper with despatches, riding carelessly along this road, had, a few days before, been dashed to pieces. For several miles, the troops marched in single file, through swampy and narrow tracks. Some of

the officers' horses getting too near the bog, sunk to the girths, and were obliged to be left. At three in the morning the division halted, and was fortunate enough to obtain a temporary shelter. Every place was immediately thronged to excess; and so closely were the men packed, that it was impossible to lie down at full length.—New rum, served out in buckets, was the only refreshment: though some, who had taken the precaution to stow away a few plantains, cocoas, or a yam in their haversacks, enjoyed a tolerable supper. Some of these soldiers for weeks never took off their clothes even to sleep; and, during this time, their only bed was the ground, their cartridge box their pillow. Empty barrels, and planks, covered with Spanish mats, formed occasionally a rude dinner table, on which were placed the rations: and, in the absence of spoons, a luxury under such circumstances scarcely to be expected, a hungry soldier would unceremoniously dip his hand into a basin of soup, thinking no other apology necessary than the trite and vulgar proverb, "Fingers were made before forks."

It should be remembered, that a march, in a country like Jamaica, is very different from what many people might suppose. Meeting with only a few insignificant villages, which

afforded but scanty and miserable quarters for large bodies of troops, it often happened that men, who had during the day been pressed by the powerful rays of a tropical sun, were obliged to remain all night in the open air, exposed to the chilling dews, and sometimes to the heavy rains, known only in those climates. This exposure not unfrequently induces that scourge of Jamaica, known by the name of Yellow Fever, which has destroyed thousands of Europeans, and made the West Indies a grave-yard for so large a portion of the British army. A man, well in the morning, is seized, perhaps, at noon; and on the third day is oftentimes a corpse. The effects of this fever are so astonishingly rapid, and a few hours of suffering so effectually change the appearance, that it is sometimes difficult to recognize even an intimate friend. The face assumes a yellow and ghastly hue. Medical aid is then unavailing; and, in a few hours, the sufferer breathes his last.

This climaterial fever cut off, in a few days, a young man who had resided about eighteen months in the island. Owing to a partial remission of the disease in the morning, he was in high spirits, and talked of leaving his bed. Death was, however, advancing with hasty strides.

At noon, oppressed by coma, he lay totally insensible; and, before the close of evening, he was numbered with the dead. Hearing of his illness, a gentleman, who had known him in England, called to offer him assistance. The appearance of the dying man was truly appalling. His head had been shaved; and, being covered with the green leaf of the plantain, presented a sickening contrast to the yellow tint that overspread his face. Three or four large blisters had attracted those numerous ants, which infest every house, and from which it was impossible to free him. Cataplasms, too, were on his hands and feet; and a black attendant stood by his bed, endeavouring by fanning to mitigate the burning fever. The day was extremely sultry—the room hot nearly to suffocation, and the open *jalousies* admitted but little fresh air. He was buried the next day in unconsecrated ground, close behind the house in which he died. An uneducated layman stammered through the funeral service; and the event seemed to afford a sort of gala to some of the negroes, who spent the evening in singing and carousing.

Such too often is death in Jamaica. Its frequent occurrence renders it an object of far less solemnity than in England. The victims

are almost immediately forgotten:—another fills their office, and "their place knows them no more for ever."

CHAPTER V.

"L'aspra percossa agghiaccio il cor nel petto."
ARIOSTO.

THE speculative political opinions of certain persons in England, long at issue with the proprietors of the colonies, began to exhibit some of the dangers which had been anticipated. The members of the anti-slavery society, arrogating to themselves a superiority of philanthropy, rigorously denied all toleration to those who conscientiously differed from them in opinion. Their dogmata had crossed the Atlantic, and the labouring population of Jamaica was disturbed by undefined notions of liberty, which it was thought might be achieved by the resolute, and if necessary, military enforcement of the claim. It was evident to reflecting persons, acquainted with the structure of society in the western dependencies of Great Britain, that the precipitate generosity of bounty, with which these mistaken philanthropists would have conferred privileges on a body of people, unequal to the beneficial en-

joyment of them, must have ended not only in failure, but in consequences the most tremendous. No efforts of the society of the *Amis des Noirs* can educate a people in a day or a year: though the rash promulgation of opinions and declarations—of promises and encouragements, may occasion injuries and evils so completely beyond the hope of reparation, as to be co-extensive with the future progress of time. But

"Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas."

An alarming crisis was now fast approaching. The question, which had been too often mooted, was fairly at issue:—whether a greatly superior physical force could overthrow the constituted authorities, supported, as they were, by a small but disciplined band;—whether property should be wrested from the hand of the lawful owner; in short, whether "the destructives" should prevail, and anarchy, ruin, and their attendant horrors predominate.

It had generally been considered, that the power of the white people over the negroes rested on opinion; as the latter were supposed to be ignorant of their own strength. It had been argued that the negro population of Jamaica, amounting to three hundred thousand

slaves, if they should rise *en masse*, would easily overmaster the comparatively small force of eighteen thousand militia-men, supported by only three thousand regular troops. Many were of opinion that, even if the blacks were unable to withstand a disciplined force in the field, they might retire into the woods and fastnesses of the country, where, it was alleged, they could find ample means of subsistence, and set at defiance the whole military power of the island. It was not, therefore, surprising that the alarming accounts, which poured in from the disturbed districts, should carry with them universal terror. No one knew how far the seeds of disaffection had spread. There was some doubt whether the servant, who attended the table, might not be plotting destruction, and waiting only for a favourable opportunity to put into execution a murderous design; or whether the domestic, reared from infancy in the family, might not mix poison in his master's cup. The greater part of the inhabitants of Jamaica had indeed been lulling themselves into a fancied and fatal security, while, in fact, they were sleeping on a mine: and any one who suspected the probability of an insurrection was looked upon as a timid alarmist, even after the preparatory notes of

insubordination had been sounded. The plan of rebellion had, however, been long organized. Its ramifications extended throughout every part of the island, and the secret was faithfully kept till the moment of explosion; though some of the negroes had, in their peculiar mode of communicating the existence of dangers, intimated, that "If the breeze were at present strong, it would blow harder at Christmas;" and that one should only "trust God and himself."

The several parishes engaged in overt acts of rebellion, were those of Trelawney, St. James, Westmoreland, Hanover, St. Elizabeth, Manchester, St. Thomas in the East, Portland, and St. Ann. These divisions of the island are more important and extensive than the partitions denominated parishes in England. They bear in fact, the character of counties; and it was calculated that, in the northern part of the island, upwards of fifty thousand men were at one time in a state of open rebellion. The tranquillity of the other parishes depended on the event of the first movement; on which had success attended, the whole of the peasantry would, no doubt, have instantly commenced the work of devastation and murder. The conflagration of estates, situated

on elevated spots, was the signal for the general rising of all within sight of it; who, immediately setting fire to their master's houses, thus raised another flaming telegraph.

Fortunately for Jamaica, this state of things was met by a corresponding energy on the part of the whole free population. Many persons, who had lived in retirement, and were scarcely known to be in existence, came forward to enrol themselves among their brave compatriots.

"Sic omnes amor unus habet decernere ferro,

——————— et strictis ensibus adsunt."

Petty differences were forgotten—party spirit laid aside—and all rose, as one man, to defend their lives, their fortunes, and their homes.

The rebels commenced their operations by a most dreadful system of incendiarism, which extended nearly throughout the whole of the disaffected districts, and laid upwards of one hundred and fifty valuable properties in heaps of smoking ruins. The destruction of an estate, by fire, is generally an easy task; as the roofs of the buildings are usually made of wood. The canes, too, when ripe, are soon ignited and quickly extend the conflagration

over large fields, while sugar and rum are near at hand to feed and increase the flames. "Small firing parties," as they were termed, of forty or fifty men, travelled rapidly from one place to another, carrying devastation with them. These men were generally accoutred in blue jackets, and black crossbelts. A party, which had landed from a ship of war, fell in with a body thus distinguished, but could not bring them to a parley. The insurgents merely answered by a cry of " War, war," and immediately ran off.

During the two weeks preceding Christmas, a considerable excitement existed among the negroes in the parish of St. James, and guards of militia were consequently established. The magistrates, however, having been informed that a concerted insurrection was on foot, that several trash houses had been burnt—and that the peasantry exhibited a sullen and discontented temper, determined to call out the whole of the St. James's regiment, companies of which were stationed wherever any indication of insubordination appeared.

No time was lost in giving the utmost publicity to his Majesty's proclamation, which had lately been issued; but it produced no good effect on the minds of the slaves, who soon

began the work of destruction. Distant houses in flames appeared above the horizon, and the conflagration of seven estates at one time, was witnessed by the unfortunate owners while under arms; till, at length, the whole surrounding country was completely illuminated, and presented a terrible appearance, even at noon-day. When, however, the shades of night descended, and the buildings on the sides of those beautiful mountains, which form the splendid panorama around Montego Bay, were burning, the spectacle was awfully grand. Any one beholding the scene could not help feeling compassion for the unfortunate proprietors, whose families had either fallen into the hands of merciless ruffians, or been hurried on board of ship, to escape the impending danger. Their homes had been destroyed, and in many instances, the sufferers were nearly destitute of food and raiment.

In consequence of this alarming spoliation and ruin of property by fire, it was deemed advisable to retaliate on the incendiaries; and the following order was accordingly issued by the general of the district.

"D. G. O.

January 1st, 1832.

"It is my desire, that on the properties you visit, the head people may be informed if any fires take place on those properties, it is the governor's instructions and my positive orders that every negro-house be burnt down, and all their hogs and poultry killed. If any horned cattle, belonging to them, be found, they also are to be killed for the use of the troops. Their provision grounds are also to be destroyed; as the governor thinks it in the power of the slaves to prevent the properties of the owner being destroyed."

But on some of the estates, where the negroes had been guilty of especial outrage, field pieces were employed to destroy the houses, which soon fell beneath the effects of such a fire.

Confident of success, and relying on their vast superiority of force, the insurgents, in very large bodies, attacked small divisions of militia, hoping as they said, "to drive *buckra* into de sea." The plan was, at first, so far successful as to induce some officers in the command of detachments to fall back on the main body and their resources, lest their communication should be cut off, and the troops, suffering from the want of subsistence, be eventually surrounded. This apparent success,

however it might have raised the hopes of the enemy, and induce him to triumph in anticipation, was not of long continuance.

The energetic measures adopted by his Excellency, Lord Belmore, soon changed the scene. Strong detachments of regular troops, under the command of Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, proceeded to the scene of action, and allied themselves to large corps of militia; while H. M. ships Blanche, Sparrow-hawk, Blossom, with some others, sailed for Montego Bay, to aid and co-operate with the land forces: and though the easy conquest of the island, and the acquisition of the property of the white inhabitants was fondly anticipated by the rebels, yet the achievement of these objects required an effort of stronger character, of more resolute self-devotion, than the negro was prepared to employ. The declaration that "Massa parson tell us we free; that massa King gib we free;" though words of talismanic influence, failed in producing the full amount of desolating evil, which such inordinate excitement was calculated to occasion. The increased irritation, however, caused dreadful local derangement. The system of society was awfully disturbed, and left in a state so tender and irritable, that amendment

cannot be expected, but under the mild and gratifying influence of hope and restored confidence.

The disposition of the troops, by Sir W. Cotton, was admirable, and the militia proved itself a most useful arm of war, and manifested great courage, activity, and zeal. This portion of the army, as well as the regiments of the line, were wonderfully preserved during all the hardships to which they were exposed; and it is matter of pleasing recollection, that disease did not commence its ravages, and become the powerful auxiliary of a fierce and barbarous enemy.

Some of the force, employed against the rebels, was constantly occupied in scouring the country. These detachments were generally mounted, and moved with a rapidity, which astonished the insurgents, who found bodies of *chasseurs à cheval*, in the midst of them, as soon as a spirit of insubordination manifested itself. By these means, daring ringleaders were frequently secured at the outset, and the sparks of incipient rebellion prevented from bursting into a flame.

On landing at Montego Bay, Sir W. Cotton issued the following proclamation:—

"Head Quarters, Montego Bay,

"January 2, 1832.

"Negroes!

"You have taken up arms against your masters, and have burnt and plundered their dwellings. Some wicked persons have told you that the King has made you free, and that your masters withhold your freedom from you. In the name of the King, I come among you, to tell you that you have been misled. I bring with me numerous forces to punish the guilty, and all, who are found with the rebels, shall be put to death without mercy. You cannot resist the King's troops. Surrender yourselves and beg that your crimes may be pardoned. All who yield themselves up at any military post immediately, provided they are not principals and chiefs in the burnings that have been committed, will receive His Majesty's gracious pardon; all who hold out will meet with certain death.

"WILLOUGHBY G. COTTON,

"Major-General Commanding."

During this servile campaign, the negroes manifested a degree of military science that was, in many instances, surprising. Ambuscades were not unfrequently laid—bridges broken down—and roads rendered impassable, by *abatis* and trenches, to prevent pursuit, or to destroy communication between the different divisions of the army. Their system of warfare

was one that prevented what might be termed a regular engagement, and was particularly adapted to the country, which abounds in immense woods, narrow defiles, and almost inaccessible mountains. It was, therefore, admirably suited to the *petite guerre*, and afforded excellent cover for *tirailleurs*. Those of the enemy were, in many instances, dressed in dark uniforms; these, and their sable faces, rendered them much less conspicuous among the trees than the soldiers, whose scarlet jackets were easily distinguishable at a considerable distance. A European military dress is not generally suited to so hot a climate as that of Jamaica; and, in some instances, the stiff stock and closely buttoned jacket were thrown aside; and light straw hats, with check shirts, worn as frocks, were found to be admirable substitutes.

Whilst out foraging, the militia often found large quantities of stolen goods, provisions, wines, and ammunition, which, rapid flight obliged the rebels to leave behind them. At one place, a cave, situated on a steep precipice, was explored. It was eighty feet in length, and contained chairs, tables, trunks of clothes, layer above layer, large stores of wine and spirits, with cocoas, yams and plan-

tains, sufficient to make a vegetable repast for several regiments. A large village, built of wood, capable of containing five hundred persons, was also discovered in the deepest recesses of the woods. It had evidently been occupied but the day before, and the ground was much marked by the hoofs of horses and mules, with which the negroes removed their plunder. At another village of this kind, so recently had the rebels fled, that their breakfast was left cooking on the fires, which was indeed an unexpected god-send to the tired and hungry soldiers.

It is not the author's intention to trespass on the province of the historian, and give a detailed account of the various conflicts which took place,—nor to dwell on every deed of blood which marked, in gory characters, the progress of the insurrection; and demonstrated the designs and expectations of the merciless ruffians, whom the anti-slavery society would, in the overflowings of its zeal, aided by the *interested* philanthropy of *some* of its members, let loose on their fellow subjects in the colonies.

A few anecdotes may not, however, be out of place.

A division of militia, when marching through

a sort of defile, was surprised by an ambuscade. Just as the party began to ascend the hill on the Coldspring road, it was suddenly assailed, from some high ground, overhanging the line of march, by cries of "You white rascals! We have you now." This salutation was accompanied by a volley of musketry and showers of stones, which hit several of the men, and struck the commanding officer from his horse. The compliment was instantly returned by a fire which brought fifteen rebels to the ground. The rest fled precipitately into the adjoining cane fields.

The fire of the troops must have been well-directed, as the heads and trunks of the dead men were perforated with bullets. The division returned the day after by the same route; they found the air tainted by putrid miasm; and multitudes of carrion crows were holding high carnival over the bodies of the unburied negroes.

A battalion of militia having arrived at Montpelier, late in the evening, took possession of the Hospital, which was immediately converted into barracks. Scarcely however, had this been effected, when the men were obliged to stand to their arms. Time was hardly allowed to form. The rebels advanced in great

force, sounding conch shells and horns, with an accompaniment of yells the most hideous and savage. The insurgents possessed themselves of a wall, about sixty or seventy yards distance from the troops, on whom they poured a heavy fire of musketry; the effect of which, was not, however, very perceptible; as the negroes, fearful of exposing themselves, in any degree, to a reciprocation of the compliment, would not raise their heads above the wall, even to take aim. The flames which proceeded from the burning buildings, afforded an opportunity to the militia of giving their opponents a well directed volley, which induced them to make a rapid retrograde movement. A charge was immediately ordered, and as promptly made, when the negroes fled in great confusion, effecting their escape by means of the concealment afforded by the canes in the fields, which also rendered pursuit very difficult, if not impossible, at that late hour. They offered no further molestation to the troops during the remainder of the night, probably uncertain whether *buckra* was as ready "to run to the sea," as they had been led to expect. In this affair, Johnstone, belonging to Retrieve, a notorious *baptist leader*, and a *distinguished incendiary*, was killed.

Several heavy attacks were sustained the following day, in which the enemy was invariably repulsed; but the commanding officer thought it advisable in consequence of the smallness of his force, and the danger of having his communication with the main body cut off, to fall back on Montego Bay.

Information having been received that the rebels were in considerable force at Struve, strong detachments immediately pushed forward. The enemy seemed to invite the attack by frequently showing himself on the heights. His courage did not, however, long continue. He fled with precipitation on the first charge, leaving fifteen stands of excellent arms, chiefly rifles; cutlasses, bugles, and a quantity of ammunition of every description. This corps of rebels was commanded by chiefs, who styled themselves, Colonel Gardner, and Captain M‘ Cail. On another occasion, having taken possession of Hazlelymph, the rebels endeavoured to make a stand, and received the troops with a smart fire, from the bridge and works. Two Congreve rockets, and the charge of the advanced guard soon put them to the rout; and they fled in the utmost confusion; being driven through Seven Rivers Estate, three miles towards the Carrion Crow Mountains.

An ingenious expedient, to induce a body of rebels to leave their hiding place, was adopted by a subaltern officer commanding a detachment of a light infantry company. Taking a prisoner as his guide, he went into the woods; and ordering his men to lie concealed among the brushwood, compelled his black companion to sound a conch-shell, as negroes do at a rally. This brought several from their retreat, when they enquired of the old man what he wanted. Just at this moment the soldiers sprang up and fired. Many of the rebels fell, some were taken prisoners, and the rest saved themselves by a rapid flight.

Congreve rockets, cannister-shot, and shells, were found very useful, not only in destroying the enemy, but in inducing many to surrender, terrified by these formidable, and to them unknown, *matériel* of modern warfare. A lieutenant of the Royal Artillery, approached a large body of insurgents, and willing to spare, as much as possible, the effusion of blood, advised them to surrender. This they positively refused to do; loading him at the same time, with the grossest abuse. The ebullition was, however, interrupted by the discharge of a shell, which fell in the midst of the negroes. Ignorant of its nature and effects, they were

leisurely proceeding to examine the fuse; their amusement was soon interrupted by the sudden explosion of the shell, which strewed the ground with dead and wounded. With a yell of horror and surprise they hastily retreated, leaving to the military the undisputed possession of the ground.

The Maroons were found to be exceedingly useful and efficient allies, and were used chiefly as riflemen. Being well acquainted with every track in the woods, and all the caves and hiding places, they easily traced the negroes, and often succeeded in surprising large bodies. The Maroons are the descendants of Spanish slaves, who, at the capture of Jamaica by the English, retired into the interior of the woods, and refused to surrender. After some time, they concluded a treaty with the inhabitants, and were allowed tracts of land, on which they built towns, which are known by the names of Accompong Town, Maroon Town, Moore Town, Charles Town, and Scots Hall. These men, when employed against runaway or rebellious negroes, are armed with musket and cutlass. They are a remarkably active race, and are considered to be excellent shots. During a rebellion of these men, some years ago, called the "Maroon War," they were with

great difficulty reduced to subjection; yet, in all encounters with the troops, they manifested a great want of courage—the first requisite of a soldier. They never ventured to attack the British troops in open country, but taking advantage of fastnesses and defiles, often poured a destructive fire on their enemies. Well knowing what formidable adversaries these hardy warriors of the wood were, some negroes at the commencement of the insurrection went to a Maroon station, and asked, if on the event of "nigger fighting Buckra, Maroon would take dem part?" A blow from the butt end of a musket was the only answer vouchsafed.

The crews of all the English merchant-vessels were called on to lend their aid in suppressing so extensive a rebellion; and Commodore Farquhar, in the absence of Admiral Colpoys, addressed the following letter to the commanders of trading vessels:—

"His Majesty's Ship Blanche,

"Montego Bay, January 9, 1832.

"Gentlemen,

"The rebellion now existing among the negroes in this island, but particularly in this part of the country, requires and calls forth every possible exertion on the part of every loyal British subject.

"Martial law having been declared, it becomes my duty to call on you to bring forward the power placed in your hands, by the crews of the different ships which you individually command.

"The first step necessary is, that you should form yourselves into an association for the purpose of considering, how you can best render yourselves and your crews efficient in the present crisis; and that you should select a commanding officer, with others under his orders, for the purpose of taking charge of, and conducting the seamen, when formed into divisions and subdivisons.

"When you have so done, you will report to me from each ship the number of effective men, and arms of every description, which the ships can furnish, as well the names and rank of the officers who are to be placed in command.

"I am, Gentlemen,

"Your obedient humble Servant,

"ARTHUR FARQUHAR,

"*Commodore.*"

The captains and their crews immediately came forward in the handsomest manner, and very often rendered the most important services. At Kingston, they acted in the same spirited way; and the ships were so moored, that in case of any disturbance in the town, their guns could enfilade the streets. This example was followed by all the American and Spanish

traders in the harbour, who tendered their assistance to the different authorities. The captain, too, of the U. S. ship Porpoise, signified to the governor that his vessel and crew were at his Excellency's disposal to aid in reducing the rebels. Don José Belliel, the Commandant-general of the eastern division of Cuba, handsomely offered to render the Earl of Belmore all the assistance in his power. His Excellency the Spanish commandant stated that, by the Jamaica papers of the fourth instant, he had observed, with deep regret, the acts of rebellion which had been committed by the negroes on various estates in Jamaica; but he had also observed, with much satisfaction, the prompt measures which Lord Belmore had adopted to crush and put an end to evils of such magnitude. He went on to say that, although he was fully persuaded that the precautions taken by Lord Belmore to subdue the insurgents, would have the desired effect, yet that he hastened to offer in his own name, and in that of his department, whatever help and assistance were in their power, as well as the most zealous co-operation; conceiving that such aid could be better given from Cuba, than from any other place, on account of its contiguity to Jamaica. His Excellency,

Don José, concluded by assuring Lord Belmore, that the King of Spain, his royal master, and the inhabitants of Cuba, would view with satisfaction any assistance or aid which he should afford for the benefit of the most important island belonging to the sovereign of Great Britain, the friend and ally of Spain; and which assistance his Excellency felt satisfied would be given to him, were Cuba similarly situated as Jamaica then was.

This offer was, however, declined, with a due acknowledgment of its importance; as Lord Belmore considered the resources of the island were quite sufficient effectually to subdue this formidable movement on the part of the slaves.

CHAPTER VI.

"Deeds of darkness—deeds of blood."

THE universal persuasion among the negroes seems to have been, that the King had made them free; that their masters unjustly withheld this boon from them; and that, consequently, they were justified in securing it by force. Simple emancipation, however, from labour and from the authority of the landed proprietors, appears to have been but a subordinate part of the rebellious engagement. The possession of property, together with the murder or expulsion of the white male inhabitants, while the females were to be reserved as the spoil of the sable conquerors, were among the contemplated benefits of this *radical* and *reforming* contest.

At one place, the insurgents compelled the overseer, whom they detained a prisoner, to sign a paper, by which he gave them possession of the estate. Having confined him in the

stocks, they put a pistol to his head, and told him that if their leaders, who could read, should discover he had deceived them, they would return and punish him with instant death.

On another occasion, a head servant entered the house of a proprietor, and assuming the possession of it, ordered a bed to be prepared for him; adding, that he would sleep in no other than his master's. This singular distinction did not, however, long continue; and the hopes to which it gave birth were soon crushed. The principles of insubordination having spread among the people attached to the estate, troops unexpectedly made their appearance before this gentleman had quitted his lodging. Escape was impossible. The usurpation sufficiently marked the character of the action; and, as something more than ordinary measures was required in the existing state of society, the rebel, being a ringleader, was compelled to undergo the punishment due to his crimes.

Still preserving the true character of revolutionary principles, and demonstrating the present views of the subjects of that emancipation, which has liberally promised such beneficial effects as the result of its adoption, a negro

introduced himself into his master's house, and fearlessly marching onward to the drawing-room, seated himself on the sofa, demanding of his mistress cake and wine. She obeyed the order; when he made her an offer of marriage, and locked her in a bed-room. Happily for the lady, her husband arrived, at this critical juncture, with a party of soldiers, and rescued her from the ignominious situation in which she had been placed.

Another distinguished leader of the insurrection contemplated, not only the acquisition of property, but also the enjoyment of regal honours. He was to have been raised to the throne of a petty sovereignty in the district of the parish of Portland; and to embellish the dignity of his court, had selected, by name, a white lady as his future illustrious consort.

It is humiliating to reflect on the dreadful atrocities, that sometimes disgrace human nature. This is particularly observable among those to whom the restraints of civilization are unknown—whom no sense of gratitude can bind—and who, wrapped up in the grossest superstition, are regardless alike of the laws of morality, justice, and religion, and plunge headlong into the lowest depth of guilt. A title to the possession of arms was invariably

gained by the destruction of a *white* man. On the application of a negro for these weapons, he was told by one of the rebel chiefs, to kill a white man, and *thus* render himself worthy of them.

A sailor, unconnected with the management of negroes in any way, was sent on an errand to a property near the sea. He was proceeding in the execution of his duty, when he was seized by the rebels, and cruelly murdered. In vain did he plead—in vain did he tell them he had never injured them—in vain did he cry for mercy. Forcing him on his knees, they discharged a fowling-piece at him, loaded with small shot, which severely lacerated the lower part of his stomach. He survived this wound, but his unfeeling murderers, having cut off his hands, concluded their bloody task by severing his head from his body; thus giving a practical comment on the benefits which would result, if inconsiderate emancipation were granted to the negroes.

A gentleman, who had often been warned to beware of the treachery of those around him, and to be prepared for any emergency, obstinately refused to profit by the wise counsel of his friends. At that season of the year when the friendly conviviality and social mirth

of Christmas generally prevail, surrounded by his family, he had just taken his seat at the dinner-table. This quiet, domestic scene was soon changed. Dismay, terror, and bloodshed succeeded to peace, tranquillity, and happiness. A murderous band entered the room. The defenceless victim was instantly seized, and sacrificed to the fury of the cowardly assassins. The bleeding head was cast into the lap of his distracted wife; while the headless trunk, surmounted by a bayonet, fixed into the spine, presented a dreadful spectacle. Not content with this ebullition of feeling, the murderers compelled this bereaved and wretched woman to move with them in their guilty dance round this bloody trophy of their zeal in the cause of negro emancipation. She was then carried with her children, and four other females, into the woods, where they were concealed, and inhumanly treated. Discovered, at last, by a detachment of troops, they were happily rescued from the foul and degrading grasp of their persecutors. But for this timely interposition, the male children were to have been murdered that night.

In another case, the ladies of three families, who, with their children, amounted to seventeen, had the misery of falling into the power

of the insurgents. The husbands of two of the ladies were murdered in their presence. Their bodies were lacerated, cut in pieces, and thrown into a fire which had been previously kindled for this purpose. The women were then beaten, and assailed by execrations the most painful and terrible. When one of the gentlemen was struck by the shot which deprived him of life, his wife, notwithstanding the horror of the scene, endeavoured to catch him in her arms. Roughly prevented from fulfilling her affectionate intention, she fell to the ground, and suffered from the dislocation of her leg. At the same time, several thrusts were inflicted on her. A boy, too, who had been reared and treated in the tenderest manner by one of the captive ladies, shewed his feelings of gratitude by flogging her most severely. These unhappy women experienced all the hideous consequences of being placed at the mercy of lawless brigands.

A young lady, sixteen years old, who was engaged to be married, fell into the hands of these rebel monsters. Stripped of her clothes, she was tied to a tree, and exposed to treatment most dreadful to a virtuous and honourable woman, Her mental frame was unable to sustain the shock. She sunk under its effects,

and was soon removed to that spot, where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest." Her father, who was out on duty with the militia, hastened home, burning with all the fury of paternal vengeance; and when asked the cause of his unwonted severity, carried his commanding officer to the room where his lifeless daughter lay, exclaiming, "Behold my child!"

Other anecdotes, the fruits of this terrible insurrection, might be still produced; but some of them are of a character, so abhorrent from all delicacy of feeling, as to render them unfit for the public eye or the public ear. Persons who have known what it is to live in the seat of war; to have resided in the European Peninsula, formed by Spain and Portugal, during the period of its unjust invasion, or who have witnessed the scenes which accompanied and followed the progress and collision of armies during the continental war, may readily pourtray to their minds the history here suppressed.

Such, reader, are the deeds of these protegés of the friends of humanity—such are the deeds of men, among whom many were distinguished as "*Baptist Leaders;*" and among whom it has been stated, that "*the word of the Lord runs and is glorified!*"

The period at length arrived when the whole fabric of rebellion tottered to its base, and the hydra of anarchy, which had stalked with desolating fury through so fair a portion of the island, was vanquished. Made sensible, by fatal experience, of the extreme hopelessness of the cause in which, but a few weeks before, they had so confidently embarked; and convinced, by the ill success and great loss of life which had attended them in every engagement, of their utter inability to cope with the military force of the island; the rebels were taught the dreadful nature of that abyss, into which they had so recklessly plunged.

The boasted supplies of food, which were said to abound in the woods, proved to be but a scanty store of paltry vegetables and fruit, totally insufficient for the subsistence of even a small body of men. Accustomed to have all their wants supplied, and never having been thrown on their own resources, nor been called on to provide for the future, they soon dissipated, with heedless extravagance, their stores of stolen provisions, and discovered, to their surprise, that their very existence independent of their masters was at best precarious. Pressed by hunger, and harassed by incessant attack, thousands surrendered; and many, who after the atrocities

they had perpetrated, durst not hope for mercy, driven to despair, anticipated justice, and became their own executioners. Mothers, too, in their anxiety to escape, often abandoned their helpless offspring to perish in the woods.

The well-timed severity of the military executions produced a powerful effect; and was, indeed, a terrible example to those who had wavered in their duty. Strong symptoms of disappointment at the issue of the contest were manifested by a great part of the negro population; but, like the heavings of the ocean after a storm, they gradually subsided, and full tranquillity was eventually restored.

Large rewards were offered for the apprehension of all ringleaders; and the circumstances attending the capture of the rebel chief Dehaney, illustrate the cunning and perfidy of the negro, when money is to be the reward of his success. Deserted by nearly all his followers, who were pouring in to the military posts to surrender, this wretched victim of *Buxtonian* philanthropy wandered from cave to cave, from forest to forest, a miserable outlaw—without any sustenance, but that afforded by wild oranges and leaves. Severely pressed by famine, he was, at length, compelled to present himself, with two of his associates in arms, at the door of

a watchman's hut, and earnestly to entreat shelter and refreshment. Having satisfied the cravings of hunger, they begged permission to repose in the house—a place, as they imagined, of comparative security. The owner of the hut readily acceded to this request, merely stipulating that they should permit him to conceal their muskets, lest, in the event of these weapons being found in his house, he might be exposed to the suspicion of being an accomplice of the rebels. Leaving the hut on the plea of concealing the arms in a neighbouring copse, the old man had no sooner crossed the threshold, than he locked the door, and deliberately pointing a musket through the window, threatened the others with instant death if they did not immediately bind Dehaney. Having seen his orders carried into effect, he desired the most athletic of the other two to secure his comrade in the same manner; and then entering the house, he easily made them all prisoners.

Jamaica had never before been visited by a rebellion of equal extent or organization. The almost simultaneous movements in the disturbed districts, the uniformity of plan, the degree of military science displayed, the possession of arms and ammunition, and the universal decla-

ration that freedom had been granted by the King, all tend to prove, that the germ of this insurrection was not indigenous, but must have been imported from some other part of the world. The causes which led to these deplorable events may be found in the proceedings of the Anti-Colonial Faction, in their declarations at provincial meetings, and in the garbled statements of the Anti-Slavery Reporter. The slaves are thus led to expect that a life of indolence and ease will succeed emancipation; and to consider the authority of their masters as unlawful and unjust. The negro appears to have no idea of rational liberty, guarded by wholesome restraint, and strengthened by constant personal employment. He would like to be released from all obligatory occupation; to lounge, to eat, to drink, to live on his master's property, retain possession of the house and land, which every proprietor must give his slaves, and to be supplied with the usual allowances, although he should make no effort to cultivate the land, whence the means were obtained to procure these comforts and necessaries of life. This *beau idéal* of freedom is often strengthened by the circumstance of some free brown men living with negro women on estates, having the advantage of dwelling in her house, sharing her

allowances, doing no work, and keeping horses and cattle free of any expense, on her master's land. The negro's ideas of freedom are merely visionary; and he is, generally speaking, in too barbarous a state to know the value of civil liberty.

The Anti-Colonial Faction is particularly desirous of impressing on the minds of the people of England, the false idea, that the slaves in the British West India Islands, are an oppressed race, worn down by hard labour, heart-broken by inhuman and savage treatment, and sorely suffering from those hardships to which, they aver, all slaves are heirs.

Almost every impartial traveller, however, who has visited the West Indies, declares that this is not the case, and asserts that these representations of colonial slavery, are indeed erroneous. With respect to the cruelties, which the members of the Anti-Slavery Society allege to have been committed in the West Indies, and with which they astonish and terrify the minds of those who are totally unacquainted with the subject, the writer of these pages can bear testimony, that he travelled through a considerable part of Jamaica, visiting numerous estates, and never witnessed a single act of cruelty; on the contrary, he was surprised to

see the comfort in which the slaves lived, and the kind treatment they experienced.*

There is, perhaps, no peasantry in the world

* *Evidence of Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Rowley.*

" I have no hesitation in saying, that if I had been born to labour, absolutely to labour, I would sooner have been born a black (slave) in the island of Jamaica, than a white man in this, or any other country. *I think them a happier people.* * * * * I should simply say, I never did see any thing (on the various estates) to impress my mind that the treatment of the negroes was cruel. When I went out, I was under the impression, from all I had heard and read, that they were ill used. I should say, if any negro were exceedingly ill used, there are plenty of lawyers and men who would take up their case and bring it forward."

Captain H. Williams, R. N., was a member of a family who would not touch slave-made sugar. He went out in the *Race Horse;* was promoted for his exertions at the insurrection in Jamaica; visited all the colonies; and bears ample testimony to the treatment of the negroes. When he returned to England, he refused to stand for Carmarthen, because it was expected of him to *pledge himself to Mr. Buxton's views;* and in answer to a question put by the committee relative to what his opinion of the negroes *now* was, replied, " *I believe they are much better off than the labouring classes in this country.*" *See Letter from C. C. Felix Farley.*

who, taken as a body, are happier, or more habitually cheerful, than the slave population of Jamaica. The reason is obvious. A man, belonging to the lower grades of society, in almost every other civilized country, must find means, by his own personal exertions, to supply the wants of himself and his family. These means are often very scanty, and barely enable him to provide his wife and children with the necessaries of life. He experiences, also, the various anxieties attendant on the uncertainty of employment; and must reflect, with painful emotion, on the state of penury and wretchedness to which his family would be reduced, were he prevented by illness, from following his daily occupation; and on their consequent friendless and forlorn condition, should he be snatched from them by death.

But the negro in the West Indies is a stranger to all these harassing cares. He and his family are secure of obtaining support from their masters, in sickness and in health, from childhood to the very last period of old age. So amply indeed has the law provided for the comfort of the slaves, contemplating every possible exigency, that the proprietor is compelled, under a heavy penalty, not only to give them the prescribed allowances of food and clothing, but

also to provide them with houses, medicines, and medical attendance; although the weather may have been so unpropitious, that his estates may not have yielded sufficient to defray the necessary expenses.

In the evening of life, when the labourer of England is often compelled, by stern necessity, to earn a scanty subsistence by toil, ill proportioned to his declining strength, the aged negro rests in comparative indolence, totally free from present want, and undisturbed by fears of the future.

Almost every slave possesses a comfortable house, for which he pays no rent, and for which he is subject to no taxation. The writer has visited several of these houses; and although he landed in Jamaica with some little predisposition to judge favourably of the state of the labouring classes in that island, yet the neatness and comfort of their habitations far exceeded his expectations. They were, in many instances, furnished with extreme tidiness, and mahogany tables were sometimes ornamented with cut glass decanters. These cottages are surrounded by little gardens, which, if the occupier be smart and active, are filled with different sorts of vegetables, and fruit-trees. Every adult slave is, moreover, allowed

a piece of land, exclusive of the garden, in which he raises provisions for his own use. These "grounds" are of such extent, that individuals will sometimes severally cultivate eight or ten acres; the productions of which, not only give an ample supply of excellent vegetables for their own use, but also furnish a considerable surplus to carry to market, where barter and sale are carried on to a considerable extent. A slave in Clarendon, admitted that he made, by this means, forty pounds annually. Some, indeed, amass so considerable a sum of money, that a negro called upon a tradesman at Chapelton, and offered to lend him three hundred pounds in gold. They also realize no trifling income by the sale of pigs, poultry, and goats. Many of them keep horses, and a few sport gigs; luxuries certainly not enjoyed by the peasantry of England.

The labour performed by negroes, is by no means so oppressive and severe, as it is generally supposed to be by persons who have never visited the West Indies, and is not so hard as that performed by many English labourers. The slaves execute their appointed tasks in a much slower and more leisurely manner than British labourers, and greater

numbers are, of necessity, employed in agricultural labour, than in England. Those engaged in cultivating the canes, are generally summoned to their work at six o'clock in the morning, many of them, however, contrive to invent various excuses for non-attendance at that hour. They breakfast at a fixed time, and are allowed an hour for that meal. Their dinner-time occupies about two hours, and at six o'clock in the evening they retire from work. While taking in the crop they are employed in the boiling-house, and at the mill during the night, and are then divided into different watches, much in the same way as sailors are at sea. Sunday is their own day, besides which, they are allowed by law, one Saturday in every fortnight; indeed, every Saturday is frequently granted to them.

If a negro be ill treated, he may immediately apply to a magistrate; when, if his complaint be just, he is sure of obtaining redress. He is, in fact, a slave only by name, having all the advantages of freedom, without any of those attendant inconveniences which are so severely felt by the half-starved, but free labourers of England, who are often exposed to an extreme of misery, hunger, and want, which the negro never knows.

Dancing is the favourite diversion of these people, and balls are frequently given by them. Christmas, however, is the time when these festivities are especially indulged in; and the gay dresses and jovial countenances of the dancers are, in themselves, a refutation of the statements respecting the misery of the slaves. The black masters of the ceremonies generally turn the balls to good account. One of them was heard lamenting that he had only made twenty pounds by the evening's entertainment.

A slave in the parish of St. Dorothy, asked permission to go to a ball, adding, that she hoped to be allowed to attend, as she had bought a gown for the occasion, for the sum of three pounds. She was advised not to walk, as the evening was very wet: but she expressed great indignation that an idea should be entertained of her walking, as she intended to accompany her husband in his gig!

In corroboration of all that has been said respecting the condition of the slaves, the author will, in conclusion, cite the opinion of His Majesty, WILLIAM THE FOURTH, who has visited the West Indies, and who, when Duke of Clarence, declared these sentiments on the subject in the House of Lords:—

"He had proofs in his possession, and most certainly would adduce them, that the evidence before the committe of the House of Commons was *at least* erroneous, *if not worse.* THE NEGROES WERE NOT TREATED IN THE MANNER WHICH HAD BEEN SO SUCCESSFULLY HELD UP TO THE PUBLIC VIEW, and had so much agitated the public mind. *He had been an attentive observer of the circumstances attending the state of the negroes*, and had no doubt that he could bring forward proofs to convince their lordships, that *their state was far from being miserable;* on the contrary, when the various ranks of society were considered, *they were in a state of humble happiness.*

"He knew the nature of the condition of the negroes from *practical experience*, and so far from their feeling unhappy, he well remembered that being once invited to a planter's house, where he spent the night, he was awakened and disturbed in the morning at an early hour, by the joyous festivity, songs, and dances of these very slaves, who are described as such miserable wretches."

CHAPTER VII.

"Ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου κρινῶ σε."

SERIOUS statements have been made against the sectarian missionaries in Jamaica. They have been arraigned at the bar of public opinion, charged with having been instrumental in inducing the negroes to rend asunder the bonds of social order, and to rush headlong into the frightful vortex of tumultuary insurrection. Certain it is, that many of the leading rebels were *Baptists*, and that the missionary teachers had a powerful—an almost irresistible influence over the members of their congregations. In the districts, too, which were first disturbed, and in the places where the most formidable insurrections broke out, the insurgents were generally sectarists. On many of the revolted estates hundreds of "*Baptist tickets*"* were

* The uninitiated may not understand what is meant by a "Baptist Ticket." It is a printed card, headed "Baptist Church," and is divided into four squares.

found; while the rebellion was publicly distinguished by the negroes as "THE BAPTIST WAR." The confessions also of criminals, expecting the extreme sentence of the law, strengthen this chain of evidence, and have

Every negro attached to the congregation has a fresh ticket given to him once a month. The members are obliged to present these tickets to the Baptist minister, every Sunday, who, on the receipt of a macaroni, (one shilling and eight-pence currency,) fills up one of the blank spaces; thus certifying the attendance of the negro at the chapel, and the presentation of the offering. Should two or three Sundays pass, and the production of the ticket be neglected, the slave, so offending, is expelled from the congregation, and is consequently exposed to all the evils of excommunication. The following anecdote shows the importance which the negro attaches to the possession of these tickets, and to the observance of the prescribed rules respecting them:—

A black carpenter, who had been remarkable for activity and diligence, suddenly became idle and dejected, His master enquired into the cause of this alteration, and found that the individual had for some time been unable, for want of money, to present his ticket. The consequence of this interruption of the usual practice was a suspension of communion, a ban which the mistaken man imagined would deprive him of salvation. His master, however, duly appreciating his previous good character, supplied him with three pounds, the amount of arrears. The cause of distress being removed, the man returned cheerfully to his work.

induced many to believe that some of the missionaries were strongly implicated; and, indeed, that they were in connexion with that party in England, considered as most inimical to the interests of West India proprietors.

Edward Bell, of Romilly estate, and *Robert Hall*, of York estate, both confessed that "PARSON KNIBB" preached from the pulpit, that the slaves were to be free after Christmas.

Charles, a negro man, made the following confession before he was executed. "The people preaching to us, from the *Baptist Society*, told us that we should be free after Christmas. We were taught by *these preachers* that 'PARSON BURCHELL' would bring out our 'free papers' after Christmas."

Mr. Gordon's head negro acknowledged that he had been deceived by the *preachers*, and that he only wished to live that he might be revenged on those who had misled him. He also accused *Mr. Burchell.* "If I could live," said this unhappy man, "I would defend my master, and his property, as faithfully as I have done for years, but I was led by the *parsons* to believe I was free."

Solomon Atkinson, a carpenter on Fairy Hill Estate, converted his house into a chapel. He was a "*Baptist Leader;*" was to have

been a general in the rebellion, and to have led his *cloud* or party to the attack on Port Antonio, after having set fire to the estates to windward.

Murray and *Campbell*, captured by a detachment of the St. Ann's Western Regiment, knowing their guilt, became king's evidence, and convicted two brothers, *George Wilson* and *William Wilson*, head negroes on a property. These men ordered the slaves to fire the works. The latter was head "*Baptist Parson.*"

Joseph Rodrigues attaching himself to the party of the insurgents, though being a free man, his duty called him to act as a soldier of the militia, declared, on the eve of suffering punishment, that he was a *Baptist*. He further stated, that a few days after the "War" (the insurrection) commenced, a chief among the rebels came to his house, and told him, that if he, Rodrigues, did not remain at home and *take part with the rebels*, he would kill him. He added, that his son, Moses, who had been shot, had taken part with the rebels; and that a "ruler" among the *Baptists* had preached to the negroes two months ago that they would be free. That he, Rodrigues, had heard the negroes say, *they would fight to be*

free. A Baptist Missionary, some time previously, had told the negroes to "behave well, as they were slaves *now*." He had reason to believe that the *parsons* would tell the negroes more than they would tell him who was a free man.

The rebel *Mudie*, who suffered capital punishment, met his fate with firmness, but refused to make any *public disclosure*. On the day preceding his execution, he sent for a woman, named Mackenzie, and admitted that he had murdered a sailor, during the rebellion: THAT HE WAS ADVISED BY THE BAPTISTS TO MURDER ALL THE WHITES: *which he would have done, as they (the Baptists) told him he was free.*

In other instances the negroes allowed they had been told that their freedom had been granted to them by the King, but was withheld by their masters. Nothing, however, could induce them to communicate the name of the individual who had imparted this important intelligence. They said, they were bound by an oath; persevered in their refusal, and faithfully retained the precious secret. Some incendiaries, when applying the torch to a building, consecrated the deed by saying, they performed it "in the name of *Christ* and PARSON BURCHELL."

Previously to the awful and melancholy catastrophe at the close of the year 1831, there appeared to be no difficulties in the way of the religious instruction of the slaves by sectarians. Preachers of different denominations enjoyed protection and encouragement. Handsome chapels, connected with suitable residences, were raised in Spanish Town and Kingston. Schools were established and well attended, and Mr. Philippo, the minister of the Baptist persuasion in Spanish Town, was spoken of with respect and treated with due consideration. In other parts of Jamaica dissenting places of public worship were erected, and ministers resided near them; while the fear and distrust, which it was said had formerly obstructed the progress of the sectary, seemed rapidly on the decline, giving place to confidence and amicable patronage. This state of peace and good feeling had been increasing for some years. Such was the situation of the missionaries at the period to which reference has been made. No sooner, however, did the flame of discord break forth, and the calamitous consequences of the devouring element develop themselves, but the fact, that most of the insurgents were members of sectarian churches, filled the mind with the

most painful sensations. These events were followed by the assertions of the rebels, that the king had made them free, and that their instructors had told them they would be free after Christmas. Naturally, therefore, did the inhabitants of Jamaica feel themselves betrayed and injured: and it was not surprising that they renounced all confidence in the honour and fidelity of teachers, who had thus misused the power which had been entrusted to them; a power, it must be confessed, of no common character nor ordinary influence. Certain individuals were arrested, but the constraint they endured was of short duration. In the universal anxiety, a body of dissenting ministers proceeded to Spanish Town, where they were admitted to an interview with the governor, who assured them, that they should enjoy the full protection of British subjects. When Mr. Burchell made arrangements for landing at Montego Bay, so intense was the feeling against him, that some distinguished individuals, fearing the consequence of hostile collision on shore, persuaded him to forego his intention, and eventually procured for him a passage to America. Ebullitions of popular feeling subsequently occurred in the demolition of chapels. This index of public opinion, this

storm of indignation, was, however, the result of a settled conviction, that the missionaries had, under the hypocritical garb of diffusing christian principles, inculcated the doctrines of rebellion, and participated not a little in the attempts to produce the most calamitous of all contests, a servile war.

In a published portion of the journal of the *Rev.* Mr. Box, the following memorandum occurs :

" I preached this day to the negroes. The subject of slavery came before me, and I did not *hesitate* to tell them it was *painful, cursed, and degrading.*" In contemplating this passage, it is worthy of remark that the writer appears to have perceived something of difficulty, if not of danger, in the mode of treating the subject of discourse; and seems to have determined to hazard all consequences. He says, "*I did not hesitate.*" He resolutely makes up his mind to rush forward, to disregard doubt and difficulty, and, in a careless contempt of consequences, to tell his audience that their condition was painful, degraded, and blasted by a curse. Now it should be observed that this gentleman, officiating as a minister of the gospel under a magisterial license, by which he received protection, and

which would not have been granted but under a *tacit* or *implied compact*, that he promised conformity to the known conditions of the privilege, was bound, nay, even morally pledged, to abstain from every thing in his private or public ministration, which might endanger the peace and good order of society. Neither could he have been ignorant of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society, nor of the tendency of certain speeches and declarations in England, which are readily circulated in Jamaica, and which, exhibiting the people of Great Britain as the friends of the negro, but his master as an iniquitous tyrant, naturally contribute to disturb the mind, alienate the affection, and impair the obedience of the labouring classes in the colonies.

The general reader will acknowledge that slavery was the civil constitution of most countries on the first appearance of Christianity; yet, in following the progress of the earliest missionaries, where are they found pronouncing slavery to be unlawful? If one go back to the apostolic era, and to the primary church at Jerusalem, and travel to Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch, thence to Pamphylia and Pisidia, to Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe; if the progress be continued to the Roman colony of Phillippi,

to Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, and Rome, notwithstanding all their sufferings, and all the painful opposition they endured; notwithstanding bonds and imprisonment, these first teachers will be found carefully abstaining from denouncing political institutions. They proclaimed the duty of submission to those in authority. They taught their disciples that they should "study to be quiet," and "do their own business," endeavouring to "live *peaceably* with all men." Several passages of the sacred writings attest this fact. In them are found directions addressed to servants, requiring obedience to their masters, and dutiful conduct, "*not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward.*" Let it be noticed, too, that these servants were *slaves*, for the word translated *servant*, signifies in the original, *slave*, as opposed to a *free man*.

Messrs. Box, Knibb, *et hoc omne genus*, would have done well had they followed the example of Mr. Young, a former missionary in Jamaica. He, touching on the condition of the negroes, selected the epistle of St. Paul to Philemon, and thence inculcated the duties of obedience and contentment: showing, especially, to the slave population, how many *comforts* and *advantages* they enjoyed. This gentleman

assisted at a public meeting, composed of members of his society, in which some judicious and equitable resolutions were passed in reference to the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society: but because these declaraions were not in accordance to the views of the party in England, he was at once removed from his station in the island, and reprimanded for the declaration which had been made.

Mr. Blythe, a minister of the Scottish kirk, whose field of action lay on the northern side of the island, has borne his testimony, in a printed letter, to the facilities which were afforded him for imparting religious instruction to the labouring classes; and has thus destroyed the charge that there is a universal opposition to the dissemination of religious instruction among the slaves.

Some of the missionaries, who returned to England from Jamaica, appear to have been moved about, from place to place, by some latent force, in order to excite a strong feeling prejudicial to the proprietors of that colony. Their itinerant exertions have been supported by the sanction of the ministerial character, by the *ipsissima verba* of men, who, having mingled in West India society, were supposed to possess information meriting the most fiduciary

reception. At a public meeting in Edinburgh, the REV. MR. KNIBB asserted that "*the negro, who planned the insurrection, was a fine fellow, and deserved an imperishable monument to his memory!*" The use of this language was subsequently denied by Mr. KNIBB, but the fact that such a statement was actually promulgated by him, has received an attestation on oath, before a magistrate of Edinburgh, made by Mr. Duncan, a director of the bank of Scotland, and by Mr. Brown, an eminent minister of the Scottish Kirk. This, however, is not the only instance in which this gentleman has beset himself by contradictory statements. In a speech, printed by himself, and delivered by him at a meeting in the town of Reading, he declares, "During my residence in Jamaica, I have seen cruelties, (*horribile dictu!*) which would make angels weep, and devils tremble; *a hundred men hanging on one gallows, and four hundred and twenty women flogged beneath it!*" But in answer to a question put by a committee of the House of Lords, when the *reverend divine* was on his oath, "*Have you seen many cruelties committed during your residence in Jamaica?*" he replies, "NOT MANY!"

The antagonist feeling in operation against

the West India proprietors is very great: and in support of this persuasion it may be stated that an individual of no ordinary consequence in the dissenting denomination of *Baptists*, asserted that HE WOULD CHEER ON THE NEGROES IN THE PROGRESS OF INSURRECTION!

Is not then the conclusion, to which the inhabitants of Jamaica have been conducted, most natural? When the declarations of the rebel negroes are considered; when the speeches and proceedings of the retired missionaries are placed in juxta position; when it is remembered that the period of Mr. Burchell's return to the island, was calculated and known; when one hears that this gentleman was expected at Christmas with the "Free Papers," and that the month of January, 1832, recorded his arrival at Montego Bay, when all these things are dispassionately considered, the unavoidable inference is that the negroes were led astray by improper communications. The question then is, by whom were these false impressions made on the minds of the negroes? While the consequence to be deplored is, that a flame was unhappily raised, which could only be extinguished by the effusion of blood.

"——— Incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso."

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